



Tertullian

Complete Works

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Tertullian

Complete Works

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The Complete Works of

TERTULLIAN

(c. 155–c. 240 AD)



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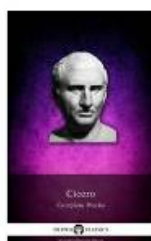
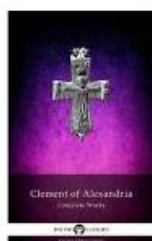
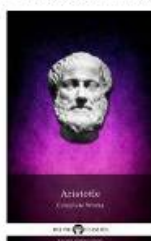
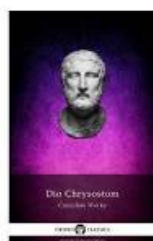
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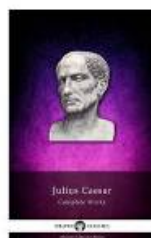
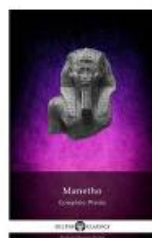
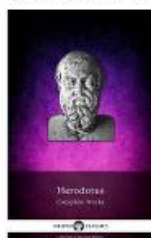
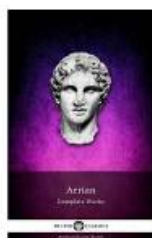
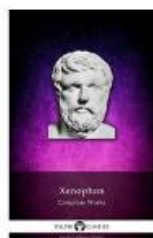
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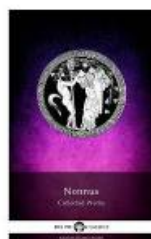
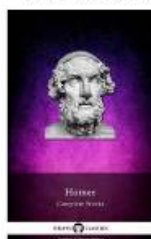
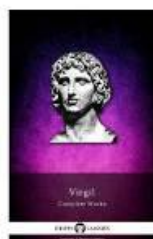
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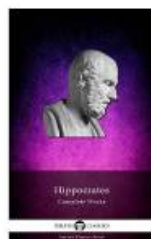
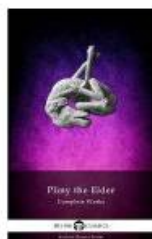
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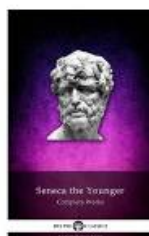
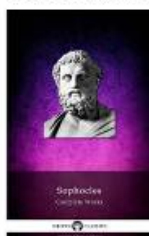
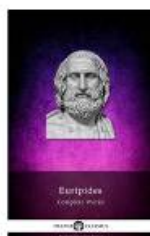
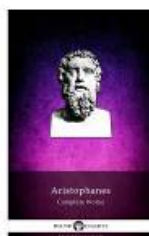
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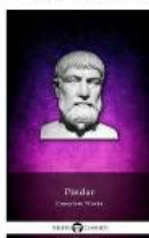
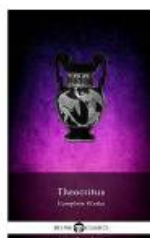
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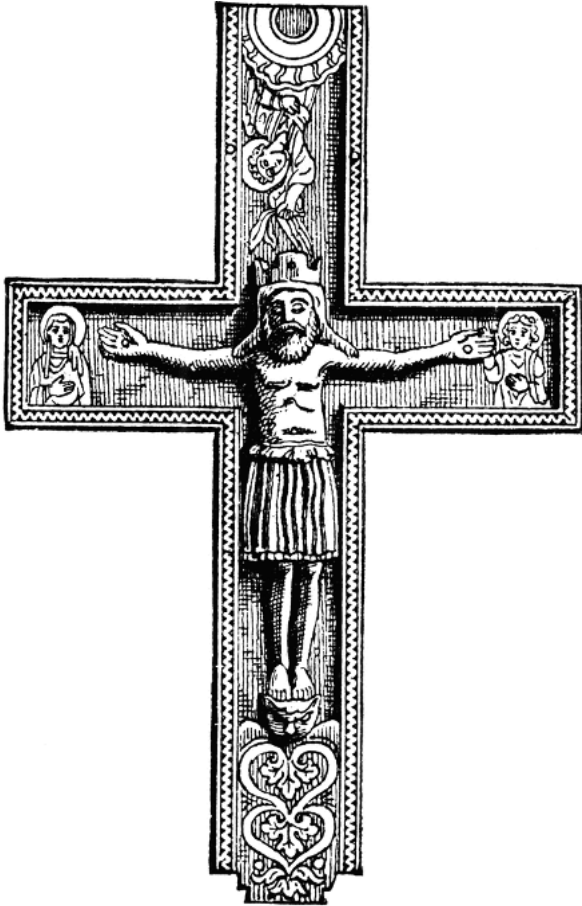


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The Complete Works of
TERTULLIAN



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The Translations



Roman ruins at Carthage, modern-day Tunis, Tunisia — Tertullian's birthplace

Introductory Note by Peter Holmes



From 'Ante-Nicene Fathers, Volume III: Latin Christianity: Its Founder, Tertullian'

WHEN OUR LORD repulsed the woman of Canaan (Matt. xv. 22) with apparent harshness, he applied to her people the epithet *dogs*, with which the children of Israel had thought it piety to reproach them. When He accepted her faith and caused it to be recorded for our learning, He did something more: He reversed the curse of the Canaanite and showed that the Church was designed “for all people;” Catholic alike for all time and for all sorts and conditions of men.

Thus the North-African Church was loved before it was born: the Good Shepherd was gently leading those “that were with young.” Here was the charter of those Christians to be a Church, who then were Canaanites in the land of their father Ham. It is remarkable indeed that among these pilgrims and strangers to the West the first elements of Latin Christianity come into view. Even at the close of the Second Century the Church in Rome is an inconsiderable, though prominent, member of the great confederation of Christian Churches which has its chief seats in Alexandria and Antioch, and of which the entire Literature is Greek. It is an African presbyter who takes from Latin Christendom the reproach of theological and literary barrenness and begins the great work in which, upon his foundations, Cyprian and Augustine built up, with incomparable genius, that Carthaginian School of Christian thought by which Latin Theology was dominated for centuries. It is important to note (1.) that providentially not one of these illustrious doctors died in Communion with the Roman See, pure though it was and venerable at that time; and (2.) that to the works of Augustine the Reformation in Germany and Continental Europe was largely due; while (3.) the *specialties* of the Anglican Reformation were, in like proportion, due to the writings of Tertullian and Cyprian. The hinges of great and controlling destinies for Western Europe and our own America are to be found in the period we are now approaching.

The merest school-boy knows much of the history of Carthage, and how the North Africans became Roman citizens. How they became Christians is not so clear. A melancholy destiny has enveloped Carthage from the outset, and its glory and greatness as a Christian See were transient indeed. It blazed out all at once in Tertullian, after about a century of missionary labours had been exerted upon its creation: and having given a Minucius Felix, an Arnobius and a Lactantius to adorn the earliest period of Western Ecclesiastical learning, in addition to its nobler luminaries, it rapidly declined. At the beginning of the Third Century, at a council presided over by Agrippinus, Bishop of Carthage, there were present not less than seventy bishops of the Province. A period of cruel persecutions followed, and the African Church received a baptism of blood.

Tertullian was born a heathen, and seems to have been educated at Rome, where he probably practiced as a jurisconsult. We may, perhaps, adopt most of the ideas of Allix, as conjecturally probable, and assign his birth to a.d. 145. He became a Christian about 185, and a presbyter about 190. The period of his strict orthodoxy very nearly expires with the century. He lived to an extreme old age, and some suppose even till a.d. 240. More probably we must adopt the date preferred by recent writers, a.d. 220.

It seems to be the fashion to treat of Tertullian as a Montanist, and only incidentally to celebrate his services to the Catholic Orthodoxy of Western Christendom. Were I his biographer I should reverse this course, as a mere act of justice, to say nothing of gratitude to a man of splendid intellect, to whom the filial spirit of Cyprian accorded the loving tribute of a disciple, and whose genius stamped itself upon the very words of Latin theology, and prepared the language for the labours of a Jerome. In creating the Vulgate, and so lifting the Western Churches into a position of intellectual equality with the East, the latter as well as St. Augustine himself were debtors to Tertullian in a degree not to be estimated by any other than the Providential Mind that inspired his brilliant career as a Christian.

In speaking of Tatian I laid the base for what I wished to say of Tertullian. Let God only be their judge; let us gratefully recognize the debt we owe to them. Let us read them, as we read the works of King Solomon. We must, indeed, approve of the discipline of the Primitive Age, which allowed of no compromises. The Church was struggling for existence, and could not permit

any man to become her master. The more brilliant the intellect, the more dangerous to the poor Church were its perversions of her Testimony. Before the heathen tribunals, and in the market-places, it would not answer to let Christianity appear double-tongued. The orthodoxy of the Church, not less than her children, was undergoing an ordeal of fire. It seems a miracle that her Testimony preserved its unity, and that heresy was branded as such by the instinct of the Faithful. Poor Tertullian was cut off by his own act. The weeping Church might bewail him as David mourned for Absalom, but like David, she could not give the Ark of God into other hands than those of the loyal and the true. I have set the writings of Tertullian in a natural and logical order, so as to aid the student, and to relieve him from the distractions of such an arrangement as one finds in Oehler's edition. Valuable as it is, the practical use of it is irritating and confusing. The reader of that edition may turn to the slightly differing schemes of Neander and Kaye, for a theoretical order of the works; but here he will find a classification which will aid his inquiries. He will find, first, those works which connect with the Apologists of the former volumes of this series: which illustrate the Church's position toward the outside world, the Jews as well as the Gentiles. Next come those works which contend with internal differences and heresies. And then, those which reflect the morals and manners of Christians. These are classed with some reference to their degrees of freedom from the Montanistic taint, and are followed, last of all, by the few tracts which belong to the melancholy period of his lapse, and are directed against the Church's orthodoxy.

Let it be borne in mind, that if this sad close of Tertullian's career cannot be extenuated, the later history of Latin Christianity forbids us to condemn him, in the tones which proceeded from the Virgin Church with authority, and which the law of her testimony and the instinct of self-preservation forced her to utter. Let us reflect that St. Bernard and after him the Schoolmen, whom we so deservedly honour, separated themselves far more absolutely than ever Tertullian did from the orthodoxy of Primitive Christendom. The schism which withdrew the West from Communion with the original seats of Christendom, and from Nicene Catholicity, was formidable beyond all expression, in comparison with Tertullian's entanglements with a delusion which the See of Rome itself had momentarily patronized. Since the Council of Trent, not a theologian of the Latins has been free from organic heresies,

compared with which the fanaticism of our author was a trifling aberration. Since the late Council of the Vatican, essential Montanism has become organized in the Latin Churches: for what are the new revelations and oracles of the pontiff but the *deliria* of another claimant to the voice and inspiration of the Paraclete? Poor Tertullian! The sad influences of his decline and folly have been fatally felt in all the subsequent history of the West, but, surely subscribers to the Modern Creed of the Vatican have reason to “speak gently of *their father’s* fall.” To Döllinger, with the “Old Catholic” remnant only, is left the right to name the Montanists heretics, or to upbraid Tertullian as a lapses from Catholicity.

From Dr. Holmes, I append the following Introductory Notice:

(I.) Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus, as our author is called in the mss. of his works, is thus noticed by Jerome in his *Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*: “Tertullian, a presbyter, the first Latin writer after Victor and Apollonius, was a native of the province of Africa and city of Carthage, the son of a proconsular centurion: he was a man of a sharp and vehement temper, flourished under Severus and Antoninus Caracalla, and wrote numerous works, which (as they are generally known) I think it unnecessary to particularize. I saw at Concordia, in Italy, an old man named Paulus. He said that when young he had met at Rome with an aged amanuensis of the blessed Cyprian, who told him that Cyprian never passed a day without reading some portion of Tertullian’s works, and used frequently to say, *Give me my master, meaning Tertullian. After remaining a presbyter of the church* until he had attained the middle age of life, Tertullian was, by the envy and contumelious treatment of the Roman clergy, driven to embrace the opinions of Montanus, which he has mentioned in several of his works under the title of the New Prophecy....He is reported to have lived to a very advanced age, and to have composed many other works which are not extant.” We add Bishop Kaye’s notes on this extract, in an abridged shape: “The correctness of some parts of this account has been questioned. Doubts have been entertained whether Tertullian was a presbyter, although these have solely arisen from Roman Catholic objections to a married priesthood; for it is certain that he was married, there being among his works two treatises addressed to his wife. ...Another question has been raised respecting the place where Tertullian

officiated as a presbyter — whether at Carthage or at Rome. That he at one time resided at Carthage may be inferred from Jerome's statement, and is rendered certain by several passages of his own writings. Allix supposes that the notion of his having been a presbyter of the Roman Church owed its rise to what Jerome said of the envy and abuse of the Roman clergy impelling him to espouse the party of Montanus. Optatus, and the author of the work *de Hæresibus*, which Sirmond edited under the title of *Prædestinatus*, expressly call him a Carthaginian presbyter. Semler, however, in a dissertation inserted in his edition of Tertullian's works, contends that he was a presbyter of the Roman Church. Eusebius tells us that he was accurately acquainted with the Roman laws, and on other accounts a distinguished person at Rome. Tertullian displays, moreover, a knowledge of the proceedings of the Roman Church with respect to Marcion and Valentinus, who were once members of it, which could scarcely have been obtained by one who had not himself been numbered amongst its presbyters. Semler admits that, after Tertullian seceded from the church, he left and returned to Carthage. Jerome does not inform us whether Tertullian was born of Christian parents, or was converted to Christianity. There are passages in his writings which seem to imply that he had been a Gentile; yet he may perhaps mean to describe, not his own condition, but that of Gentiles in general, before their conversion. Allix and the majority of commentators understand them literally, as well as some other passages in which he speaks of his own infirmities and sinfulness. His writings show that he flourished at the period specified by Jerome — that is, during the reigns of Severus and Antoninus Caracalla, or between the years a.d. 193 and 216; but they supply no precise information respecting the date of his birth, or any of the principal occurrences of his life. Allix places his birth about 145 or 150; his conversion to Christianity about a.d. 185; his marriage about 186; his admission to the priesthood about 192; his adoption of the opinions of Montanus about 199; and his death about a.d. 220. But these dates, it must be understood, rest entirely on conjecture."

(II.) Tertullian's work against Marcion, as it happens, is, *as to its date*, the best authenticated — perhaps the only well authenticated — particular connected with the author's life. He himself mentions the fifteenth year of the reign of Severus as the time when he was writing the work: "Ad xv. jam Severi imperatoris." This agrees with Jerome's Chronicle, where occurs this

note: “Anno 2223 Severi xv^o Tertullianus...celebratur.” This year is assigned to the year of our Lord 207; but notwithstanding the certainty of this date, it is far from clear that it describes more than the time of the publication of *the first book*. On the contrary, it is nearly certain that the other books, although connected manifestly enough in the author’s argument and purpose (compare the initial and the final chapters of the several books), were yet issued at separate times. Noesselt shows that between the Book i. and Books ii.–iv. Tertullian issued his *De Præscript. Hæret.*, and previous to Book v. he published his tracts, *De Carne Christi* and *De Resurrectione Carnis*. After giving the incontestable date of the xv. of Severus for the first book, he says it is a mistake to suppose that the other books were published with it. He adds: “Although we cannot undertake to determine whether Tertullian issued his Books ii., iii., iv., against Marcion, together or separately, or in what year, we yet venture to affirm that Book v. appeared apart from the rest. For the tract *De Resurr. Carnis* appears from its second chapter to have been published after the tract *De Carne Christi*, in which latter work (chap. vii.) he quotes a passage from the fourth book against Marcion. But in his Book v. against Marcion (chap. x.), he refers to his work *De Resurr. Carnis*; which circumstance makes it evident that Tertullian published his Book v. at a different time from his Book iv. In his Book i. he announces his intention (chap. i.) of some time or other completing his tract *De Præscript. Hæret.*, but in his book *De Carne Christi* (chap. ii.), he mentions how he had completed it, — a conclusive proof that his Book i. against Marcion preceded the other books.”

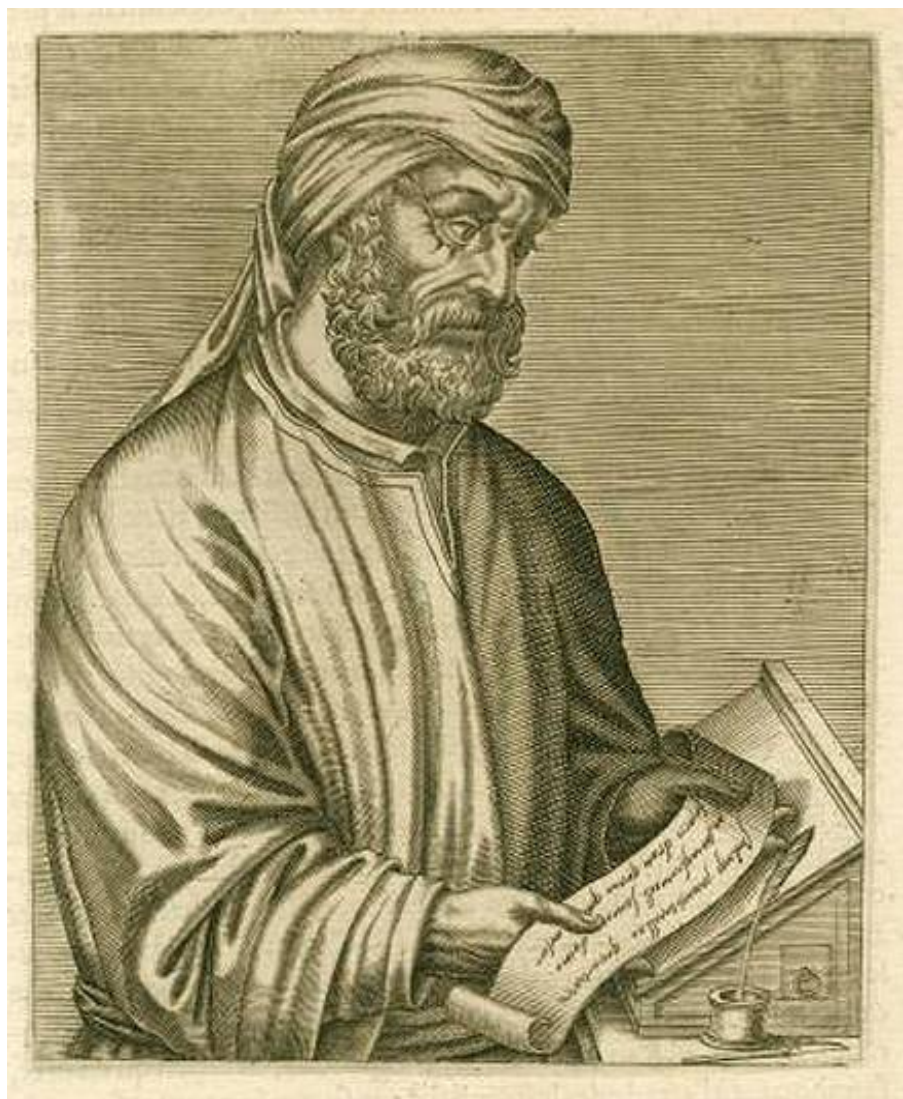
(III.) Respecting Marcion himself, the most formidable heretic who had as yet opposed revealed truth, enough will turn up in this treatise, with the notes which we have added in explanation, to satisfy the reader. It will, however, be convenient to give here a few introductory particulars of him. Tertullian mentions Marcion as being, with Valentinus, in communion with the Church at Rome, “under the episcopate of the blessed Eleutherus.” He goes on to charge them with “ever-restless curiosity, with which they infected even the brethren;” and informs us that they were more than once put out of communion—“Marcion, indeed, with the 200 sesterces which he brought into the church.” He goes on to say, that “being at last condemned to the banishment of a perpetual separation, they sowed abroad the poisons of their

doctrines. Afterwards, when Marcion, having professed penitence, agreed to the terms offered to him, that he should receive reconciliation on condition that he brought back to the church the rest also, whom he had trained up for perdition, he was prevented by death.” He was a native of Sinope in Pontus, of which city, according to an account preserved by Epiphanius, which, however, is somewhat doubtful, his father was bishop, and of high character both for his orthodoxy and exemplary practice. He came to Rome soon after the death of Hyginus, probably about a.d. 141 or 142; and soon after his arrival he adopted the heresy of Cerdon.

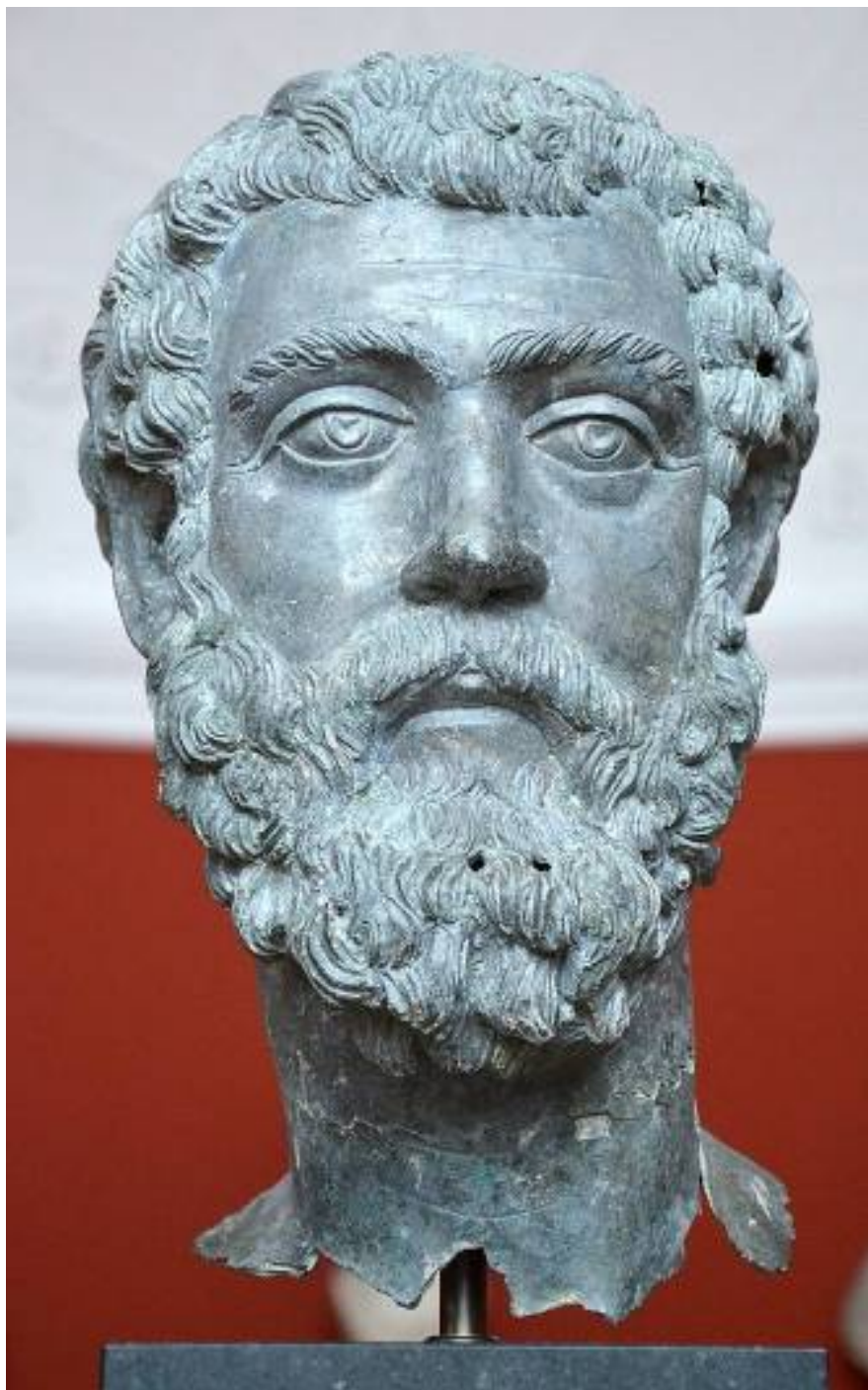
(IV.) It is an interesting question as to what edition of the Holy Scriptures Tertullian used in his very copious quotations. It may at once be asserted that he did not cite from the Hebrew, although some writers have claimed for him, among his varied learning, a knowledge of the sacred language. Bp. Kaye observes, page 61, n. 1, that “he sometimes speaks as if he was acquainted with Hebrew,” and refers to the *Anti-Marcion* iv. 39, the *Adv. Praxeas* v., and the *Adv. Judæos* ix. Be this as it may, it is manifest that Tertullian’s Scripture passages never resemble the Hebrew, but in nearly every instance the Septuagint, whenever, as is most frequently the case, that version differs from the original. In the New Testament there is, as might be expected, a tolerably close conformity to the Greek. There is, however, it must be allowed, a sufficiently frequent variation from the letter of both the Greek Testaments to justify Semler’s suspicion that Tertullian always quoted from the old Latin version, whatever that might have been, which was current in the African church in the second and third centuries. The most valuable part of Semler’s *Dissertatio de varia et incerta indole Librorum Q. S. F. Tertulliani is his investigation of this very point*. In section iv. he endeavours to prove this proposition: “Hic scriptor non in manibus habuit Græcos libros sacros;” and he states his conclusion thus: “Certissimum est nec Tertullianum nec Cyprianum nec ullum scriptorem e Latinis illis ecclesiasticis provocare unquam ad Græcorum librorum auctoritatem si vel maxime obscura aut contraria lectio occurreret;” and again: “Ex his satis certum est, Latinos satis diu secutos fuisse auctoritatem suorum librorum adversus Græcos, nec concessisse nisi serius, cum Augustini et Hieronymi nova auctoritas juvare videretur.” It is not ignorance of Greek which is imputed to Tertullian, for he is said to have well understood that language, and even to have composed in

it. He probably followed the Latin, as writers now usually quote the authorized English, as being current and best known among their readers. Independent feeling, also, would have weight with such a temper as Tertullian's, to say nothing of the suspicion which largely prevailed in the African branch of the Latin church, that the Greek copies of the Scriptures were much corrupted by the heretics, who were chiefly, if not wholly, Greeks or Greek-speaking persons.

(V.) Whatever perverting effect Tertullian's secession to the sect of Montanus may have had on his judgment in his latest writings, it did not vitiate the work against Marcion. With a few trivial exceptions, this treatise may be read by the strictest Catholic without any feeling of annoyance. His lapse to Montanism is set down conjecturally as having taken place a.d. 199. Jerome, we have seen, attributed the event to his quarrel with the Roman clergy, but this is at least doubtful; nor must it be forgotten that Tertullian's mind seems to have been peculiarly suited by nature to adopt the mystical notions and ascetic principles of Montanus. It is satisfactory to find that, on the whole, "the authority of Tertullian," as the learned Dr. Burton says, "upon great points of doctrine is considered to be little, if at all, affected by his becoming a Montanist." (*Lectures on Eccl. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 234.) Besides the different works which are expressly mentioned in the notes of this volume, recourse has been had by the translator to Dupin's *Hist. Eccl. Writers* (trans.), vol. i. pp. 69–86; Tillemont's *Mémoires Hist. Eccl.* iii. 85–103; Dr. Smith's *Greek and Roman Biography*, articles "Marcion" and "Tertullian;" Schaff's article, in Herzog's *Cyclopædia*, on "Tertullian;" Munter's *Primordia Eccl. Africanæ*, pp. 118–150; Robertson's *Church Hist.* vol. i. pp. 70–77; Dr. P. Schaff's *Hist. of Christian Church* (New York, 1859, pp. 511–519), and Archdeacon Evans' *Biography of the Early Church*, vol. i. (*Lives of "Marcion,"* pp. 93–122, and "Tertullian," pp. 325–363). This last work, though of a popular cast, shows a good deal of research and learning, expressed in the pleasant style of the once popular author of *The Rectory of Vale Head*. *The translator has mentioned these works*, because they are all quite accessible to the general reader, and will give him adequate information concerning the subject treated in the present volume.



Eighteenth century depiction of Tertullian



Bronze head of Septimius Severus, from Asia Minor, c. 195–211 – Tertullian flourished during the reign of this emperor.



Apologeticus Tertulliani de igno

non licet ul vobis mina ihu xpi
romani imperij antistites in aplo
2 edito ipo fere utre auitatis pldē
tibus ad iudicand palā dūgnē 2 aui
examinare quid sit liquid in causa
xpianor si ad hanc solā spēm aucto
ritas iusticia & iusticie diligencia i pbi
hio attinet Aut erubescat inq̄ere Si deniq qd proxime acci
dit domesticis iudicis minus opalta infestano secte hui ob
struit nra defensionem licet incuti ul omnia nra tractari
leat ad aures vris puenire Radul de causa sua deperit quia
net de condico miratur Ont se pegrum i tēis agē int cē
ncos facile mimicos inuenit Ceter genus sedem spe gram
dignitate in celis hēe Vm gestit mterid ne ignorata dispne
tur Quid hic depit legibus in suo regno dūgnat⁹ si audi
atur Au hoc magis gloriabitur ptis curi quo i iudicam
dāpnabit nitare Ceteri in auditum si dāpnent pē mui
da inq̄tatis i suspitionē mēbūtur aliamus consue nolen
tes audire qd auditu dāpnare nō possunt Hanc itaq p
mam causā apud nos collocamus inq̄tatis odiū erga nom
xpianor Quā inq̄tate idem tullius 2 onerat 2 iūnat qm
datur erubescit ignorantia solis Quid it miras qd ut odit
hoies qd ignorat enā si res meretur odiū Tū et it mē
tur ai agnoscat an meretur Pacante aut mēiti noti
cia mde odiū iusticia defendit que non i de cuncti sed de q
sacientia plūda i En ergo pūta odit hoies qd ignorat
quale sit qd odit cur non liceat emulmō illud ē quod
non debeat odisse fia utiq ex alēntio redargu² 2 igno
rare illos dū odit i iuste odisse dū ignorant Cestimo
mā ignorantie i que inq̄tate dū exultat condpuit ai
omīs qui itro odit qd ignorabunt qle sit quod odit
sil dēlimit ignorare resant 2 odisse Ex his sunt iusticia
utiq de compo 2 inipuit odisse qd fuerant 2 pūti qd
odit 2 it tam quātū dēnotantur obellam nōfēci
tur autate in agnō in castellis in iulis xpianos oca
sera etatem gūuēci 2 dignitate transgredi Ad hū nomē

Tertullianus pūti qd p
cibus in iudicibus nra m
natur

Decantio sūa qūta sit

Tima tā inq̄tatis gēnē
n adūsus cācos i odiū
pūti ex ignorantia noli
tola sibi xpiane

Odit ad dēt i qd malū
i mli malū fore loat qd
namte nonā nra ulla
sub i iusticia odiū

Dū ignorantē odit qd
ignorat nulle odit

Tertullianus ignorare i sil
labut odisse hant p i q
ueris q inipuit auidē
qd odit dū qm iustia
vnt

De Paenitentia (On Repentance)



Translated by Sydney Thelwall

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Chapter I. — Of Heathen Repentance.

Repentance, men understand, so far as nature is able, to be an emotion of the mind arising from disgust at some *previously cherished* worse sentiment: that kind of men *I* mean *which even we ourselves were in days gone by — blind*, without the Lord's light. From the *reason* of repentance, however, they are just as far as they are from the Author of reason Himself. *Reason*, in fact, is a thing of God, inasmuch as there is nothing which God the Maker of all has not provided, disposed, ordained *by reason* — nothing which He has not willed should be handled and understood *by reason*. All, therefore, who are ignorant of God, must necessarily be ignorant also of a thing which is His, because no treasure-house at all is accessible to strangers. And thus, voyaging all the universal course of life without the rudder of reason, they know not how to shun the hurricane which is impending over the world. Moreover, how irrationally they behave in the practice of repentance, it will be enough briefly to show just by this one fact, that they exercise it even in the case of their *good* deeds. They repent of good faith, of love, of simple-heartedness, of patience, of mercy, just in proportion as any deed *prompted by these feelings* has fallen on thankless soil. They execrate their own selves for having done good; and that species chiefly of repentance which is applied to the best works they fix in their heart, making it their care to remember never again to do a good turn. On repentance for *evil* deeds, on the contrary, they lay lighter stress. In short, they make this same (virtue) a means of *sinning* more readily than a means of *right-doing*.

Chapter II. — True Repentance a Thing Divine, Originated by God, and Subject to His Laws.

But if they acted as men who had any part in God, and thereby in reason also, they would first weigh well the importance of repentance, and would never apply it in such a way as to make it a ground for *convicting themselves of* perverse self-amendment. In short, they would regulate the limit of their repentance, because they would reach (a limit) in sinning too — by fearing God, I mean. But where there is no fear, in like manner there is no amendment; where there is no amendment, repentance is of necessity vain, for it lacks the fruit for which God sowed it; that is, man's salvation. For God — after so many and so great sins of human temerity, begun by the first of the race, Adam, after the condemnation of man, together with the dowry of the world after his ejection from paradise and subjection to death — when He had hasted back to His own mercy, did from that time onward inaugurate repentance in His own self, by rescinding the sentence of His first wrath, engaging to grant pardon to His own work and image. And so He gathered together a people for Himself, and fostered them with many liberal distributions of His bounty, and, after so often finding them most ungrateful, ever exhorted them to repentance and sent out the voices of the universal company of the prophets to prophesy. By and by, promising freely the grace which in the last times He was intending to pour as a flood of light on the universal world through His Spirit, He bade the baptism of repentance lead the way, with the view of first preparing, by means of the sign and seal of repentance, them whom He was calling, through grace, to (inherit) the promise surely made to Abraham. John holds not his peace, saying, “Enter upon repentance, for now shall salvation approach the nations” — the Lord, that is, bringing salvation according to God's promise. To Him John, as His harbinger, directed the repentance (which he preached), whose province was the purging of men's minds, that whatever defilement inveterate error had imparted, whatever contamination in the heart of man ignorance had engendered, *that* repentance should sweep and scrape away, and cast out of doors, and thus prepare the home of the heart, by making it clean, for the Holy Spirit, who was about to supervene, that He might with pleasure introduce Himself there-into, together with His celestial blessings. Of these blessings

the title is *briefly* one — the salvation of man — the abolition of former sins being the preliminary step. This is the (final) cause of repentance, this her work, in taking in hand the business of divine mercy. What is profitable to man does service to God. The *rule* of repentance, however, which we learn when we know the Lord, retains a definite form, — *viz.*, that no violent hands so to speak, be ever laid on *good* deeds or thoughts. For God, never giving His sanction to the reprobation of good *deeds*, inasmuch as they are His own (of which, being the author, He must necessarily be the defender too), is in like manner the acceptor of them, and if the acceptor, likewise the rewarder. Let, then, the ingratitude of men see to it, if it attaches repentance even to good works; let their gratitude see to it too, if the desire of earning it be the incentive to well-doing: earthly and mortal are they each. For how small is your gain if you do good to a grateful man! or your loss if to an ungrateful! A *good* deed has God as its debtor, just as an *evil* has too; for a judge is rewarder of every cause. Well, since, God as Judge presides over the exacting and maintaining of justice, which to Him is most dear; and since it is with an eye to justice that He appoints all the sum of His discipline, is there room for doubting that, just as in all our acts universally, so also in the case of repentance, justice must be rendered to God? — which duty can indeed only be fulfilled on the condition that repentance be brought to bear *only* on *sins*. Further, no deed but an *evil* one deserves to be called *sin*, nor does any one err by well-doing. But if he does not err, why does he invade (the province of) repentance, the private ground of such as do err? Why does he impose on his goodness a duty proper to wickedness? Thus it comes to pass that, when a thing is called into play where it ought not, there, where it ought, it is neglected.

Chapter III. — Sins May Be Divided into Corporeal and Spiritual. Both Equally Subject, If Not to Human, Yet to Divine Investigation and Punishment.

What things, then, they be for which repentance seems just and due — that is, what things are to be set down under the head of *sin* — the occasion indeed demands that I should note down; but (to do so) may seem to be unnecessary. For when the Lord is known, our spirit, having been “looked back upon” by its own Author, emerges unbidden into the knowledge of the truth; and being admitted to (an acquaintance with) the divine precepts, is by them forthwith instructed that “that from which God bids us abstain is to be accounted *sin*:” inasmuch as, since it is generally agreed that God is some great *essence* of good, of course nothing but evil would be displeasing to good; in that, between things mutually contrary, friendship there is none. Still it will not be irksome briefly to touch upon the fact that, of sins, some are carnal, that is, corporeal; some spiritual. For since man is composed of this combination of a two-fold substance, the sources of his sins are no other than the sources of his composition. But it is not the fact that body and spirit are two things that constitute the sins mutually different — otherwise they are on this account rather *equal*, because the *two* make up *one* — lest any make the distinction between their *sins* proportionate to the difference between their *substances*, so as to esteem the one lighter, or else heavier, than the other: if it be true, (as it is,) that both flesh and spirit are creatures of God; one wrought by His hand, one consummated by His *afflatus*. Since, then, they equally pertain to the Lord, whichever of them *sins* equally *offends* the Lord. Is it for you to distinguish the acts of the flesh and the spirit, whose communion and conjunction in life, in death, and in resurrection, are so intimate, that “at that time” they are equally raised up either for life or else for judgment; because, to wit, they have equally either sinned or lived innocently? This we would (once for all) premise, in order that we may understand that no less necessity for repentance is incumbent on *either* part of man, if in anything it have sinned, than on *both*. The *guilt* of both is common; common, too, is the *Judge* — God to wit; common, therefore, is withal the healing medicine of repentance. The source whence sins are named “spiritual” and “corporeal” is the fact that every sin is matter either of *act* or else of *thought*: so that what is

in *deed* is “corporeal,” because a *deed*, like a *body*, is capable of being *seen* and *touched*; what is in the *mind* is “spiritual,” because *spirit* is neither *seen* nor *handled*: by which consideration is shown that sins not of *deed* only, but of *will* too, are to be shunned, and by repentance purged. For if human finitude judges only sins of *deed*, because it is not equal to (piercing) the lurking-places of the *will*, let us not on that account make light of crimes of the will in God’s sight. God is all-sufficient. Nothing from whence any sin whatsoever proceeds is remote from His sight; because He is neither ignorant, nor does He omit to decree it to judgment. He is no dissembler of, nor double-dealer with, His own clear-sightedness. What (shall we say of the fact) that *will* is the *origin* of *deed*? For if any sins are imputed to chance, or to necessity, or to ignorance, let them see to themselves: if these be excepted, there is no sinning save by *will*. Since, then, will is the origin of deed, is it not so much the rather amenable to penalty as it is first in guilt? Nor, if some difficulty interferes with its full accomplishment, is it even in that case exonerated; for it is itself imputed to itself: nor; having done the work which lay in its own power, will it be excusable by reason of that miscarriage of its accomplishment. In fact, how does the Lord demonstrate Himself as adding a superstructure to the Law, except by interdicting sins of the *will* as well (as other sins); while He defines not only the man who had actually invaded another’s wedlock to be an adulterer, but likewise him who had contaminated (a woman) by the concupiscence of his gaze? Accordingly it is dangerous enough for the mind to set before itself what it is forbidden to perform, and rashly through the will to perfect its execution. And since the power of this will is such that, even without fully sating its self-gratification, it stands for a deed; as a deed, therefore, it shall be punished. It is utterly vain to say, “I *willed*, but yet I *did* not.” Rather you *ought* to carry the thing through, *because* you will; or else not to will, because you do not carry it through. But, by the confession of your consciousness, you pronounce your own condemnation. For if you eagerly desired a *good* thing, you would have been anxious to carry it through; in like manner, as you do not carry an *evil* thing through, you ought not to have eagerly desired it. Wherever you take your stand, you are fast bound by guilt; because you have either *willed* evil, or else have not *fulfilled* good.

Chapter IV. — Repentance Applicable to All the Kinds of Sin. To Be Practised Not Only, Nor Chiefly, for the Good It Brings, But Because God Commands It.

To all sins, then, committed whether by flesh or spirit, whether by deed or will, the same *God* who has destined penalty by means of judgment, has withal engaged to grant pardon by means of repentance, saying to the people, “Repent thee, and I will save thee;” and again, “I live, saith the Lord, and I will (have) repentance rather than death.” Repentance, then, is “life,” since it is preferred to “death.” That repentance, O sinner, like myself (nay, rather, less than myself, for pre-eminence in sins I acknowledge to be mine), do you so hasten to, so embrace, as a shipwrecked man the protection of some plank. This will draw you forth when sunk in the waves of sins, and will bear you forward into the port of the divine clemency. Seize the opportunity of unexpected felicity: that you, who sometime were in God’s sight nothing but “a drop of a bucket,” and “dust of the threshing-floor,” and “a potter’s vessel,” may thenceforward become that “tree which is sown beside the waters, is perennial in leaves, bears fruit at its own time,” and shall not see “fire,” nor “axe.” Having found “the truth,” repent of errors; repent of having loved what God loves not: even we ourselves do not permit our slave-lads not to hate the things which are offensive to us; for the principle of voluntary obedience consists in similarity of minds.

To reckon up the good, of repentance, the subject-matter is copious, and therefore should be committed to great eloquence. Let us, however, in proportion to our narrow abilities, inculcate one point, — that what God enjoins is good and best. I hold it audacity to dispute about the “good” of a divine precept; for, indeed, it is not the fact that it is good which binds us to obey, but the fact that God has enjoined it. To exact the rendering of obedience the majesty of divine power has the prior right; the authority of Him who commands is prior to the utility of him who serves. “Is it good to repent, or no?” Why do you ponder? God enjoins; nay, He not merely enjoins, but likewise exhorts. He invites by (offering) reward — salvation, to wit; even by an oath, saying “I live,” He desires that credence may be given Him. Oh blessed we, for whose sake God swears! Oh most miserable, if we believe not the Lord even when He swears! What, therefore, God so highly commends,

what He even (after human fashion) attests on oath, we are bound of course to approach, and to guard with the utmost seriousness; that, abiding permanently in (the faith of) the solemn pledge of divine grace, we may be able also to persevere in like manner in its fruit and its benefit.

Chapter V. — Sin Never to Be Returned to After Repentance.

For what I say is this, that the repentance which, being shown us and commanded us through God's grace, recalls us to grace with the Lord, when once learned and undertaken by us ought never afterward to be cancelled by repetition of sin. No pretext of ignorance now remains to plead on your behalf; in that, after acknowledging the Lord, and accepting His precepts — in short, after engaging in repentance of (past) sins — you again betake yourself to sins. Thus, in as far as you are removed from ignorance, in so far are you cemented to contumacy. For if the ground on which you had repented of having sinned was that you had begun to fear the Lord, why have you preferred to rescind what you did for fear's sake, except because you have ceased to fear? For there is no other thing but contumacy which subverts fear. Since there is no exception which defends from liability to penalty even such as are ignorant of the Lord — because ignorance of God, openly as He is set before men, and comprehensible as He is even on the score of His heavenly benefits, is not possible — how perilous is it for Him to be despised when known? Now, that man does despise Him, who, after attaining by His help to an understanding of things good and evil, often an affront to his own understanding — that is, to God's gift — by resuming what he understands ought to be shunned, and what he has already shunned: he rejects the Giver in abandoning the gift; he denies the Benefactor in not honouring the benefit. How can he be pleasing to Him, whose gift is displeasing to himself? Thus he is shown to be not only contumacious toward the Lord, but likewise ungrateful. Besides, that man commits no light sin against the Lord, who, after he had by repentance renounced His rival the devil, and had under this appellation subjected him to the Lord, again upraises him by his own return (to the enemy), and makes himself a ground of exultation to him; so that the Evil One, with his prey recovered, rejoices anew against the Lord. Does he not — what is perilous even to say, but must be put forward with a view to edification — place the devil before the Lord? For he seems to have made the comparison who has known each; and to have judicially pronounced him to be the better whose (servant) he has preferred again to be. Thus he who, through repentance for sins, had begun to make satisfaction to the Lord, will, through

another repentance of his repentance, make satisfaction to the devil, and will be the more hateful to God in proportion as he will be the more acceptable to His rival. But some say that “God is satisfied if He be looked up to with the heart and the mind, even if this be not done in *outward* act, and that thus they sin without damage to their fear and their faith:” that is, that they violate wedlock without damage to their chastity; they mingle poison for their parent without damage to their filial duty! Thus, then, they will themselves withal be thrust down into hell without damage to their pardon, while they sin without damage to their fear! Here is a primary example of perversity: they sin, because they fear! I suppose, if they feared not, they would not sin! Let him, therefore, who would not have God offended not revere Him at all, if fear is the plea for offending. But these dispositions have been wont to sprout from the seed of hypocrites, whose friendship with the devil is indivisible, whose repentance never faithful.

Chapter VI. — Baptism Not to Be Presumptuously Received. It Requires Preceding Repentance, Manifested by Amendment of Life.

Whatever, then, our poor ability has attempted to suggest with reference to laying hold of repentance once for all, and perpetually retaining it, does indeed bear upon *all* who are given up to the Lord, as being all competitors for salvation in earning the favour of God; but is chiefly urgent in the case of those young novices who are only just beginning to bedew their ears with divine discourses, and who, as whelps in yet early infancy, and with eyes not yet perfect, creep about uncertainly, and say indeed that they renounce their former deed, and assume (the profession of) repentance, but neglect to complete it. For the very end of desiring importunes them to desire somewhat of their former *deeds*; just as fruits, when they are already beginning to turn into the sourness or bitterness of age, do yet still in some part flatter their own loveliness. Moreover, a presumptuous confidence in baptism introduces all kind of vicious delay and tergiversation with regard to repentance; for, feeling sure of undoubted pardon of their sins, *men* meanwhile steal the intervening time, and make it for themselves into a holiday-time for sinning, rather than a time for learning not to sin. Further, how inconsistent is it to expect pardon of sins (to be granted) to a repentance which they have not fulfilled! This is to hold out your hand for merchandise, but not produce the price. For repentance is the price at which the Lord has determined to award pardon: He proposes the redemption of release from penalty at this compensating exchange of repentance. If, then, sellers first examine the coin with which they make their bargains, to see whether it be cut, or scraped, or adulterated, we believe likewise that the Lord, when about to make us the grant of so costly merchandise, even of eternal life, first institutes a probation of our repentance. “But meanwhile let us defer the reality of our repentance: it will then, I suppose, be clear that we are amended when we are absolved.” By no means; (but our amendment should be manifested) while, pardon being in abeyance, there is still a prospect of penalty; while *the penitent* does not yet merit — so far as merit we can — his liberation; while God is threatening, not while He is forgiving. For what slave, after his position has been changed by reception of freedom, charges himself with his (past) thefts and desertions?

What soldier, after his discharge, makes satisfaction for his (former) brands? A sinner is bound to bemoan himself *before* receiving pardon, because the time of repentance is coincident with that of peril and of fear. Not that I deny that the divine benefit — the putting away of sins, I mean — is in every way sure to such as are on the point of entering the (baptismal) water; but what we have to labour for is, that it may be granted us to attain that blessing. For who will grant to you, a man of so faithless repentance, one single sprinkling of any water whatever? To approach it by stealth, indeed, and to get the minister appointed over this business misled by your asseverations, is easy; but God takes foresight for His own treasure, and suffers not the unworthy to steal a march upon it. What, in fact, does He say? “Nothing hid which shall not be revealed.” Draw whatever (veil of) darkness you please over your deeds, “God is light.” But some think as if God were under a *necessity* of bestowing even on the unworthy, what He has engaged (to give); and they turn His liberality into slavery. But if it is of necessity that God grants us the symbol of death, then He does so *unwillingly*. But who permits a gift to be permanently retained which he has granted unwillingly? For do not many afterward fall out of (grace)? is not this gift taken away from many? These, no doubt, are they who do steal a march upon (the treasure), who, after approaching to the faith of repentance, set up on the sands a house doomed to ruin. Let no one, then, flatter himself on the ground of being assigned to the “recruit-classes” of learners, as if on that account he have a licence even now to sin. As soon as you “know the Lord,” you should fear Him; as soon as you have gazed on Him, you should reverence Him. But what difference does *your* “knowing” Him make, while you rest in the same practises as in days bygone, when you knew Him *not*? What, moreover, is it which distinguishes you from a perfected servant of God? Is there one Christ for the baptized, another for the learners? Have they some different hope or reward? some different dread of judgment? some different necessity for repentance? That *baptismal* washing is a sealing of faith, which faith is begun and is commended by the faith of repentance. We are not washed *in order that* we *may* cease sinning, but *because* we *have* ceased, since *in heart* we have *been* bathed already. For the *first* baptism of a learner is *this*, a perfect fear; thenceforward, in so far as you have understanding of the Lord faith *is* sound, the conscience having once for all embraced repentance. Otherwise, if it is (only) after the *baptismal* waters

that we cease sinning, it is of *necessity*, not of *free-will*, that we put on innocence. Who, then, is pre-eminent in goodness? he who is not *allowed*, or he whom *it* displeases, *to be evil*? *he who is bidden*, or *he whose pleasure it is*, to be free from crime? Let us, then, neither keep our hands from theft unless the hardness of bars withstand us, nor refrain our eyes from the concupiscence of fornication unless we be withdrawn by guardians of our persons, if no one who has surrendered himself to the Lord is to cease sinning unless he be bound thereto by baptism. But if any entertain this sentiment, I know not whether he, after baptism, do not feel more sadness to think that he has *ceased* from sinning, than gladness that he hath *escaped* from it. And so it is becoming that learners *desire* baptism, but do not hastily *receive* it: for he who desires it, honours it; he who hastily receives it, disdains it: in the one appears modesty, in the other arrogance; the former satisfies, the latter neglects it; the former covets to merit it, but the latter promises it to himself as a due return; the former takes, the latter usurps it. Whom would you judge worthier, except one who is more amended? whom more amended, except one who is more timid, and on that account has fulfilled the duty of true repentance? for he has feared to continue still in sin, lest he should not merit the reception *of baptism*. But the hasty receiver, inasmuch as he promised it himself (as his due), being forsooth secure (of obtaining it), *could* not fear: thus he fulfilled not repentance either, because he lacked the instrumental agent of repentance, that is, fear. Hasty reception is the portion of irreverence; it inflates the seeker, it despises the Giver. And thus it sometimes deceives, for it promises to itself *the gift* before it be due; whereby He who is to furnish *the gift* is ever offended.

Chapter VII. — Of Repentance, in the Case of Such as Have Lapsed After Baptism.

So long, Lord Christ, may the blessing of learning or hearing concerning the discipline of repentance be granted to Thy servants, as is likewise behoves them, while *learners*, not to sin; in other words, may they thereafter know nothing of repentance, *and* require nothing of it. It is irksome to append mention of a *second* — nay, in that case, the *last* — hope; lest, by treating of a remedial repenting yet in reserve, we seem to be pointing to a yet further space for sinning. Far be it that any one so interpret our meaning, as if, because there is an opening for repenting, there were even now, on that account, an opening for sinning; and *as if* the redundance of celestial clemency constituted a licence for human temerity. Let no one be less good because God is more so, by repeating his sin as often as he is forgiven. Otherwise be sure he will find an end of *escaping*, when he shall not find one of *sinning*. We have escaped *once*: thus far *and no farther* let us commit ourselves to perils, even if we seem likely to escape a second time. Men in general, after escaping shipwreck, thenceforward declare divorce with ship and sea; and by *cherishing* the memory of the danger, honour the benefit conferred by God, — their deliverance, namely. I praise their fear, I love their reverence; they are unwilling a second time to be a burden to the divine mercy; they fear to seem to trample on *the benefit* which they have attained; they shun, with a solicitude which at all events is good, to make trial a second time of that which they have once learned to fear. Thus the limit of their temerity is the evidence of their fear.

Moreover, man's fear is an honour to God. But however, that most stubborn foe (of ours) never gives his malice leisure; indeed, he is then most savage when he fully feels that a man is freed *from his clutches*; he then flames fiercest while he is fast becoming extinguished. Grieve and groan he must of necessity over the fact that, by the grant of pardon, so many works of death in man have been overthrown, so many marks of the condemnation which formerly was his own erased. He grieves that that sinner, (now) Christ's servant, is destined to judge him and his angels. And so he observes, assaults, besieges him, in the hope that he may be able in some way either to strike his eyes with carnal concupiscence, or else to entangle his mind with worldly

enticements, or else to subvert his faith by fear of earthly power, or else to wrest him from the sure way by perverse traditions: he is never deficient in stumbling-blocks nor in temptations. These poisons of his, therefore, God foreseeing, although the gate of forgiveness has been shut and fastened up with the bar of baptism, has permitted *it* still to stand somewhat open. In the vestibule He has stationed the second repentance for opening to such as knock: but now *once for all*, because now for the second time; but never more because the last time it had been in vain. For is not even this *once* enough? You have what you now deserved not, for you had lost what you had received. If the Lord's indulgence grants you the means of restoring what you had lost, be thankful for the benefit renewed, not to say amplified; for *restoring* is a greater thing than *giving*, inasmuch as *having lost* is more miserable than never having *received* at all. However, if any do incur the debt of a second repentance, his spirit is not to be forthwith cut down and undermined by despair. Let it by all means be irksome to *sin* again, but let not to *repent* again be irksome: irksome to imperil one's self again, but not to be again set free. Let none be ashamed. Repeated sickness must have repeated medicine. You will show your gratitude to the Lord by not refusing what the Lord offers you. You have offended, but can still be reconciled. You have One whom you may satisfy, and Him willing.

Chapter VIII. — Examples from Scripture to Prove the Lord's Willingness to Pardon.

This if you doubt, unravel the meaning of “what the Spirit saith to the churches.” He imputes to the Ephesians “forsaken love;” reproaches the Thyatirenes with “fornication,” and “eating of things sacrificed to idols;” accuses the Sardians of “works not full;” censures the Pergamenes for teaching perverse things; upbraids the Laodiceans for trusting to their riches; and yet gives them all general monitions to repentance — under comminations, it is true; but He would not utter comminations to one *unrepentant* if He did not forgive the repentant. The matter were doubtful if He had not withal elsewhere demonstrated this profusion of His clemency. Saith He not, “He who hath fallen shall rise again, and he who hath been *averted* shall be *converted*?” He it is, indeed, who “would have mercy rather than sacrifices.” The heavens, and the angels who are there, are glad at a man’s repentance. Ho! you sinner, be of good cheer! you see where it is that there is joy at your return. What meaning for us have those themes of the Lord’s parables? Is not the fact that a woman has lost a drachma, and seeks it and finds it, and invites her female friends to share her joy, an example of a restored sinner? There strays, withal, one little ewe of the shepherd’s; but the flock was not more dear than the one: that one is earnestly sought; the one is longed for instead of all; and at length she is found, and is borne back on the shoulders of the shepherd himself; for much had she toiled in straying. That most gentle father, likewise, I will not pass over in silence, who calls his prodigal son home, and willingly receives him repentant after his indigence, slays his best fatted calf, and graces his joy with a banquet. Why not? He had found the son whom he had lost; he had felt *him* to be all the dearer of whom he had *made a gain*. Who is that father to be understood by us to be? God, surely: no one *is* so truly a Father; no one so rich in paternal love. He, then, will receive you, His own son, back, even if you have squandered what you had received from Him, even if you return naked — just because you *have* returned; and will joy more over your return than over the sobriety of the other; but *only* if you heartily repent — if you compare your own hunger with the plenty of your Father’s “hired servants” — if you leave behind you the swine, that unclean herd — if you again seek your Father, offended though He

be, saying, "I have sinned, nor am worthy any longer to be called Thine." Confession of sins lightens, as much as dissimulation aggravates them; for confession is counselled by (a desire to make) satisfaction, dissimulation by contumacy.

Chapter IX. — Concerning the Outward Manifestations by Which This Second Repentance is to Be Accompanied.

The narrower, then, the sphere of action of this second and only (remaining) repentance, the more laborious is its probation; in order that it may not be exhibited in the conscience alone, but may likewise be carried out in some (external) act. This act, which is more usually expressed and commonly spoken of under a Greek name, is ἑξομολόγησις, whereby we confess our sins to the Lord, not indeed as if He were ignorant of them, but inasmuch as by confession satisfaction is settled, of confession repentance is born; by repentance God is appeased. And thus *exomologesis* is a discipline for man's prostration and humiliation, enjoining a demeanor calculated to move mercy. With regard also to the very dress and food, it commands (the penitent) to lie in sackcloth and ashes, to cover his body in mourning, to lay his spirit low in sorrows, to exchange for severe treatment the sins which he has committed; moreover, to know no food and drink but such as is plain, — not for the stomach's sake, to wit, but the soul's; for the most part, however, to feed prayers on fastings, to groan, to weep and make outcries unto the Lord your God; to bow before the feet of the presbyters, and kneel to God's dear ones; to enjoin on all the brethren to be ambassadors to bear his deprecatory supplication (before God). All this *exomologesis* (does), that it may enhance repentance; may honour God by its fear of the (incurred) danger; may, by itself pronouncing against the sinner, stand in the stead of God's indignation, and by temporal mortification (I will not say frustrate, but) expunge eternal punishments. Therefore, while it abases the man, it raises him; while it covers him with squalor, it renders him more clean; while it *accuses*, it *excuses*; while it condemns, it absolves. The less quarter you give yourself, the more (believe me) will God give you.

Chapter X. — Of Men's Shrinking from This Second Repentance and Exomologesis, and of the Unreasonableness of Such Shrinking.

Yet most men either shun this work, as being a public exposure of themselves, or else defer it from day to day. I presume (as being) more mindful of modesty than of salvation; just like men who, having contracted some malady in the more private parts of the body, avoid the privity of physicians, and so perish with their own bashfulness. It is intolerable, forsooth, to modesty to make satisfaction to the offended Lord! to be restored to its forfeited salvation! Truly you are honourable in your modesty; bearing an open forehead for sinning, but an abashed one for deprecating! I give no place to bashfulness when I am a gainer by its loss; when itself in some son exhorts the man, saying, "Respect not me; it is better that I perish through you, *i.e. than* you through me." *At all events, the time when (if ever) its* danger is serious, is when it is a butt for jeering speech in the presence of insulters, where one man raises himself on his neighbour's ruin, where there is upward clambering over the prostrate. But among brethren and fellow-servants, where there is common hope, fear, joy, grief, suffering, because there is a common Spirit from a common Lord and Father, why do you think these *brothers* to be anything other than yourself? Why flee from the partners of your own mischances, as from such as will derisively cheer them? The body cannot feel gladness at the trouble of any one member, it must necessarily join with one consent in the grief, and in labouring for the remedy. In a company of two is the church; but the church is Christ. When, then, you cast yourself at the brethren's knees, you are handling *Christ*, you are entreating *Christ*. In like manner, when they shed tears over you, it is *Christ* who suffers, *Christ* who prays the Father for mercy. What a son asks is ever easily obtained. Grand indeed is the reward of modesty, which the concealment of our fault promises us! to wit, if we do hide somewhat from the knowledge of man, shall we equally conceal it from God? Are the judgment of men and the knowledge of God so put upon a par? Is it better to be damned in secret than absolved in public? *But you say*, "It is a miserable thing thus to come to *exomologesis*:" yes, for evil does bring to misery; but where repentance is to be made, the misery ceases, because it is turned into something salutary. Miserable it is to

be cut, and cauterized, and racked with the pungency of some (medicinal) powder: still, the things which heal by unpleasant means do, by the benefit of the cure, excuse their own offensiveness, and make present injury bearable for the sake of the advantage to supervene.

Chapter XI. — Further Strictures on the Same Subject.

What if, besides the shame which they make the most account of, *men* dread likewise the bodily inconveniences; in that, unwashen, sordidly attired, estranged from gladness, they must spend their time in the roughness of sackcloth, and the horridness of ashes, and the sunkenness of face caused by fasting? Is it then becoming for us to supplicate for our sins in scarlet and purple? Hasten hither with the pin for panning the hair, and the powder for polishing the teeth, and some forked implement of steel or brass for cleaning the nails. Whatever of false brilliance, whatever of feigned redness, *is to be had*, let him diligently apply it to his lips or cheeks. Let him furthermore seek out baths of more genial temperature in some gardened or seaside retreat; let him enlarge his expenses; let him carefully seek the rarest delicacy of fatted fowls; let him refine his old wine: and when any shall ask him, “On whom are you lavishing all this?” let him say, “I have sinned against God, and am in peril of eternally perishing: and so now I am drooping, and wasting and torturing myself, that I may reconcile God to myself, whom by sinning I have offended.” Why, they who go about canvassing for the obtaining of civil office, feel it neither degrading nor irksome to struggle, in behalf of such their desires, with annoyances to soul and body; and not annoyances merely, but likewise contumelies of all kinds. What meannesses of dress do they not affect? what houses do they not beset with early and late visits? — bowing whenever they meet any high personage, frequenting no banquets, associating in no entertainments, but voluntarily exiled from the felicity of freedom and festivity: and all that for the sake of the fleeting joy of a single year! Do we hesitate, when eternity is at stake, to endure what the competitor for consulship or prætorship puts up with? and shall we be tardy in offering to the offended Lord a self-chastisement in food and raiment, which Gentiles lay upon themselves when they have offended no one at all? Such are they of whom Scripture makes mention: “Woe to them who bind their own sins as it were with a long rope.”

Chapter XII. — Final Considerations to Induce to **Exomologesis.**

If you shrink back from *exomologesis*, consider in your heart the hell, which *exomologesis* will extinguish for you; and imagine first the magnitude of the penalty, that you may not hesitate about the adoption of the remedy. What do we esteem that treasure-house of eternal fire to be, when small vent-holes of it rouse such blasts of flames that neighbouring cities either are already no more, or are in daily expectation of the same fate? The haughtiest mountains start asunder in the birth-throes of their inly-generated fire; and — which proves to us the *perpetuity* of the judgment — though they start asunder, though they be devoured, yet come they never to an end. Who will not account these occasional punishments inflicted on the mountains as examples of the judgment which menaces the impenitent? Who will not agree that such sparks are but some few missiles and sportive darts of some inestimably vast centre of fire? Therefore, since you know that after the first bulwarks of the Lord's baptism there still remains for you, in *exomologesis* a second reserve of aid against hell, why do you desert your own salvation? Why are you tardy to approach what you know heals you? Even dumb irrational animals recognise in their time of need the medicines which have been divinely assigned them. The stag, transfixed by the arrow, knows that, to force out the steel, and its inextricable lingerings, he must heal himself with dittany. The swallow, if she blinds her young, knows how to give them eyes again by means of her own swallow-wort. Shall the sinner, knowing that *exomologesis* has been instituted by the Lord for his restoration, pass that by which restored the Babylonian king to his realms? Long time had he offered to the Lord his repentance, working out his *exomologesis* by a seven years' squalor, with his nails wildly growing after the eagle's fashion, and his unkempt hair wearing the shagginess of a lion. Hard handling! Him whom men were shuddering at, God was receiving back. But, on the other hand, the Egyptian emperor — who, after pursuing the once afflicted people of God, long denied to their Lord, rushed into the battle — did, after so many warning plagues, perish in the parted sea, (which was permitted to be passable to "the People" alone,) by the backward roll of the waves: for repentance and her handmaid *exomologesis* he had cast away.

Why should I add more touching these two planks (as it were) of human salvation, caring more for the business of the pen than the duty of my conscience? For, sinner as I am of every dye, and born for nothing save repentance, I cannot easily be silent about that concerning which also the very head and fount of the human race, and of human offence, Adam, restored by *exomologesis* to his own paradise, is not silent.

Elucidations.

I.

(Such as have lapsed, cap. vii. .)

The penitential system of the Primitive days, referred to in our author, began to be changed when less public confessions were authorized, on account of the scandals which publicity generated. Changes were as follows:

1. A grave presbyter was appointed to receive and examine voluntary penitents as the Penitentiary of a diocese, and to suspend or reconcile them with due solemnities — *circa* a.d. 250.

2. This plan also became encumbered with difficulties and was abolished in the East, *circa* a.d. 400.

3. A discipline similar to that of the Anglican Church (which is but loosely maintained therein) succeeded, under St. Chrysostom; who frequently maintains the sufficiency of confession according to Matt. vi. 6. A Gallican author says— “this is the period regarded by historians as the most brilliant in Church history. At the close of the fourth century, in the great churches of the Orient, *sixty thousand Christians* received the Eucharistic communion, in one day, *in both kinds*, with no other than their private confessions to Almighty God. The scandalous evil-liver alone was repelled from the Eucharistic Table.” This continued till *circa* a.d. 700.

4. Particular, but voluntary confessions were now made in the East and West, but with widely various acceptance under local systems of discipline. The absolutions were *precatory*: “may God absolve Thee.” This lasted, even in the West, till the compulsory system of the Lateran Council, a.d. 1215.

5. Since this date, so far as the West is concerned, the whole system of corrupt casuistry and enforced confession adopted in the West has utterly destroyed the Primitive doctrine and discipline as to sin and its remedy wherever it prevails. In the East, private confession exists in a system wholly different and one which maintains the Primitive Theology and the Scriptural principle. (1) It is voluntary; (2) it is free from the corrupt system of the casuists; (3) it distinguishes between Ecclesiastical Absolution and that of Him who alone “seeth in secret;” (4) it admits no compromise with *attrition*, but exacts the contrite heart and the firm resolve to go and sin no more, and

(5) finally, it employs a most guarded and Evangelical formula of remission, of which see Elucidation IV.

II.

(The last hope, cap. vii. .)

How absolutely the Lateran Council has overthrown the Primitive discipline is here made manifest. The spirit of the latter is expressed by our author in language which almost prompts to despair. It makes sin “exceeding sinful” and even Ecclesiastical forgiveness the reverse of easy. The Lateran System of enforced Confession makes sin easy and restoration to a sinless state equally so: a perpetual resort to the confessor being the only condition for evil living, and a chronic state of pardon and peace. But, let the Greek Church be heard in this matter, rather than an Anglican Catholic. I refer to Macarius, Bishop of Vinnitza and Rector of the Theological Academy of St. Petersburg, as follows: “It is requisite (for the effective reception of Absolution) at least according to the teaching of the Orthodox Church of the Orient, that the following conditions be observed: (1) Contrition for sins, is in the very nature of Penitence, indispensable; (2), consequently, there must be a firm resolution to reform the life; (3) also, faith in Christ and hope in his mercy, with (4) auricular confession before the priest.” He allows that this latter condition was not *primitive*, but was a *maternal concession* to penitents of later date: this, however, is voluntary, and of a widely different form from that of the Latin, as will appear below in Elucidation IV.

Now, he contrasts with this the system of Rome, and condemns it, on overwhelming considerations. 1. It makes penances compensations or “satisfaction,” offered for sins to divine Justice, this (he says) “is in contradiction with the Christian doctrine of justification, the Scripture teaching one full and entire satisfaction for the sins of the whole human race, once for all presented by our Lord Jesus Christ. This doctrine is equally in conflict with the entire teaching of the Primitive Church.”

2. It introduces a false system of *indulgences*, as the consequence of its false premisses.

3. He demonstrates the insufficiency of *attrition*, which respects the fear of punishment, and not sin itself. But the Council of Trent affirms the sufficiency of *attrition*, and permits the confessor to absolve the attrite. Needless to say,

the masses accept this wide gate and broad way to salvation rather than the strait gate and narrow way of hating sin and reforming the life, in obedience to the Gospel.

III.

(Among brethren, cap. x., .)

A controversial writer has lately complained that Bp. Kaye speaks of the *public confession* treated of by our author in this work, and adds—“Tertullian nowhere used the word *public*.” The answer is that he speaks of the discipline of *Exomologesis*, which was, in its own nature, as public as preaching. A Gallican writer, less inclined to Jesuitism in the use of words, says frankly: “When one studies this question, with the documents before his eyes, it is impossible not to confess that the Primitive discipline of the Church exhibits not a vestige of the auricular confession afterwards introduced.” See Irenæus, *Adv. Hæres.* Vol. I. , this Series. The Lii. of the canons called Apostolical, reflects a very simple view of the matter, in these words: “If any Bishop or Presbyter will not receive one who *turns from* his sins, but casts him out, let him be deposed: for he grieves Christ, who said, There shall be joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth.” The ascetic spirit of our author seems at war with that of this Canon.

IV.

(Exomologesis, cap. xii., .)

To this day, in the Oriental Churches, the examination of the presbyter who hears the voluntary confession of penitents, is often very primitive in its forms and confined to general inquiries under the Decalogue. The Casuistry of (Dens and Liguori) the Western *Schemata Practica* has not defiled our Eastern brethren to any great extent.

In the office (Ἀκολουθία τῶν ἐξομολογουμένων) we have a simple and beautiful form of prayer and supplication in which the following is the formula of Absolution: “My Spiritual child, who hast confessed to my humility, I, unworthy and a sinner, *have not the power to forgive sins on Earth*; God only can: and through that Divine voice which came to the Apostles, after the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, saying—‘Whosoever sins, etc.,’ we, therein confiding, say — Whatsoever thou hast

confessed to my extreme humility, and whatsoever thou hast *omitted to say*, either through ignorance or forgetfulness, *God forgive thee* in this present world and in that which is to come.”

The plural (*We* therein confiding) is significant and a token of Primitive doctrine: *i.e.* of confession before the whole Church, (2 Cor. ii. 10): and note the precatory form—“God forgive thee.” The perilous form *Ego te absolvo* is *not Catholic: it dates from the thirteenth century and* is used in the West only. It is not wholly dropped from the Anglican Office, but has been omitted from the American Prayer-Book.

De Oratione (On Prayer)



Translated by Sydney Thelwall

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Chapter I. — General Introduction.

The Spirit of God, and the Word of God, and the Reason of God — Word of Reason, and Reason and Spirit of Word — Jesus Christ our Lord, namely, who is both the one and the other, — has determined for us, the disciples of the New Testament, a new form of prayer; for in this particular also it was needful that new wine should be laid up in new skins, and a new breadth be sewn to a new garment. Besides, whatever had been in bygone days, has either been quite changed, as circumcision; or else supplemented, as the rest of the Law; or else fulfilled, as Prophecy; or else perfected, as faith itself. For the new grace of God has renewed all things from carnal unto spiritual, by superinducing the Gospel, the obliterater of the whole ancient bygone system; in which our Lord Jesus Christ has been approved as the Spirit of God, and the Word of God, and the Reason of God: the Spirit, by which He was mighty; the Word, by which He taught; the Reason, by which He came. So the prayer composed by Christ has been composed of three parts. In speech, by which *prayer* is enunciated, in spirit, by which alone it prevails, even John had taught his disciples to pray, but all John's doings were laid as groundwork for Christ, until, when "He had increased" — just as the same John used to fore-announce "that it was needful" that "He should increase and himself decrease" — the whole work of the forerunner passed over, together with his spirit itself, unto the Lord. Therefore, after what form of words John taught to pray is not extant, because earthly things have given place to heavenly. "He who is from the earth," says John, "speaketh earthly things; and He who is here from the heavens speaketh those things which He hath seen." And what is the Lord Christ's — as this method of praying is — *that is not* heavenly? And so, blessed *brethren*, let us consider His heavenly wisdom: first, touching the precept of praying secretly, whereby He exacted man's faith, that he should be confident that the sight and hearing of Almighty God are present beneath roofs, and extend even into the secret place; and required modesty in faith, that it should offer its religious homage to Him alone, whom it believed to see and to hear everywhere. Further, since wisdom succeeded in the following precept, let it in like manner appertain unto faith, and the modesty of faith, that we think not that the Lord must be approached with a train of words, who, we are certain, takes unsolicited foresight for His own. And yet

that very brevity — and let this make for the third grade of wisdom — is supported on the substance of a great and blessed interpretation, and is as diffuse in meaning as it is compressed in words. For it has embraced not only the special duties of prayer, be it veneration of God or petition for man, but almost every discourse of the Lord, every record of *His* Discipline; so that, in fact, in the Prayer is comprised an epitome of the whole Gospel.

Chapter II. — The First Clause.

The prayer begins with a testimony to God, and with the reward of faith, when we say, “Our Father who art in the heavens;” for (in so saying), we at once pray to God, and commend faith, whose reward this appellation is. It is written, “To them who believed on Him He gave power to be called sons of God.” However, our Lord very frequently proclaimed God as a Father to us; nay, even gave a precept “that we call no one on earth father, but the Father whom we have in the heavens:” and so, in thus praying, we are likewise obeying the precept. Happy they who recognize their Father! This is the reproach that is brought against Israel, to which the Spirit attests heaven and earth, saying, “I have begotten sons, and they have not recognized me.” Moreover, in saying “Father,” we also call Him “God.” That appellation is one both of filial duty and of power. Again, in the Father the Son is invoked; “for I,” saith He, “and the Father are One.” Nor is even our mother the Church passed by, if, that is, in the Father and the Son is recognized the mother, from whom arises the name both of Father and of Son. In one general term, then, or word, we both honour God, together with His own, and are mindful of the precept, and set a mark on such as have forgotten their Father.

Chapter III. — The Second Clause.

The name of “God the Father” had been published to none. Even Moses, who had interrogated Him on that very point, had heard a different name. To us it has been revealed in the Son, for the Son is now the Father’s new name. “I am come,” saith He, “in the Father’s name;” and again, “Father, glorify Thy name;” and more openly, “I have manifested Thy name to men.” That *name*, therefore, we pray may “be hallowed.” Not that it is becoming for men to *wish* God *well*, as if there were any other by whom He may be wished well, or as if He would suffer unless we do so wish. Plainly, it is universally becoming for God to be *blessed* in every place and time, on account of the memory of His benefits ever due from every man. But this petition also serves the turn of a blessing. Otherwise, when is the name of God not “holy,” and “hallowed” through Himself, seeing that of Himself He sanctifies all others — He to whom that surrounding circle of angels cease not to say, “Holy, holy, holy?” In like wise, therefore, we too, candidates for angelhood, if we succeed in deserving it, begin even here on earth to learn by heart that strain hereafter to be raised unto God, and the function of future glory. So far, for the glory of God. On the other hand, for our own petition, when we say, “Hallowed be Thy name,” we pray this; that it may be hallowed *in us* who are in Him, as well in all others for whom the grace of God is still waiting; that we may obey this precept, too, in “praying for all,” even for our personal enemies. And therefore with suspended utterance, not saying, “Hallowed be it *in us*,” we say,— “*in all*.”

Chapter IV. — The Third Clause.

According to this model, we subjoin, “Thy will be done in the heavens and on the earth;” not that there is some power withstanding to prevent God’s will being done, and we pray for Him the successful achievement of His will; but we pray for His will to be done *in all*. *For, by figurative interpretation of flesh and spirit, we* “heaven” and “earth;” albeit, even if it is to be understood simply, still the sense of the petition is the same, that *in us* God’s will be done on earth, to make it possible, namely, for it to be done also in the heavens. What, moreover, *does* God will, but that we should walk according to His Discipline? We make petition, then, that He supply us with the substance of His will, and the capacity to do it, that we may be saved both in the heavens and on earth; because the sum of His will is the salvation of them whom He has adopted. There is, too, that will of God which the Lord accomplished in preaching, in working, in enduring: for if He Himself proclaimed that He did not His own, but the Father’s will, without doubt those things which He used to do *were* the Father’s will; unto which things, as unto exemplars, we are now provoked; to preach, to work, to endure even unto death. And we *need* the will of God, that we may be able to fulfil these duties. Again, in saying, “Thy will be done,” we are even wishing well to ourselves, in so far that there is nothing of *evil* in the will of God; even if, proportionably to each one’s deserts, somewhat other is imposed on us. So by this expression we premonish our own selves unto patience. The Lord also, when He had wished to demonstrate to us, even in His own flesh, the flesh’s infirmity, by the reality of suffering, said, “Father, remove this Thy cup;” and remembering Himself, *added*, “save that not my will, but Thine be done.” Himself *was* the Will and the Power of the Father: and yet, for the demonstration of the patience which was due, He gave Himself up *to* the Father’s Will.

Chapter V. — The Fourth Clause.

“Thy kingdom come” has also reference to that whereto “Thy will be done” refers — *in us, that is. For when does God not reign, in whose hand is the heart of all kings?* But whatever we wish for ourselves we augur for Him, and *to Him* we attribute what *from Him* we expect. And so, if the *manifestation* of the Lord’s kingdom pertains unto the will of God and unto our anxious expectation, how do some pray for some protraction of the age, when the kingdom of God, which we pray may arrive, tends unto the consummation of the age? Our wish is, that our reign be hastened, not our servitude protracted. Even if it had not been prescribed in the Prayer that we should ask for the advent of the kingdom, we should, unbidden, have sent forth that cry, hastening toward the realization of our hope. The souls of the martyrs beneath the altar cry in jealousy unto the Lord, “How long, Lord, dost Thou not avenge our blood on the inhabitants of the earth?” for, of course, their avenging is regulated by the end of the age. Nay, Lord, Thy kingdom come with all speed, — the prayer of Christians the confusion of the heathen, the exultation of angels, for the sake of which we suffer, nay, rather, for the sake of which we pray!

Chapter VI. — The Fifth Clause.

But how gracefully has the Divine Wisdom arranged the order of the prayer; so that *after* things heavenly — that is, after the “Name” of God, the “Will” of God, and the “Kingdom” of God — it should give earthly necessities also room for a petition! For the Lord had withal issued His edict, “Seek ye first the kingdom, and then even these shall be added:” albeit we may rather understand, “Give us this day our daily bread,” *spiritually*. For *Christ* is our Bread; because Christ is Life, and bread is life. “I am,” saith He, “the Bread of Life;” and, a little above, “The Bread is the Word of the living God, who came down from the heavens.” Then *we* find, *too*, that *His body is reckoned in bread*: “*This is my body*.” And so, in petitioning for “daily bread,” we ask for perpetuity in Christ, and indivisibility from His body. But, because that word is admissible in a carnal sense too, it cannot be so used without the religious remembrance withal of spiritual Discipline; for (the Lord) commands that *bread* be prayed for, which is the only *food* necessary for believers; for “all other things the nations seek after.” The like lesson He both inculcates by examples, and repeatedly handles in parables, when He says, “Doth a father take away *bread* from his children, and hand it to dogs?” and again, “Doth a father give his son a stone when he asks for *bread*?” For He *thus* shows what it is that sons expect from their father. Nay, even that nocturnal knocker knocked for “*bread*.” Moreover, He justly added, “Give us *this day*,” seeing He had previously said, “Take no careful thought about the morrow, what ye are to eat.” To which subject He also adapted the parable of the man who pondered on an enlargement of his barns for his forthcoming fruits, and on seasons of prolonged security; but that very night he dies.

Chapter VII. — The Sixth Clause.

It was suitable that, after contemplating the liberality of God, we should likewise address His clemency. For what will aliments profit us, if we are really *consigned* to them, as it were a bull destined for a victim? The Lord knew Himself to be the only guiltless One, and so He teaches that we beg “to have our debts remitted us.” A petition for pardon is a full confession; because he who begs for pardon fully admits his guilt. Thus, too, penitence is demonstrated acceptable to God who desires it rather than the death of the sinner. Moreover, *debt* is, in the Scriptures, a figure of *guilt*; because it is equally due to the sentence of judgment, and is exacted by it: nor does it evade the justice of exaction, unless the exaction be remitted, just as the lord remitted to that slave *in the parable* his debt; for hither does the scope of the whole parable tend. For the fact withal, that the same servant, after liberated by his lord, does not equally spare his own debtor; and, being on that account impeached before his lord, is made over to the tormentor to pay the uttermost farthing — that is, every guilt, however small: corresponds with our profession that “we also remit to our debtors;” indeed elsewhere, too, in conformity with this Form of Prayer, He saith, “Remit, and it shall be remitted you.” And when Peter had put the question whether remission were to be granted to a brother seven times, “Nay,” saith He, “seventy-seven times;” in order to remould the Law for the better; because in Genesis *vengeance* was assigned “seven times” in the case of Cain, but in that of Lamech “seventy-seven times.”

Chapter VIII. — The Seventh or Final Clause.

For the completeness of so brief a prayer He added — in order that we should supplicate not touching the remitting merely, but touching the entire averting, of acts of guilt— “Lead us not into temptation:” that is, suffer us not to be led into it, by him (of course) who tempts; but far be the thought that the Lord should seem to tempt, as if He either were ignorant of the faith of any, or else were eager to overthrow it. Infirmity and malice are characteristics of the devil. For *God* had commanded even Abraham to make a sacrifice of his son, for the sake not of tempting, but proving, his faith; in order through him to make an example for that precept of His, whereby He was, by and by, to enjoin that he should hold no pledges of affection dearer than God. He Himself, when tempted by the devil, demonstrated who it is that presides over and is the originator of temptation. This passage He confirms by subsequent ones, saying, “Pray that ye be not tempted;” yet they *were* tempted, (as they showed) by deserting their Lord, because they had given way rather to sleep than prayer. The final clause, therefore, is consonant, and interprets the sense of “Lead us not into temptation;” for this *sense* is, “But convey us away from the Evil One.”

Chapter IX. — Recapitulation.

In summaries of so few words, how many utterances of the prophets, the Gospels, the apostles — how many discourses, examples, parables of the Lord, are touched on! How many duties are simultaneously discharged! The honour of God in the “Father;” the testimony of faith in the “Name;” the offering of obedience in the “Will;” the commemoration of hope in the “Kingdom;” the petition for life in the “Bread;” the full acknowledgment of debts in the prayer for their “Forgiveness;” the anxious dread of temptation in the request for “Protection.” What wonder? God alone could teach how he wished Himself prayed to. The religious rite of prayer therefore, ordained by Himself, and animated, even at the moment when it was issuing out of the Divine mouth, by His own Spirit, ascends, by its own prerogative, into heaven, commending to the Father what the Son has taught.

Chapter X. — We May Superadd Prayers of Our Own to the Lord's Prayer.

Since, however, the Lord, the Foreseer of human necessities, said separately, after delivering His Rule of Prayer, “Ask, and ye shall receive;” and *since* there are petitions which are made according to the circumstances of each individual; our additional wants have the right — after beginning with the legitimate and customary prayers as a foundation, as it were — of rearing an outer superstructure of petitions, yet with remembrance of *the Master's* precepts.

Chapter XI. — When Praying the Father, You are Not to Be Angry with a Brother.

That we may not be as far from the ears of God as we are from His precepts, the memory of His precepts paves for our prayers a way unto heaven; of which *precepts* the chief is, that we go not up unto God's altar before we compose whatever of discord or offence we have contracted with our brethren. For what sort of deed is it to approach the peace of God without peace? the remission of debts while you retain them? How will he appease his *Father* who is angry with his *brother*, when from the beginning "all anger" is forbidden us? For even Joseph, when dismissing his brethren for the purpose of fetching their father, said, "And be not angry in the way." He warned *us*, to be sure, at that time (for elsewhere our Discipline is called "the Way"), that when, set in "the way" of prayer, we go not unto "the Father" with anger. After that, the Lord, "amplifying the Law," openly adds *the* prohibition of *anger against a brother* to that of murder. Not even by an evil word does He permit it to be vented. Ever if we *must* be angry, our anger must not be maintained beyond sunset, as the apostle admonishes. But how rash is it either to pass a day without prayer, while you refuse to make satisfaction to your brother; or else, by perseverance in anger, to lose your prayer?

Chapter XII. — We Must Be Free Likewise from All Mental Perturbation.

Nor merely from anger, but altogether from *all* perturbation of mind, ought the exercise of prayer to be free, uttered from a spirit such as the Spirit unto whom it is sent. For a defiled spirit cannot be acknowledged by a holy Spirit, nor a sad by a joyful, nor a fettered by a free. No one grants reception to his adversary: no one grants admittance except to his compeer.

Chapter XIII. — Of Washing the Hands.

But what reason is there in going to prayer with hands indeed washed, but the spirit foul? — inasmuch as to our hands themselves spiritual purities are necessary, that they may be “lifted up pure” from falsehood, from murder, from cruelty, from poisonings, from idolatry, and all the other blemishes which, conceived by the spirit, are effected by the operation of the hands. These are the true purities; not those which most are superstitiously careful about, taking water at every prayer, even when they are coming from a bath of the whole body. When I was scrupulously making a thorough investigation of this practice, and searching into the reason of it, I ascertained it to be a commemorative act, bearing on the surrender of our Lord. We, *however, pray* to the Lord: we do not *surrender* Him; nay, we ought even to set ourselves in opposition to the example of His surrenderer, and not, on that account, wash our hands. Unless any defilement contracted in human intercourse be a conscientious cause *for washing them*, they are otherwise clean enough, which together with our whole body we once washed in Christ.

Chapter XIV. — Apostrophe.

Albeit Israel washed daily all his limbs over, yet is he never clean. His *hands*, at all events, are ever unclean, eternally dyed with the blood of the prophets, and of the Lord Himself; and on that account, as being hereditary culprits from their privy to their fathers' crimes, they do not dare even to raise them unto the Lord, for fear some Isaiah should cry out, for fear Christ should utterly shudder. We, however, not only raise, but even expand them; and, taking our model from the Lord's passion even in prayer we confess to Christ.

Chapter XV. — Of Putting Off Cloaks.

But since we have touched on one special point of empty observance, it will not be irksome to set our brand likewise on the other points against which the reproach of vanity may deservedly be laid; if, that is, they are observed without the authority of any precept either of the Lord, or else of the apostles. For matters of this kind belong not to religion, but to superstition, being studied, and forced, and of curious rather than rational ceremony; deserving of restraint, at all events, even on this ground, that they put us on a level with Gentiles. As, *e.g.*, it is the custom of some to make prayer with cloaks doffed, for so do the nations approach their idols; which practice, of course, were its observance becoming, the apostles, who teach concerning the garb of prayer, would have comprehended *in their instructions*, unless any think that is was in prayer that Paul had left his cloak with Carpus! God, forsooth, would not hear cloaked suppliants, who plainly heard the three saints in the Babylonian king's furnace praying in their trousers and turbans.

Chapter XVI. — Of Sitting After Prayer.

Again, for the custom which some have of sitting when prayer is ended, I perceive no reason, except that which children give. For what if that Hermas, whose writing is generally inscribed with the title *The Shepherd*, had, after finishing his prayer, not sat down on his bed, but done some other thing: should we maintain that also as a matter for observance? Of course not. Why, even as it is the sentence, “When I had prayed, and had sat down on my bed,” is simply put with a view to the order of the narration, not as a model of discipline. Else we shall have to pray nowhere except where there is a bed! Nay, whoever sits in a *chair* or on a *bench*, will act contrary to that writing. Further: inasmuch as the nations do the like, in sitting down after adoring their petty images; even on this account the practice deserves to be censured in us, because it is observed in the worship of idols. To this is further added the charge of *irreverence*, — intelligible even to the nations themselves, if they had any sense. If, on the one hand, it is irreverent to sit under the eye, and over against the eye, of him whom you most of all revere and venerate; how much more, on the other hand, is that deed *most* irreligious under the eye of the living God, while the angel of prayer is still *standing* by *unless we are* upbraiding God that prayer has wearied us!

Chapter XVII. — Of Elevated Hands.

But we more commend our prayers to God when we pray with modesty and humility, with not even our hands too loftily elevated, but elevated temperately and becomingly; and not even our countenance over-boldly uplifted. For that publican who prayed with humility and dejection not merely in his supplication, but in his countenance too, went his way “more justified” than the shameless Pharisee. The sounds of our voice, likewise, should be subdued; else, if we are to be heard for our noise, how large windpipes should we need! But God is the hearer not of the *voice*, but of the *heart*, just as He is its inspector. The demon of the Pythian oracle says:

“And I do understand the mute, and plainly hear the speechless one.”

Do the ears of God wait for sound? How, then, could Jonah’s prayer find way out unto heaven from the depth of the whale’s belly, through the entrails of so huge a beast; from the very abysses, through so huge a mass of sea? What superior advantage will they who pray too loudly gain, except that they annoy their neighbours? Nay, by making their petitions audible, what less error do they commit than if they were to pray in public?

Chapter XVIII. — Of the Kiss of Peace.

Another custom has now become prevalent. Such as are fasting withhold the kiss of peace, which is the seal of prayer, after prayer made with brethren. But when is peace more to be concluded with brethren than when, at the time of some religious observance, our prayer ascends with more acceptability; that they may themselves participate in our observance, and thereby be mollified for transacting with their brother touching their own peace? What prayer is complete if divorced from the “holy kiss?” Whom does peace impede when rendering service to his Lord? What kind of sacrifice is that from which men depart without peace? Whatever our prayer be, it will not be better than the observance of the precept by which we are bidden to conceal our fasts; for *now*, by abstinence from the kiss, we are known to be fasting. But even if there be some reason *for this practice*, still, lest you offend against this precept, you may perhaps defer your “peace” *at home*, where it is not possible for your fast to be entirely kept secret. But wherever else you can conceal your observance, you ought to remember the precept: thus you may satisfy the requirements of Discipline abroad and of custom at home. So, too, on the day of the passover, when the religious observance of a fast is general, and as it were public, we justly forego the kiss, caring nothing to conceal anything which we do in common with all.

Chapter XIX. — Of Stations.

Similarly, too, touching the days of Stations, most think that they must not be present at the sacrificial prayers, on the ground that the Station must be dissolved by reception of the Lord's Body. Does, then, the Eucharist cancel a service devoted to God, or bind it more to God? Will not your *Station* be more solemn if you have withal *stood* at God's *altar*? When the Lord's Body has been received and reserved each point is secured, both the participation of the sacrifice and the discharge of duty. If the "Station" has received its name from the example of military life — for we withal are God's military — of course no gladness or sadness chanting to the camp abolishes the "stations" of the soldiers: for gladness will carry out discipline more willingly, sadness more carefully.

Chapter XX. — Of Women's Dress.

So far, however, as regards the dress of women, the variety of observance compels us — men of no consideration whatever — to treat, presumptuously indeed, after the most holy apostle, except in so far as it will not be presumptuously if we treat the subject in accordance with the apostle. Touching modesty of dress and ornamentation, indeed, the prescription of Peter likewise is plain, checking as he does with the same mouth, because with the same Spirit, as Paul, the glory of garments, and the pride of gold, and the meretricious elaboration of the hair.

Chapter XXI. — Of Virgins.

But that point which is promiscuously observed throughout the churches, whether virgins ought to be veiled or no, must be treated of. For they who allow to virgins immunity from head-covering, appear to rest on this; that the apostle has not defined “virgins” by name, but “women,” as “to be veiled;” nor the sex generally, so as to say “females,” but a *class* of the sex, by saying “women:” for if he had named the sex by saying “females,” he would have made his limit absolute for *every* woman; but while he names one class of the sex, he separates another class by being silent. For, they say, he might either have named “virgins” specially; or generally, by a compendious term, “females.”

Chapter XXII. — Answer to the Foregoing Arguments.

They who make this concession ought to reflect on the nature of the word itself — what is the meaning of “woman” from the very first records of the sacred writings. Here they find it to be the *name of the sex*, not a *class of the sex*: if, that is, God gave to Eve, when she had not yet known a man, the surname “woman” and “female” — (“female,” whereby the sex generally; “woman,” hereby a class of the sex, is marked). So, since at that time the as yet unwedded Eve was called by the word “woman,” that word has been made common even to a virgin. Nor is it wonderful that the apostle — guided, of course, by the same Spirit by whom, as all the divine Scripture, so that book Genesis, was drawn up — has used the selfsame word in writing “women,” which, by the example of Eve unwedded, is applicable too to a “virgin.” In fact, all the other passages are in consonance herewith. For even by this very fact, that he has not *named* “virgins” (as he does in another place where he is teaching touching marrying), he sufficiently predicates that his remark is made touching *every* woman, and touching *the whole* sex; and that there is no distinction made between a “virgin” *and any other*, while he does not name her at all. For he who elsewhere — namely, where the difference requires — remembers to make the distinction, (moreover, he makes it by designating each species by their appropriate names,) wishes, where he makes *no* distinction (while he does not name each), *no* difference to be understood. What of the fact that in the Greek speech, in which the apostle wrote his letters, it is usual to say, “women” rather than “females;” that is, γυναικας (*gunaikas*) rather than θηλείας (*theleias*)? Therefore if that word, which by interpretation represents what “female” (*femina*) represents, is frequently used *instead* of the name of the sex, he has named the *sex* in saying γυναικα; but in the *sex* even the *virgin* is embraced. But, withal, the declaration is plain: “*Every* woman,” saith he, “praying and prophesying with head uncovered, dishonoureth her own head.” What is “*every* woman,” but *woman* of every age, of every rank, of every condition? By saying “*every*” he excepts nought of womanhood, just as he excepts nought of manhood either from *not* being covered; for just so he says, “*Every* man.” As, then, in the masculine sex, under the name of “man” even the “youth” is *forbidden* to be veiled; so, too, in the feminine, under the name of “woman,” even the “virgin” is *bidden* to be

veiled. Equally in each sex let the younger age follow the discipline of the elder; or else let the male “virgins,” too, be *veiled*, if the female virgins withal are *not* veiled, because *they* are not mentioned by *name*. Let “man” and “youth” be different, if “woman” and “virgin” are different. For indeed it is “on account of the angels” that he saith women must be veiled, because on account of “the daughters of men” angels revolted from God. Who then, would contend that “*women*” *alone* — that is, such as were already wedded and had lost their virginity — were the objects of angelic concupiscence, unless “virgins” are incapable of excelling in beauty and finding lovers? Nay, let us see whether it were not *virgins alone* whom they lusted after; since Scriptures saith “*the daughters* of men;” inasmuch as it might have named “*wives* of men,” or “*females*,” indifferently. Likewise, in that it saith, “And they took them to themselves for wives,” it does so on this ground, that, of course, such are “*received for wives*” *as are devoid of that title*. But it would have expressed itself differently concerning such as were *not* thus devoid. And so (they who are named) are devoid as much of *widowhood* as of *virginity*. So completely has *Paul* by naming the sex generally, mingled “daughters” and species together in the genus. Again, while he says that “nature herself,” which has assigned hair as a tegument and ornament to women, “teaches that veiling is the duty of females,” has not the same tegument and the same honour of the head been assigned also to virgins? If “it is shameful” for a woman to be shorn it is similarly so to a virgin too. From them, then, to whom is assigned one and the same *law* of the head, one and the same *discipline* of the head is exacted, — (which extends) even unto those virgins whom their childhood defends, for from the first *a virgin* was named “female.” This custom, in short, even *Israel* observes; but if *Israel* did *not* observe it, *our* Law, amplified and supplemented, would vindicate the addition for itself; let it be excused for imposing the veil on virgins also. Under *our* dispensation, let that age which is ignorant of its sex retain the privilege of simplicity. For both Eve and Adam, when it befell them to be “wise,” forthwith veiled what they had learnt to know. At all events, with regard to those in whom girlhood has changed (into maturity), their age ought to remember its duties as to nature, so also, to discipline; for they are being transferred to the rank of “women” both in their persons and in their functions. No one is a “virgin” from the time when she is capable of marriage;

seeing that, in her, age has by that time been wedded to its own husband, that is, to time. “But some particular *virgin* has devoted herself to God. From that very moment she both changes the fashion of her hair, and converts all her garb into that of a ‘woman.’” Let her, then, maintain the character wholly, and perform the whole function of a “*virgin*,” what she conceals for the sake of God, let her cover quite over. It is our business to entrust to the knowledge of God alone that which the grace of God effects in us, lest we receive from man the reward we hope for from God. Why do you denude before God what you cover before men? Will you be more modest in public than in the church? If *your self-devotion is a grace of God, and you have received it*, “why do you boast,” saith he, “as if you have not received it?” Why, by your ostentation of yourself, do you judge others? Is it that, by your boasting, you invite others unto good? Nay, but even you yourself run the risk of losing, if you boast; and you drive others unto the same perils! What is assumed from love of boasting is easily destroyed. Be veiled, virgin, if virgin you are; for you ought to blush. If you are a virgin, shrink from (the gaze of) many eyes. Let no one wonder at your face; let no one perceive your falsehood. You do well in falsely assuming the married character, if you veil your head; nay, you do not seem to assume it *falsely*, for you *are* wedded to Christ: to Him you have surrendered your body; act as becomes your Husband’s discipline. If He bids the brides of others to be veiled, His own, of course, much more. “But each individual man is not to think that the institution of his predecessor is to be overturned.” Many yield up their own judgment, and its consistency, to the custom of others. Granted that *virgins* be not *compelled* to be veiled, at all events such as *voluntarily are* so should not be prohibited; who, likewise, cannot deny themselves to be virgins, content, in the security of a good conscience before God, to damage their own fame. Touching such, however, as are betrothed, I can with constancy “above my small measure” pronounce and attest that they are to be veiled from that day forth on which they shuddered at the first bodily touch of a man by kiss and hand. For in them everything has been forewedded: their age, through maturity; their flesh, through age; their spirit, through consciousness; their modesty, through the experience of the kiss their hope, through expectation; their mind through volition. And Rebecca is example enough for us, who, when her betrothed had been pointed out, veiled herself for marriage merely on recognition of him.

Chapter XXIII. — Of Kneeling.

In the matter of *kneeling* also prayer is subject to diversity of observance, through the act of some few who abstain from kneeling on the Sabbath; and since this dissension is particularly on its trial before the churches, the Lord will give His grace that the dissentients may either yield, or else indulge their opinion without offence to others. We, however (just as we have received), only on the day of the Lord's Resurrection ought to guard not only against kneeling, but every posture and office of solicitude; deferring even our businesses lest we give any place to the devil. Similarly, too, in the period of Pentecost; which period we distinguish by the same solemnity of exultation. But who would hesitate *every* day to prostrate himself before God, at least in the first prayer with which we enter on the daylight? At fasts, moreover, and Stations, no prayer should be made without kneeling, and the remaining customary marks of humility; for (then) we are not only *praying*, but *deprecating*, and making satisfaction to God our Lord. Touching *times* of prayer nothing at all has been prescribed, except clearly "to pray at every time and every place."

Chapter XXIV. — Of Place for Prayer.

But how “in every place,” since we are prohibited (from praying) in public? In every place, he means, which opportunity or even necessity, may have rendered suitable: for that which was done by the apostles (who, in gaol, in the audience of the prisoners, “began praying and singing to God”) is not considered to have been done contrary to the precept; nor yet that which was done by Paul, who in the ship, in presence of all, “made thanksgiving to God.”

Chapter XXV. — Of Time for Prayer.

Touching the *time*, however, the extrinsic observance of certain hours will not be unprofitable — those common hours, I mean, which mark the intervals of the day — the third, the sixth, the ninth — which we may find in the Scriptures to have been more solemn than the rest. The first infusion of the Holy Spirit into the congregated disciples took place at “the third hour.” Peter, on the day on which he experienced the vision of Universal Community, (exhibited) in that small vessel, had ascended into the more lofty parts *of* the house, *for prayer’s sake* “*at the sixth hour.*” The same (apostle) was going into the temple, with John, “at the ninth *hour,*” when he restored the paralytic to his health. Albeit these *practices* stand simply without any *precept* for their observance, still it may be granted a good thing to establish some definite presumption, which may both add stringency to the admonition to pray, and may, as it were by a law, tear us out from our businesses unto such a duty; so that — what we read to have been observed by Daniel also, in accordance (of course) with Israel’s discipline — we pray at least not less than thrice in the day, debtors as we are to Three — Father, Son, and Holy Spirit: of course, in addition to our regular prayers which are due, without any admonition, on the entrance of light and of night. But, withal, it becomes believers not to take food, and not to go to the bath, before interposing a prayer; for the refreshments and nourishments of the spirit are to be held prior to those of the flesh, and things heavenly prior to things earthly.

Chapter XXVI. — Of the Parting of Brethren.

You will not dismiss a brother who has entered your house without prayer.— “Have you seen,” says *Scripture*, “a brother? you have seen your Lord;” — especially “a stranger,” lest perhaps he be “an angel.” But again, when received yourself by brethren, you will not make earthly refreshments prior to heavenly, for your faith will forthwith be judged. Or else how will you — according to the precept — say, “Peace to this *house*,” unless you exchange mutual peace with them who are *in* the house?

Chapter XXVII. — Of Subjoining a Psalm.

The more diligent in prayer are wont to subjoin in their prayers the “Hallelujah,” and such kind of psalms, in the closes of which the company respond. And, of course, every institution is excellent which, for the extolling and honouring of God, aims unitedly to bring Him enriched prayer as a choice victim.

Chapter XXVIII. — Of the Spiritual Victim, Which Prayer is.

For this is the spiritual victim which has abolished the pristine sacrifices. “To what purpose,” saith He, “(bring ye) me the multitude of your sacrifices? I am full of holocausts of rams, and I desire not the fat of rams, and the blood of bulls and of goats. For who hath required these from your hands?” What, then, God *has* required the Gospel teaches. “An hour will come,” saith He, “when the true adorers shall adore the Father in spirit and truth. For God is a Spirit, and accordingly requires His adorers to be such.” We are the true adorers and the true priests, who, praying in spirit, sacrifice, in spirit, prayer, — a victim proper and acceptable to God, which assuredly He has required, which He has looked forward to for Himself! This *victim*, devoted from the whole heart, fed on faith, tended by truth, entire in innocence, pure in chastity, garlanded with love, we ought to escort with the pomp of good works, amid psalms and hymns, unto God’s altar, to obtain for us all things from God.

Chapter XXIX. — Of the Power of Prayer.

For what has God, who exacts it *ever* denied to prayer coming from “spirit and truth?” How mighty specimens of its efficacy do we read, and hear, and believe! *Old-world* prayer, indeed, used to free from fires, and from beasts, and from famine; and yet it had not (then) received its form from Christ. But how far more amply operative is *Christian* prayer! It does not station the angel of dew in mid-fires, nor muzzle lions, nor transfer to the hungry the rustics’ bread; it has no delegated grace to avert any sense of suffering; but it supplies the suffering, and the feeling, and the grieving, with endurance: it amplifies grace by virtue, that faith may know what she obtains from the Lord, understanding what — for God’s name’s sake — she suffers. But in days gone by, withal prayer used to call down plagues, scatter the armies of foes, withhold the wholesome influences of the showers. Now, however, the prayer of righteousness averts all God’s anger, keeps bivouac on behalf of personal enemies, makes supplication on behalf of persecutors. Is it wonder if it knows how to extort the *rains* of heaven — (prayer) which was *once* able to procure its *fires*? Prayer is alone that which vanquishes God. But Christ has willed that it be operative for no evil: He had conferred on it all its virtue in the cause of good. And so it knows nothing save how to recall the souls of the departed from the very path of death, to transform the weak, to restore the sick, to purge the possessed, to open prison-bars, to loose the bonds of the innocent. Likewise it washes away faults, repels temptations, extinguishes persecutions, consoles the faint-spirited, cheers the high-spirited, escorts travellers, appeases waves, makes robbers stand aghast, nourishes the poor, governs the rich, upraises the fallen, arrests the falling, confirms the standing. Prayer is the wall of faith: her arms and missiles against the foe who keeps watch over us on all sides. And, so never walk we unarmed. By day, be we mindful of Station; by night, of vigil. Under the arms of prayer guard we the standard of our General; await we in prayer the angel’s trump. The angels, likewise, all pray; every creature prays; cattle and wild beasts pray and bend their knees; and when they issue from their layers and lairs, they look up heavenward with no idle mouth, making their breath vibrate after their own manner. Nay, the birds too, rising out of the nest, upraise themselves heavenward, and, instead of hands, expand the cross of their wings, and say

somewhat to seem like prayer. What more then, touching the office of prayer?
Even the Lord Himself prayed; to whom be honour and virtue unto the ages of
the ages!

De Baptismo (On Baptism)



Translated by Sydney Thelwall

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Elucidation.

Chapter I. — Introduction. Origin of the Treatise.

Happy is our sacrament of water, in that, by washing away the sins of our early blindness, we are set free *and admitted* into eternal life! A treatise on this matter will not be superfluous; instructing not only such as are just becoming formed (in the faith), but them who, content with having simply believed, without full examination of the grounds of the traditions, carry (in mind), through ignorance, an untried *though* probable faith. The consequence is, that a viper of the Cainite heresy, lately conversant in this quarter, has carried away a great number with her most venomous doctrine, making it her first aim to destroy baptism. Which is quite in accordance with nature; for vipers and asps and basilisks themselves generally do affect arid and waterless places. But we, little fishes, after the example of our IXΘΥΣ Jesus Christ, are born in water, nor have we safety in any other way than by permanently abiding in water; so that most monstrous creature, who had no right to teach even sound doctrine, knew full well how to kill the little fishes, by taking them away from the water!

Chapter II. — The Very Simplicity of God's Means of Working, a Stumbling-Block to the Carnal Mind.

Well, but how great is the force of perversity for *so* shaking the faith or entirely preventing its reception, that it impugns it on the very principles of which *the faith* consists! There is absolutely nothing which makes men's minds more obdurate than the simplicity of the divine works which are visible in the *act*, when compared with the grandeur which is promised thereto in the *effect*; so that from the very fact, that with so great simplicity, without pomp, without any considerable novelty of preparation, finally, without expense, a man is dipped in water, and amid the utterance of some few words, is sprinkled, and then rises again, not much (or not at all) the cleaner, the consequent attainment of eternity is esteemed the more incredible. I am a deceiver if, on the contrary, it is not from their circumstance, and preparation, and expense, that *idols'* solemnities or mysteries get their credit and authority built up. Oh, miserable incredulity, which quite deniest to God His own properties, simplicity and power! What then? Is it not wonderful, too, that death should be washed away by bathing? But it is the more to be believed if the wonderfulness be the reason why it is *not* believed. For what does it behove divine works to be in their quality, except that they be above all wonder? We also ourselves wonder, but it is *because* we believe. Incredulity, on the other hand, wonders, but does *not* believe: for the simple *acts* it wonders at, as if they were vain; the grand *results*, as if they were impossible. And grant that it be just as you think sufficient to meet each point is the divine declaration which has forerun: "The foolish things of the world hath God elected to confound its wisdom;" and, "The things very difficult with men are easy with God." For if God is wise and powerful (which even they who pass Him by do not deny), it is with good reason that He lays the material causes of His own operation in the contraries of wisdom and of power, that is, in foolishness and impossibility; since every virtue receives its cause from those things by which it is called forth.

Chapter III. — Water Chosen as a Vehicle of Divine Operation and Wherefore. Its Prominence First of All in Creation.

Mindful of this declaration as of a conclusive prescript, we nevertheless *proceed to treat the question*, “How *foolish* and *impossible* it is to be formed anew by water. In what respect, pray, has this material substance merited an office of so high dignity?” The authority, I suppose, of the liquid element has to be examined. This however, is found in abundance, and that from the very beginning. For *water* is one of those things which, before all the furnishing of the world, were quiescent with God in a yet unshapen state. “In the first beginning,” saith *Scripture*, “God made the heaven and the earth. But the earth was invisible, and unorganized, and darkness was over the abyss; and the Spirit of the Lord was hovering over the waters.” The first thing, O man, which you have to venerate, is the *age* of the waters in that their substance is ancient; the second, their *dignity*, in that they were the seat of the Divine Spirit, more pleasing to *Him*, no doubt, than all the other then existing elements. For the darkness was total thus far, shapeless, without the ornament of stars; and the abyss gloomy; and the earth unfurnished; and the heaven unwrought: water alone — always a perfect, gladsome, simple material substance, pure in itself — supplied a worthy vehicle to God. What *of the fact* that waters were in some way the regulating powers by which the disposition of the world thenceforward was constituted by God? For the suspension of the celestial firmament in the midst He caused by “dividing the waters;” the suspension of “the dry land” He accomplished by “separating the waters.” After the world had been hereupon set in order through *its* elements, when inhabitants were given it, “the waters” were the first to receive the precept “to bring forth living creatures.” Water was the first to produce that which had life, that it might be no wonder in baptism if waters know how to give life. For was not the work of fashioning man himself also achieved with the aid of waters? Suitable material is found in the *earth*, yet not apt for the purpose unless it be moist and juicy; which (earth) “the waters,” separated the fourth day before into their own place, temper with their remaining moisture to a clayey consistency. If, from that time onward, I go forward in recounting universally, or at more length, the evidences of the “authority” of this element

which I can adduce to show how great is its power or its grace; how many ingenious devices, how many functions, how useful an instrumentality, it affords the world, I fear I may seem to have collected rather the praises of water than the reasons of baptism; although I should *thereby* teach all the more fully, that it is not to be doubted that God has made the material substance which He has disposed throughout all His products and works, obey Him also in His own peculiar sacraments; that the *material substance* which governs terrestrial life acts as agent likewise in the celestial.

Chapter IV. — The Primeval Hovering of the Spirit of God Over the Waters Typical of Baptism. The Universal Element of Water Thus Made a Channel of Sanctification. Resemblance Between the Outward Sign and the Inward Grace.

But it will suffice to have *thus* called at the outset those points in which withal is recognised that primary principle of baptism, — which was even then fore-noted by the very attitude *assumed* for a type of baptism, — that the Spirit of God, who hovered over (the waters) from the beginning, would continue to linger over the waters of the baptized. But a holy thing, of course, hovered over a holy; or else, from that which hovered over that which *was* hovered over borrowed a holiness, since it is necessary that in every case an underlying material substance should catch the quality of that which overhangs it, most of all a corporeal of a spiritual, adapted (as the spiritual is) through the subtleness of its substance, both for penetrating and insinuating. Thus the nature of the waters, sanctified by the Holy One, itself conceived withal the power of sanctifying. Let no one say, “Why then, are we, pray, baptized with the very waters which then existed in the first beginning?” Not with those waters, of course, except in so far as the *genus* indeed is one, but the *species* very many. But what is an attribute to the *genus* reappears likewise in the *species*. And accordingly it makes no difference whether a man be washed in a sea or a pool, a stream or a fount, a lake or a trough; nor is there any distinction between those whom John baptized in the Jordan and those whom Peter baptized in the Tiber, unless withal the eunuch whom Philip baptized in the midst of his journeys with chance water, derived (therefrom) more or less of salvation *than others*. All waters, therefore, in virtue of the pristine privilege of their origin, do, after invocation of God, attain the sacramental power of sanctification; for the Spirit immediately supervenes from the heavens, and rests over the waters, sanctifying them from Himself; and being thus sanctified, they imbibe at the same time the power of sanctifying. Albeit the similitude may be admitted to be suitable to the simple act; that, since we are defiled by sins, as it were by dirt, we should be washed from those stains in waters. But as sins do not show themselves in our *flesh* (inasmuch as no one carries on his skin the spot of idolatry, or fornication, or

fraud), so persons of that kind are foul in the *spirit*, which is the author of the sin; for the spirit is lord, the flesh servant. Yet they each mutually share the guilt: the spirit, on the ground of command; the flesh, of subservience. Therefore, after the waters have been in a manner endued with medicinal virtue through the intervention of the angel, the spirit is corporeally washed in the waters, and the flesh is in the same spiritually cleansed.

Chapter V. — Use Made of Water by the Heathen. Type of the Angel at the Pool of Bethesda.

“Well, but the nations, who are strangers to all understanding of spiritual powers, ascribe to their idols the imbuing of waters with the self-same efficacy.” (So they do) but they cheat themselves with waters which are widowed. For washing is the channel through which they are initiated into some sacred rites — of some notorious Isis or Mithras. The gods themselves likewise they honour by washings. Moreover, by carrying water around, and sprinkling it, they everywhere expiate country-seats, houses, temples, and whole cities: at all events, at the Apollinarian and Eleusinian games they are baptized; and they presume that the effect of their doing that is their regeneration and the remission of the penalties due to their perjuries. Among the ancients, again, whoever had defiled himself with murder, was wont to go in quest of purifying waters. Therefore, if the mere nature of water, in that it is the appropriate material for washing away, leads men to flatter themselves with a belief in omens of purification, how much more truly will waters render that service through the authority of God, by whom all their nature has been constituted! If men think that water is endued with a medicinal virtue by religion, what religion is more effectual than that of the living God? Which fact being acknowledged, we recognise here also the zeal of the devil rivalling the things of God, while we find him, too, practising baptism in his *subjects*. What similarity is there? The unclean cleanses! the ruiner sets free! the damned absolves! He will, forsooth, destroy his own work, by washing away the sins which himself inspires! These (remarks) have been set down by way of testimony against such as reject the faith; if they put no trust in the things of God, the spurious imitations of which, in the case of God’s rival, they do trust in. Are there not other cases too, in which, without any sacrament, unclean spirits brood on waters, in spurious imitation of that brooding of the Divine Spirit in the very beginning? Witness all shady founts, and all unfrequented brooks, and the ponds in the baths, and the conduits in *private* houses, or the cisterns and wells which are said to have the property of “spiriting away,” through the power, that is, of a hurtful spirit. Men whom waters have drowned or affected with madness or with fear, they call nymph-caught, or “lymphatic,” or “hydro-phobic.” Why have we adduced these

instances? Lest any think it too hard *for belief* that a holy angel of God should grant his presence to waters, to temper them to man's salvation; while the evil angel holds frequent profane commerce with the selfsame element to man's ruin. If it seems a novelty for an angel to be present in waters, an example of what was to come to pass has forerun. An angel, by his intervention, was wont to stir the pool at Bethsaida. They who were complaining of ill-health used to watch for him; for whoever had been the first to descend into them, after his washing, ceased to complain. This figure of corporeal healing sang of a spiritual healing, according to the rule by which things carnal are always antecedent as figurative of things spiritual. And thus, when the grace of God advanced to higher degrees among men, an accession *of efficacy* was granted to the waters and to the angel. They who were wont to remedy bodily defects, now heal the spirit; they who used to work temporal salvation now renew eternal; they who did set free but once in the year, now save peoples in a body daily, death being done away through ablution of sins. The guilt being removed, of course the penalty is removed too. Thus man will be restored for God to His "likeness," who in days bygone had been *conformed* to "the image" of God; (the "image" is counted (to be) in his *form*: the "likeness" in his *eternity*:) for he receives again that Spirit of God which he had then first received from His *afflatus*, but had afterward lost through sin.

Chapter VI. — The Angel the Forerunner of the Holy Spirit. Meaning Contained in the Baptismal Formula.

Not that *in* the waters we obtain the Holy Spirit; but in the water, under (the witness of) the angel, we are cleansed, and prepared *for* the Holy Spirit. In this case also a type has preceded; for thus was John beforehand the Lord's forerunner, "preparing His ways." Thus, too, does the angel, the witness of baptism, "make the paths straight" for the Holy Spirit, who is about to come upon us, by the washing away of sins, which faith, sealed in (the name of) the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, obtains. For if "*in the mouth of* three witnesses every word shall stand:" — while, through the benediction, we have the same (three) as witnesses of our faith whom we have as sureties of our salvation too — how much more does the number of the divine names suffice for the assurance of our hope likewise! Moreover, after the pledging both of the attestation of faith and the promise of salvation under "three witnesses," there is added, of necessity, mention of the Church; inasmuch as, wherever there are three, (that is, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit,) there is the Church, which is a body of three.

Chapter VII. — Of the Unction.

After this, when we have issued from the font, we are thoroughly anointed with a blessed unction, — (a practice derived) from the old discipline, wherein on entering the priesthood, *men* were wont to be anointed with oil from a horn, ever since Aaron was anointed by Moses. Whence Aaron is called “Christ,” from the “chrism,” which is “the unction;” which, when made spiritual, furnished an appropriate name to the Lord, because He was “anointed” with the Spirit by God the Father; as *written* in the Acts: “For truly they were gathered together in this city against Thy Holy Son whom Thou hast anointed.” Thus, too, in *our* case, the unction runs carnally, (*i.e.* on the body,) but profits spiritually; in the same way as the *act* of baptism itself too is carnal, in that we are plunged in water, *but* the *effect* spiritual, in that we are freed from sins.

Chapter VIII. — Of the Imposition of Hands. Types of the Deluge and the Dove.

In the next place the hand is laid on us, invoking and inviting the Holy Spirit through benediction. Shall it be granted possible for human ingenuity to summon a spirit into water, and, by the application of hands from above, to animate their union into one body with another spirit of so clear sound; and shall it not be possible for God, in the case of His own organ, to produce, by means of “holy hands,” a sublime spiritual modulation? But this, as well as the former, is derived from the old sacramental rite in which Jacob blessed his grandsons, born of Joseph, Ephrem and Manasses; with his hands laid on them and interchanged, and indeed so transversely slanted one over the other, that, by delineating Christ, they even portended the future benediction into Christ. Then, over our cleansed and blessed bodies willingly descends from the Father that Holiest Spirit. Over the waters of baptism, recognising as it were His primeval seat, He reposes: (He who) glided down on the Lord “in the shape of a dove,” in order that the nature of the Holy Spirit might be declared by means of the creature (the emblem) of simplicity and innocence, because even in her bodily structure the dove is without literal gall. And accordingly He says, “Be ye simple as doves.” Even this is not without the supporting evidence of a preceding figure. For just as, after the waters of the deluge, by which the old iniquity was purged — after the baptism, so to say, of the world — a *dove* was the herald which announced to the earth the assuagement of celestial wrath, when she had been sent her way out of the ark, and had returned with the olive-branch, a sign which even among the nations is the fore-token of *peace*; so by the self-same law of heavenly effect, to earth — that is, to our flesh — as it emerges from the font, after its old sins flies the *dove* of the Holy Spirit, bringing us the peace of God, sent out from the heavens where is the Church, the typified ark. But the world returned unto sin; in which point baptism would ill be compared to the deluge. And so it is destined to fire; just as the man too is, who after baptism renews his sins: so that this also ought to be accepted as a sign for our admonition.

Chapter IX. — Types of the Red Sea, and the Water from the Rock.

How many, therefore, are the pleas of nature, how many the privileges of grace, how many the solemnities of discipline, the figures, the preparations, the prayers, which have ordained the sanctity of water? First, indeed, when the people, set unconditionally free, escaped the violence of the Egyptian king by crossing over *through* water, *it was* water *that extinguished the king himself, with his entire* forces. What figure more manifestly fulfilled in the sacrament of baptism? The nations are set free from the world by means of *water*, to wit: and the devil, their old tyrant, they leave quite behind, overwhelmed in the *water*. Again, *water* is restored from its defect of “bitterness” to its native grace of “sweetness” by the tree of Moses. That tree was Christ, restoring, to wit, of Himself, the *veins* of sometime envenomed and bitter nature into the all-salutary *waters* of baptism. This is the *water* which flowed continuously down for the people from the “accompanying rock;” for if Christ is “the Rock,” without doubt we see baptism blest by the *water* in Christ. How mighty is the grace of *water*, in the sight of God and His Christ, for the confirmation of baptism! Never is Christ without *water*: if, that is, He is Himself baptized in *water*; inaugurates in *water* the first rudimentary displays of His power, when invited to the nuptials; invites the thirsty, when He makes a discourse, to His own sempiternal *water*; approves, when teaching concerning love, among works of charity, the cup of *water* offered to a poor (child); recruits His strength at a *well*; walks over the *water*; willingly crosses the *sea*; ministers *water* to His disciples. Onward even to the passion does the witness of baptism last: while He is being surrendered to the cross, *water* intervenes; witness Pilate’s hands: when He is wounded, forth from His side bursts *water*; witness the soldier’s lance!

Chapter X. — Of John's Baptism.

We have spoken, so far as our moderate ability permitted, of the *generals* which form the groundwork of the sanctity of baptism. I will now, equally to the best of my power, proceed to the rest of its character, touching certain minor questions.

The baptism announced by John formed the subject, even at that time, of a question, proposed by the Lord Himself indeed to the Pharisees, whether that baptism were heavenly, or truly earthly: about which they were unable to give a consistent answer, inasmuch as they understood not, because they believed not. But *we*, with but as poor a measure of understanding as of faith, *are* able to determine that that baptism was *divine* indeed, (yet in respect of the command, not in respect of efficacy too, in that we read that John was *sent by the Lord* to perform this duty,) but *human* in its nature: for it conveyed nothing celestial, but it fore-ministered to things celestial; being, to wit, appointed over *repentance*, which is in man's power. In fact, the doctors of the law and the Pharisees, who were unwilling to "believe," did not "repent" either. But if repentance is a thing human, its baptism must necessarily be of the same nature: else, if it had been celestial, it would have given both the Holy Spirit and remission of sins. But none either pardons sins or freely grants the Spirit save God only. Even the Lord Himself said that the Spirit would not descend on any other condition, but that He should first ascend to the Father. What the Lord was not yet conferring, of course the servant could not furnish. Accordingly, in the Acts of the Apostles, we find that men who had "John's baptism" had not received the Holy Spirit, whom they knew not even by hearing. That, then, was no celestial thing which furnished no celestial (endowments): whereas the very thing which *was* celestial in John — the Spirit of prophecy — so completely failed, after the transfer of the whole Spirit to the Lord, that he presently sent to inquire whether He whom he had himself preached, whom he had pointed out when coming to him, were "HE." And so "the baptism of repentance" was dealt with as if it were a candidate for the remission and sanctification shortly about to follow in Christ: for in that John used to preach "baptism *for* the remission of sins," the declaration was made with reference to *future* remission; if it be true, (as it is,) that repentance is antecedent, remission subsequent; and this is "preparing the

way.” But he who “prepares” does not himself “perfect,” but procures for another to perfect. John himself professes that the celestial things are not his, but Christ’s, by saying, “He who is from the earth speaketh concerning the earth; He who comes from the *realms* above is above all;” and again, by saying that he “baptized in repentance only, but that One would shortly come who would baptize in the Spirit and fire;” — of course because true and stable faith is baptized with *water*, unto salvation; pretended and weak faith is baptized with *fire*, unto judgment.

Chapter XI. — Answer to the Objection that “The Lord Did Not Baptize.”

“But behold, “say some, “the Lord came, and baptized not; for we read, ‘And yet He used not to baptize, but His disciples!’” As if, in truth, John had preached that He would baptize with His own hands! Of course, his words are not so to be understood, but as simply spoken after an ordinary manner; just as, for instance, we say, “The emperor set forth an edict,” or, “The prefect cudgelled him.” Pray does the emperor in person set forth, or the prefect in person cudgel? One whose ministers do a thing is always said to do it. So “He will baptize you” will have to be understood as standing for, “Through Him,” or “Into Him,” “you will be baptized.” But let not (the fact) that “He Himself baptized not” trouble any. For into whom should He baptize? Into repentance? Of what use, then, do you make His forerunner? Into remission of sins, which He used to give by a word? Into Himself, whom by humility He was concealing? Into the Holy Spirit, who had not yet descended from the Father? Into the Church, which His apostles had not yet founded? And thus it was with the selfsame “baptism of John” that His disciples used to baptize, as ministers, with which John before had baptized as forerunner. Let none think it was with some other, because no other exists, except that of Christ subsequently; which at that time, of course, could not be given by His disciples, inasmuch as the glory of the Lord had not yet been fully attained, nor the efficacy of the font established through the passion and the resurrection; because neither can our death see dissolution except by the Lord’s passion, nor our life be restored without His resurrection.

Chapter XII. — Of the Necessity of Baptism to Salvation.

When, however, the prescript is laid down that “without baptism, salvation is attainable by none” (chiefly on the ground of that declaration of the Lord, who says, “Unless one be born of water, he hath not life”), there arise immediately scrupulous, nay rather audacious, doubts on the part of some, “how, in accordance with that prescript, salvation is attainable by the apostles, whom — Paul excepted — we do not find baptized in the Lord? Nay, since Paul is the only one of them who has put on *the garment of Christ’s baptism*, either the peril of all the others who lack the water of Christ is prejudged, that the prescript may be maintained, or else the prescript is rescinded if salvation has been ordained even for the unbaptized.” I have heard — the Lord is my witness — doubts of that kind: that none may imagine me so abandoned as to excogitate, unprovoked, in the licence of my pen, ideas which would inspire others with scruple.

And now, as far as I shall be able, I will reply to them who affirm “that the apostles were unbaptized.” For if they had undergone the human baptism of John, and were longing for that of the Lord, *then* since the Lord Himself had defined baptism to be *one*; (saying to Peter, who was desirous of being thoroughly bathed, “He who hath once bathed hath no necessity *to wash* a second time;” which, of course, He would not have said at all to one *not* baptized;) even here we have a conspicuous proof against those who, in order to destroy the sacrament of water, deprive the apostles even of John’s baptism. Can it seem credible that “the way of the Lord,” that is, the baptism of John, had not then been “prepared” in those persons who were being destined to *open* the way of the Lord throughout the whole world? The Lord Himself, though no “repentance” was due from *Him*, was baptized: was baptism not necessary for *sinners*? As for the fact, then, that “others were not baptized” — they, however, were not companions of Christ, but enemies of the faith, doctors of the law and Pharisees. From which fact is gathered an additional suggestion, that, since the *opposers* of the Lord *refused* to be baptized, they who *followed* the Lord *were* baptized, and were not like-minded with their own rivals: especially when, if there were any one to whom they clave, the Lord had exalted John above him (by the testimony) saying, “Among them

who are born of women *there is* none greater than John the Baptist.”

Others make the suggestion (forced enough, clearly “that the apostles then served the turn of baptism when in their little ship, were sprinkled and covered with the waves: that Peter himself also was immersed enough when he walked on the sea.” It is, however, as I think, one thing to be sprinkled or intercepted by the violence of the sea; another thing to be baptized in obedience to the discipline of religion. But that little ship did present a figure of the Church, in that she is disquieted “in the sea,” that is, in the world, “by the waves,” that is, by persecutions and temptations; the Lord, through patience, sleeping as it were, until, roused in their last extremities by the prayers of the saints, He checks the world, and restores tranquillity to His own.

Now, whether they were baptized in any manner whatever, or whether they continued unbathed to the end — so that even that saying of the Lord touching the “one bath” does, under the person of Peter, merely regard *us* — still, to determine concerning the salvation of the apostles is audacious enough, because on *them* the prerogative even of first choice, and thereafter of undivided intimacy, might be able to confer the compendious grace of baptism, seeing they (I think) followed Him who was wont to promise salvation to every believer. “Thy faith,” He would say, “hath saved thee;” and, “Thy sins shall be remitted thee,” on thy believing, of course, albeit thou be not *yet* baptized. If that was wanting to the apostles, I know not in the faith of what things it was, that, roused by one word of the Lord, *one* left the toll-booth behind for ever; *another* deserted father and ship, and the craft by which he gained his living; *a third*, who disdained his father’s obsequies, fulfilled, before he heard it, that highest precept of the Lord, “He who prefers father or mother to me, is not worthy of me.”

Chapter XIII. — Another Objection: Abraham Pleased God Without Being Baptized. Answer Thereto. Old Things Must Give Place to New, and Baptism is Now a Law.

Here, then, those miscreants provoke questions. And so they say, “Baptism is not necessary for them to whom faith is sufficient; for withal, Abraham pleased God by a sacrament of no water, but of faith.” But in all cases it is the *later* things which have a conclusive force, and the *subsequent* which prevail over the antecedent. Grant that, in days gone by, there was salvation by means of bare faith, before the passion and resurrection of the Lord. But now that faith has been enlarged, and is become a faith which believes in His nativity, passion, and resurrection, there has been an amplification added to the sacrament, viz., the sealing act of baptism; the clothing, in some sense, of the faith which before was bare, and which cannot exist now without its proper law. For the *law* of baptizing has been *imposed*, and the formula prescribed: “Go,” *He* saith, “teach the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.” The comparison with this law of that definition, “Unless a man have been reborn of water and Spirit, he shall not enter into the kingdom of the heavens,” has tied faith to the necessity of baptism. Accordingly, all thereafter *who became* believers used to be baptized. *Then* it was, too, that Paul, when he believed, was baptized; and this is the meaning of the precept which the Lord had given him when smitten with the plague of loss of sight, saying, “*Arise, and enter Damascus; there shall be demonstrated to thee what thou oughtest to do,*” to wit — be baptized, which was the only thing lacking to him. That point excepted, he had sufficiently *learnt and believed* “the Nazarene” to be “the Lord, the Son of God.”

Chapter XIV. — Of Paul's Assertion, that He Had Not Been Sent to Baptize.

But they roll back *an objection* from *that* apostle himself, in that he said, "For Christ sent me not to baptize;" as if by this argument baptism were done away! For *if so*, why did he baptize Gaius, and Crispus, and the house of Stephanas? However, even if Christ had not sent *him* to baptize, yet He had given *other* apostles the precept to baptize. But these words were written to the Corinthians in regard of the circumstances of that particular time; seeing that schisms and dissensions were agitated among them, while one attributes *everything* to Paul, another to Apollos. For which reason the "peace-making" apostle, for fear he should seem to claim all *gifts* for himself, says that he had been sent "not to baptize, but to preach." For preaching is the prior thing, baptizing the posterior. Therefore the preaching came *first*: but I think baptizing withal was *lawful* to him to whom preaching was.

Chapter XV. — Unity of Baptism. Remarks on Heretical And Jewish Baptism.

I know not whether any further point is mooted to bring baptism into controversy. Permit me to call to mind what I have omitted above, lest I seem to break off the train of impending thoughts in the middle. There is to us one, and but one, baptism; as well according to the Lord's gospel as according to the apostle's letters, inasmuch as *he says*, "One God, and one baptism, and one church in the heavens." But it must be admitted that the question, "What rules are to be observed with regard to heretics?" is worthy of being treated. For it is to *us* that that assertion refers. Heretics, however, have no fellowship in our discipline, whom the mere fact of their excommunication testifies to be outsiders. I am not bound to recognize in *them* a thing which is enjoined on *me*, because they and we have not the same God, nor one — that is, *the same* — Christ. And therefore their baptism is not one *with ours* either, because it is not *the same*; a baptism *which, since they have it not duly, doubtless they have not at all*; nor is that capable of being *counted* which is not *had*. Thus they cannot *receive* it either, because they *have it not*. But this point has already received a fuller discussion from us in Greek. We enter, then, the font *once*: *once are sins washed away, because they ought never to be repeated*. But the Jewish Israel bathes daily, because he is daily being defiled: and, for fear that *defilement* should be practised among *us* also, therefore was the definition touching the one bathing made. Happy water, which *once* washes away; which does not mock sinners (with vain hopes); which does not, by being infected with the repetition of impurities, again defile them whom it has washed!

Chapter XVI. — Of the Second Baptism — With Blood.

We *have* indeed, likewise, a *second* font, (itself withal *one with the former*,) of *blood*, to wit; concerning which the Lord said, “I have to be baptized with a baptism,” when He had been baptized already. For He had come “by means of water and blood,” just as John has written; that He might be baptized by the water, glorified by the blood; to make *us*, in like manner, *called by water*, chosen *by* blood. These two baptisms He sent out from the wound in His pierced side, in order that they who believed in His blood might be bathed with the water; they who had been bathed in the water might likewise drink the blood. This is the baptism which both stands in lieu of the fontal bathing when that has not been received, and restores it when lost.

Chapter XVII. — Of the Power of Conferring Baptism.

For concluding our brief subject, it remains to put you in mind also of the due observance of giving and receiving baptism. Of giving it, the chief priest (who is the bishop) has the right: in the next place, the presbyters and deacons, yet not without the bishop's authority, on account of the honour of the Church, which being preserved, peace is preserved. Beside these, even laymen have the right; for what is equally received can be equally given. Unless bishops, or priests, or deacons, be on the spot, *other* disciples are called *i.e. to the work*. The word of the Lord ought not to be hidden by any: in like manner, too, baptism, which is equally God's property, can be administered by all. But how much more is the rule of reverence and modesty incumbent on laymen — seeing that these *powers* belong to their superiors — lest they assume to themselves the *specific* function of the bishop! Emulation of the episcopal office is the mother of schisms. The most holy apostle has said, that “all things are *lawful*, but not all *expedient*.” Let it suffice assuredly, in cases of *necessity*, to avail yourself (of that rule, if at any time circumstance either of place, or of time, or of person compels you (so to do); for *then* the stedfast courage of the succourer, when the situation of the endangered one is urgent, is exceptionally admissible; inasmuch as he will be guilty of a human creature's loss if he shall refrain from bestowing what he had free liberty to bestow. But the woman of pertness, who has usurped the power to teach, will of course not give birth for herself likewise to a right of baptizing, unless some new beast shall arise like the former; so that, just as the one abolished baptism, so some other should in her own right confer it! But if the writings which wrongly go under Paul's name, claim Thecla's example as a licence for women's teaching and baptizing, let them know that, in Asia, the presbyter who composed that writing, as if he were augmenting Paul's fame from his own store, after being convicted, and confessing that he had done it from love of Paul, was removed from his office. For how credible would it seem, that he who has not permitted a *woman* even to *learn* with over-boldness, should give a *female* the power of *teaching* and of *baptizing*! “Let them be silent,” he says, “and at home consult their own husbands.”

Chapter XVIII. — Of the Persons to Whom, and the Time When, Baptism is to Be Administered.

But they whose office it is, know that baptism is not rashly to be administered. “Give to every one who beggeth thee,” has a reference of its own, appertaining especially to almsgiving. On the contrary, this *precept* is rather to be looked at carefully: “Give not the holy thing to the dogs, nor cast your pearls before swine;” and, “Lay not hands easily on *any*; share not other men’s sins.” If Philip so “easily” baptized the chamberlain, let us reflect that a manifest and conspicuous evidence that the Lord deemed him worthy had been interposed. The Spirit had enjoined Philip to proceed to that road: the eunuch himself, too, was not found idle, nor as one who was suddenly seized with an eager desire to be baptized; but, after going up to the temple for prayer’s sake, being intently engaged on the divine Scripture, was thus suitably discovered — to whom God had, unasked, sent an apostle, which one, again, the Spirit bade adjoin himself to the chamberlain’s chariot. The Scripture which *he* was reading *falls in opportunely* with his faith: *Philip*, being requested, is taken to sit beside him; the Lord is pointed out; faith lingers not; water needs no waiting for; the work is completed, and the apostle snatched away. “But Paul too was, in fact, ‘speedily’ baptized:” for Simon, his host, speedily recognized him to be “an appointed vessel of election.” God’s approbation sends sure premonitory tokens before it; every “petition” may both deceive and be deceived. And so, according to the circumstances and disposition, and even age, of each individual, the delay of baptism is preferable; principally, however, in the case of little children. For why is it necessary — if (baptism itself) is not so necessary — that the sponsors likewise should be thrust into danger? Who both themselves, by reason of mortality, may fail to fulfil their promises, and may be disappointed by the development of an evil disposition, *in those for whom they stood*? *The Lord does indeed say, “Forbid them not to come unto me.”* Let them “come,” then, while they are growing up; let them “come” while they are learning, while they are learning whither to come; let them become Christians when they have become able to know Christ. Why does the innocent period of life hasten to the “remission of sins?” More caution will be exercised in worldly matters: so that one who is *not* trusted with earthly substance *is* trusted with divine! Let

them know how to “ask” for salvation, that you may seem (at least) to have given “to him that asketh.” For no less cause must the unwedded also be deferred — in whom *the ground of* temptation is prepared, alike in such as *never were* wedded by means of their maturity, and in the *widowed* by means of their freedom — until they either marry, or else be more fully strengthened for continence. If any understand the weighty import of baptism, they will fear its reception more than its delay: sound faith is secure of salvation.

Chapter XIX. — Of the Times Most Suitable for Baptism.

The Passover affords a more *than usually* solemn day for baptism; when, withal, the Lord's passion, in which we are baptized, was completed. Nor will it be incongruous to interpret figuratively *the fact* that, when the Lord was about to celebrate the last Passover, He said to the disciples who were sent to make preparation, "Ye will meet a man bearing water." He points out the place for celebrating the Passover by the sign of *water*. After that, Pentecost is a most joyous space for conferring baptisms; wherein, too, the resurrection of the Lord was repeatedly proved among the disciples, and the hope of the advent of the Lord indirectly pointed to, in that, at that time, when He had been received back into the heavens, the angels told the apostles that "He would so come, as He had withal ascended into the heavens;" at Pentecost, of course. But, moreover, when Jeremiah says, "And I will gather them together from the extremities of the land in the feast-day," he signifies the day of the Passover and of Pentecost, which is properly a "feast-day." However, *every* day is the Lord's; every hour, every time, is apt for baptism: if there is a difference in the *solemnity*, distinction there is none in the *grace*.

Chapter XX. — Of Preparation For, and Conduct After, the Reception of Baptism.

They who are about to enter baptism ought to pray with repeated prayers, fasts, and bendings of the knee, and vigils all the night through, and with the confession of all by-gone sins, that they may express *the meaning even of the baptism of John*: “*They were baptized,*” saith (the Scripture), “confessing their own sins.” To us it is matter for thankfulness if we do *now* publicly confess our iniquities or our turpitudes: for we do at the same time both make satisfaction for our former sins, by mortification of our flesh and spirit, and lay beforehand the foundation of defences against the temptations which will closely follow. “Watch and pray,” saith (the Lord), “lest ye fall into temptation.” And the reason, I believe, why they *were* tempted was, that they fell asleep; so that they deserted the Lord when apprehended, and he who continued to stand by Him, and used the sword, even denied Him thrice: for withal the word had gone before, that “no one *untempted* should attain the celestial kingdoms.” The Lord Himself forthwith after *baptism* temptations surrounded, when in forty days He had kept fast. “Then,” some one will say, “it becomes *us*, too, rather to fast *after* baptism.” Well, and who forbids you, unless it be the necessity for joy, and the thanksgiving for salvation? But so far as I, with my poor powers, understand, the Lord figuratively retorted upon Israel the reproach *they had cast on the Lord*. For the people, after crossing the sea, and being carried about in the desert during forty years, although they were there nourished with divine supplies, nevertheless were more mindful of their belly and their gullet than of God. Thereupon the Lord, driven apart into desert places after baptism, showed, by maintaining a fast of forty days, that the man of God lives “not by bread alone,” but “by the word of God;” and that temptations incident to fulness or immoderation of appetite are shattered by abstinence. Therefore, blessed *ones*, whom the grace of God awaits, when you ascend from that most sacred font of your new birth, and spread your hands for the first time in the house of your mother, together with your brethren, ask from the Father, ask from the Lord, that His own specialties of grace *and* distributions of gifts may be supplied you. “Ask,” saith He, “and ye shall receive.” Well, you *have* asked, and have received; you *have* knocked, and it has been opened to you. Only, I pray that, when you are asking, you be

mindful likewise of Tertullian the sinner.

Elucidation.

The argument (, note 6,) is conclusive, but not clear. The disciples of John must have been baptized by him, (Luke vii. 29–30) and “all the people,” must have included those whom Jesus called. But, this was not Christ’s baptism: See Acts xix. 2, 5. Compare note 8, . And see the American Editor’s “Apollos.”

Ad Uxorem (To His Wife)



Translated by Sydney Thelwall

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Book I.

Chapter I. — Design of the Treatise. Disavowal of Personal Motives in Writing It.

I have thought it meet, my best beloved fellow-servant in the Lord, even from this early period, to provide for the course which you must pursue after my departure from the world, if I shall be called before you; (and) to entrust to your honour the observance of the provision. For in things worldly we are active enough, and we wish the good of each of us to be consulted. If we draw up wills for *such* matters, why ought we not much more to take forethought for our posterity in things divine and heavenly, and in a sense to bequeath a legacy to be received before the inheritance be divided, — (the legacy, I mean, of) admonition and demonstration touching those (bequests) which are allotted out of (our) immortal goods, and from the heritage of the heavens? Only, that you may be able to receive in its entirety this feoffment in trust of my admonition, may God grant; to whom be honour, glory, renown, dignity, and power, now and to the ages of the ages!

The precept, therefore, which I give you is, that, with all the constancy you may, you do, after our departure, renounce nuptials; not that you will on that score confer any benefit on me, except in that you will profit yourself. But to Christians, after their departure from the world, no restoration of marriage is promised in the day of the resurrection, translated as they will be into the condition and sanctity of angels. Therefore no solicitude arising from carnal jealousy will, in the day of the resurrection, even in the case of her whom they chose to represent as having been married to seven brothers successively, wound any one of her so many husbands; nor is any (husband) awaiting her to put her to confusion. The question raised by the Sadducees has yielded to the Lord's sentence. Think not that it is for the sake of preserving to the end for myself the entire devotion of your flesh, that I, suspicious of the pain of (anticipated) slight, am even at this early period instilling into you the counsel of (perpetual) widowhood. There will at that day be no resumption of voluptuous disgrace between us. No such frivolities, no such impurities, does God promise to His (servants). But whether to you, or to any other woman whatever who pertains to God, the advice which we are giving shall be profitable, we take leave to treat of at large.

Chapter II. — Marriage Lawful, But Not Polygamy.

We do not indeed forbid the union of man and woman, blest by God as the seminary of the human race, and devised for the replenishment of the earth and the furnishing of the world, and therefore permitted, yet singly. For Adam was the one husband of Eve, and Eve his one wife, one woman, one rib. We grant, that among our ancestors, and the patriarchs themselves, it was lawful not only to marry, but even to multiply wives. There were concubines, too, (in those days.) But although the Church did come in figuratively in the synagogue, yet (to interpret simply) it was necessary to institute (certain things) which should afterward deserve to be either lopped off or modified. For the Law was (in due time) to supervene. (Nor was that enough:) for it was meet that causes for making up the deficiencies of the Law should have forerun (Him who was to supply those deficiencies). And so to the Law presently had to succeed the Word of God introducing the spiritual circumcision. Therefore, by means of the wide licence of those days, materials for subsequent emendations were furnished beforehand, of which materials the Lord by His Gospel, and then the apostle in the last days of the (Jewish) age, either cut off the redundancies or regulated the disorders.

Chapter III. — Marriage Good: Celibacy Preferable.

But let it not be thought that my reason for premising thus much concerning the liberty granted to the old, and the restraint imposed on the later time, is that I may lay a foundation for teaching that Christ's advent was intended to dissolve wedlock, (and) to abolish marriage talons; as if from this period onward I were prescribing an end to marrying. Let them see to that, who, among the rest of their perversities, teach the disjoining of the "one flesh in twain;" denying Him who, after borrowing the female from the male, recombined between themselves, in the matrimonial computation, the two bodies taken out of the consortship of the self-same material substance. In short, there is no place at all where we read that nuptials are prohibited; of course on the ground that they are "a good thing." What, however, is *better* than this "good," we learn from the apostle, who *permits* marrying indeed, but *prefers* abstinence; the former on account of the insidiousnesses of temptations, the latter on account of the straits of the times. Now, by looking into the reason thus given for each proposition, it is easily discerned that the ground on which the power of marrying is conceded is *necessity*; but whatever *necessity* grants, she by her very nature depreciates. In fact, in that it is written, "To marry is better than to burn," what, pray, is the nature of this "good" which is (only) commended by comparison with "evil," so that the reason why "marrying" is *more* good is (merely) that "burning" is *less*? Nay, but how far better is it neither to marry nor to burn? Why, even in persecutions it is *better* to take advantage of the permission granted, and "flee from town to town," than, when apprehended and racked, to deny (the faith). And therefore more blessed are they who have strength to depart (this life) in blessed confession of their testimony. I may say, What is *permitted* is not *good*. For how stands the case? I must of necessity die (if I be apprehended and confess my faith.) If I think (that fate) deplorable, (then flight) is good; but if I have a fear of the thing which is permitted, (the permitted thing) has some suspicion attaching to the cause of its permission. But that which is "better" no one (ever) "permitted," as being undoubted, and manifest by its own inherent purity. There are some things which are not to be *desired* merely because they are not *forbidden*, albeit they are in a certain sense *forbidden* when other things are preferred to them; for the preference given to

the higher things is a dissuasion from the lowest. A thing is not “good” merely because it is not “evil,” nor is it “evil” merely because it is not “harmful.” Further: that which is fully “good” excels on this ground, that it is not only not harmful, but profitable into the bargain. For you are bound to prefer what is profitable to what is (merely) not harmful. For the *first* place is what every struggle aims at; the *second* has consolation attaching to it, but not victory. But if we listen to the apostle, forgetting what is behind, let us both strain after what is before, and be followers after the better rewards. Thus, albeit he does not “cast a snare upon us,” he points out what tends to utility when he says, “The unmarried woman thinks on the things of the Lord, that both in body and spirit she may be holy; but the married is solicitous how to please her husband.” But he nowhere permits marriage in such a way as not rather to wish us to do our utmost in imitation of his own example. Happy the man who shall prove like Paul!

Chapter IV. — Of the Infirmary of the Flesh, and Similar Pleas.

But we read “that the flesh is weak;” and hence we soothe ourselves in some cases. Yet we read, too, that “the spirit is strong;” for each clause occurs in one and the same sentence. Flesh is an earthly, spirit a heavenly, material. Why, then, do we, too prone to self-excuse, put forward (in our defence) the weak part of us, but not look at the strong? Why should not the earthly yield to the heavenly? If the spirit is stronger than the flesh, because it is withal of nobler origin, it is our own fault if we follow the weaker. Now there are two phases of human weakness which make marriages necessary to such as are disjoined from matrimony. The first and most powerful is that which arises from *fleshly* concupiscence; the second, from *worldly* concupiscence. But by us, who are servants of God, who renounce both voluptuousness and ambition, each is to be repudiated. Fleshly concupiscence claims the functions of adult age, craves after beauty’s harvest, rejoices in its own shame, pleads the necessity of a husband to the female sex, as a source of authority and of comfort, or to render it safe from evil rumours. To meet these its counsels, do you apply the examples of sisters of ours whose names are with the Lord, — who, when their husbands have preceded them (to glory), give to no opportunity of beauty or of age the precedence over holiness. They prefer to be wedded to God. To God their beauty, to God their youth (is dedicated). With Him they live; with Him they converse; Him they “handle” by day and by night; *to* the Lord they assign their prayers as dowries; *from* Him, as oft as they desire it, they receive His approbation as dotal gifts. Thus they have laid hold for themselves of an eternal gift of the Lord; and while on earth, by abstaining from marriage, are already counted as belonging to the angelic family. Training yourself to an emulation of (their) constancy by the examples of such women, you will by spiritual affection bury that fleshly concupiscence, in abolishing the temporal and fleeting desires of beauty and youth by the compensating gain of immortal blessings.

On the other hand, this *worldly* concupiscence (to which I referred) has, as its causes, glory, cupidity, ambition, want of sufficiency; through which causes it trumps up the “necessity” for marrying, — promising itself, forsooth, heavenly things in return — to lord it, (namely,) in another’s family; to roost

on another's wealth; to extort splendour from another's store to lavish expenditure which you do not feel! Far be all this from believers, who have no care about maintenance, unless it be that we distrust the promises of God, and (His) care and providence, who clothes with such grace the lilies of the field; who, without any labour on their part, feeds the fowls of the heaven; who prohibits care to be taken about to-morrow's food and clothing, promising that He knows what is needful for each of His servants — not indeed ponderous necklaces, not burdensome garments, not Gallic mules nor German bearers, which all add lustre to the glory of nuptials; but "sufficiency," which is suitable to moderation and modesty. Presume, I pray you, that you have need of nothing if you "attend upon the Lord;" nay, that you have all things, if you have the Lord, whose are all things. Think often on things heavenly, and you will despise things earthly. To widowhood signed and sealed before the Lord nought is necessary but perseverance.

Chapter V. — Of the Love of Offspring as a Plea for Marriage.

Further reasons for marriage which men allege for themselves arise from anxiety for posterity, and the bitter, bitter pleasure of children. To *us* this is idle. For why should we be eager to bear children, whom, when we have them, we desire to send before us (to glory) (in respect, I mean, of the distresses that are now imminent); desirous as we are ourselves, too, to be taken out of this most wicked world, and received into the Lord's presence, which was the desire even of an apostle? To the servant of God, forsooth, offspring is necessary! For of our own salvation we are secure enough, so that we have leisure for children! Burdens must be sought by us for ourselves which are avoided even by the majority of the Gentiles, who are compelled by laws, who are decimated by abortions; burdens which, finally, are to *us* most of all unsuitable, as being perilous to faith! For why did the Lord foretell a "woe to them that are with child, and them that give suck," except because He testifies that in that day of disencumbrance the encumbrances of children will be an inconvenience? It is to marriage, of course, that those encumbrances appertain; but that ("woe") will not pertain to widows. (*They*) at the first trump of the angel will spring forth disencumbered — will freely bear to the end whatsoever pressure and persecution, with no burdensome fruit of marriage heaving in the womb, none in the bosom.

Therefore, whether it be for the sake of the flesh, or of the world, or of posterity, that marriage is undertaken, nothing of all these "necessities" affects the servants of God, so as to prevent my deeming it enough to have once for all yielded to some one of them, and by one marriage appeased all concupiscence of this kind. Let us marry daily, and in the midst of our marrying let us be overtaken, like Sodom and Gomorrah, by that day of fear! For *there* it was not only, of course, that they were dealing in marriage and merchandise; but when He says, "They were marrying and buying," He sets a brand upon the very leading vices of the flesh and of the world, which call men off the most from divine disciplines — the one through the pleasure of rioting, the other through the greed of acquiring. And yet that "blindness" *then* was felt long before "the ends of the world." What, then, will the case be if God *now* keep us from the vices which *of old were detestable before Him?*

“The time,” says (the apostle), “is compressed. It remaineth that they who have wives act as if they had them not.”

Chapter VI. — Examples of Heathens Urged as Commendatory of Widowhood and Celibacy.

But if they who *have* (wives) are (thus) bound to consign to oblivion what they have, how much more are they who have *not*, prohibited from seeking a second time what they no longer have; so that she whose husband has departed from the world should thenceforward impose rest on her sex by abstinence from marriage — abstinence which numbers of Gentile women devote to the memory of beloved husbands! When anything seems difficult, let us survey others who cope with still greater difficulties. How many are there who from the moment of their baptism set the seal (of virginity) upon their flesh? How many, again, who by equal mutual consent cancel the debt of matrimony — voluntary eunuchs for the sake of their desire after the celestial kingdom! But if, while the marriage-tie is still intact, abstinence is endured, how much more when it has been undone! For I believe it to be harder for what is intact to be quite forsaken, than for what has been lost not to be yearned after. A hard and arduous thing enough, surely, is the continence for God's sake of a holy woman after her husband's decease, when Gentiles, in honour of their own Satan, endure sacerdotal offices which involve both virginity and widowhood! At Rome, for instance, they who have to do with the type of that "inextinguishable fire," keeping watch over the omens of their own (future) penalty, in company with the (old) dragon himself, are appointed on the ground of *virginity*. To the Achæan Juno, at the town Ægium, a *virgin* is allotted; and the (priestesses) who rave at Delphi know not marriage. Moreover, we know that *widows* minister to the African Ceres; enticed away, indeed, from matrimony by a most stem oblivion: for not only do they withdraw from their still living husbands, but they even introduce other wives to them in their own room — the husbands, of course, smiling on it — all contact (with males), even as far as the kiss of their sons, being forbidden them; and yet, with enduring practice, they persevere in such a discipline of widowhood, which excludes the solace even of holy affection. These precepts has the devil given to his servants, and he is heard! He challenges, forsooth, God's servants, by the continence of his own, as if on equal terms! Continent are even the priests of hell! For he has found a way to ruin men even in good pursuits; and with him it makes no difference to slay

some by voluptuousness, some by continence.

Chapter VII. — The Death of a Husband is God's Call to the Widow to Continence. Further Evidences from Scripture and from Heathenism.

To us continence has been pointed out by the Lord of salvation as an instrument for attaining eternity, and as a testimony of (our) faith; as a commendation of this flesh of ours, which is to be sustained for the “garment of immortality,” which is one day to supervene; for enduring, in fine, the will of God. Besides, reflect, I advise you, that there is no one who is taken out of the world but by the will of God, if, (as is the case,) not even a leaf falls from off a tree without it. The same who brings us into the world must of necessity take us out of it too. Therefore when, through the will of God, the husband is deceased, the marriage likewise, by the will of God, deceases. Why should *you* restore what God has put an end to? Why do you, by repeating the servitude of matrimony, spurn the liberty which is offered you? “You have been bound to a wife,” says the apostle; “seek not loosing. You have been loosed from a wife; seek not binding.” For even if you do not “*sin*” in re-marrying, still he says “pressure of the flesh ensues.” Wherefore, so far as we can, let us love the opportunity of continence; as soon as it offers itself, let us resolve to accept it, that what we have not had strength (to follow) in matrimony we may follow in widowhood. The occasion must be embraced which puts an end to that which *necessity* commanded. How detrimental to faith, how obstructive to holiness, second marriages are, the discipline of the Church and the prescription of the apostle declare, when he suffers not men twice married to preside (over a Church), when he would not grant a widow admittance into the order unless she had been “the wife of one man;” for it behoves God’s altar to be set forth pure. That whole halo which encircles the Church is represented (as consisting) of holiness. Priesthood is (a function) of widowhood and of celibacies among the nations. Of course (this is) in conformity with the devil’s principle of rivalry. For the king of heathendom, the chief pontiff, to marry a second time is unlawful. How pleasing must holiness be to God, when even His enemy affects it! — not, of course, as having any affinity with anything good, but as contumeliously affecting what is pleasing to God the Lord.

Chapter VIII. — Conclusion.

For, concerning the honours which widowhood enjoys in the sight of God, there is a brief summary in one saying of His through the prophet: “Do thou justly to the widow and to the orphan; and come ye, let us reason, saith the Lord.” These two names, left to the care of the divine mercy, in proportion as they are destitute of human aid, the Father of all undertakes to defend. Look how the widow’s benefactor is put on a level with the widow herself, whose champion shall “reason with the Lord!” Not to virgins, I take it, is so great a gift given. Although in *their* case perfect integrity and entire sanctity shall have the nearest vision of the face of God, yet the widow has a task more toilsome, because it is easy not to crave after that which you know not, and to turn away from what you have never had to regret. More glorious is the continence which is aware of its own right, which knows what it has seen. The virgin may possibly be held the happier, but the *widow* the more hardly tasked; the former in that she has always kept “the good,” the latter in that she has found “the good for herself.” In the former it is grace, in the latter virtue, that is crowned. For some things there are which are of the divine liberality, some of our own working. The indulgences granted by the Lord are regulated by their own grace; the things which are objects of man’s striving are attained by earnest pursuit. Pursue earnestly, therefore, the virtue of continence, which is modesty’s agent; industry, which allows not women to be “wanderers;” frugality, which scorns the world. Follow companies and conversations worthy of God, mindful of that short verse, sanctified by the apostle’s quotation of it, “Ill interviews good morals do corrupt.” Talkative, idle, winebibbing, curious tent-fellows, do the very greatest hurt to the purpose of widow-hood. Through talkativeness there creep in words unfriendly to modesty; through idleness they seduce one from strictness; through winebibbing they insinuate any and every evil; through curiosity they convey a spirit of rivalry in lust. Not one of such women knows how to speak of the good of single-husbandhood; for their “god,” as the apostle says, “is their belly;” and so, too, what is neighbour to the belly.

These considerations, dearest fellow-servant, I commend to you thus early, handled throughout superfluously indeed, after the apostle, but likely to prove a solace to you, in that (if so it shall turn out) you will cherish my memory in

them.

Book II.

Chapter I. — Reasons Which Led to the Writing of This Second Book.

Very lately, best beloved fellow-servant in the Lord, I, as my ability permitted, entered for your benefit at some length into the question what course is to be followed by a holy woman when her marriage has (in whatever way) been brought to an end. Let us now turn our attention to the next best advice, in regard of human infirmity; admonished hereto by the examples of certain, who, when an opportunity for the practice of continence has been offered them, by divorce, or by the decease of the husband, have not only thrown away the opportunity of attaining so great a good, but not even in their remarriage have chosen to be mindful of the rule that “above all they marry in the Lord.” And thus my mind has been thrown into confusion, in the fear that, having exhorted you myself to perseverance in single husbandhood and widowhood, I may now, by the mention of precipitate marriages, put “an occasion of falling” in your way. But if you are perfect in wisdom, you know, of course, that the course which is the more useful is the course which you must keep. But, inasmuch as that course is difficult, and not without its embarrassments, and on this account is the highest aim of (widowed) life, I have paused somewhat (in my urging you to it); nor would there have been any causes for my recurring to that point also in addressing you, had I not by this time taken up a still graver solicitude. For the nobler is the continence of the flesh which ministers to widowhood, the more pardonable a thing it seems if it be not persevered in. For it is then when things are difficult that their pardon is easy. But in as far as marrying “in the Lord” is permissible, as being within our power, so far more culpable is it *not* to observe that which you *can* observe. Add to this the fact that the apostle, with regard to widows and the unmarried, *advises* them to remain permanently in that state, when he says, “But I desire all to persevere in (imitation of) my example:” but touching marrying “in the Lord,” he no longer *advises*, but plainly *bids*. Therefore in this case especially, if we do not obey, we run a risk, because one may with more impunity neglect an “advice” than an “order;” in that the former springs from *counsel*, and is proposed to the *will* (for acceptance or rejection): the other descends from *authority*, and is bound to *necessity*. In the former case, to disregard appears *liberty*, in the latter, *contumacy*.

Chapter II. — Of the Apostle's Meaning in 1 Cor. VII. 12–14.

Therefore, when in these days a certain woman removed her marriage from the pale of the Church, and united herself to a Gentile, and when I remembered that this had in days gone by been done by others: wondering at either their own waywardness or else the double-dealing of their advisers, in that there is no scripture which holds forth a licence of this deed,—“I wonder,” said I, “whether they flatter themselves on the ground of that passage of the first (Epistle) to the Corinthians, where it is written: If any of the brethren has an unbelieving wife, and she consents to the matrimony, let him not dismiss her; similarly, let not a believing woman, married to an unbeliever, if she finds her husband agreeable (to their continued union), dismiss him: for the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the believing wife, and the unbelieving wife by the believing husband; else were your children unclean.” It may be that, by understanding *generally* this monition regarding *married* believers, they think that licence is granted (thereby) to marry even *unbelievers*. God forbid that he who thus interprets (the passage) be *wittingly* ensnaring himself! But it is manifest that this scripture points to those believers who may have been found by the grace of God in (the state of) Gentile matrimony; according to the words themselves: “If,” it says, “any believer *has* an unbelieving wife;” it does not say, “*takes* an unbelieving wife.” It shows that it is the duty of one who, already living in marriage with an unbelieving woman, has presently been by the grace of God converted, to continue with his wife; for this reason, to be sure, in order that no one, after attaining to faith, should think that he must turn away from a woman who is now in some sense an “alien” and “stranger.” Accordingly he subjoins withal a reason, that “we are called *in peace* unto the Lord God;” and that “the unbeliever may, through the use of matrimony, *be gained* by the believer.” The very closing sentence of the period confirms (the supposition) that this is thus to be understood. “As each,” it says, “is called by the Lord, so let him persevere.” But it is *Gentiles* who “are called,” I take it, not *believers*. But if he had been pronouncing *absolutely*, (in the words under discussion,) touching the marriage of believers merely, (then) had he (virtually) given to saints a permission to marry promiscuously. If, however, he had given such a

permission, he would never have subjoined a declaration so diverse from and contrary to his own permission, saying: "The woman, when her husband is dead, is free: let her marry whom she wishes, *only in the Lord.*" *Here, at all* events, there is no need for reconsidering; for what there *might* have been reconsideration about, the Spirit has oracularly declared. For fear we should make an ill use of what he says, "Let her marry whom she wishes," he has added, "only in the Lord," that is, in the name of the Lord, which is, undoubtedly, "to a Christian." That "Holy Spirit," therefore, who prefers that widows and unmarried women should persevere in their integrity, who exhorts us to a copy of himself, prescribes no other manner of repeating marriage except "in the Lord:" to this condition alone does he concede the foregoing of continence. "Only," he says, "in the Lord:" he has added to his law a weight— "*only.*" Utter that word with what tone and manner you may, it is weighty: it both bids and advises; both enjoins and exhorts; both asks and threatens. It is a concise, brief sentence; and by its own very brevity, eloquent. Thus is the divine voice wont (to speak), that you may instantly understand, instantly observe. For who but could understand that the apostle foresaw many dangers and wounds to faith in marriages of this kind, which he prohibits? and that he took precaution, in the first place, against the defilement of holy flesh in Gentile flesh? At this point some one says, "What, then, is the difference between him who is chosen by the Lord to Himself in (the state of) Gentile marriage, and him who was of old (that is, before marriage) a believer, that they should not be equally cautious for their flesh? — whereas the one is kept from marriage with an unbeliever, the other bidden to continue in it. Why, if we are defiled by a Gentile, is not the one disjoined, just as the other is not bound?" I will answer, if the Spirit give (me ability); alleging, before all (other arguments), that the Lord holds it more pleasing that matrimony should not be contracted, than that it should at all be dissolved: in short, divorce He prohibits, except for the cause of fornication; but continence He commends. Let the one, therefore, have the necessity of continuing; the other, further, even the power of not marrying. Secondly, if, according to the Scripture, they who shall be "apprehended" by the faith in (the state of) Gentile marriage are not defiled (thereby) for this reason, that, together with themselves, others also are sanctified: without doubt, they who have been sanctified *before* marriage, if they commingle themselves with "strange

flesh,” cannot sanctify that (flesh) in (union with) which they were not “apprehended.” The grace of God, moreover, sanctifies that which it *finds*. Thus, what has not been able to be sanctified is unclean; what is unclean has no part with the holy, unless to defile and slay it by its own (nature).

Chapter III. — Remarks on Some of the “Dangers and Wounds” Referred to in the Preceding Chapter.

If these things are so, it is certain that believers contracting marriages with Gentiles are guilty of fornication, and are to be excluded from all communication with the brotherhood, in accordance with the letter of the apostle, who says that “with persons of that kind there is to be no taking of food even.” Or shall we “in that day” produce (our) marriage certificates before the Lord’s tribunal, and allege that a marriage such as He Himself has forbidden has been duly contracted? What is prohibited (in the passage just referred to) is not “adultery;” it is not “fornication.” The admission of a strange man (to your couch) less violates “the temple of God,” less commingles “the members of Christ” with the members of an adulteress. So far as I know, “we are not our own, but bought with a price;” and what kind of price? The blood of God. In hurting this flesh of ours, therefore, we hurt Him directly. What did that man mean who said that “to wed a ‘stranger’ was indeed a sin, but a very small one?” whereas in other cases (setting aside the injury done to the flesh which pertains to the Lord) *every* voluntary sin against the Lord is *great*. For, in as far as there was a power of avoiding it, in so far is it burdened with the charge of contumacy.

Let us now recount the other dangers or wounds (as I have said) to faith, foreseen by the apostle; most grievous not to the flesh merely, but likewise to the spirit too. For who would doubt that faith undergoes a daily process of obliteration by unbelieving intercourse? “Evil confabulations corrupt good morals;” how much more fellowship of life, and indivisible intimacy! Any and every believing woman must of necessity obey God. And how can she serve two lords — the Lord, and her husband — a Gentile to boot? For in obeying a Gentile she will carry out Gentile practices, — personal attractiveness, dressing of the head, worldly elegancies, baser blandishments, the very secrets even of matrimony tainted: not, as among the saints, where the duties of the sex are discharged with honour (shown) to the very necessity (which makes them incumbent), with modesty and temperance, as beneath the eyes of God.

Chapter IV. — Of the Hindrances Which an Unbelieving Husband Puts in His Wife's Way.

But let her see to (the question) how she discharges her duties to her husband. To the Lord, at all events, she is unable to give satisfaction according to the requirements of discipline; having at her side a servant of the devil, *his* lord's agent for hindering the pursuits and duties of believers: so that if a station is to be kept, the husband at daybreak makes an appointment with his wife to meet him at the baths; if there are fasts to be observed, the husband that same day holds a convivial banquet; if a charitable expedition has to be made, never is family business more urgent. For who would suffer his wife, for the sake of visiting the brethren, to go round from street to street to other men's, and indeed to all the poorer, cottages? Who will willingly bear her being taken from his side by nocturnal convocations, if need so be? Who, finally, will without anxiety endure her absence all the night long at the paschal solemnities? Who will, without some suspicion of his own, dismiss her to attend that Lord's Supper which they defame? Who will suffer her to creep into prison to kiss a martyr's bonds? nay, truly, to meet any one of the brethren to exchange the kiss? to offer water for the saints' feet? to snatch (somewhat for them) from her food, from her cup? to yearn (after them)? to have (them) in her mind? If a pilgrim brother arrive, what hospitality for him in an alien home? If bounty is to be distributed to any, the granaries, the storehouses, are foreclosed.

Chapter V. — Of Sin and Danger Incurred Even with a “Tolerant” Husband.

“But some husband does endure our (practices), and not annoy us.” *Here*, therefore, there is a sin; in that Gentiles *know* our (practices); in that we are subject to the privy of the unjust; in that it is thanks to them that we do any (good) work. He who “endures” (a thing) cannot be ignorant of it; or else, if he is kept in ignorance because he does *not* endure (it), he is feared. But since Scripture commands each of two things — namely, that we work for the Lord without the privy of any second person, and without pressure upon ourselves, it matters not in which quarter you sin; whether in regard to your husband’s privy, if he be tolerant, or else in regard of your own affliction in avoiding his *intolerance*. “Cast not,” saith He, “your pearls to swine, lest they trample them to pieces, and turn round and overturn you also.” “Your pearls” are the distinctive marks of even your daily conversation. The more care you take to conceal them, the more liable to suspicion you will make them, and the more exposed to the grasp of Gentile curiosity. Shall you escape notice when you sign your bed, (or) your body; when you blow away some impurity; when even by night you rise to pray? Will you not be thought to be engaged in some work of magic? Will not your husband know what it is which you secretly taste before (taking) any food? and if he knows it to be bread, does he not believe it to be *that* (bread) which it is *said* to be? And will every (husband), ignorant of the reason of these things, simply endure them, without murmuring, without suspicion whether it be bread or poison? Some, (it is true,) *do* endure (them); but it is that they may trample on, that they may make sport of such women; whose secrets they keep in reserve against the danger which they believe in, in case they ever chance to be hurt: they do endure (wives), whose dowries, by casting in their teeth their (Christian) name, they make the wages of silence; while they threaten them, forsooth, with a suit before some spy as arbitrator! which most women, not foreseeing, have been wont to discover either by the extortion of their property, or else by the loss of their faith.

Chapter VI. — Danger of Having to Take Part in Heathenish Rites, and Revels.

The handmaid of God dwells amid alien labours; and among these (labours), on all the memorial days of demons, at all solemnities of kings, at the beginning of the year, at the beginning of the month, she will be agitated by the odour of incense. And she will have to go forth (from her house) by a gate wreathed with laurel, and hung with lanterns, as from some new consistory of public lusts; she will have to sit with her husband oftentimes in club meetings, oft-times in taverns; and, wont as she was formerly to minister to the “saints,” will sometimes have to minister to the “unjust.” And will she not hence recognise a prejudgment of her own damnation, in that she *tends* them whom (formerly) she was expecting to *judge*? whose hand will she yearn after? of whose cup will she partake? What will her husband sing to her, or she to her husband? From the tavern, I suppose, she who sups upon God will hear somewhat! From hell what mention of God (arises)? what invocation of Christ? Where are the fosterings of faith by the interspersion of the Scriptures (in conversation)? Where the Spirit? where refreshment? where the divine benediction? All things are strange, all inimical, all condemned; aimed by the Evil One for the attrition of salvation!

Chapter VII. — The Case of a Heathen Whose Wife is Converted After Marriage with Him Very Different, and Much More Hopeful.

If these things may happen to those women also who, having attained the faith while in (the state of) Gentile matrimony, continue in that state, still they are excused, as having been “apprehended by God” in these very circumstances; and they are *bidden* to persevere in their married state, and are sanctified, and have hope of “making a gain” held out to them. “If, then, a marriage of this kind (contracted *before* conversion) stands ratified before God, why should not (one contracted *after* conversion) too go prosperously forward, so as not to be thus harassed by pressures, and straits, and hindrances, and defilements, having already (as it has) the partial sanction of divine grace? “Because, on the one hand, the wife in the former case, called *from among* the Gentiles to the exercise of some eminent heavenly virtue, is, by the visible proofs of some marked (divine) regard, a terror to her Gentile husband, so as to make him less ready to annoy her, less active in laying snares for her, less diligent in playing the spy over her. He has felt “mighty works;” he has seen experimental evidences; he knows her changed for the better: thus even he himself is, by his fear, a candidate for God. Thus men of this kind, with regard to whom the grace of God has established a familiar intimacy, are more easily “gained.” But, on the other hand, to descend into forbidden ground unsolicited and spontaneously, is (quite) another thing. Things which are not pleasing to the Lord, of course offend the Lord, are of course introduced by the Evil One. A sign hereof is this fact, that it is *wooers* only who find the Christian name pleasing; and, accordingly, some heathen men are found not to shrink in horror from Christian women, just in order to exterminate them, to wrest them away, to exclude them from the faith. So long as marriage of this kind is procured by the Evil One, but condemned by God, you have a reason why you need not doubt that it can in no case be carried to a prosperous end.

Chapter VIII. — Arguments Drawn Even from Heathenish Laws to Discountenance Marriage with Unbelievers. The Happiness of Union Between Partners in the Faith Enlarged on in Conclusion.

Let us further inquire, as if we were in very deed inquisitors of divine sentences, whether they be lawfully (thus condemned). Even among the nations, do not all the strictest lords and most tenacious of discipline interdict their own slaves from marrying out of their own house? — in order, of course, that they may not run into lascivious excess, desert their duties, purvey their lords' goods to strangers. Yet, further, have not (the nations) decided that such women as have, after their lords' formal warning, persisted in intercourse with other men's slaves, may be claimed as slaves? Shall earthly disciplines be held more strict than heavenly prescripts; so that *Gentile* women, if united to strangers, lose their liberty; *ours* conjoin to themselves the devil's slaves, and continue in their (former) position? Forsooth, they will deny that any formal warning has been given them by the Lord through His own apostle!

What am I to fasten on as the cause of this madness, except the weakness of faith, ever prone to the concupiscences of worldly joys? — which, indeed, is chiefly found among the wealthier; for the more any is rich, and inflated with the name of “matron,” the more capacious house does she require for her burdens, as it were a field wherein ambition may run its course. To such the churches look paltry. A rich man is a difficult thing (to find) in the house of God; and if such an one is (found there), difficult (is it to find such) unmarried. What, then, are they to do? Whence but from the devil are they to seek a husband apt for maintaining their sedan, and their mules, and their hair-curlers of outlandish stature? A Christian, even although rich, would perhaps not afford (all) these. Set before yourself, I beg of you, the examples of Gentiles. Most Gentile women, noble in extraction and wealthy in property, unite themselves indiscriminately with the ignoble and the mean, sought out for themselves for luxurious, or mutilated for licentious, purposes. Some take up with their own freedmen and slaves, despising public opinion, provided they may but have (husbands) from whom to fear no impediment to their own liberty. To a Christian believer it is irksome to wed a believer inferior to

herself in estate, destined as she will be to have her wealth augmented in the person of a poor husband! For if it is “the poor,” not the rich, “whose are the kingdoms of the heavens,” the rich will find more in the poor (than she brings him, or than she would in the rich). She will be dowered with an ampler dowry from the goods of him who is rich in God. Let her be on an equality with him on earth, who in the heavens will perhaps not be so. Is there need for doubt, and inquiry, and repeated deliberation, whether he whom God has entrusted with His own property is fit for dotal endowments? Whence are we to find (words) enough fully to tell the happiness of that marriage which the Church cements, and the oblation confirms, and the benediction signs and seals; (which) angels carry back the news of (to heaven), (which) the Father holds for ratified? For even on earth children do not rightly and lawfully wed without their fathers’ consent. What kind of yoke is that of two believers, (partakers) of one hope, one desire, one discipline, one and the same service? Both (are) brethren, both fellow servants, no difference of spirit or of flesh; nay, (they are) truly “two in one flesh.” Where the flesh is one, one is the spirit too. Together they pray, together prostrate themselves, together perform their fasts; mutually teaching, mutually exhorting, mutually sustaining. Equally (are they) both (found) in the Church of God; equally at the banquet of God; equally in straits, in persecutions, in refreshments. Neither hides (ought) from the other; neither shuns the other; neither is troublesome to the other. The sick is visited, the indigent relieved, with freedom. Alms (are given) without (danger of ensuing) torment; sacrifices (attended) without scruple; daily diligence (discharged) without impediment: (there is) no stealthy signing, no trembling greeting, no mute benediction. Between the two echo psalms and hymns; and they mutually challenge each other which shall better chant to their Lord. Such things when Christ sees and hears, He joys. To these He sends His own peace. Where two (are), there withal (is) He Himself. Where He (is), there the Evil One is not.

These are the things which that utterance of the apostle has, beneath its brevity, left to be understood by us. These things, if need shall be, suggest to your own mind. By these turn yourself away from the examples of some. To marry *otherwise* is, to believers, not “lawful;” is not “expedient.”

Elucidation.

(Marriage lawful, .)

St. Peter was a married apostle, and the traditions of his wife which connect her married life with Rome itself render it most surprising that those who claim to be St. Peter's successors should denounce the marriage of the clergy as if it were crime. The touching story, borrowed from Clement of Alexandria, is related by Eusebius. "And will they," says Clement, "reject even the apostles? Peter and Philip, indeed, had children; Philip also gave his daughters in marriage to husbands; and Paul does not demur, in a certain Epistle, to mention his own wife, whom he did not take about with him, in order to expedite his ministry the better." Of St. Peter and his wife, Eusebius subjoins, "Such was the marriage of these blessed ones, and such was their perfect affection."

The Easterns to this day perpetuate the marriage of the clergy, and enjoin it; but unmarried men only are chosen to be bishops. Even Rome relaxes her discipline for the *Uniate*s, and hundreds of her priesthood, therefore, live in honourable marriage. Thousands live in secret marriage, but their wives are dishonoured as "concubines." It was not till the eleventh century that the celibate was enforced. In England it was *never* successfully imposed; and, though the "priest's *leman*" was not called his *wife* (to the disgrace of the whole system), she was yet honoured (see Chaucer), and often carried herself too proudly.

The enormous evils of an enforced celibacy need not here be remarked upon. The history of *Sacerdotal Celibacy*, by Henry C. Lea of Philadelphia, is compendious, and can be readily procured by all who wish to understand what it is that this treatise of Tertullian's orthodoxy may best be used to teach; viz., that we must not be wiser than God, even in our zeal for His service.

Ad Martyras (To the Martyrs)



Translated by Sydney Thelwall

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Chapter I.

Blessed Martyrs Designate, — Along with the provision which our lady mother the Church from her bountiful breasts, and each brother out of his private means, makes for your bodily wants in the prison, accept also from me some contribution to your spiritual sustenance; for it is not good that the flesh be feasted and the spirit starve: nay, if that which is weak be carefully looked to, it is but right that that which is still weaker should not be neglected. Not that I am specially entitled to exhort you; yet not only the trainers and overseers, but even the unskilled, nay, all who choose, without the slightest need for it, are wont to animate from afar by their cries the most accomplished gladiators, and from the mere throng of onlookers useful suggestions have sometimes come; first, then, O blessed, grieve not the Holy Spirit, who has entered the prison with you; for if He had not gone with you there, you would not have been there this day. Do you give all endeavour, therefore, to retain Him; so let Him lead you thence to your Lord. The prison, indeed, is the devil's house as well, wherein he keeps his family. But you have come within its walls for the very purpose of trampling the wicked one under foot in his chosen abode. You had already in pitched battle outside utterly overcome him; let him have no reason, then, to say to himself, "They are now in my domain; with vile hatreds I shall tempt them, with defections or dissensions among themselves." Let him fly from your presence, and skulk away into his own abysses, shrunken and torpid, as though he were an outcharmed or smoked-out snake. Give him not the success in his own kingdom of setting you at variance with each other, but let him find you armed and fortified with concord; for peace among you is battle with him. Some, not able to find this peace in the Church, have been used to seek it from the imprisoned martyrs. And so you ought to have it dwelling with you, and to cherish it, and to guard it, that you may be able perhaps to bestow it upon others.

Chapter II.

Other things, hindrances equally of the soul, may have accompanied you as far as the prison gate, to which also your relatives may have attended you. There and thenceforth you were severed from the world; how much more from the ordinary course of worldly life and all its affairs! Nor let this separation from the world alarm you; for if we reflect that the world is more really the prison, we shall see that you have gone out of a prison rather than into one. The world has the greater darkness, blinding men's hearts. The world imposes the more grievous fetters, binding men's very souls. The world breathes out the worst impurities — human lusts. The world contains the larger number of criminals, even the whole human race. Then, last of all, it awaits the judgment, not of the proconsul, but of God. Wherefore, O blessed, you may regard yourselves as having been translated from a prison to, we may say, a place of safety. It is full of darkness, but ye yourselves are light; it has bonds, but God has made you free. Unpleasant exhalations are there, but ye are an odour of sweetness. The judge is daily looked for, but ye shall judge the judges themselves. Sadness may be there for him who sighs for the world's enjoyments. The Christian outside the prison has renounced the world, but in the prison he has renounced a prison too. It is of no consequence where you are in the world — you who are not of it. And if you have lost some of life's sweets, it is the way of business to suffer present loss, that after gains may be the larger. Thus far I say nothing of the rewards to which God invites the martyrs. Meanwhile let us compare the life of the world and of the prison, and see if the spirit does not gain more in the prison than the flesh loses. Nay, by the care of the Church and the love of the brethren, even the flesh does not lose there what is for its good, while the spirit obtains besides important advantages. You have no occasion to look on strange gods, you do not run against their images; you have no part in heathen holidays, even by mere bodily mingling in them; you are not annoyed by the foul fumes of idolatrous solemnities; you are not pained by the noise of the public shows, nor by the atrocity or madness or immodesty of their celebrants; your eyes do not fall on stews and brothels; you are free from causes of offence, from temptations, from unholy reminiscences; you are free now from persecution too. The prison does the same service for the Christian which the desert did

for the prophet. Our Lord Himself spent much of His time in seclusion, that He might have greater liberty to pray, that He might be quit of the world. It was in a mountain solitude, too, He showed His glory to the disciples. Let us drop the name of prison; let us call it a place of retirement. Though the body is shut in, though the flesh is confined, all things are open to the spirit. In spirit, then, roam abroad; in spirit walk about, not setting before you shady paths or long colonnades, but the way which leads to God. As often as in spirit your footsteps are there, so often you will not be in bonds. The leg does not feel the chain when the mind is in the heavens. The mind compasses the whole man about, and whither it wills it carries him. But where thy heart shall be, there shall be thy treasure. Be there our heart, then, where we would have our treasure.

Chapter III.

Grant now, O blessed, that even to Christians the prison is unpleasant; yet we were called to the warfare of the living God in our very response to the sacramental words. Well, no soldier comes out to the campaign laden with luxuries, nor does he go to action from his comfortable chamber, but from the light and narrow tent, where every kind of hardness, roughness and unpleasantness must be put up with. Even in peace soldiers inure themselves to war by toils and inconveniences — marching in arms, running over the plain, working at the ditch, making the *testudo*, engaging in many arduous labours. The sweat of the brow is on everything, that bodies and minds may not shrink at having to pass from shade to sunshine, from sunshine to icy cold, from the robe of peace to the coat of mail, from silence to clamour, from quiet to tumult. In like manner, O blessed ones, count whatever is hard in this lot of yours as a discipline of your powers of mind and body. You are about to pass through a noble struggle, in which the living God acts the part of superintendent, in which the Holy Ghost is your trainer, in which the prize is an eternal crown of angelic essence, citizenship in the heavens, glory everlasting. Therefore your Master, Jesus Christ, who has anointed you with His Spirit, and led you forth to the arena, has seen it good, before the day of conflict, to take you from a condition more pleasant in itself, and has imposed on you a harder treatment, that your strength might be the greater. For the athletes, too, are set apart to a more stringent discipline, that they may have their physical powers built up. They are kept from luxury, from daintier meats, from more pleasant drinks; they are pressed, racked, worn out; the harder their labours in the preparatory training, the stronger is the hope of victory. “And they,” says the apostle, “that they may obtain a corruptible crown.” We, with the crown eternal in our eye, look upon the prison as our training-ground, that at the goal of final judgment we may be brought forth well disciplined by many a trial; since virtue is built up by hardships, as by voluptuous indulgence it is overthrown.

Chapter IV.

From the saying of our Lord we know that the flesh is weak, the spirit willing. Let us not, withal, take delusive comfort from the Lord's acknowledgment of the weakness of the flesh. For precisely on this account He first declared the spirit willing, that He might show which of the two ought to be subject to the other — that the flesh might yield obedience to the spirit — the weaker to the stronger; the former thus from the latter getting strength. Let the spirit hold convene with the flesh about the common salvation, thinking no longer of the troubles of the prison, but of the wrestle and conflict for which they are the preparation. The flesh, perhaps, will dread the merciless sword, and the lofty cross, and the rage of the wild beasts, and that punishment of the flames, of all most terrible, and all the skill of the executioner in torture. But, on the other side, let the spirit set clearly before both itself and the flesh, how these things, though exceeding painful, have yet been calmly endured by many, — and, have even been eagerly desired for the sake of fame and glory; and this not only in the case of men, but of women too, that you, O holy women, may be worthy of your sex. It would take me too long to enumerate one by one the men who at their own self-impulse have put an end to themselves. As to women, there is a famous case at hand: the violated Lucretia, in the presence of her kinsfolk, plunged the knife into herself, that she might have glory for her chastity. Mucius burned his right hand on an altar, that this deed of his might dwell in fame. The philosophers have been outstripped, — for instance Heraclitus, who, smeared with cow dung, burned himself; and Empedocles, who leapt down into the fires of Ætna; and Peregrinus, who not long ago threw himself on the funeral pile. For women even have despised the flames. Dido did so, lest, after the death of a husband very dear to her, she should be compelled to marry again; and so did the wife of Hasdrubal, who, Carthage being on fire, that she might not behold her husband suppliant as Scipio's feet, rushed with her children into the conflagration, in which her native city was destroyed. Regulus, a Roman general, who had been taken prisoner by the Carthaginians, declined to be exchanged for a large number of Carthaginian captives, choosing rather to be given back to the enemy. He was crammed into a sort of chest; and, everywhere pierced by nails driven from the outside, he endured so many crucifixions. Woman has voluntarily sought the wild beasts,

and even asps, those serpents worse than bear or bull, which Cleopatra applied to herself, that she might not fall into the hands of her enemy. But the fear of death is not so great as the fear of torture. And so the Athenian courtesan succumbed to the executioner, when, subjected to torture by the tyrant for having taken part in a conspiracy, still making no betrayal of her confederates, she at last bit off her tongue and spat it in the tyrant's face, that he might be convinced of the uselessness of his torments, however long they should be continued. Everybody knows what to this day is the great Lacedæmonian solemnity — the διαμαστύωσις, or scourging; in which sacred rite the Spartan youths are beaten with scourges before the altar, their parents and kinsmen standing by and exhorting them to stand it bravely out. For it will be always counted more honourable and glorious that the soul rather than the body has given itself to stripes. But if so high a value is put on the earthly glory, won by mental and bodily vigour, that men, for the praise of their fellows, I may say, despise the sword, the fire, the cross, the wild beasts, the torture; these surely are but trifling sufferings to obtain a celestial glory and a divine reward. If the bit of glass is so precious, what must the true pearl be worth? Are we not called on, then, most joyfully to lay out as much for the true as others do for the false?

Chapter V.

I leave out of account now the motive of glory. All these same cruel and painful conflicts, a mere vanity you find among men — in fact, a sort of mental disease — as trampled under foot. How many ease-lovers does the conceit of arms give to the sword? They actually go down to meet the very wild beasts in vain ambition; and they fancy themselves more winsome from the bites and scars of the contest. Some have sold themselves to fires, to run a certain distance in a burning tunic. Others, with most enduring shoulders, have walked about under the hunters' whips. The Lord has given these things a place in the world, O blessed, not without some reason: for what reason, but *now* to animate us, and on that day to confound us if we have feared to suffer for the truth, that we might be saved, what others out of vanity have eagerly sought for to their ruin?

Chapter VI.

Passing, too, from examples of enduring constancy having such an origin as this, let us turn to a simple contemplation of man's estate in its ordinary conditions, that mayhap from things which happen to us whether we will or no, and which we must set our minds to bear, we may get instruction. How often, then, have fires consumed the living! How often have wild beasts torn men in pieces, it may be in their own forests, or it may be in the heart of cities, when they have chanced to escape from their dens! How many have fallen by the robber's sword! How many have suffered at the hands of enemies the death of the cross, after having been tortured first, yes, and treated with every sort of contumely! One may even suffer in the cause of a man what he hesitates to suffer in the cause of God. In reference to this indeed, let the present time bear testimony, when so many persons of rank have met with death in a mere human being's cause, and that though from their birth and dignities and bodily condition and age such a fate seemed most unlikely; either suffering at his hands if they have taken part against him, or from his enemies if they have been his partisans.

De Patientia (On Patience)



Translated by Sydney Thelwall

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Chapter I. — Of Patience Generally; And Tertullian's Own Unworthiness to Treat of It.

I fully confess unto the Lord God that it has been rash enough, if not even impudent, in *me* to have dared compose a treatise on Patience, for *practising* which I am all unfit, being a man of no goodness; whereas it were becoming that such as have addressed themselves to the demonstration and commendation of some particular thing, should themselves first be conspicuous in the practice of that thing, and should regulate the constancy of their commonishing by the authority of their personal conduct, for fear their words blush at the deficiency of their deeds. And would that this “blushing” would bring a remedy, so that shame for *not* exhibiting that which we go to suggest to others should prove a tutorship into exhibiting it; except that the magnitude of some good things — just as of some ills too — is insupportable, so that only the grace of divine inspiration is effectual for attaining and practising them. For what is *most* good rests *most* with God; nor does any other than He who possesses it dispense it, as He deems meet to each. And so to discuss about that which it is not given one to enjoy, will be, as it were, a solace; after the manner of invalids, who since they are without health, know not how to be silent about its blessings. So I, most miserable, ever sick with the heats of *impatience*, must of necessity sigh after, and invoke, and persistently plead for, that health of patience which I possess not; while I recall to mind, and, in the contemplation of my own weakness, digest, *the truth*, that the good health of faith, and the soundness of the Lord's discipline, accrue not easily to any unless patience sit by his side. So is patience set over the things of God, that one can obey no precept, fulfil no work well-pleasing to the Lord, if estranged from it. The good of it, even they who live outside it, honour with the name of highest virtue. Philosophers indeed, who are accounted animals of some considerable wisdom, assign it so high a place, that, while they are mutually at discord with the various fancies of their sects and rivalries of their sentiments, yet, having a community of regard for patience alone, to this one of their pursuits they have joined in granting peace: for it they conspire; for it they league; it, in their affectation of virtue, they unanimously pursue; concerning patience they exhibit all their ostentation of wisdom. Grand testimony this is to it, in that it incites even the vain schools of

the world unto praise and glory! Or is it rather an injury, in that a thing divine is bandied among worldly sciences? But let them look to that, who shall presently be ashamed of their wisdom, destroyed and disgraced together with the world (it lives in).

Chapter II. — God Himself an Example of Patience.

To *us* no human affectation of canine equanimity, modelled by insensibility, furnishes the warrant for exercising patience; but the divine arrangement of a living and celestial discipline, holding up before us God Himself in the very first place as an example of patience; who scatters equally over just and unjust the bloom of this light; who suffers the good offices of the seasons, the services of the elements, the tributes of entire nature, to accrue at once to worthy and unworthy; bearing with the most ungrateful nations, adoring *as they do* the toys of the arts and the works of their own hands, persecuting His Name together with His family; *bearing with* luxury, avarice, iniquity, malignity, waxing insolent daily: so that by His own patience He disparages Himself; for the cause why many believe not in the Lord is that they are so long without knowing that He is wroth with the world.

Chapter III. — Jesus Christ in His Incarnation and Work a More Imitable Example Thereof.

And *this* species of the divine patience indeed being, as it were, at a distance, may perhaps be esteemed as among “things too high for us;” but what is that which, in a certain way, has been grasped by hand among men openly on the earth? God suffers Himself to be conceived in a mother’s womb, and awaits *the* time for birth; *and, when born, bears* the delay *of growing* up; and, when grown up, is not eager to be recognised, but is furthermore contumelious to Himself, and is baptized by His own servant; and repels with words alone the assaults of the tempter; while from being “Lord” He becomes “Master,” teaching man to escape death, having been trained to the exercise of the absolute forbearance of offended patience. He did not strive; He did not cry aloud; nor did any hear His voice in the streets. He did not break the bruised reed; the smoking flax He did not quench: for the prophet — nay, the attestation of God Himself, placing His own Spirit, together with patience in its entirety, in His Son — had not falsely spoken. There was none desirous of cleaving to Him whom He did not receive. No one’s table or roof did He despise: indeed, Himself ministered to the washing of the disciples’ feet; not sinners, not publicans, did He repel; not with that city even which had refused to receive Him was He wroth, when even the disciples had wished that the celestial fires should be forthwith hurled on so contumelious a town. He cared for the ungrateful; He yielded to His ensnarers. This were a small matter, if He had not had in His company even His own betrayer, and stedfastly abstained from pointing him out. Moreover, while He is being betrayed, while He is being led up “as a sheep for a victim,” (for “so He no more opens His mouth than a lamb under the power of the shearer,”) He to whom, had He willed it, legions of angels would at one word have presented themselves from the heavens, approved not the avenging sword of even one disciple. The patience of the Lord was wounded in (the wound of) Malchus. And so, too, He cursed for the time to come the works of the sword; and, by the restoration of health, made satisfaction to him whom Himself had not hurt, through Patience, the mother of Mercy. I pass by in silence (the fact) that He is crucified, for this was the end for which He had come; yet had the death which must be undergone need of contumelies likewise? *Nay*, but, when about to depart, He

wished to be sated with the pleasure of patience. He is spitted on, scourged, derided, clad foully, more foully crowned. Wondrous is the faith of equanimity! He who had set before *Him* the concealing of Himself in man's shape, imitated nought of man's impatience! Hence, even more than from any other trait, ought ye, Pharisees, to have recognised the Lord. Patience of this kind none of *men* would achieve. Such and so mighty evidences — the *very* magnitude of which proves to be among the nations indeed a cause for rejection of the faith, but among us its reason and rearing — proves manifestly enough (not by the sermons only, in enjoining, but likewise by the sufferings of the Lord in enduring) to them to whom it is given to believe, that as the effect and excellence of some inherent propriety, patience is God's nature.

Chapter IV. — Duty of Imitating Our Master Taught Us by Slaves. Even by Beasts. Obedient Imitation is Founded on Patience.

Therefore, if we see all servants of probity and right feeling shaping their conduct suitably to the disposition of their lord; if, that is, the art of deserving favour is obedience, while the rule of obedience is a compliant subjection: how much more does it behove *us* to be found with a character in accordance with our Lord, — servants as we are of the living God, whose judgment on His servants turns not on a fetter or a cap of freedom, but on an eternity either of penalty or of salvation; for the shunning of which severity or the courting of which liberality there needs a diligence in obedience as great as are the comminations themselves which the severity utters, or the promises which the liberality freely makes. And yet we exact obedience not from *men* only, who have the bond of their slavery under their chin, or in any other legal way are debtors to obedience, but even from cattle, even from brutes; understanding that they have been provided and delivered for our uses by the Lord. Shall, then, *creatures* which God makes subject to us be better than we in the discipline of obedience? Finally, (the creatures) which obey, acknowledge *their masters*. Do we hesitate to listen diligently to Him to whom alone we are subjected — that is, the Lord? But how unjust is it, how ungrateful likewise, not to repay from yourself the same which, through the indulgence of your neighbour, you obtain from others, to him through whom you obtain it! Nor needs there more words on the exhibition of obedience due from us to the Lord God; for the acknowledgment of God understands what is incumbent on it. Lest, however, we seem to have inserted *remarks* on obedience as something irrelevant, (let us remember) that obedience itself is drawn from patience. Never does an *impatient man* render it, or a *patient* fail to find pleasure in it. Who, then, could treat largely (enough) of the good of that *patience* which the Lord God, the Demonstrator and Acceptor of all good things, carried about in His own self? To whom, again, would it be doubtful that every good thing ought, because it pertains to God, to be earnestly pursued with the whole mind by such as pertain to God? By means of which (considerations) both commendation and exhortation on the subject of patience are briefly, and as it were in the compendium of a prescriptive rule,

established.

Chapter V. — As God is the Author of Patience So the Devil is of Impatience.

Nevertheless, the proceeding of a discussion on the necessities of faith is not idle, because it is not unfruitful. In edification no loquacity is base, if it be base at any time. And so, if the discourse be concerning some particular *good*, the subject requires us to review also the *contrary* of that good. For you will throw more light on what is to be pursued, if you first give a digest of what is to be avoided.

Let us therefore consider, concerning *Impatience*, whether just as patience in God, so its adversary quality have been born and detected in our adversary, that from this consideration may appear how primarily adverse it is to faith. For that which has been conceived by God's rival, of course is not friendly to God's things. The discord of *things* is the same as the discord of their *authors*. Further, since God is best, the devil on the contrary worst, *of beings*, by their own very diversity they testify that neither works for the other; so that anything of good can no more seem to be effected for us by the Evil One, than anything of evil by the Good. Therefore I detect the nativity of impatience in the devil himself, at that very time when he impatiently bore that the Lord God subjected the universal works which He had made to His own image, that is, to man. For if he had endured (that), he would not have grieved; nor would he have envied man if he had not grieved. Accordingly he deceived him, because he had envied him; but he had envied because he had grieved: he had grieved because, of course, he had not patiently borne. What that angel of perdition first was — malicious or impatient — I scorn to inquire: since manifest it is that either impatience took its rise *together* with *malice*, or *else malice* from *impatience*; that subsequently they conspired between themselves; and that they grew up indivisible in one paternal bosom. But, however, having been instructed, by his own experiment, what an aid unto sinning was that which he had been the first to feel, and by means of which he had entered on his course of delinquency, he called the same to his assistance for the thrusting of man into crime. The woman, immediately on being met by him — I may say so without rashness — was, through his very speech with her, breathed on by a spirit infected with impatience: so certain is it that she would never have sinned at all, if she had honoured the divine edict by

maintaining her patience to the end. What (of the fact) that she endured not to have been met alone; but in the presence of Adam, not yet her husband, not yet bound to lend her his ears, she is impatient of keeping silence, and makes him the transmitter of that which she had imbibed from the Evil One? Therefore another human being, too, perishes through the impatience of the one; presently, too, perishes of himself, through his own impatience committed in each respect, both in regard of God's premonition and in regard of the devil's cheater; not enduring to observe the former nor to refute the latter. Hence, whence (the origin) of delinquency, arose the first origin of judgment; hence, whence man was induced to offend, God began to be wroth. Whence (came) the first indignation in God, thence (came) His first patience; who, content at that time with malediction only, refrained in the devil's case from the instant infliction of punishment. Else what crime, before this guilt of impatience, is imputed to man? Innocent he was, and in intimate friendship with God, and the husbandman of paradise. But when once he succumbed to impatience, he quite ceased to be of sweet savour to God; he quite ceased to be able to endure things celestial. Thenceforward, a creature given to earth, and ejected from the sight of God, he begins to be easily turned by impatience unto every use offensive to God. For straightway that *impatience* conceived of the devil's seed, produced, in the fecundity of malice, anger as her son; and when brought forth, trained him in her own arts. For that very thing which had immersed Adam and Eve in death, taught their son, too, to begin with murder. It would be idle for me to ascribe this to impatience, if Cain, that first homicide and first fratricide, had borne with equanimity and not impatiently the refusal by the Lord of his own oblations — if he is not wroth with his own brother — if, finally, he took away no one's life. Since, then, he could neither have killed unless he had been wroth, nor have been wroth unless he had been impatient, he demonstrates that what he did through wrath must be referred to that by which wrath was suggested during this cradle-time of impatience, then (in a certain sense) in her infancy. But how great presently were her augmentations! And no wonder, If she has been the first delinquent, it is a consequence that, because she *has* been the first, therefore she is the only parent stem, too, to *every* delinquency, pouring down from her own fount various veins of crimes. Of *murder* we have spoken; but, being from the very beginning the outcome of *anger*, whatever causes besides it shortly found for

itself it lays collectively on the account of impatience, as to its own origin. For whether from *private* enmities, or *for the sake of* prey, *any one perpetrates that* wickedness, the earlier step is his becoming *impatient of* either the hatred or the avarice. Whatever *compels* a man, it is not possible that without *impatience of itself* it can be perfected in *deed*. Who *ever* committed *adultery* without impatience of *lust*? Moreover, if in females the sale of their modesty is forced by the price, of course it is by impatience of contemning gain that *this sale is regulated*. *These (I mention)* as the principal delinquencies in the sight of the Lord, for, to speak compendiously, *every* sin is ascribable to impatience. “Evil” is “impatience of good.” None *immodest* is not *impatient of modesty*; *dishonest of honesty*; *impious of piety*; *unquiet of quietness*. In order that each individual may become *evil* he will be *unable to persevere* in being *good*. How, therefore, can such a hydra of delinquencies fail to offend the Lord, the Disapprover of evils? Is it not manifest that it was through impatience that Israel himself also always failed in his duty toward God, from that time when, forgetful of the heavenly arm whereby he had been drawn out of his Egyptian affliction, he demands from Aaron “gods as his guides;” when he pours down for an idol the contributions of his gold: for the so necessary delays of Moses, while he met with God, he had borne with impatience. After the edible rain of the manna, after the watery following of the rock, they despair of the Lord in not enduring a three-days’ thirst; for this also is laid to their charge by the Lord as impatience. And — not to rove through individual cases — there was no instance in which it was not by failing in duty through impatience that they perished. How, moreover, did they lay hands on the prophets, except through impatience of hearing them? on the Lord moreover Himself, through impatience likewise of seeing Him? But had they entered *the path of* patience, they would have been set free.

Chapter VI. — Patience Both Antecedent and Subsequent to Faith.

Accordingly it is patience which is both subsequent and antecedent to faith. In short, Abraham believed God, and was accredited by Him with righteousness; but it was patience which *proved* his faith, when he was bidden to immolate his son, with a view to (I would not say the temptation, but) the typical attestation of his faith. But God knew whom He had accredited with righteousness. So heavy a precept, the perfect execution whereof was not even pleasing to the Lord, he patiently both heard, and (if God had willed) would have fulfilled. Deservedly then was he “blessed,” because he was “faithful;” deservedly “faithful,” because “patient.” So faith, illumined by patience, when it was becoming propagated among the nations through “Abraham’s seed, which is Christ,” and was superinducing grace over the law, made patience her pre-eminent coadjutrix for amplifying and fulfilling the law, because that alone had been lacking unto the doctrine of righteousness. For men were of old wont to require “eye for eye, and tooth for tooth” and to repay with usury “evil with evil;” for, as yet, patience was not on earth, because faith was not either. Of course, meantime, impatience used to enjoy the opportunities which the law gave. That was easy, while the Lord and Master of patience was absent. But after He has supervened, and has united the grace of faith with patience, *now* it is no longer lawful to assail even with *word*, nor to say “fool” even, without “danger of the judgment.” Anger has been prohibited, our spirits retained, the petulance of the hand checked, the poison of the tongue extracted. The law has found more than it has lost, while Christ says, “Love your personal enemies, and bless your cursers, and pray for your persecutors, that ye may be sons of your heavenly Father.” Do you see whom patience gains for us as a Father? In this principal precept the universal discipline of patience is succinctly comprised, since evil-doing is not conceded even when it is deserved.

Chapter VII. — The Causes of Impatience, and Their Correspondent Precepts.

Now, however, while we run through the causes of impatience, all the other precepts also will answer in their own places. If our spirit is aroused by the loss of property, it is commonished by the Lord's Scriptures, in almost every place, to a contemning of the world; nor is there any more powerful exhortation to contempt of money submitted (to us), than (*the fact*) the Lord Himself is found amid no riches. He always justifies the poor, fore-condemns the rich. So He fore-ministered to patience "loss," and to opulence "contempt" (as portion); demonstrating, by means of (His own) *repudiation* of riches, that *hurts* done to them also are not to be much regarded. Of that, therefore, which we have not the smallest need to seek after, because the Lord did not seek after it either, we ought to endure without heart-sickness the cutting down or taking away. "Covetousness," the Spirit of the Lord has through the apostle pronounced "a root of all evils." Let us not interpret that *covetousness* as consisting merely in the concupiscence of what is another's: for even what *seems* ours *is* another's; for nothing is ours, since all things are God's, whose are we also ourselves. And so, if, when suffering from a loss, we feel impatiently, grieving for what is lost from what is not our own, we shall be detected as bordering on covetousness: we *seek* what is another's when we ill brook *losing* what is another's. He who is greatly stirred with impatience of a loss, does, by giving things earthly the precedence over things heavenly, sin directly against God; for the Spirit, which he has received from the Lord, he greatly shocks for the sake of a worldly matter. Willingly, therefore, let us lose things earthly, let us keep things heavenly. Perish the whole world, so I may make patience my gain! In truth, I know not whether he who has not made up his mind to endure with constancy the loss of somewhat of his, either by theft, or else by force, or else even by carelessness, would himself readily or heartily lay hand on his own property in the cause of almsgiving: for who that endures not at all to be cut by another, himself draws the sword on his own body? Patience in losses is an exercise in bestowing and communicating. Who fears not to lose, finds it not irksome to give. Else how will one, when he has two coats, give the one of them to the naked, unless he be a man likewise to offer to one who takes away his coat his cloak as well? How shall we fashion

to us friends from mammon, if we love it so much as not to put up with its loss? We shall perish together with the lost *mammon*. Why do we *find* here, where it is our business to *lose*? To exhibit impatience at all losses is the Gentiles' business, who give money the precedence perhaps over their soul; for so they do, when, in their cupidities of lucre, they encounter the gainful perils of commerce on the sea; when, for money's sake, even in the forum, there is nothing which damnation (itself) would fear which they hesitate to essay; when they hire themselves for sport and the camp; when, after the manner of wild beasts, they play the bandit along the highway. But us, according to the diversity by which we are distinguished from them, it becomes to lay down not our soul for money, but money for our soul, whether spontaneously in bestowing or patiently in losing.

Chapter VIII. — Of Patience Under Personal Violence and Malediction.

We who carry about our very soul, our very body, exposed in this world to injury from all, and exhibit patience under that injury; shall we be hurt at the loss of less important things? Far from a servant of Christ be such a defilement as that the patience which has been prepared for greater temptations should forsake him in frivolous ones. If one attempt to provoke you by manual violence, the monition of the Lord is at hand: "To him," He saith, "who smiteth thee on the face, turn the other cheek likewise." Let outrageousness be wearied out by your patience. Whatever that blow may be, conjoined with pain and contumely, it shall receive a heavier one from the Lord. You wound that outrageous one more by enduring: for he will be beaten by Him for whose sake you endure. If the tongue's bitterness break out in malediction or reproach, look back at the saying, "When they curse you, rejoice." The Lord Himself was "cursed" in the eye of the law; and yet is He the only Blessed One. Let us servants, therefore, follow our Lord closely; and be cursed patiently, that we may be able to be blessed. If I hear with too little equanimity some wanton or wicked word uttered against me, I must of necessity either myself retaliate the bitterness, or else I shall be racked with mute impatience. When, then, on being cursed, I smite (with my tongue,) how shall I be found to have followed the doctrine of the Lord, in which it has been delivered that "a man is defiled, not by the defilements of vessels, but of the things which are sent forth out of his mouth." Again, *it is said* that "impeachment awaits us for every vain and needless word." It follows that, from whatever the Lord keeps us, the same He admonishes us to bear patiently from another. I will add (somewhat) touching the *pleasure* of patience. For every injury, whether inflicted by tongue or hand, when it has lighted upon patience, will be dismissed with the same fate as, some weapon launched against and blunted on a rock of most stedfast hardness. For it will wholly fall then and there with bootless and fruitless labour; and sometimes will recoil and spend its rage on him who sent it out, with retorted impetus. No doubt the reason why any one hurts you is that you may be pained; because the hurter's enjoyment consists in the pain of the hurt. When, then, you have upset his enjoyment by not being pained, *he* must needs be pained

by the loss of his enjoyment. Then you not only go unhurt away, which even alone is enough for you; but gratified, into the bargain, by your adversary's disappointment, and revenged by his pain. This is the *utility* and the *pleasure* of patience.

Chapter IX. — Of Patience Under Bereavement.

Not even that species of impatience under the loss of our dear ones is excused, where some assertion of a right to grief acts the patron to it. For the consideration of the apostle's declaration must be set before us, who says, "Be not overwhelmed with sadness at the falling asleep of any one, just as the nations are who are without hope." And justly; or, believing the resurrection of Christ we believe also in our own, for whose sake He both died and rose again. Since, then, there is certainty as to the resurrection of the dead, grief for death is needless, and impatience of grief is needless. For why should you grieve, if you believe that (your loved one) is not perished? Why should you bear impatiently the temporary withdrawal of him who you believe will return? That which you think to be death is departure. He who goes before us is not to be lamented, though by all means to be longed for. That longing also must be tempered with patience. For why should you bear without moderation *the fact that* one is gone away whom you will presently follow? Besides, impatience in matters of this kind bodes ill for our hope, and is a dealing insincerely with the faith. And we wound Christ when we accept not with equanimity the summoning out of this world of any by Him, as if they were to be pitied. "I desire," says the apostle, "to be now received, and to be with Christ." How far better a desire does *he* exhibit! If, then, we grieve impatiently over such as *have* attained the desire of Christians, we show unwillingness ourselves to attain it.

Chapter X. — Of Revenge.

There is, too, another chief spur of impatience, the lust of revenge, dealing with the business either of glory or else of malice. But “glory,” on the one hand, is everywhere “vain;” and malice, on the other, is always odious to the Lord; in this case indeed most of all, when, being provoked by a neighbour’s malice, it constitutes itself superior in following out revenge, and by paying wickedness doubles that which has once been done. Revenge, in the estimation of error, seems a solace of pain; in the estimation of truth, on the contrary, it is convicted of malignity. For what difference is there between provoker and provoked, except that the former is detected as prior in evil-doing, but the latter as posterior? Yet each stands impeached of hurting a man in the eye of the Lord, who both prohibits and condemns every wickedness. In evil doing there is no account taken of *order*, nor does *place* separate what *similarity* conjoins. And the precept is absolute, that evil is not to be repaid with evil. Like deed involves like merit. How shall we observe that principle, if in our loathing we shall not loathe *revenge*? What honour, moreover, shall we be offering to the Lord God, if we arrogate to ourselves the arbitrament of vengeance? We are corrupt — earthen vessels. With our own servant-boys, if they assume to themselves the right of vengeance on their fellow-servants, we are gravely offended; while such as make us the offering of their patience we not only approve as mindful of humility, of servitude, affectionately jealous of the right of their lord’s honour; but we make them an ampler satisfaction than they would have pre-exacted for themselves. Is there any risk of a different result in the case of a Lord so just in estimating, so potent in executing? Why, then, do we believe Him a Judge, if not an Avenger too? This He promises that He will be to us in return, saying, “Vengeance *belongeth* to me, and I will avenge;” that is, *Leave* patience to me, and I will reward patience. For when He says, “Judge not, lest ye be judged,” does He not require patience? For who will refrain from judging another, but he who shall be patient in not revenging himself? Who *judges* in order to *pardon*? And if he shall pardon, still he has taken care to indulge the impatience of a judger, and has taken away the honour of the one Judge, that is, God. How many mischances had impatience of this kind been wont to run into! How oft has it repented of its revenge! How oft has its vehemence been found worse than the causes which

led to it! — inasmuch as nothing undertaken with impatience can be effected without impetuosity: nothing done with impetuosity fails either to stumble, or else to fall altogether, or else to vanish headlong. Moreover, if you avenge yourself too slightly, you will be mad; if too amply, you will have to bear the burden. What have I to do with vengeance, the measure of which, through impatience of pain, I am unable to regulate? Whereas, if I shall repose on patience, I shall not *feel* pain; if I shall not feel pain, I shall not *desire* to avenge myself.

Chapter XI. — Further Reasons for Practising Patience. Its Connection with the Beatitudes.

After these principal material causes of impatience, registered to the best of our ability, why should we wander out of our way among the rest, — what are found at home, what abroad? Wide and diffusive is the Evil One's operation, hurling manifold irritations of our spirit, and sometimes trifling ones, sometimes very great. But the trifling ones you may condemn from their very littleness; to the very great ones you may yield in regard of their overpoweringness. Where the injury is less, there is no necessity for impatience; but where the injury is greater, there more necessary is the remedy for the injury — patience. Let us strive, therefore, to endure the inflictions of the Evil One, that the counter-zeal of our equanimity may mock the zeal of the foe. If, however, we ourselves, either by imprudence or else voluntarily, draw upon ourselves anything, let us meet with equal patience what we have to blame ourselves for. Moreover, if we believe that some inflictions are sent on us by the Lord, to whom should we more exhibit patience than to the Lord? Nay, He teaches us to give thanks and rejoice, over and above, at being thought worthy of divine chastisement. "Whom I love," saith He, "I chasten." O blessed servant, on whose amendment the Lord is intent! with whom He deigns to be wroth! whom He does not deceive by dissembling His reproofs! On every side, therefore, we are bound to the duty of exercising patience, from whatever quarter, either by our own errors or else by the snares of the Evil One, we incur the Lord's reproofs. Of that duty great is the reward — namely, happiness. For whom but the patient has the Lord called happy, in saying, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of the heavens?" No one, assuredly, is "poor in spirit," except he be humble. Well, who is humble, except he be patient? For no one can abase himself without patience, in the first instance, to bear the act of abasement. "Blessed," saith He, "are the weepers and mourners." Who, without patience, is tolerant of such unhappinesses? And so to such, "consolation" and "laughter" are promised. "Blessed are the gentle:" under this term, surely, the impatient cannot possibly be classed. Again, when He marks "the peacemakers" with the same title of felicity, and names them "sons of God," pray have the impatient any affinity with "peace?" Even a fool may perceive

that. When, however, He says, “Rejoice and exult, as often as they shall curse and persecute you; for very great is your reward in heaven,” of course it is not to the *impatience* of exultation that He makes that promise; because no one *will* “exult” in adversities unless he have first learnt to condemn them; no one will condemn them unless he have learnt to practise patience.

Chapter XII. — Certain Other Divine Precepts. The Apostolic Description of Charity. Their Connection with Patience.

As regards the rule of peace, which is so pleasing to God, who in the world that is prone to impatience will even *once* forgive his brother, I will not say “seven times,” or “seventy-seven times?” Who that is contemplating a suit against his adversary will compose the matter by agreement, unless he first begin by lopping off chagrin, hardheartedness, and bitterness, which are in fact the poisonous outgrowths of impatience? How will you “remit, and remission shall be granted” you if the absence of patience makes you tenacious of a wrong? No one who is at variance with his brother in his mind, will finish offering his “duteous gift at the altar,” unless he first, with intent to “reconciliate his brother,” return to patience. If “the sun go down over our wrath,” we are in jeopardy: we are not allowed to remain one day without patience. But, however, since Patience takes the lead in every species of salutary discipline, what wonder that she likewise ministers to Repentance, (accustomed as Repentance is to come to the rescue of such as have fallen,) when, on a disjunction of wedlock (for that cause, I mean, which makes it lawful, whether for husband or wife, to persist in the perpetual observance of widowhood), she waits for, she yearns for, she persuades by her entreaties, repentance in all who are one day to enter salvation? How great a blessing she confers on each! The one she prevents from becoming an adulterer; the other she amends. So, too, she is found in those holy examples touching patience in the Lord’s parables. The shepherd’s patience seeks and finds the straying ewe: for *Impatience* would easily despise *one* ewe; but Patience undertakes the labour of the quest, and the patient burden-bearer carries home on his shoulders the forsaken sinner. That prodigal son also the father’s patience receives, and clothes, and feeds, and makes excuses for, in the presence of the angry brother’s *impatience*. He, therefore, who “had perished” is saved, because he entered on *the way of repentance*. *Repentance perishes not, because it finds Patience* (to welcome it). For by whose teachings but those of Patience is Charity — the highest sacrament of the faith, the treasure-house of the Christian name, which the apostle commends with the whole strength of the Holy Spirit — trained? “Charity,” he says, “is long suffering;” thus she

applies patience: “is beneficent;” Patience does no evil: “is not emulous;” that certainly is a peculiar mark of patience: “savours not of violence:” she has drawn her self-restraint from patience: “is not puffed up; is not violent;” for that pertains not unto patience: “nor does she seek her own” if, she *offers* her own, provided she may benefit her neighbours: “nor is irritable;” if she were, what would she have left to *Impatience*? Accordingly he says, “Charity endures all things; tolerates all things;” of course because she is patient. Justly, then, “will she never fail;” for all other things will be cancelled, will have their consummation. “Tongues, sciences, prophecies, become exhausted; faith, hope, charity, are permanent:” Faith, which Christ’s patience introduced; hope, which man’s patience waits for; charity, which Patience accompanies, with God as Master.

Chapter XIII. — Of Bodily Patience.

Thus far, finally, of patience simple and uniform, and as it exists merely in the *mind*: though in many forms likewise I labour after it in *body*, for the purpose of “winning the Lord;” inasmuch as it is *a quality* which has been exhibited by the Lord Himself in bodily virtue as well; if it is true that the ruling mind easily communicates the gifts of the Spirit with its *bodily* habitation. What, therefore, is the business of Patience *in the body*? In the first place, *it is* the affliction of the flesh — a victim able to appease the Lord by means of the sacrifice of humiliation — in making a libation to the Lord of sordid raiment, together with scantiness of food, content with simple diet and the pure drink of water in conjoining fasts *to all this*; in inuring herself to sackcloth and ashes. This *bodily* patience adds a grace to our prayers for good, a strength to our prayers against evil; this opens the ears of Christ *our* God, dissipates severity, elicits clemency. Thus that Babylonish king, after being exiled from human form in his seven years’ squalor and neglect, because he had offended the Lord; by the bodily immolation of patience not only recovered his kingdom, but — what is more to be desired by a man — made satisfaction to God. Further, if we set down in order the higher and happier grades of bodily patience, (we find that) it is she who is entrusted by holiness with the care of continence of the flesh: she keeps the widow, and sets on the virgin the seal and raises the self-made eunuch to the realms of heaven. That which springs from a virtue of the *mind* is perfected in the *flesh*; *and*, finally, by the patience of the flesh, does battle under persecution. If flight press hard, the flesh wars with the inconvenience of flight; if imprisonment overtake us, the flesh (still was) in bonds, the flesh in the gyve, the flesh in solitude, and in that want of light, and in that patience of the world’s misusage. When, however, it is led forth unto the final proof of happiness, unto the occasion of the second baptism, unto the act of ascending the divine seat, no patience is more needed *there* than *bodily* patience. If the “spirit is willing, but the flesh,” *without* patience, “weak,” where, *save in* patience, *is the safety of the spirit, and of the flesh* itself? But when the Lord says this about the flesh, pronouncing it “weak,” He shows what need there is of strengthening, it — that is by patience — to meet every preparation for subverting or punishing faith; that it may bear with all constancy stripes, fire, cross, beasts, sword; all which

prophets and apostles, by enduring, conquered!

Chapter XIV. — The Power of This Twofold Patience, the Spiritual and the Bodily. Exemplified in the Saints of Old.

With this strength of patience, Esaias is cut *asunder*, and ceases not to speak concerning the Lord; Stephen is stoned, and prays for pardon to his foes. Oh, happy also he who met all the violence of the devil by the exertion of every species of patience! — whom neither the driving away of his cattle nor those riches of his in sheep, nor the sweeping away of his children in one swoop of ruin, nor, finally, the agony of his own body in (one universal) wound, estranged from the patience and the faith which he had plighted to the Lord; whom the devil smote with all his might in vain. For by all his pains he was not drawn away from his reverence for God; but he has been set up as an example and testimony to us, for the thorough accomplishment of patience as well in spirit as in flesh, as well in mind as in body; in order that we succumb neither to damages of our worldly goods, nor to losses of those who are dearest, nor even to bodily afflictions. What a bier for the devil did God erect in the person of that hero! What a banner did He rear over the enemy of His glory, when, at every bitter message, that man uttered nothing out of his mouth but thanks to God, while he denounced his wife, now quite wearied with ills, and urging him to resort to crooked remedies! How did God smile, how was the evil one cut asunder, while Job with mighty equanimity kept scraping off the unclean overflow of his own ulcer, while he sportively replaced the vermin that brake out thence, in the same caves and feeding-places of his pitted flesh! And so, when all the darts of temptations had blunted themselves against the corslet and shield of his patience, that instrument of God's victory not only presently recovered from God the soundness of his body, but possessed in redoubled measure what he had lost. And if he had wished to have his children also restored, he might again have been called father; but he preferred to have them restored him "in that day." Such joy as *that* — secure so entirely concerning the Lord — he deferred; meantime he endured a voluntary bereavement, that he might not live without *some* (exercise of) patience.

Chapter XV. — General Summary of the Virtues and Effects of Patience.

So amply sufficient a Depositary of patience is God. If it be a wrong which you deposit in His care, He is an Avenger; if a loss, He is a Restorer; if pain, He is a Healer; if death, He is a Reviver. What honour is granted to Patience, to have God as her Debtor! And not without reason: for she keeps all His decrees; she has to do with all His mandates. She fortifies faith; is the pilot of peace; assists charity; establishes humility; waits long for repentance; sets her seal on confession; rules the flesh; preserves the spirit; bridles the tongue; restrains the hand; tramples temptations under foot; drives away scandals; gives their crowning grace to martyrdoms; consoles the poor; teaches the rich moderation; overstrains not the weak; exhausts not the strong; is the delight of the believer; invites the Gentile; commends the servant to his lord, and his lord to God; adorns the woman; makes the man approved; is loved in childhood, praised in youth, looked up to in age; is beautiful in either sex, in every time of life. Come, now, *see* whether we have a general idea of her mien and habit. Her countenance is tranquil and peaceful; her brow serene contracted by no wrinkle of sadness or of anger; her eyebrows evenly relaxed in gladsome wise, with eyes downcast in humility, not in unhappiness; her mouth sealed with the honourable mark of silence; her hue such as theirs who are without care and without guilt; the motion of her head frequent against the devil, and her laugh threatening; her clothing, moreover, about her bosom white and well fitted to her person, as being neither inflated nor disturbed. For *Patience* sits on the throne of that calmest and gentlest Spirit, who is not found in the roll of the whirlwind, nor in the leaden hue of the cloud, but is of soft serenity, open and simple, whom Elias saw at his third essay. For where God is, there too is His foster-child, namely Patience. When God's Spirit descends, then Patience accompanies Him indivisibly. If we do not give admission *to her* together with the Spirit, will (He) *always* tarry with us? Nay, I know not whether He would remain *any longer*. Without His companion and handmaid, He must of necessity be straitened in every place and at every time. Whatever blow His enemy may inflict He will be unable to endure alone, being without the instrumental means of enduring.

Chapter XVI. — The Patience of the Heathen Very Different from Christian Patience. Theirs Doomed to Perdition. Ours Destined to Salvation.

This is the rule, this the discipline, these the works of patience *which is* heavenly and true; that is, of Christian *patience*, not false and disgraceful, like as is that patience of the nations of the earth. For in order that in this also the devil might rival the Lord, he has as it were quite on a par (except that the very diversity of evil and good is exactly on a par with their magnitude) taught *his* disciples *also a patience of his own; that, I mean, which, making* husbands venal for dowry, and teaching them to trade in panderings, makes them subject to the power of their wives; which, with feigned affection, undergoes every toil of forced complaisance, with a view to ensnaring the childless; which makes the slaves of the belly submit to contumelious patronage, in the subjection of their liberty to their gullet. Such pursuits of patience the Gentiles are acquainted with; and they eagerly seize a name of so great goodness to apply it to foul practises: patient they live of rivals, and of the rich, and of such as give them invitations; impatient of God alone. But let their own and their leader's patience look to itself — *a patience which the subterraneous fire awaits! Let us, on the other* hand, love the patience of God, the patience of Christ; let us repay to Him the *patience* which He has paid down for us! Let us offer *to Him* the patience of the spirit, the patience of the flesh, believing as we do in the resurrection of flesh and spirit.

Elucidations.

I.

(Unless patience sit by his side, cap. i. .)

Let me quote words which, many years ago, struck me forcibly, and which I trust, have been blest to my soul; for which reason, I must be allowed, here, to thank their author, the learned and fearless Dean Burgon, of Chichester. In his invaluable *Commentary* on the Gospel, which while it abounds in the fruits of a varied erudition, aims only to be practically useful, this pious scholar remarks: “To Faith must be added *Patience*, the ‘patient waiting for God,’ if we would escape the snare which Satan spread, no less for the Holy One (*i.e.* in the Temp. upon the Pinnacle) than for the Israelites at Massah. And this is perhaps the reason of the remarkable prominence given to the grace of *Patience*, both by our Lord and His Apostles; a circumstance, as it may be thought, which has not altogether attracted the attention which it deserves.” He then cites examples; but a reference to any good concordance will strikingly exemplify the admirable comment of this “godly and well-learned man.” See his comments on Matt. iv. 7 and Luke xxi. 19.

II.

(Under their chin, cap. iv. .)

The reference in the note to Paris, as represented by Virgil and in ancient sculpture, seems somewhat to the point:

“Et nunc ille Paris, cum semiviro comitatu.

Mæonia mentum mitra crinemq, madentem,
Subnixus, etc.”

He had just spoken of the *pileus* as a “Cap of freedom,” but there was another form of *pileus* which was just the reverse and was probably tied by *fimbriæ*, under the chin, denoting a low order of slaves, effeminate men, perhaps *spadones*. Now, the Phrygian bonnet to which Virgil refers, is introduced by him to complete the reproach of his contemptuous expression (semiviro comitatu) just before. So, our author— “not only from men, *i.e.* men so degraded as to wear this badge of extreme servitude, but even from cattle, etc. Shall these mean creatures outdo us in obedience and patience?”

(The world's misuseage, cap. xiii. .)

The Reverend Clergy who may read this note will forgive a brother, who begins to be in respect of years, like "Paul the aged," for remarking, that the reading of the *Ante-Nicene Fathers* often leads him to sigh— "Such were they from whom we have received all that makes life tolerable, but how intolerable it was for them: *are we, indeed, such as they would* have considered Christians?" *God be* praised for His mercy and forbearance in our days; but, still it is true that "we have need of patience." Is not much of all that we regard as "the world's misuseage," the gracious hand of the Master upon us, giving us something for the exercise of that Patience, by which He forms us into His own image? (Heb. xii. 3.) Impatience of obscurity, of poverty, of ingratitude, of misrepresentation, of "the slings and arrows" of slander and abuse, is a revolt against that indispensable discipline of the Gospel which requires us to "endure afflictions" in some form or other. Who can complain when one thinks what it would have cost us to be Christians in Tertullian's time? The ambition of the Clergy is always rebellion against God, and "patient waiting" is its only remedy. One will find profitable reading on this subject in Massillon, *de l'Ambition des Clercs*: "Reposez-vous sur le Seigneur du soin de votre destinée: il saura bien accomplir, tout seul, les desseins qu'il a sur vous. Si votre élévation est son bon plaisir, elle sera, aussi son ouvrage. Rendez-vous en digne seulement par la retraite, par la frayeur, par la fuite, par les sentiments vifs de votre indignité....c'est ainsi que les Chrysostome, les Grégoire, les Basil, les Augustin, furent donnés à l'Église."

Adversus Judaeos (Against the Jews)



Translated by Sydney Thelwall

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Chapter I. — Occasion of Writing. Relative Position of Jews and Gentiles Illustrated.

It happened very recently a dispute was held between a Christian and a Jewish proselyte. Alternately with contentious cable they each spun out the day until evening. By the opposing din, moreover, of some partisans of the individuals, truth began to be overcast by a sort of cloud. It was therefore our pleasure that that which, owing to the confused noise of disputation, could be less fully elucidated point by point, should be more carefully looked into, and that the pen should determine, for reading purposes, the questions handled.

For the occasion, indeed, of claiming Divine grace even for the Gentiles derived a pre-eminent fitness from this fact, that the man who set up to vindicate God's Law as his own was of the Gentiles, and not a Jew "of the stock of the Israelites." For this fact — that Gentiles are admissible to God's Law — is enough to prevent Israel from priding himself on the notion that "the Gentiles are accounted as a little drop of a bucket," or else as "dust out of a threshing-floor:" although we have God Himself as an adequate engager and faithful promiser, in that He promised to Abraham that "in his seed should be blest all nations of the earth;" and that out of the womb of Rebecca "two peoples and two nations were about to proceed," — of course those of the Jews, that is, of Israel; and of the Gentiles, that is ours. Each, then, was called a *people* and a *nation*; lest, from the nuncupative appellation, any should dare to claim for himself the privilege of grace. For God ordained "two peoples and two nations" as about to proceed out of the womb of one woman: nor did grace make distinction in the nuncupative appellation, but in the order of birth; to the effect that, which ever was to be prior in proceeding from the womb, should be subjected to "the less," that is, the posterior. For thus unto Rebecca did God speak: "Two nations are in thy womb, and two peoples shall be divided from thy bowels; and people shall overcome people, and the greater shall serve the less." Accordingly, since the *people* or *nation* of the Jews is anterior in time, and "greater" through the grace of primary favour in the Law, whereas ours is understood to be "less" in the age of times, as having in the last era of the world attained the knowledge of divine mercy: beyond doubt, through the edict of the divine utterance, the *prior* and "greater" people — that is, the Jewish — must necessarily serve the "less;" and the "less"

people — that is, the Christian — overcome the “greater.” For, withal, according to the memorial records of the divine Scriptures, the *people* of the Jews — that is, the more ancient — quite forsook God, and did degrading service to idols, and, abandoning the Divinity, was surrendered to images; while “the people” said to Aaron, “Make us gods to go before us.” And when the gold out of the necklaces of the women and the rings of the men had been wholly smelted by fire, and there had come forth a calf-like head, to this figment Israel with one consent (abandoning God) gave honour, saying, “These are the gods who brought us from the land of Egypt.” For thus, in the later times in which kings were governing them, did they again, in conjunction with Jeroboam, worship golden kine, and groves, and enslave themselves to Baal. Whence is proved that they have ever been depicted, out of the volume of the divine Scriptures, as guilty of the crime of idolatry; whereas our “less” — that is, posterior — *people*, quitting the idols which formerly it used slavishly to serve, has been converted to the same God from whom Israel, as we have above related, had departed. For thus has the “less” — that is, posterior — *people* overcome the “greater people,” while it attains the grace of divine favour, from which Israel has been divorced.

Chapter II. — The Law Anterior to Moses.

Stand we, therefore, foot to foot, and determine we the sum and substance of the actual question within definite lists.

For why should God, the founder of the universe, the Governor of the whole world, the Fashioner of humanity, the Sower of universal nations be believed to have given a law through Moses to one people, and not be said to have assigned it to all nations? For unless He had given it to all by no means would He have habitually permitted even proselytes out of the nations to have access to it. But — as is congruous with the goodness of God, and with His equity, as the Fashioner of mankind — He gave to all nations the selfsame law, which at definite and stated times He enjoined should be observed, when He willed, and through whom He willed, and as He willed. For in the beginning of the world He gave to Adam himself and Eve a law, that they were not to eat of the fruit of the tree planted in the midst of paradise; but that, if they did contrariwise, by death they were to die. Which law had continued enough for them, had it been kept. For in this law given to Adam we recognise in embryo all the precepts which afterwards sprouted forth when given through Moses; that is, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God from thy whole heart and out of thy whole soul; Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself; Thou shalt not kill; Thou shalt not commit adultery; Thou shalt not steal; False witness thou shalt not utter; Honour thy father and mother; and, That which is another's, shalt thou not covet. For the primordial law was given to Adam and Eve in paradise, as the womb of all the precepts of God. In short, if they had loved the Lord their God, they would not have contravened His precept; if they had habitually loved their neighbour — that is, themselves — they would not have believed the persuasion of the serpent, and thus would not have committed murder upon themselves, by falling from immortality, by contravening God's precept; from theft also they would have abstained, if they had not stealthily tasted of the fruit of the tree, nor had been anxious to skulk beneath a tree to escape the view of the Lord their God; nor would they have been made partners with the falsehood-asseverating devil, by believing him that they would be "like God;" and thus they would not have offended God either, as their Father, who had fashioned them from clay of the earth, as out of the womb of a mother; if they had not coveted another's, they would not

have tasted of the unlawful fruit.

Therefore, in this general and primordial law of God, the observance of which, in the case of the tree's fruit, He had sanctioned, we recognise *enclosed* all the precepts specially of the posterior Law, which germinated when *disclosed* at their proper times. For the subsequent superinduction of a law is the work of the same Being who had before premised a precept; since it is His province withal subsequently to train, who had before resolved to form, righteous creatures. For what wonder if He extends a discipline who institutes it? if He advances who begins? In short, before the Law of Moses, written in stone-tables, I contend that there was a law unwritten, which was habitually understood naturally, and by the fathers was habitually kept. For whence was Noah "found righteous," if in his case the righteousness of a natural law had not preceded? Whence was Abraham accounted "a friend of God," if not on the ground of equity and righteousness, (in the observance) of a natural law? Whence was Melchizedek named "priest of the most high God," if, before the priesthood of the Levitical law, there were not levites who were wont to offer sacrifices to God? For thus, after the above-mentioned patriarchs, was the Law given to Moses, at that (well-known) time after their exode from Egypt, after the interval and spaces of four hundred years. In fact, it was after Abraham's "four hundred and thirty years" that the Law was given. Whence we understand that God's law was anterior even to Moses, and was not first (given) in Horeb, nor in Sinai and in the desert, but was more ancient; (existing) first in paradise, subsequently reformed for the patriarchs, and so again for the Jews, at definite periods: so that we are not to give heed to Moses' Law as to the primitive law, but as to a subsequent, which at a definite period God has set forth to the Gentiles too and, after repeatedly promising so to do through the prophets, has reformed for the better; and has premonished that it should come to pass that, just as "the law was given through Moses" at a definite time, so it should be believed to have been temporarily observed and kept. And let us not annul this power which God has, which reforms the law's precepts answerably to the circumstances of the times, with a view to man's salvation. In fine, let him who contends that the Sabbath is still to be observed as a balm of salvation, and circumcision on the eighth day because of the threat of death, teach us that, for the time past, righteous men kept the Sabbath, or practised circumcision, and were thus rendered "friends of God."

For if circumcision purges a man since God made Adam uncircumcised, why did He not circumcise him, even after his sinning, if circumcision purges? At all events, in settling him in paradise, He appointed one uncircumcised as colonist of paradise. Therefore, since God originated Adam uncircumcised, and inobservant of the Sabbath, consequently his offspring also, Abel, offering Him sacrifices, uncircumcised and inobservant of the Sabbath, was by Him commended; while He accepted what he was offering in simplicity of heart, and reprobated the sacrifice of his brother Cain, who was not rightly dividing what he was offering. Noah also, uncircumcised — yes, and inobservant of the Sabbath — God freed from the deluge. For Enoch, too, most righteous man, uncircumcised and inobservant of the Sabbath, He translated from this world; who did not first taste death, in order that, being a candidate for eternal life, he might by this time show us that we also may, without the burden of the law of Moses, please God. Melchizedek also, “the priest of the most high God,” uncircumcised and inobservant of the Sabbath, was chosen to the priesthood of God. Lot, withal, the brother of Abraham, proves that it was for the merits of righteousness, without observance of the law, that he was freed from the conflagration of the Sodomites.

Chapter III. — Of Circumcision and the Supersession of the Old Law.

But Abraham, (you say,) was circumcised. Yes, but he pleased God before his circumcision; nor yet did he observe the Sabbath. For he had “accepted” circumcision; but such as was to be for “a sign” of that time, not for a prerogative title to salvation. In fact, subsequent patriarchs were uncircumcised, like Melchizedek, who, uncircumcised, offered to Abraham himself, already circumcised, on his return from battle, bread and wine. “But again,” (you say) “the son of Moses would upon one occasion have been choked by an angel, if Zipporah, had not circumcised the foreskin of the infant with a pebble; whence, “there is the greatest peril if any fail to circumcise the foreskin of his flesh.” Nay, but if circumcision altogether brought salvation, even Moses himself, in the case of his own son, would not have omitted to circumcise him on the eighth day; whereas it is agreed that Zipporah did it on the journey, at the compulsion of the angel. Consider we, accordingly, that one single infant’s compulsory circumcision cannot have prescribed to every people, and founded, as it were, a law for keeping this precept. For God, foreseeing that He was about to give this circumcision to the people of Israel for “a sign,” not for salvation, urges the circumcision of the son of Moses, their future leader, for this reason; that, since He had begun, through him, to give the People the precept of circumcision, the people should not despise it, from seeing this example (of neglect) already exhibited conspicuously in their leader’s son. For circumcision had to be given; but as “a sign,” whence Israel in the last time would have to be distinguished, when, in accordance with their deserts, they should be prohibited from entering the holy city, as we see through the words of the prophets, saying, “Your land is desert; your cities utterly burnt with fire; your country, in your sight, strangers shall eat up; and, deserted and subverted by strange peoples, the daughter of Zion shall be derelict, like a shed in a vineyard, and like a watchhouse in a cucumber-field, and as it were a city which is being stormed.” Why so? Because the subsequent discourse of the prophet reproaches them, saying, “Sons have I begotten and upraised, but they have reprobated me;” and again, “And if ye shall have outstretched hands, I will avert my face from you; and if ye shall have multiplied prayers, I will not hear you: for your hands are full of

blood;" and again, "Woe! sinful nation; a people full of sins; wicked sons; ye have quite forsaken God, and have provoked unto indignation the Holy One of Israel." This, therefore, was God's foresight, — that of giving circumcision to Israel, for a sign whence they might be distinguished when the time should arrive wherein their above-mentioned deserts should prohibit their admission into Jerusalem: which circumstance, because it was to be, used to be announced; and, because we see it accomplished, is recognised by us. For, as the carnal circumcision, which was temporary, was in wrought for "a sign" in a contumacious people, so the spiritual has been given for salvation to an obedient people; while the prophet Jeremiah says, "Make a renewal for you, and sow not in thorns; be circumcised to God, and circumcise the foreskin of your heart:" and in another place he says, "Behold, days shall come, saith the Lord, and I will draw up, for the house of Judah and for the house of Jacob, a new testament; not such as I once gave their fathers in the day wherein I led them out from the land of Egypt." Whence we understand that the coming cessation of the former circumcision then given, and the coming procession of a new law (not such as He had already given to the fathers), are announced: just as Isaiah foretold, saying that in the last days the mount of the Lord and the house of God were to be manifest above the tops of the mounts: "And it shall be exalted," he says, "above the hills; and there shall come over it all nations; and many shall walk, and say, Come, ascend we unto the mount of the Lord, and unto the house of the God of *Jacob*," — not of *Esau*, the former son, but of *Jacob*, the second; that is, of *our* "people," whose "mount" is Christ, "præcised without concisors' hands, filling every land," shown in the book of Daniel. In short, the coming procession of a new law out of this "house of the God of Jacob" Isaiah in the ensuing words announces, saying, "For from Zion shall go out a law, and the word of the Lord out of Jerusalem, and shall judge among the nations," — that is, among *us*, who have been called out of the nations,— "and they shall join to beat their glaives into ploughs, and their lances into sickles; and nations shall not take up glaive against nation, and they shall no more learn to fight." Who else, therefore, are understood but *we*, who, fully taught by the new law, observe these practices, — the old law being obliterated, the coming of whose abolition the action itself demonstrates? For the wont of the old law was to avenge itself by the vengeance of the glaive, and to pluck out "eye for eye," and to inflict

retaliatory revenge for injury. But the new law's wont was to point to clemency, and to convert to tranquillity the pristine ferocity of "glaives" and "lances," and to remodel the pristine execution of "war" upon the rivals and foes of the law into the pacific actions of "ploughing" and "tilling" the land. Therefore as we have shown above that the coming cessation of the old law and of the carnal circumcision was declared, so, too, the observance of the new law and the spiritual circumcision has shone out into the voluntary obediences of peace. For "a people," he says, "whom I knew not hath served me; in obedience of the ear it hath obeyed me." Prophets made the announcement. But what is the "people" which was ignorant of God, but *ours*, who in days bygone knew not God? and who, in the hearing of the ear, gave heed to Him, but *we*, who, forsaking idols, have been converted to God? For Israel — who *had* been known to God, and who had by Him been "upraised" in Egypt, and was transported through the Red Sea, and who in the desert, fed forty years with manna, was wrought to the semblance of eternity, and not contaminated with human passions, or fed on this world's meats, but fed on "angel's loaves" — the manna — and sufficiently bound to God by His benefits — forgot his Lord and God, saying to Aaron: "Make us gods, to go before us: for that Moses, who ejected us from the land of Egypt, hath quite forsaken us; and what hath befallen him we know not." And accordingly we, who "were not the people of God" in days bygone, have been made His people, by accepting the new law above mentioned, and the new circumcision before foretold.

Chapter IV. — Of the Observance of the Sabbath.

It follows, accordingly, that, in so far as the abolition of carnal circumcision and of the old law is demonstrated as having been consummated at its specific times, so also the observance of the Sabbath is demonstrated to have been temporary.

For the Jews say, that from the beginning God sanctified the seventh day, by resting on it from all His works which He made; and that thence it was, likewise, that Moses said to the People: “Remember the day of the sabbaths, to sanctify it: every servile work ye shall not do therein, except what pertaineth unto life.” Whence we (Christians) understand that *we* still more ought to observe a sabbath from all “servile work” always, and not only every seventh day, but through all time. And through this arises the question for us, *what* sabbath God willed us to keep? For the Scriptures point to a sabbath eternal and a sabbath temporal. For Isaiah the prophet says, “*Your* sabbaths my soul hateth;” and in another place he says, “*My* sabbaths ye have profaned.” Whence we discern that the temporal sabbath is human, and the eternal sabbath is accounted divine; concerning which He predicts through Isaiah: “And there shall be,” He says, “month after month, and day after day, and sabbath after sabbath; and all flesh shall come to adore in Jerusalem, saith the Lord;” which we understand to have been fulfilled in the times of Christ, when “all flesh” — that is, every nation— “came to adore in Jerusalem” God the Father, through Jesus Christ His Son, as was predicted through the prophet: “Behold, proselytes through me shall go unto Thee.” Thus, therefore, before this temporal sabbath, there was withal an eternal sabbath foreshown and foretold; just as before the carnal circumcision there was withal a spiritual circumcision foreshown. In short, let them teach us, as we have already premised, that Adam observed the sabbath; or that Abel, when offering to God a holy victim, pleased Him by a religious reverence for the sabbath; or that Enoch, when translated, had been a keeper of the sabbath; or that Noah the ark-builder observed, on account of the deluge, an immense sabbath; or that Abraham, in observance of the sabbath, offered Isaac his son; or that Melchizedek in his priesthood received the law of the sabbath.

But the Jews are sure to say, that ever since this precept was given through Moses, the observance has been binding. Manifest accordingly it is, that the

precept was not eternal nor spiritual, but temporary, which would one day cease. In short, so true is it that it is not in the exemption from work of the sabbath — that is, of the seventh day — that the celebration of this solemnity is to consist, that Joshua the son of Nun, at the time that he was reducing the city Jericho by war, stated that he had received from God a precept to order the People that priests should carry the ark of the testament of God seven days, making the circuit of the city; and thus, when the seventh day's circuit had been performed, the walls of the city would spontaneously fall. Which was so done; and when the space of the seventh day was finished, just as was predicted, down fell the walls of the city. Whence it is manifestly shown, that in the number of the seven days there intervened a sabbath-day. For seven days, whencesoever they may have commenced, must necessarily include within them a sabbath-day; on which day not only must the priests have worked, but the city must have been made a prey by the edge of the sword by all the people of Israel. Nor is it doubtful that they “wrought servile work,” when, in obedience to God's precept, they drave the preys of war. For in the times of the Maccabees, too, they did bravely in fighting on the sabbaths, and routed their foreign foes, and recalled the law of their fathers to the primitive style of life by fighting on the sabbaths. Nor should I think it was any other law which they thus vindicated, than the one in which they remembered the existence of the prescript touching “the day of the sabbaths.”

Whence it is manifest that the force of such precepts was temporary, and respected the necessity of present circumstances; and that it was not with a view to its observance in perpetuity that God formerly gave them such a law.

Chapter V. — Of Sacrifices.

So, again, we show that sacrifices of earthly oblations and of spiritual sacrifices were predicted; and, moreover, that from the beginning the earthly were foreshown, in the person of Cain, to be those of the “elder son,” that is, of Israel; and the opposite sacrifices demonstrated to be those of the “younger son,” Abel, that is, of *our* people. For the elder, Cain, offered gifts to God from the fruit of the earth; but the younger son, Abel, from the fruit of his ewes. “God had respect unto Abel, and unto his gifts; but unto Cain and unto his gifts He had not respect. And God said unto Cain, Why is thy countenance fallen? hast thou not — if thou offerest indeed aright, but dost not divide aright — sinned? Hold thy peace. For unto thee shalt thy conversion be and he shall lord it over thee. And then Cain said unto Abel his brother, Let us go into the field: and he went away with him thither, and he slew him. And then God said unto Cain, Where is Abel thy brother? And he said, I know not: am I my brother’s keeper? To whom God said, The voice of the blood of thy brother crieth forth unto me from the earth. Wherefore cursed is the earth, which hath opened her mouth to receive the blood of thy brother. Groaning and trembling shalt thou be upon the earth, and every one who shall have found thee shall slay thee.” From this proceeding we gather that the twofold sacrifices of “the peoples” were even from the very beginning foreshown. In short, when the sacerdotal law was being drawn up, through Moses, in Leviticus, we find it prescribed to the people of Israel that sacrifices should in no other place be offered to God than in the land of promise; which the Lord God was about to give to “the people” Israel and to their brethren, in order that, on Israel’s introduction thither, there should there be celebrated sacrifices and holocausts, as well for sins as for souls; and nowhere else but in the holy land. Why, accordingly, does the Spirit afterwards predict, through the prophets, that it should come to pass that in every place and in every land there should be offered sacrifices to God? as He says through the angel Malachi, one of the twelve prophets: “I will not receive sacrifice from your hands; for from the rising sun unto the setting my Name hath been made famous among all the nations, saith the Lord Almighty: and in every place they offer clean sacrifices to my Name.” Again, in the Psalms, David says: “Bring to God, ye countries of the nations” — undoubtedly because “unto

every land” the preaching of the apostles had to “go out”— “bring to God fame and honour; bring to God the sacrifices of His name: take up victims and enter into His courts.” For that it is not by earthly sacrifices, but by spiritual, that offering is to be made to God, we thus read, as it is written, “An heart contrituate and humbled is a victim for God;” and elsewhere, “Sacrifice to God a sacrifice of praise, and render to the Highest thy vows.” Thus, accordingly, the spiritual “sacrifices of praise” are pointed to, and “an heart contrituate” is demonstrated an acceptable sacrifice to God. And thus, as carnal sacrifices are understood to be reprobated — of which Isaiah withal speaks, saying, “To what end is the multitude of your sacrifices to me? saith the Lord” — so spiritual sacrifices are predicted as accepted, as the prophets announce. For, “even if ye shall have brought me,” He says, “the finest wheat flour, it is a vain supplicatory gift: a thing execrable to me;” and again He says, “Your holocausts and sacrifices, and the fat of goats, and blood of bulls, I will not, not even if ye come to be seen by me: for who hath required these things from your hands?” for “from the rising sun unto the setting, my Name hath been made famous among all the nations, saith the Lord.” But of the spiritual sacrifices He adds, saying, “And in every place they offer clean sacrifices to my Name, saith the Lord.”

Chapter VI. — Of the Abolition and the Abolisher of the Old Law.

Therefore, since it is manifest that a sabbath temporal was shown, and a sabbath eternal foretold; a circumcision carnal foretold, and a circumcision spiritual pre-indicated; a law temporal and a law eternal formally declared; sacrifices carnal and sacrifices spiritual foreshown; it follows that, after all these precepts had been given carnally, in time preceding, to the people Israel, there was to supervene a time whereat the precepts of the ancient Law and of the old ceremonies would cease, and the promise of the new law, and the recognition of spiritual sacrifices, and the promise of the New Testament, supervene; while the light from on high would beam upon us who were sitting in darkness, and were being detained in the shadow of death. And so there is incumbent on us a necessity binding us, since we have premised that a new law was predicted by the prophets, and that not such as had been already given to their fathers at the time when He led them forth from the land of Egypt, to show and prove, on the one hand, that that old Law has ceased, and on the other, that the promised new law is now in operation.

And, indeed, first we must inquire whether there be expected a giver of the new law, and an heir of the new testament, and a priest of the new sacrifices, and a purger of the new circumcision, and an observer of the eternal sabbath, to suppress the old law, and institute the new testament, and offer the new sacrifices, and repress the ancient ceremonies, and suppress the old circumcision together with its own sabbath, and announce the new kingdom which is not corruptible. Inquire, I say, we must, whether this giver of the new law, observer of the spiritual sabbath, priest of the eternal sacrifices, eternal ruler of the eternal kingdom, be come or no: that, if he is already come, service may have to be rendered him; if he is not yet come, he may have to be awaited, until by his advent it be manifest that the old Law's precepts are suppressed, and that the beginnings of the new law ought to arise. And, primarily, we must lay it down that the ancient Law and the prophets could not have ceased, unless He were come who was constantly announced, through the same Law and through the same prophets, as to come.

Chapter VII. — The Question Whether Christ Be Come Taken Up.

Therefore upon this issue plant we foot to foot, whether the Christ who was constantly announced as to come be already come, or whether His coming be yet a subject of hope. For proof of which question itself, the times likewise must be examined by us when the prophets announced that the Christ would come; that, if we succeed in recognising that He has come within the limits of those times, we may without doubt believe Him to be the very one whose future coming was ever the theme of prophetic song, upon whom *we* — the nations, to wit — were ever announced as destined to believe; and that, when it shall have been agreed that He is come, we may undoubtedly likewise believe that the new law has by Him been given, and not disavow the new testament in Him and through Him drawn up for us. For that Christ was to come we know that even the Jews do not attempt to disprove, inasmuch as it is to His advent that they are directing their hope. Nor need we inquire at more length concerning *that* matter, since in days bygone all the prophets have prophesied of it; as Isaiah: “Thus saith the Lord God to my Christ (the) Lord, whose right hand I have holden, that the nations may hear Him: the powers of kings will I burst asunder; I will open before Him the gates, and the cities shall not be closed to Him.” Which very thing we see fulfilled. For whose right hand does God the Father hold but Christ’s, His Son? — whom all nations have heard, that is, whom all nations have believed, — whose preachers, withal, the apostles, are pointed to in the Psalms of David: “Into the universal earth,” says he, “is gone out their sound, and unto the ends of the earth their words.” For upon whom else have the universal nations believed, but upon the Christ who is already come? For whom have the nations believed, — Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and they who inhabit Mesopotamia, Armenia, Phrygia, Cappadocia, and they who dwell in Pontus, and Asia, and Pamphylia, barriers in Egypt, and inhabitants of the region of Africa which is beyond Cyrene, Romans and sojourners, yes, and in Jerusalem Jews, and all other nations; as, for instance, by this time, the varied races of the Gætulians, and manifold confines of the Moors, all the limits of the Spains, and the diverse nations of the Gauls, and the haunts of the Britons — inaccessible to the Romans, but subjugated to Christ, and of the Sarmatians, and Dacians, and

Germans, and Scythians, and of many remote nations, and of provinces and islands many, to us unknown, and which we can scarce enumerate? In all which places the name of the Christ who is already come reigns, as of Him before whom the gates of all cities have been opened, and to whom none are closed, before whom iron bars have been crumbled, and brazen gates opened. Although there be withal a spiritual sense to be affixed to these expressions, — that the hearts of individuals, blockaded in various ways by the devil, are unbarred by the faith of Christ, — still they have been evidently fulfilled, inasmuch as in all these places dwells the “people” of the Name of Christ. For who *could* have reigned *over all nations* but Christ, God’s Son, who was ever announced as destined to reign over all to eternity? For if Solomon “reigned,” why, it was within the confines of Judea merely: “from Beersheba unto Dan” the boundaries of his kingdom are marked. If, moreover, Darius “reigned” over the Babylonians and Parthians, he had not power *over all* nations; *if Pharaoh, or whoever succeeded him in his hereditary* kingdom, over the Egyptians, in that country merely did he possess his kingdom’s dominion; if Nebuchadnezzar with his petty kings, “from India unto Ethiopia” he had his kingdom’s boundaries; if Alexander the Macedonian he did not hold more than universal Asia, and other regions, after he had quite conquered them; if the Germans, to this day they are not suffered to cross their own limits; the Britons are shut within the circuit of their own ocean; the nations of the Moors, and the barbarism of the Gætulians, are blockaded by the Romans, lest they exceed the confines of their own regions. What shall I say of the Romans themselves, who fortify their own empire with garrisons of their own legions, nor can extend the might of their kingdom beyond these nations? But Christ’s Name is extending everywhere, believed everywhere, worshipped by all the above-enumerated nations, reigning everywhere, adored everywhere, conferred equally everywhere upon all. No king, with Him, finds greater favour, no barbarian lesser joy; no dignities or pedigrees enjoy distinctions of merit; to all He is equal, to all King, to all Judge, to all “God and Lord.” Nor would you hesitate to believe what we asseverate, since you see it taking place.

Chapter VIII. — Of the Times of Christ's Birth and Passion, and of Jerusalem's Destruction.

Accordingly the times must be inquired into of the predicted and future nativity of the Christ, and of His passion, and of the extermination of the city of Jerusalem, that is, its devastation. For Daniel says, that "both the holy city and the holy place are exterminated together with the coming Leader, and that the pinnacle is destroyed unto ruin." And so the times of the coming Christ, the Leader, must be inquired into, which we shall trace in Daniel; and, after computing them, shall prove Him to be come, even on the ground of the times prescribed, and of competent signs and operations of His. Which matters we prove, again, on the ground of the consequences which were ever announced as to follow His advent; in order that we may believe all to have been as well fulfilled as foreseen.

In such wise, therefore, did Daniel predict concerning Him, as to show both when and in what time He was to set the nations free; and how, after the passion of the Christ, that city had to be exterminated. For he says thus: "In the first year under Darius, son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, who reigned over the kingdom of the Chaldees, I Daniel understood in the books the number of the years....And while I was yet speaking in my prayer, behold, the man Gabriel, whom I saw in the vision in the beginning, flying; and he touched me, as it were, at the hour of the evening sacrifice, and made me understand, and spake with me, and said, Daniel I am now come out to imbue thee with understanding; in the beginning of thy supplication went out a word. And I am come to announce to thee, because thou art a man of desires; and ponder thou on the word, and understand in the vision. Seventy hebdomads have been abridged upon thy commonalty, and upon the holy city, until delinquency be made inveterate, and sins sealed, and righteousness obtained by entreaty, and righteousness eternal introduced; and in order that vision and prophet may be sealed, and an holy one of holy ones anointed. And thou shalt know, and thoroughly see, and understand, from the going forth of a word for restoring and rebuilding Jerusalem unto the Christ, the Leader, hebdomads (seven and an half, and) lxii and an half: and it shall convert, and shall be built into height and entrenchment, and the times shall be renewed: and after these lxii hebdomads shall the anointing be exterminated, and shall not be; and the

city and the holy place shall he exterminate together with the Leader, who is making His advent; and they shall be cut short as in a deluge, until (the) end of a war, which shall be cut short unto ruin. And he shall confirm a testament in many. In one hebdomad and the half of the hebdomad shall be taken away my sacrifice and libation, and in the holy place the execration of devastation, (and) until the end of (the) time consummation shall be given with regard to this devastation.”

Observe we, therefore, the limit, — how, in truth, he predicts that there are to be lxx hebdomads, *within which if they receive Him, “it shall be built into height and entrenchment, and the times shall be renewed.”* But God, foreseeing what was to be — that they will not merely not receive Him, but will both persecute and deliver Him to death — both recapitulated, and said, that in lx and ii and an half of an hebdomad He is born, and an holy one of holy ones is anointed; but that when vii hebdomads and an half were fulfilling, He had to suffer, and the holy city had to be exterminated after one and an half hebdomad — whereby namely, the seven and an half hebdomads have been completed. For he says thus: “And the city and the holy place to be exterminated together with the leader who is to come; and they shall be cut short as in a deluge; and he shall destroy the pinnacle unto ruin.” Whence, therefore, do we show that the Christ came within the lxii and an half hebdomads? We shall count, moreover, from the first year of Darius, as at this particular time is shown to Daniel this particular vision; for he says, “And understand and conjecture that at the completion of thy word I make thee these answers.” Whence we are bound to compute from the first year of Darius, when Daniel saw this vision.

Let us see, therefore, how the years are filled up until the advent of the Christ: —

For Darius reigned...xviii years (19).

Artaxerxes reigned...xl and i years (41).

Then King Ochus (who is also called Cyrus) reigned...xxiii years (24).

Argus...one year.

Another Darius, who is also named Melas...xxi years (21).

Alexander the Macedonian...xii years (12)

Then, after Alexander, who had reigned over both Medes and Persians, whom he had reconquered, and had established his kingdom firmly in

Alexandria, when withal he called that (city) by his own name; after him reigned, (there, in Alexandria,)

Soter...xxxv years (35).

To whom succeeds Philadelphus, reigning...xxx and viii years (38).

To him succeeds Euergetes...xxv years (25).

Then Philopator...xvii years (17).

After him Epiphanes...xxiiii years (24).

Then another Euergetes...xxviii years (29).

Then another Soter,...xxxviii years (38).

Ptolemy...xxxvii years (37).

Cleopatra,...xx years v months (20 5–12).

Yet again Cleopatra reigned jointly with Augustus...xiii years (13).

After Cleopatra, Augustus reigned other...xlili years (43).

For all the years of the empire of Augustus were...lvi years (56).

Let us see, moreover, how in the forty-first year of the empire of Augustus, when he has been reigning for xx and viii years after the death of Cleopatra, the Christ is born. (And the same Augustus survived, after Christ is born, xv years; and the remaining times of years to the day of the birth of Christ will bring us to the xl first year, which is the xx and viiith of Augustus after the death of Cleopatra.) There are, (then,) made up cccxxx and vii years, v months: (whence are filled up lxii hebdomads and an half: which make up cccxxxvii years, vi months:) on the day of the birth of Christ. And (then) “righteousness eternal” was manifested, and “an Holy One of holy ones was anointed” — that is, Christ — and “sealed was vision and prophet,” and “sins” were remitted, which, through faith in the name of Christ, are washed away for all who believe on Him. But what does he mean by saying that “vision and prophecy *are* sealed?” *That all prophets ever announced of Him that He was to come and had to suffer.* Therefore, since the prophecy was fulfilled through His advent, for that reason he said that “vision and prophecy *were sealed*,” inasmuch as He is the signet of all prophets, fulfilling all things which in days bygone they had announced of Him. For after the advent of Christ and His passion there is no longer “vision or prophet” to announce Him as to come. In short, if this is not so, let the Jews exhibit, subsequently to Christ, any volumes of prophets, visible miracles wrought by any angels, (such as those) which in bygone days the patriarchs saw until the advent of

Christ, who is now come; since which event “sealed is vision and prophecy,” that is, confirmed. And justly does the evangelist write, “The law and the prophets (were) until John” the Baptist. For, on Christ’s being baptized, that is, on His sanctifying the waters in His own baptism, all the plenitude of bygone spiritual grace-gifts ceased in Christ, sealing as He did all vision and prophecies, which by His advent He fulfilled. Whence most firmly does he assert that His advent “seals visions and prophecy.”

Accordingly, showing, (as we have done,) both the number of the years, and the time of the lx two and an half fulfilled hebdomads, on completion of which, (we have shown) that Christ is come, that is, has been born, let us see what (mean) other “vii and an half hebdomads,” which have been subdivided in the abscision of the former hebdomads; (let us see, namely,) in what event they have been fulfilled: —

For, after Augustus who survived after the birth of Christ, are made up...xv years (15).

To whom succeeded Tiberius Cæsar, and held the empire...xx years, vii months, xxviii days (20 etc.).

(In the fiftieth year of his empire Christ suffered, being about xxx years of age when he suffered.)

Again Caius Cæsar, also called Caligula,...iii years, viii months, xiii days (3 etc.).

Nero Cæsar,...xi years, ix months, xiii days (11 etc.).

Galba...vii months, vi days. (7 etc.).

Otho...iii days.

Vitellius,...viii mos., xxvii days (8 mos.).

Vespasian, in the first year of his empire, subdues the Jews in war; and there are made lii years, vi months. For he reigned xi years. And thus, in the day of their storming, the Jews fulfilled the lxx hebdomads predicted in Daniel.

Therefore, when these times also were completed, and the Jews subdued, there afterwards ceased in that place “libations and sacrifices,” which thenceforward have not been able to be in that place celebrated; for “the unction,” too, was “exterminated” in that place after the passion of Christ. For it had been predicted that the unction *should* be exterminated in that place; as in the Psalms it is prophesied, “They exterminated my hands and feet.” And

the suffering of this “extermination” was perfected within the times of the lxx hebdomads, under Tiberius Cæsar, in the consulate of Rubellius Geminus and Fufius Geminus, in the month of March, at the times of the passover, on the eighth day before the calends of April, on the first day of unleavened bread, on which they slew the lamb at even, just as had been enjoined by Moses. Accordingly, all the synagogue of Israel *did* slay Him, saying to Pilate, when he was desirous to dismiss Him, “His blood be upon us, and upon our children;” and, “If thou dismiss him, thou art not a friend of Cæsar;” in order that all things might be fulfilled which had been written of Him.

Chapter IX. — Of the Prophecies of the Birth and Achievements of Christ.

Begin we, therefore, to prove that the Birth of Christ was announced by prophets; as Isaiah (*e.g.*) foretells, “Hear ye, house of David; no petty contest have ye with men, since God is proposing a struggle. Therefore God Himself will give you a sign; Behold, the virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and ye shall call his name Emmanuel” (which is, interpreted, “God with us”): “butter and honey shall he eat;”: “since, ere the child learn to call father or mother, he shall receive the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria, in opposition to the king of the Assyrians.”

Accordingly the Jews say: Let us challenge that prediction of Isaiah, and let us institute a comparison whether, in the case of the Christ who is already come, there be applicable to Him, firstly, the name which Isaiah foretold, and (secondly) the signs of it which he announced of Him.

Well, then, Isaiah foretells that it behoves Him to be called Emmanuel; and that subsequently He is to take the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria, in opposition to the king of the Assyrians. “Now,” say they, “that (Christ) of yours, who is come, neither was called by that name, nor engaged in warfare.” But we, on the contrary, have thought they ought to be admonished to recall to mind *the context* of this passage as well. For subjoined is withal the interpretation of Emmanuel— “God with us” — in order that you may regard not the sound only of the name, but the sense too. For the Hebrew sound, which is Emmanuel, has an interpretation, which is, God with us. Inquire, then, whether this speech, “God with us” (which is Emmanuel), be commonly applied to Christ ever since Christ’s light has dawned, and I think you will not deny it. For they who out of Judaism believe in Christ, ever since their believing on Him, do, whenever they shall wish to say Emmanuel, signify that God is with us: and thus it is agreed that He who was ever predicted as Emmanuel is already come, because that which Emmanuel signifies is come — that is, “God with us.” Equally are they led by the sound of the name when they so understand “the power of Damascus,” and “the spoils of Samaria,” and “the kingdom of the Assyrians,” as if they portended Christ as a warrior; not observing that Scripture premises, “since, ere the child learn to call father or mother, he shall receive the power of

Damascus and the spoils of Samaria, in opposition to the king of the Assyrians.” For the first step is to look at the demonstration of His *age*, to see whether the age there indicated can possibly exhibit the Christ as already a *man*, not to say a *general*. Forsooth, by His babyish cry the infant would summon men to arms, and would give the signal of war not with clarion, but with rattle, and point out the foe, not from His charger’s back or from a rampart, but from the back or neck of His suckler and nurse, and thus subdue Damascus and Samaria in place of the breast. (It is another matter if, among you, infants rush out into battle, — oiled first, I suppose, to dry in the sun, and then armed with satchels and rationed on butter, — who are to know how to lance sooner than how to lacerate the bosom!) Certainly, if nature nowhere allows this, — (namely,) to serve as a soldier before developing into manhood, to take “the power of Damascus” before knowing your father, — it follows that the pronouncement is visibly figurative. “But again,” say they, “nature suffers not a ‘virgin’ to be a parent; and yet the prophet must be believed.” And deservedly so; for he bespoke credit for a thing incredible, by saying that it was to be a *sign*. “Therefore,” he says, “shall a sign be given you. Behold, a virgin shall conceive in womb, and bear a son.” But a sign from God, unless it had consisted in some portentous novelty, would not have appeared a sign. In a word, if, when you are anxious to cast any down from (a belief in) this divine prediction, or to convert whoever are simple, you have the audacity to lie, as if the Scripture contained (the announcement), that not “a virgin,” but “a young female,” was to conceive and bring forth; you are refuted even by this fact, that a daily occurrence — the pregnancy and parturition of a young female, namely — cannot possibly seem anything of a *sign*. *And the setting before us, then, of a virgin-mother is deservedly believed to be a sign*; but not equally so a warrior-infant. For there would not in this case again be involved the question of a *sign*; but, the *sign* of a novel birth having been awarded, the next step after the *sign* is, that there is enunciated a different ensuing ordering of the infant, who is to eat “honey and butter.” Nor is this, of course, for a *sign*. It is natural to infancy. But that he is to receive “the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria in opposition to the king of the Assyrians,” this is a wondrous *sign*. Keep to the limit of (the infant’s) *age*, and inquire into the sense of the prediction; nay, rather, repay to truth what you are unwilling to credit her with, and the prophecy becomes intelligible by

the relation of its fulfilment. Let those Eastern magi be believed, dowering with gold and incense the infancy of Christ as a king; and the infant has received “the power of Damascus” without battle and arms. For, besides the fact that it is known to all that the “power” — for that is the “strength” — of the East is wont to abound in gold and odours, certain it is that the divine Scriptures regard “gold” as constituting the “power” also of all other nations; as it says through Zechariah: “And Judah keepeth guard at Jerusalem, and shall amass all the vigour of the surrounding peoples, gold and silver.” For of this gift of “gold” David likewise says, “And to Him shall be given of the gold of Arabia;” and again, “The kings of the Arabs and Saba shall bring Him gifts.” For the East, on the one hand, generally held the magi (to be) kings; and Damascus, on the other hand, used formerly to be reckoned to Arabia before it was transferred into Syrophœnicia on the division of the Syrias: the “power” whereof Christ then “received” in receiving its ensigns, — gold, to wit, and odours. “The spoils,” moreover, “of Samaria” (He received in receiving) the magi themselves, who, on recognising Him, and honouring Him with gifts, and adoring Him on bended knee as Lord and King, on the evidence of the guiding and indicating star, became “the spoils of Samaria,” that is, of idolatry — by believing, namely, on Christ. For (Scripture) denoted idolatry by the name of “Samaria,” Samaria being ignominious on the score of idolatry; for she had at that time revolted from God under King Jeroboam. For this, again, is no novelty to the Divine Scriptures, figuratively to use a transference of *name* grounded on parallelism of *crimes*. For it calls your rulers “rulers of Sodom,” and your people the “people of Gomorrha,” when those cities had already long been extinct. And elsewhere it says, through a prophet, to the people of Israel, “Thy father (was) an Amorite, and thy mother an Hittite;” of whose race they were not begotten, but (were called their sons) by reason of their consimilarity in impiety, whom of old (God) had called *His own sons* through Isaiah the prophet: “I have generated and exalted sons.” So, too, Egypt is sometimes understood to mean the whole world in that prophet, on the count of superstition and malediction. So, again, Babylon, in our own John, is a figure of the city Rome, as being equally great and proud of her sway, and triumphant over the saints. On this wise, accordingly, (Scripture) entitled the magi also with the appellation of “Samaritans,” — “despoiled” (of that) which they had had in common with the Samaritans, as we have said —

idolatry in opposition to the Lord. (It adds), “in opposition,” moreover, “to the king of the Assyrians,” — in opposition to the devil, who to this hour thinks himself to be reigning, if he detrudes the saints from the religion of God.

Moreover, this our interpretation will be supported while (we find that) elsewhere as well the Scriptures designate Christ a warrior, as we gather from the names of certain weapons, and words of that kind. But by a comparison of the remaining senses the Jews shall be convicted. “Gird thee,” says David, “the sword upon the thigh.” But what do you read above concerning the Christ? “Blooming in beauty above the sons of men; grace is outpoured in thy lips.” But very absurd it is if he was complimenting on the bloom of his beauty and the grace of his lips, one whom he was girding for war with a sword; of whom he proceeds subjunctively to say, “Outstretch and prosper, advance and reign!” And he has added, “because of thy lenity and justice.” Who will ply the sword without practising the contraries to lenity and justice; that is, guile, and asperity, and injustice, proper (of course) to the business of battles? See we, then, whether that which has another action be not another sword, — that is, the Divine word of God, doubly sharpened with the two Testaments of the ancient law and the new law; sharpened by the equity of its own wisdom; rendering to each one according to his own action. Lawful, then, it was for the Christ of God to be precinct, in the Psalms, without warlike achievements, with the figurative sword of the word of God; to which sword is congruous the predicated “bloom,” together with the “grace of the lips;” with which sword He was then “girt upon the thigh,” in the eye of David, when He was announced as about to come to earth in obedience to God the Father’s decree. “The greatness of thy right hand,” he says, “shall conduct thee” — the virtue to wit, of the spiritual grace from which the recognition of Christ is deduced. “Thine arrows,” he says, “are sharp,” — God’s everywhere-flying precepts (arrows) threatening the exposure of every heart, and carrying compunction and transfixion to each conscience: “peoples shall fall beneath thee,” — of course, in adoration. Thus mighty in war and weapon-bearing is Christ; thus will He “receive the spoils,” not of “Samaria” alone, but of all nations as well. Acknowledge that His “spoils” are figurative whose weapons you have learnt to be allegorical. And thus, so far, the Christ who is come was not a warrior, because He was not predicted as such by

Isaiah.

“But if the Christ,” say they, “who is believed to be coming is not called Jesus, why is he who is come called Jesus Christ?” Well, each name will meet in the Christ of God, in whom is found likewise the appellation Jesus. Learn the habitual character of your error. In the course of the appointing of a successor to Moses, Oshea the son of Nun is certainly transferred from his pristine name, and begins to be called Jesus. Certainly, you say. This we first assert to have been a figure of the future. For, because Jesus Christ was to introduce the second people (which is composed of us nations, lingering deserted in the world aforesaid) into the land of promise, “flowing with milk and honey” (that is, into the possession of eternal life, than which nought is sweeter); and this had to come about, not through Moses (that is, not through the Law’s discipline), but through Joshua (that is, through the new law’s grace), after our circumcision with “a knife of rock” (that is, with Christ’s precepts, for Christ is in many ways and figures predicted as a rock); therefore the man who was being prepared to act as images of this sacrament was inaugurated under the figure of the Lord’s name, even so as to be named Jesus. For He who ever spake to Moses was the Son of God Himself; who, too, was always *seen*. For God the Father none ever saw, and lived. And accordingly it is agreed that the Son of God Himself spake to Moses, and said to the people, “Behold, I send mine angel before thy” — that is, the people’s — “face, to guard thee on the march, and to introduce thee into the land which I have prepared thee: attend to him, and be not disobedient to him; for he hath not escaped thy notice, since my name is upon him.” For Joshua was to introduce the people into the land of promise, not Moses. Now He called him an “angel,” on account of the magnitude of the mighty deeds which he was to achieve (which mighty deeds Joshua the son of Nun did, and you yourselves read), and on account of his office of prophet announcing (to wit) the divine will; just as withal the Spirit, speaking in the person of the Father, calls the forerunner of Christ, John, a future “angel,” through the prophet: “Behold, I send mine angel before Thy” — that is, Christ’s — “face, who shall prepare Thy way before Thee.” Nor is it a novel practice to the Holy Spirit to call those “angels” whom God has appointed as ministers of His power. For the same John is called not merely an “angel” of Christ, but withal a “lamp” shining before Christ: for David predicts, “I have prepared the lamp for my

Christ;” and him Christ Himself, coming “to fulfil the prophets,” called so to the Jews. “He was,” He says, “the burning and shining lamp;” as being he who not merely “prepared His ways in the desert,” but withal, by pointing out “the Lamb of God,” illumined the minds of men by his heralding, so that they understood Him to be that Lamb whom Moses was wont to announce as destined to suffer. Thus, too, (was the son of Nun called) Joshua, on account of the future mystery of his name: for that name (He who spake with Moses) confirmed as His own which Himself had conferred on him, because He had bidden him thenceforth be called, not “angel” nor “Oshea,” but “Joshua.” Thus, therefore, each name is appropriate to the Christ of God — that He should be called Jesus as well (as Christ).

And that the virgin of whom it behoved Christ to be born (as we have above mentioned) must derive her lineage of the seed of David, the prophet in subsequent passages evidently asserts. “And there shall be born,” he says, “a rod from the root of Jesse” — which rod is Mary— “and a flower shall ascend from his root: and there shall rest upon him the Spirit of God, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of discernment and piety, the spirit of counsel and truth; the spirit of God’s fear shall fill Him.” For to none of men was the universal aggregation of spiritual credentials appropriate, except to Christ; paralleled as He is to a “flower” by reason of glory, by reason of grace; but accounted “of the root of Jesse,” whence His origin is to be deduced, — to wit, through Mary. For He was from the native soil of Bethlehem, and from the house of David; as, among the Romans, Mary is described in the census, of whom is born Christ.

I demand, again — granting that He who was ever predicted by prophets as destined to come out of Jesse’s race, was withal to exhibit all humility, patience, and tranquillity — whether He be come? Equally so (in this case as in the former), the man who is shown to bear that character will be the very Christ who is come. For of Him the prophet says, “A man set in a plague, and knowing how to bear infirmity;” who “was led as a sheep for a victim; and, as a lamb before him who sheareth him, opened not His mouth.” If He “neither did contend nor shout, nor was His voice heard abroad,” who “crushed not the bruised reed” — Israel’s faith, who “quenched not the burning flax” — that is, the momentary glow of the Gentiles — but made it shine more by the rising of His own light, — He can be none other than He who was predicted. The

action, therefore, of the Christ who is come must be examined by being placed side by side with the rule of the Scriptures. For, if I mistake not, we find Him distinguished by a twofold operation, — that of *preaching* and that of *power*. Now, let each count be disposed of summarily. Accordingly, let us work out the order we have set down, teaching that Christ was announced as a *preacher*; as, through Isaiah: “Cry out,” he says, “in vigour, and spare not; lift up, as with a trumpet, thy voice, and announce to my commonalty their crimes, and to the house of Jacob their sins. Me from day to day they seek, and to learn my ways they covet, as a people which hath done righteousness, and hath not forsaken the judgment of God,” and so forth: that, moreover, He was to do acts of *power* from the Father: “Behold, our God will deal retributive judgment; Himself will come and save us: then shall the infirm be healed, and the eyes of the blind shall see, and the ears of the deaf shall hear, and the mutes’ tongues shall be loosed, and the lame shall leap as an hart,” and so on; which works not even you deny that Christ did, inasmuch as you were wont to say that, “on account of the works ye stoned Him not, but because He did them on the Sabbaths.”

Chapter X. — Concerning the Passion of Christ, and Its Old Testament Predictions and Adumbrations.

Concerning the last step, plainly, of His passion you raise a doubt; affirming that the passion of the cross was not predicted with reference to Christ, and urging, besides, that it is not credible that God should have exposed His own Son to that kind of death; because Himself said, “Cursed *is* every one who shall have hung on a tree.” But the *reason* of the case antecedently explains the sense of this malediction; for He says in Deuteronomy: “If, moreover, (a man) shall have been (involved) in some sin incurring the judgment of death, and shall die, and ye shall suspend him on a tree, his body shall not remain on the tree, but with burial ye shall bury him on the very day; because cursed by God is every one who shall have been suspended on a tree; and ye shall not defile the land which the Lord thy God shall give thee for (thy) lot.” Therefore He did not maledictively adjudge Christ to this passion, but drew a distinction, that whoever, *in any sin*, had incurred the judgment of death, and died suspended on a tree, *he* should be “cursed by God,” because his own sins were the cause of his suspension on the tree. On the other hand, Christ, who spoke not guile from His mouth, and who exhibited all righteousness and humility, not only (as we have above recorded it predicted of Him) was not exposed to that kind of death *for his own* deserts, *but (was so exposed) in order that what was predicted by the prophets* as destined to come upon Him through your means might be fulfilled; just as, in the Psalms, the Spirit Himself of Christ was already singing, saying, “They were repaying me evil for good;” and, “What I had not seized I was then paying in full;” “They exterminated my hands and feet;” and, “They put into my drink gall, and in my thirst they slaked me with vinegar;” “Upon my vesture they did cast (the) lot;” just as the other (outrages) which you were to commit on Him were foretold, — all which He, actually and thoroughly suffering, suffered not for any evil action of His own, but “that the Scriptures from the mouth of the prophets might be fulfilled.”

And, of course, it had been meet that the mystery of the passion itself should be figuratively set forth in predictions; and the more incredible (that mystery), the more likely to be “a stumbling-stone,” if it had been nakedly predicted; and the more magnificent, the more to be *adumbrated*, that the

difficulty of its intelligence might seek (help from) the grace of God.

Accordingly, to begin with, Isaac, when led by his father as a victim, and himself bearing his own “wood,” was even at that early period pointing to Christ’s death; conceded, as He was, as a victim by the Father; carrying, as He did, the “wood” of His own passion.

Joseph, again, himself was made a figure of Christ in this point alone (to name no more, not to delay my own course), that he suffered persecution at the hands of his brethren, and was sold into Egypt, on account of the favour of God; just as Christ was sold by Israel — (and therefore,) “according to the flesh,” by His “brethren” — when He is betrayed by Judas. For Joseph is withal blest by his father after this form: “His glory (is that) of a bull; his horns, the horns of an unicorn; on them shall he toss nations alike unto the very extremity of the earth.” Of course no one-horned rhinoceros was there pointed to, nor any two-horned minotaur. But Christ was therein signified: “bull,” by reason of each of His two characters, — to some fierce, as Judge; to others gentle, as Saviour; whose “horns” were to be the extremities of the *cross*. For even in a ship’s yard — which is part of a *cross* — this is the name by which the extremities are called; while the central pole of the mast is a “unicorn.” By this power, in fact, of the cross, and in this manner horned, He does now, on the one hand, “toss” universal nations through *faith*, wafting them away from earth to heaven; and will one day, on the other, “toss” them through *judgment*, casting them down from heaven to earth.

He, again, will be the “bull” elsewhere too in the same scripture. When Jacob pronounced a blessing on Simeon and Levi, he prophesies of the scribes and Pharisees; for from them is derived their origin. For (his blessing) interprets spiritually thus: “Simeon and Levi perfected iniquity out of their sect,” — whereby, to wit, they persecuted Christ: “into their counsel come not my soul! and upon their station rest not my heart! because in their indignation they slew men” — that is, prophets — “and in their concupiscence they hamstrung a bull!” — that is, Christ, whom — after the slaughter of prophets — they slew, and exhausted their savagery by transfixing His sinews with nails. Else it is idle if, after the murder already committed by them, he upbraids others, and not them, with butchery.

But, to come now to Moses, why, I wonder, did he merely at the time when Joshua was battling against Amalek, pray *sitting* with hands expanded, when,

in circumstances so critical, he ought rather, surely, to have commended his prayer by knees bended, and hands beating his breast, and a face prostrate on the ground; except it was that there, where the name of the Lord Jesus was the theme of speech — destined as He was to enter the lists one day singly against the devil — the figure of the *cross* was also necessary, (that figure) through which Jesus was to win the victory? Why, again, did the same Moses, after the prohibition of any “likeness of anything,” set forth a brazen serpent, placed on a “tree,” in a hanging posture, for a spectacle of healing to Israel, at the time when, after their idolatry, they were suffering extermination by serpents, except that in this case he was exhibiting the Lord’s *cross* on which the “serpent” the devil was “made a show of,” and, for every one hurt by such snakes — that is, his angels — on turning intently from the peccancy of sins to the sacraments of Christ’s *cross*, salvation was outwrought? For he who then gazed upon *that* (*cross*) was freed from the bite of the serpents.

Come, now, if you have read in the utterance of the prophet in the Psalms, “God hath reigned *from the tree*,” *I wait to hear what* you understand thereby; for fear you may perhaps think some carpenter-king is signified, and not Christ, who has reigned from that time onward when he overcame the death which ensued from His passion of “the tree.”

Similarly, again, Isaiah says: “For a child is born to us, and to us is given a son.” What novelty is that, unless he is speaking of the “Son” of God? — and one is born to us the beginning of whose government has been made “on His shoulder.” What king in the world wears the ensign of his power *on his shoulder*, and does not bear either diadem on his head, or else sceptre in his hand, or else some mark of distinctive vesture? But the *novel* “King of ages,” Christ Jesus, alone reared “on His shoulder” His own *novel* glory, and power, and sublimity, — the *cross*, to wit; that, according to the former prophecy, the Lord thenceforth “might reign *from the tree*.” For of this tree likewise it is that God hints, through Jeremiah, that you would say, “Come, let us put *wood into his bread*, and let us wear him away out of the land of the living; and his name shall no more be remembered.” Of course on His *body* that “wood” was put; for so Christ has revealed, calling His body “bread,” whose body the prophet in bygone days announced under the term “bread.” If you shall still seek for predictions of the Lord’s cross, the twenty-first Psalm will at length be able to satisfy you, containing as it does the whole passion of Christ; singing, as He

does, even at so early a date, His own glory. "They dug," He says, "my hands and feet" — which is the peculiar atrocity of the cross; and again when He implores the aid of the Father, "Save me," He says, "out of the mouth of the lion" — of course, of death— "and from the horn of the unicorns my humility," — from the ends, to wit, of the cross, as we have above shown; which cross neither David himself suffered, nor any of the kings of the Jews: that you may not think the passion of some other particular man is here prophesied than His who alone was so signally crucified by the People.

Now, if the hardness of your heart shall persist in rejecting and deriding all these interpretations, we will prove that it may suffice that the *death* of the Christ had been prophesied, in order that, from the fact that the *nature* of the death had not been specified, it may be understood to have been affected by means of the *cross* and that the passion of the *cross* is not to be ascribed to any but Him whose *death* was constantly being predicted. For I desire to show, in one utterance of Isaiah, His *death*, and *passion*, and *sepulture*. "By the crimes," he says, "of my people was He led unto death; and I will give the evil for His sepulture, and the rich for His death, because He did not wickedness, nor was guile found in his mouth; and God willed to redeem His soul from death," and so forth. He says again, moreover: "His sepulture hath been taken away from the midst." For neither was He buried except He were dead, nor was His sepulture removed from the midst except through His resurrection. Finally, he subjoins: "Therefore He shall have many for an heritage, and of many shall He divide spoils:" who else (shall so do) but He who "was born," as we have above shown?— "in return for the fact that His soul was delivered unto death?" For, the *cause* of the favour accorded Him being shown, — in return, to wit, for the injury of a *death* which had to be recompensed, — it is likewise shown that He, destined to attain these rewards *because of death*, was to attain them *after death* — of course after *resurrection*. For that which happened at His passion, that mid-day grew dark, the prophet Amos announces, saying, "And it shall be," he says, "in that day, saith the Lord, the sun shall set at mid-day, and the day of light shall grow dark over the land: and I will convert your festive days into grief, and all your canticles into lamentation; and I will lay upon your loins sackcloth, and upon every head baldness; and I will make the grief like that for a beloved (son), and them that are with him like a day of mourning." For that you would do thus at the

beginning of the first month of your new (years) even Moses prophesied, when he was foretelling that all the community of the sons of Israel was to immolate at eventide a lamb, and were to eat this solemn sacrifice of this day (that is, of the passover of unleavened bread) with bitterness;" and added that "it was the *passover of the Lord*," that is, the *passion of Christ*. Which prediction was thus also fulfilled, that "on the first day of unleavened bread" you slew Christ; and (that the prophecies might be fulfilled) the day hastened to make an "eventide," — that is, to cause darkness, which was made at mid-day; and thus "your festive days God converted into grief, and your canticles into lamentation." For after the passion of Christ there overtook you even captivity and dispersion, predicted before through the Holy Spirit.

Chapter XI. — Further Proofs, from Ezekiel. Summary of the Prophetic Argument Thus Far.

For, again, it is for these deserts of yours that Ezekiel announces your ruin as about to come: and not only in this age — a ruin which has already befallen — but in the “day of retribution,” which will be subsequent. From which ruin none will be freed but he who shall have been frontally sealed with the passion of the Christ whom you have rejected. For thus it is written: “And the Lord said unto me, Son of man, thou hast seen what the elders of Israel do, each one of them in darkness, each in a hidden bed-chamber: because they have said, The Lord seeth us not; the Lord hath derelinquished the earth. And He said unto me, Turn thee again, and thou shalt see greater enormities which these do. And He introduced me unto the thresholds of the gate of the house of the Lord which looketh unto the north; and, behold, there, women sitting and bewailing Thammuz. And the Lord said unto me, Son of man, hast thou seen? Is the house of Judah *moderate*, to do the enormities which they have done? And yet thou art about to see greater affections of theirs. And He introduced me into the inner shrine of the house of the Lord; and, behold, on the thresholds of the house of the Lord, between the midst of the porch and between the midst of the altar, as it were twenty and five men have turned their backs unto the temple of the Lord, and their faces over against the east; these were adoring the sun. And He said unto me, Seest thou, son of man? Are such deeds trifles to the house of Judah, that they should do the enormities which these have done? because they have filled up (the measure of) their impieties, and, behold, *are* themselves, as it were, grimacing; I will deal with mine indignation, mine eye shall not spare, neither will I pity; they shall cry out unto mine ears with a loud voice, and I will not hear them, nay, I will not pity. And He cried into mine ears with a loud voice, saying, The vengeance of this city is at hand; and each one had vessels of extermination in his hand. And, behold, six men were coming toward the way of the high gate which was looking toward the north, and each one’s double-axe of dispersion was in his hand: and one man in the midst of them, clothed with a garment reaching to the feet, and a girdle of sapphire about his loins: and they entered, and took their stand close to the brazen altar. And the glory of the God of Israel, which was over the house, in the open court of it, ascended from the cherubim: and

the Lord called the man who was clothed with the garment reaching to the feet, who had upon his loins the girdle; and said unto him, Pass through the midst of Jerusalem, and write the sign Tau on the foreheads of the men who groan and grieve over all the enormities which are done in their midst. And while these things were doing, He said unto an hearer, Go ye after him into the city, and cut short; and spare not with your eyes, and pity not elder or youth or virgin; and little ones and women slay ye all, that they may be thoroughly wiped away; but all upon whom is the sign Tau approach ye not; and begin with my saints.” Now the mystery of this “sign” was in various ways predicted; (a “sign”) in which the foundation of life was forelaid for mankind; (a “sign”) in which the Jews were not to believe: just as Moses beforetime kept on announcing in Exodus, saying, “Ye shall be ejected from the land into which ye shall enter; and in those nations ye shall not be able to rest: and there shall be instability of the print of thy foot: and God shall give thee a wearying heart, and a pining soul, and failing eyes, that they see not: and thy life shall hang on the tree before thine eyes; and thou shalt not trust thy life.”

And so, since prophecy has been fulfilled through His advent — that is, through the nativity, which we have above commemorated, and the passion, which we have evidently explained — that is the reason withal why Daniel said, “Vision and prophet *were sealed*,” because Christ is the “signet” of all prophets, fulfilling all that had in days bygone been announced concerning Him: for, since His advent and personal passion, there is no longer “vision” or “prophet,” whence most emphatically he says that His advent “*seals* vision and prophecy.” And thus, by showing “the number of the years, and the time of the lxii and an half fulfilled hebdomads,” we have proved that at that specified time Christ came, that is, was born; and, (by showing the time) of the “seven and an half hebdomads,” which are subdivided so as to be cut off from the former hebdomads, within which times we have shown Christ to have suffered, and by the consequent conclusion of the “lxx hebdomads,” and the extermination of the city, (we have proved) that “sacrifice and unction” thenceforth cease.

Sufficient it is thus far, on these points, to have meantime traced the course of the ordained path of Christ, by which He is proved to be such as He used to be announced, even on the ground of that agreement of Scriptures, which has

enabled us to speak out, in opposition to the Jews, on the ground of the prejudgment of the major part. For let them not question or deny the writings we produce; that the fact also that things which were foretold as destined to happen *after* Christ are being recognised as fulfilled may make it impossible for them to deny (these writings) to be on a par with divine Scriptures. Else, unless He were come *after* whom the things which were wont to be announced had to be accomplished, would such as have been completed be proved?

Chapter XII. — Further Proofs from the Calling of the Gentiles.

Look at the universal nations thenceforth emerging from the vortex of human error to the Lord God the Creator and His Christ; and if you dare to deny that this was prophesied, forthwith occurs to you the promise of the Father in the Psalms, which says, “My Son art Thou; to-day have I begotten Thee. Ask of Me, and I will give Thee Gentiles *as* Thine heritage, and *as* Thy possession *the* bounds of the earth.” For you will not be able to affirm that “son” to be David rather than Christ; or the “bounds of the earth” to have been promised rather to David, who reigned within the single (country of) Judea, than to Christ, who has already taken captive the whole orb with the faith of His gospel; as He says through Isaiah: “Behold, I have given Thee for a covenant of my family, for a light of Gentiles, that Thou mayst open the eyes of the blind” — of course, such as err— “to outloose from bonds the bound” — that is, to free them from sins— “and from the house of prison” — that is, of death — “such as sit in darkness” — of ignorance, to wit. And if these blessings accrue through Christ, they will not have been prophesied of another than Him through whom we consider them to have been accomplished.

Chapter XIII. — Argument from the Destruction of Jerusalem and Desolation of Judea.

Therefore, since the sons of Israel affirm that we err in receiving the Christ, who is already come, let us put in a demurrer against them out of the Scriptures themselves, to the effect that the Christ who was the theme of prediction *is* come; albeit by the times of Daniel's prediction we *have* proved that the Christ is come already who was the theme of announcement. Now it behoved Him to be born in Bethlehem of Judah. For thus it is written in the prophet: "And thou, Bethlehem, are not the least in the leaders of Judah: for out of thee shall issue a Leader who shall feed my People Israel." But if hitherto he has not been born, what "leader" was it who was thus announced as to proceed from the tribe of Judah, out of Bethlehem? For it behoves him to proceed from the tribe of Judah and from Bethlehem. But we perceive that *now* none of the race of Israel has remained in Bethlehem; and (so it has been) ever since the interdict was issued forbidding any one of the Jews to linger in the confines of the very district, in order that this prophetic utterance also should be perfectly fulfilled: "Your land is desert, your cities burnt up by fire," — that is, (he is foretelling) what *will have happened* to them in time of war "your region strangers shall eat up in your sight, and it shall be desert and subverted by alien peoples." And in another place it is thus said through the prophet: "The King with *His* glory ye shall see," — that is, Christ, doing deeds of power in the glory of God the Father; "and your eyes shall see the land from afar," — which is what you do, being prohibited, in reward of your deserts, since the storming of Jerusalem, to enter into your land; it is permitted you merely to see it with your eyes from afar: "your soul," he says, "shall meditate terror," — namely, at the time when they suffered the ruin of themselves. How, therefore, will a "leader" be born from Judea, and how far will he "proceed from Bethlehem," as the divine volumes of the prophets do plainly announce; since none at all is left there to this day of (the house of) Israel, of whose stock Christ could be born?

Now, if (according to the Jews) He is hitherto not come, when He begins to come whence will He be anointed? For the Law enjoined that, in captivity, it was not lawful for the unction of the royal chrism to be compounded. But, if there is no longer "unction" *there* as Daniel prophesied (for he says, "Unction

shall be exterminated”), it follows that *they* no longer have it, because neither have they a *temple* where was the “horn” from which kings were wont to be anointed. If, then, there is no unction, whence shall be anointed the “leader” who shall be born in Bethlehem? or how shall he proceed “from Bethlehem,” seeing that of the seed of Israel none at all exists in Bethlehem.

A second time, in fact, let us show that Christ is already come, (as foretold) through the prophets, and has suffered, and is already received back in the heavens, and thence is to come accordingly as the predictions prophesied. For, after His advent, we read, according to Daniel, that the city itself had to be exterminated; and we recognise that so it has befallen. For the Scripture says thus, that “the city and the holy place are simultaneously exterminated together with *the leader*,” — undoubtedly (that Leader) who was to proceed “from Bethlehem,” and from the tribe of “Judah.” Whence, again, it is manifest that “the city must simultaneously be exterminated” at the time when its “Leader” had to suffer in it, (as foretold) through the Scriptures of the prophets, who say: “I have outstretched my hands the whole day unto a People contumacious and gainsaying Me, who walketh in a way not good, but after their own sins.” And in the Psalms, *David* says: “They exterminated my hands and feet: they counted all my bones; they themselves, moreover, contemplated and saw me, and in my thirst slaked me with vinegar.” These things *David* did not suffer, so as to seem justly to have spoken of himself; but the Christ who was crucified. Moreover, the “hands and feet,” are not “exterminated,” except His who is suspended on a “tree.” Whence, again, *David* said that “the Lord would reign *from the tree*,” for elsewhere, too, the prophet predicts the fruit of this “tree,” saying “The earth hath given her blessings,” — of course that virgin-earth, not yet irrigated with rains, nor fertilized by showers, out of which man was of yore first formed, out of which now Christ through the flesh has been born of a virgin; “and *the tree*,” *he* says, “hath brought his fruit,” — not that “tree” in paradise which yielded death to the protoplasts, but the “tree” of the passion of Christ, whence life, hanging, was by you not believed! For this “tree” in a mystery, it was of yore wherewith Moses sweetened the bitter water; whence the People, which was perishing of thirst in the desert, drank and revived; just as we do, who, drawn out from the calamities of the heathendom in which we were tarrying perishing with thirst (that is, deprived of the divine word), drinking, “by the

faith which is on Him,” the baptismal water of the “tree” of the passion of Christ, have revived, — a faith from which Israel has fallen away, (as foretold) through Jeremiah, who says, “Send, and ask exceedingly whether such things have been done, whether nations will change their gods (and these are not gods!). But My People hath changed their glory: whence no profit shall accrue to them: the heaven turned pale thereat” (and when did it turn pale? undoubtedly when Christ suffered), “and shuddered,” he says, “most exceedingly;” and “the sun grew dark at mid-day:” (and when did it “shudder exceedingly” except at the passion of Christ, when the earth also trembled to her centre, and the veil of the temple was rent, and the tombs were burst asunder? “because these two evils hath My People done; Me,” He says, “they have quite forsaken, the fount of water of life, and they have digged for themselves worn-out tanks, which will not be able to contain water.” Undoubtedly, by not receiving Christ, the “fount of water of life,” they have begun to have “worn-out tanks,” that is, synagogues for the use of the “dispersions of the Gentiles,” in which the Holy Spirit no longer lingers, as for the time past He was wont to tarry in the temple before the advent of Christ, who is the true temple of God. For, that they should withal suffer this thirst of the Divine Spirit, the prophet Isaiah had said, saying: “Behold, they who serve Me shall eat, but ye shall be hungry; they who serve Me shall drink, but ye shall thirst, and from general tribulation of spirit shall howl: for ye shall transmit your name for a satiety to Mine elect, but you the Lord shall slay; but for them who serve Me shall be named a new name, which shall be blessed in the lands.”

Again, the mystery of this “tree” we read as being celebrated even in the Books of the Reigns. For when the sons of the prophets were cutting “wood” with axes on the bank of the river Jordan, the iron flew off and sank in the stream; and so, on Elisha the prophet’s coming up, the sons of the prophets beg of him to extract from the stream the iron which had sunk. And accordingly Elisha, having taken “wood,” and cast it into that place where the iron had been submerged, forthwith it rose and swam on the surface, and the “wood” sank, which the sons of the prophets recovered. Whence they understood that Elijah’s spirit was presently conferred upon him. What is more manifest than the mystery of this “wood,” — that the obduracy of this world had been sunk in the profundity of error, and is freed in baptism by the

“wood” of Christ, that is, of His passion; in order that what had formerly perished through the “tree” in Adam, should be restored through the “tree” in Christ? while we, of course, who have succeeded to, and occupy, the room of the prophets, at the present day sustain in the world that treatment which the prophets always suffered on account of divine religion: for some they stoned, some they banished; more, however, they delivered to mortal slaughter, — a fact which they cannot deny.

This “wood,” again, Isaac the son of Abraham personally carried for his own sacrifice, when God had enjoined that he should be made a victim to Himself. But, because these had been mysteries which were being kept for perfect fulfilment in the times of Christ, Isaac, on the one hand, with his “wood,” was reserved, the ram being offered which was caught by the horns in the bramble; Christ, on the other hand, in His times, carried His “wood” on His own shoulders, adhering to the horns of the cross, with a thorny crown encircling His head. For Him it behoved to be made a sacrifice on behalf of all Gentiles, who “was led as a sheep for a victim, and, like a lamb voiceless before his shearer, so opened not His mouth” (for He, when Pilate interrogated Him, spake nothing); for “in humility His judgment was taken away: His nativity, moreover, who shall declare?” Because no one at all of human beings was conscious of the nativity of Christ at His conception, when as the Virgin Mary was found pregnant by the word of God; and because “His life was to be taken from the land.” Why, accordingly, after His resurrection from the dead, which was effected on the third day, did the heavens receive Him back? It was in accordance with a prophecy of Hosea, uttered on this wise: “Before daybreak shall they arise unto Me, saying, Let us go and return unto the Lord our God, because Himself will draw *us* out and free us. After a space of two days, on the third day” — which is His glorious resurrection — He received back into the heavens (whence withal the Spirit Himself had come to the Virgin) Him whose nativity and passion alike the Jews have failed to acknowledge. Therefore, since the Jews still contend that the Christ is not yet come, whom we have in so many ways approved to be come, let the Jews recognise their own fate, — a fate which they were constantly foretold as destined to incur after the advent of the Christ, on account of the impiety with which they despised and slew Him. For first, from the day when, according to the saying of Isaiah, “a man cast forth his abominations of gold and silver,

which they made to adore with vain and hurtful (rites),” — that is, ever since we Gentiles, with our breast doubly enlightened through Christ’s truth, cast forth (let the Jews see it) our idols, — what follows has likewise been fulfilled. For “the Lord of Sabaoth *hath taken away*, among the Jews from Jerusalem,” among the other things named, “the wise architect” too, who builds the church, God’s temple, and the holy city, and the house of the Lord. For thenceforth God’s grace desisted (from working) among them. And “the clouds were commanded not to rain a shower upon the vineyard of Sorek,” — the clouds being celestial benefits, which were commanded not to be forthcoming to the house of Israel; for it “had borne *thorns*” — whereof that house of Israel had wrought a crown for Christ — and not “*righteousness*, but a *clamour*,” — the clamour whereby it had extorted His surrender to the cross. And thus, the former gifts of grace being withdrawn, “the law and the prophets were until John,” and the fishpool of Bethsaida until the advent of Christ: thereafter it ceased curatively to remove from Israel infirmities of health; since, as the result of their perseverance in their frenzy, the name of the Lord was through them blasphemed, as it is written: “On your account the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles:” for it is from them that the infamy (attached to that name) began, and (was propagated during) the interval from Tiberius to Vespasian. And because they had committed these crimes, and had failed to understand that Christ “was to be found” in “the time of their visitation,” their land has been made “desert, and their cities utterly burnt with fire, while strangers devour their region in their sight: the daughter of Sion is derelict, as a watch-tower in a vineyard, or as a shed in a cucumber garden,” — ever since the time, to wit, when “Israel knew not” the Lord, and “the People understood Him not;” but rather “quite forsook, and provoked unto indignation, the Holy One of Israel.” So, again, we find a *conditional* threat of *the sword*: “If ye shall have been unwilling, and shall not have been obedient, the glaive shall eat you up.” Whence we prove that *the sword* was Christ, by not hearing whom they perished; who, again, in the Psalm, demands of the Father their dispersion, saying, “Disperse them in Thy power;” who, withal, again through Isaiah prays for their *utter burning*. “On My account,” He says, “have these things happened to you; in anxiety shall ye sleep.”

Since, therefore, the Jews were predicted as destined to suffer these

calamities *on Christ's account*, and we find that they *have* suffered them, and see them sent into dispersion and abiding in it, manifest it is that it is on Christ's account that these things *have* befallen the Jews, the sense of the Scriptures harmonizing with the issue of events and of the order of the times. Or else, if Christ is not yet come, on whose account they were predicted as destined thus to suffer, when He *shall have* come it follows that they *will* thus suffer. And where will then be a daughter of Sion to be derelict, who *now* has no existence? where the cities to be exust, which are already exust and in heaps? where the dispersion of a race which is now in exile? Restore to Judea the condition which Christ is to find; and (then, if you will), contend that some other (Christ) is coming.

Chapter XIV. — Conclusion. Clue to the Error of the Jews.

Learn now (over and above the immediate question) the clue to your error. We affirm, *two* characters of the Christ demonstrated by the prophets, and as many *advents* of His forenoted: one, in humility (of course the first), when He has to be led “as a sheep for a victim; and, as a lamb voiceless before the shearer, so He opened not His mouth,” not even in His aspect comely. For “we have announced,” says *the* prophet, “*concerning Him, (He is) as a little child, as a root in a thirsty land; and there was not in Him attractiveness or glory. And we saw Him, and He had not attractiveness or grace; but His mien was unhonoured, deficient in comparison of the sons of men,*” “a man *set* in the plague, and knowing how to bear infirmity:” to wit as having been set by the Father “for a stone of offence,” and “made a little lower” by Him “than angels,” He pronounces Himself “a worm, and not a man, an ignominy of man, and *the* refuse of *the* People.” Which evidences of ignobility suit the First Advent, just as those of sublimity do the Second; when He shall be made no longer “a stone of offence nor a rock of scandal,” but “the highest corner-stone,” after reprobation (on earth) taken up (into heaven) and raised sublime for the purpose of consummation, and that “rock” — so we must admit — which is read of in Daniel as forecut from a mount, which shall crush and crumble the image of secular kingdoms. Of which second advent of the same (Christ) Daniel has said: “And, behold, as it were a Son of man, coming with the clouds of the heaven, came unto the Ancient of days, and was present in His sight; and they who were standing by led (Him) unto Him. And there was given Him royal power; and all nations of the earth, according to their race, and all glory, shall serve Him: and His power *is* eternal, which shall not be taken away, and His kingdom *one* which shall not be corrupted.” Then, assuredly, is He to have an honourable mien, and a grace not “deficient more than the sons of men;” for (He will then be) “blooming in beauty in comparison with the sons of men.” “Grace,” says *the* Psalmist, “*hath been outpoured in Thy lips: wherefore God hath blessed Thee unto eternity. Gird Thee Thy sword around Thy thigh, most potent in Thy bloom and beauty!*” while the Father withal afterwards, after making Him somewhat lower than angels, “crowned Him with glory and honour and subjected all *things* beneath

His feet.” And then shall they “learn to know Him whom they pierced, and shall beat their breasts tribe by tribe;” of course because in days bygone they did *not* know Him when conditioned in the humility of human estate. Jeremiah says: “He is a human being, and who will learn to know Him?” because, “His nativity,” says Isaiah, “who shall declare?” So, too, in Zechariah, in His own person, nay, in the very mystery of His name withal, the most true Priest of the Father, His own Christ, is delineated in a twofold garb with reference to the two advents. First, He was clad in “sordid attire,” that is, in the indignity of passible and mortal flesh, when the devil, withal, was opposing himself to Him — the instigator, to wit, of Judas the traitor — who even after His baptism had tempted Him. In the next place, He was stripped of His former sordid raiment, and adorned with a garment down to the foot, and with a turban and a clean mitre, that is, (with the garb) of the second advent; since He is demonstrated as having attained “glory and honour.” Nor will you be able to say that the man (there depicted) is “the son of Jozadak,” who was never at all clad in a sordid garment, but was always adorned with the sacerdotal garment, nor ever deprived of the sacerdotal function. But the “Jesus” there alluded to is Christ, the Priest of God the most high Father; who at His first advent came in humility, in human form, and passible, even up to the period of His passion; being Himself likewise made, through all (stages of suffering) a victim for us all; who after His resurrection was “clad with a garment down to the foot,” and named the Priest of God the Father unto eternity. So, again, I will make an interpretation of the two goats which were habitually offered on the fast-day. Do not they, too, point to each successive stage in the character of the Christ who is already come? A pair, on the one hand, and consimilar (they were), because of the identity of the Lord’s general appearance, inasmuch as He is not to come in some other form, seeing that He has to be recognised by those by whom He was once hurt. But the one of them, begirt with scarlet, amid cursing and universal spitting, and tearing, and piercing, was cast away by the People outside the city into perdition, marked with manifest tokens of Christ’s passion; who, after being begirt with scarlet garment, and subjected to universal spitting, and afflicted with all contumelies, was crucified outside the city. The other, however, offered for sins, and given as food *to the priests merely* of the temple, gave signal evidences of the second appearance; in so far as, after the expiation of all sins,

the priests of the spiritual temple, that is, of the church, were to enjoy a spiritual public distribution (as it were) of the Lord's grace, while all others are fasting from salvation.

Therefore, since the vaticinations of the first advent obscured it with manifold figures, and debased it with every dishonour, while the second (was foretold as) manifest and wholly worthy of God, it has resulted therefrom, that, by fixing their gaze on that one alone which they could easily understand and believe (that is, the second, which is in honour and glory), they have been (not undeservedly) deceived as to the more obscure — at all events, the more unworthy — that is, the first. And thus to the present moment they affirm that their Christ is not come, because He is not come in majesty; while they are ignorant of the fact that He was first to come in humility.

Enough it is, meantime, to have thus far followed the stream downward of the order of Christ's course, whereby He is proved such as He was habitually announced: in order that, as a result of this harmony of the Divine Scriptures, we may understand; and that the events which used to be predicted as destined to take place after Christ may be believed to have been accomplished as the result of a divine arrangement. For unless He come *after* whom they had to be accomplished, by no means would the events, the future occurrence whereof was predictively assigned to His advent, have come to pass. Therefore, if you see universal nations thenceforth emerging from the profundity of human error to God the Creator and His Christ (which you dare not assert to have not been prophesied, because, albeit you were so to assert, there would forthwith — as we have already premised — occur to you the promise of the Father saying, "My Son art Thou; I this day have begotten Thee; ask of Me, and I will give Thee Gentiles *as* Thine heritage, and *as* Thy possession the boundaries of the earth." Nor will you be able to vindicate, as the subject of that prediction, rather the son of David, Solomon, than Christ, God's Son; nor "the boundaries of the earth," as promised rather to David's son, who reigned within the single land of Judea, than to Christ the Son of God, who has already illumined the whole world with the rays of His gospel. In short, again, a throne "unto the age" is more suitable to Christ, God's Son, than to Solomon, — a temporal king, to wit, who reigned over Israel alone. For at the present day nations are invoking Christ which used not to know Him; and peoples at the present day are fleeing in a body to the Christ of whom in days

bygone they were ignorant), you cannot contend that is future which you see taking place. Either deny that these events were prophesied, while they are seen before your eyes; or else have been fulfilled, while you hear them read: or, on the other hand, if you fail to deny each position, they will have their fulfilment in Him with respect to whom they were prophesied.

De Praescriptione Haereticorum (On the Prescription of Heretics)



Translated by Peter Holmes

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Chapter I. — Introductory. Heresies Must Exist, and Even Abound; They are a Probation to Faith.

The character of the times in which we live is such as to call forth from us even this admonition, that we ought not to be astonished at the heresies (which abound) neither ought their existence to surprise us, for it was foretold that they should come to pass; nor the fact that they subvert the faith of some, for their final cause is, by affording a trial to faith, to give it also the opportunity of being “approved.” Groundless, therefore, and inconsiderate is the offence of the many who are scandalized by the very fact that heresies prevail to such a degree. How great (might their offence have been) if they had not existed. When it has been determined that a thing must by all means be, it receives the (final) cause for which it has its being. This secures the power through which it exists, in such a way that it is impossible for it not to have existence.

Chapter II. — Analogy Between Fevers and Heresies. Heresies Not to Be Wondered At: Their Strength Derived from Weakness of Men's Faith. They Have Not the Truth. Simile of Pugilists and Gladiators in Illustration.

Taking the similar case of fever, which is appointed a place amongst all other deadly and excruciating issues (of life) for destroying man: we are not surprised either that it exists, for there it is, or that it consumes man, for that is the purpose of its existence. In like manner, with respect to heresies, which are produced for the weakening and the extinction of faith, since we feel a dread because they have this power, we should first dread the fact of their existence; for as long as they exist, they have their power; and as long as they have their power, they have their existence. But still fever, as being an evil both in its cause and in its power, as all know, we rather loathe than wonder at, and to the best of our power guard against, not having its extirpation in our power. Some men prefer wondering at heresies, however, which bring with them eternal death and the heat of a stronger fire, for possessing this power, instead of avoiding their power when they have the means of escape: but heresies would have no power, if (men) would cease to wonder that they have such power. For it either happens that, while men wonder, they fall into a snare, or, because they are ensnared, they cherish their surprise, as if heresies were so powerful because of some truth which belonged to them. It would no doubt be a wonderful thing that evil should have any force of its own, were it not that heresies are strong in those persons who are not strong in faith. In a combat of boxers and gladiators, generally speaking, it is not because a man is strong that he gains the victory, or loses it because he is not strong, but because he who is vanquished was a man of no strength; and indeed this very conqueror, when afterwards matched against a really powerful man, actually retires crest-fallen from the contest. In precisely the same way, heresies derive such strength as they have from the infirmities of individuals — having no strength whenever they encounter a really powerful faith.

Chapter III. — Weak People Fall an Easy Prey to Heresy, Which Derives Strength from the General Frailty of Mankind. Eminent Men Have Fallen from Faith; Saul, David, Solomon. The Constancy of Christ.

It is usual, indeed, with persons of a weaker character, to be so built up (in confidence) by certain individuals who are caught by heresy, as to topple over into ruin themselves. How comes it to pass, (they ask), that this woman or that man, who were the most faithful, the most prudent, and the most approved in the church, have gone over to the other side? Who that asks such a question does not in fact reply to it himself, to the effect that men whom heresies have been able to pervert ought never to have been esteemed prudent, or faithful, or approved? This again is, I suppose, an extraordinary thing, that one who has been approved should afterwards fall back? Saul, who was good beyond all others, is afterwards subverted by envy. David, a good man “after the Lord’s own heart,” is guilty afterwards of murder and adultery. Solomon, endowed by the Lord with all grace and wisdom, is led into idolatry, by women. For to the Son of God alone was it reserved to persevere to the last without sin. But what if a bishop, if a deacon, if a widow, if a virgin, if a doctor, if even a martyr, have fallen from the rule (of faith), will heresies on that account appear to possess the truth? Do we prove the faith by the persons, or the persons by the faith? No one is wise, no one is faithful, no one excels in dignity, but the Christian; and no one is a Christian but he who perseveres even to the end. You, as a man, know any other man from the outside appearance. You think as you see. And you see as far only as you have eyes. But says (the Scripture), “the eyes of the Lord are lofty.” “Man looketh at the outward appearance, but God looketh at the heart.” “The Lord (beholdeth and) knoweth them that are His;” and “the plant which (my heavenly Father) hath not planted, He rooteth up;” and “the first shall,” as He shows, “be last;” and He carries “His fan in His hand to purge His threshing-floor.” Let the chaff of a fickle faith fly off as much as it will at every blast of temptation, all the purer will be that heap of corn which shall be laid up in the garner of the Lord. Did not certain of the disciples turn back from the Lord Himself, when they were offended? Yet the rest did not therefore think that they must turn away from following Him, but because they knew that He was the Word of Life,

and was come from God, they continued in His company to the very last, after He had gently inquired of them whether they also would go away. It is a comparatively small thing, that certain men, like Phygellus, and Hermogenes, and Philetus, and Hymenæus, deserted His apostle: the betrayer of Christ was himself one of the apostles. We are surprised at seeing His churches forsaken by some men, although the things which we suffer after the example of Christ Himself, show us to be Christians. “They went out from us,” says (St. John,) “but they were not of us. If they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us.”

Chapter IV. — Warnings Against Heresy Given Us in the New Testament. Sundry Passages Adduced. These Imply the Possibility of Falling into Heresy.

But let us rather be mindful of the sayings of the Lord, and of the letters of the apostles; for they have both told us beforehand that there shall be heresies, and have given us, in anticipation, warnings to avoid them; and inasmuch as we are not alarmed because they exist, so we ought not to wonder that they are capable of doing that, on account of which they must be shunned. The Lord teaches us that many “ravening wolves shall come in sheep’s clothing.” Now, what are these sheep’s clothing’s, but the external surface of the Christian profession? Who are the ravening wolves but those deceitful senses and spirits which are lurking within to waste the flock of Christ? Who are the false prophets but deceptive predictors of the future? Who are the false apostles but the preachers of a spurious gospel? Who also are the Antichrists, both now and evermore, but the men who rebel against Christ? Heresies, at the present time, will no less rend the church by their perversion of doctrine, than will Antichrist persecute her at that day by the cruelty of his attacks, except that persecution make seven martyrs, (but) heresy only apostates. And therefore “heresies must needs be in order that they which are approved might be made manifest,” both those who remained steadfast under persecution, and those who did not wander out of their way into heresy. For *the apostle* does not mean that those persons should be deemed *approved* who exchange their creed for heresy; although they contrariously interpret his words to their own side, when he says in another passage, “Prove all things; hold fast that which is good;” as if, after proving all things amiss, one might not through error make a determined choice of some evil thing.

Chapter V. — Heresy, as Well as Schism and Dissension, Disapproved by St. Paul, Who Speaks of the Necessity of Heresies, Not as a Good, But, by the Will of God, Salutary Trials for Training and Approving the Faith of Christians.

Moreover, when he blames dissensions and schisms, which undoubtedly are evils, he immediately adds *heresies* likewise. Now, that which he subjoins to evil things, he of course confesses to be itself an evil; and all the greater, indeed, because he tells us that his belief of their schisms and dissensions was grounded on his knowledge that “there must be heresies also.” For he shows us that it was owing to the prospect of the greater evil that he readily believed the existence of the lighter ones; and so far indeed was he from believing, in respect of evils (of such a kind), that heresies were good, that his object was to forewarn us that we ought not to be surprised at temptations of even a worse stamp, since (he said) they tended “to make manifest all such as were approved;” in other words, those whom they were unable to pervert. In short, since the whole passage points to the maintenance of unity and the checking of divisions, inasmuch as heresies sever men from unity no less than schisms and dissensions, no doubt he classes heresies under the same head of censure as he does schisms also and dissensions. And by so doing, he makes those to be “not approved,” who have fallen into heresies; more especially when with reproofs he exhorts men to turn away from such, teaching them that they should “all speak and think the selfsame thing,” the very object which heresies do not permit.

Chapter VI. — Heretics are Self-Condemned. Heresy is Self-Will, Whilst Faith is Submission of Our Will to the Divine Authority. The Heresy of Apelles.

On this point, however, we dwell no longer, since it is the same Paul who, in his Epistle to the Galatians, counts “heresies” among “the sins of the flesh,” who also intimates to Titus, that “a man who is a heretic” must be “rejected after the first admonition,” on the ground that “he that is such is perverted, and committeth sin, as a self-condemned man.” Indeed, in almost every epistle, when enjoining on us (the duty) of avoiding false doctrines, he sharply condemns heresies. Of these the practical effects are false doctrines, called in Greek *heresies*, a word used in the sense of that *choice* which a man makes when he either teaches them (to others) or takes up with them (for himself). For this reason it is that he calls the heretic *self-condemned*, because he has himself chosen that for which he is condemned. We, however, are not permitted to cherish any object after our own will, nor yet to make choice of that which another has introduced of his private fancy. In the Lord’s apostles we possess our authority; for even they did not of themselves choose to introduce anything, but faithfully delivered to the nations (of mankind) the doctrine which they had received from Christ. If, therefore, even “an angel from heaven should preach any other gospel” (than theirs), he would be called accursed by us. The Holy Ghost had even then foreseen that there would be in a certain virgin (called) Philumene an angel of deceit, “transformed into an angel of light,” by whose miracles and illusions Apelles was led (when) he introduced his new heresy.

Chapter VII. — Pagan Philosophy the Parent of Heresies. The Connection Between Deflections from Christian Faith and the Old Systems of Pagan Philosophy.

These are “the doctrines” of men and “of demons” produced for itching ears of the spirit of this world’s wisdom: this the Lord called “foolishness,” and “chose the foolish things of the world” to confound even philosophy itself. For (philosophy) it is which is the material of the world’s wisdom, the rash interpreter of the nature and the dispensation of God. Indeed heresies are themselves instigated by philosophy. From this source came the Æons, and I known not what infinite forms, and the trinity of man in the system of Valentinus, who was of Plato’s school. From the same source came Marcion’s better god, with all his tranquillity; he came of the Stoics. Then, again, the opinion that the soul dies is held by the Epicureans; while the denial of the restoration of the body is taken from the aggregate school of all the philosophers; also, when matter is made equal to God, then you have the teaching of Zeno; and when any doctrine is alleged touching a god of fire, then Heraclitus comes in. The same subject-matter is discussed over and over again by the heretics and the philosophers; the same arguments are involved. Whence comes evil? Why is it permitted? What is the origin of man? and in what way does he come? Besides the question which Valentinus has very lately proposed — Whence comes God? Which he settles with the answer: From *enthymesis* and *ectroma*. Unhappy Aristotle! who invented for these men dialectics, the art of building up and pulling down; an art so evasive in its propositions, so far-fetched in its conjectures, so harsh, in its arguments, so productive of contentions — embarrassing even to itself, retracting everything, and really treating of nothing! Whence spring those “fables and endless genealogies,” and “unprofitable questions,” and “words which spread like a cancer?” From all these, when the apostle would restrain us, he expressly names *philosophy* as that which he would have us be on our guard against. Writing to the Colossians, he says, “See that no one beguile you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, and contrary to the wisdom of the Holy Ghost.” He had been at Athens, and had in his interviews (with its philosophers) become acquainted with that human

wisdom which pretends to know the truth, whilst it only corrupts it, and is itself divided into its own manifold heresies, by the variety of its mutually repugnant sects. What indeed has Athens to do with Jerusalem? What concord is there between the Academy and the Church? what between heretics and Christians? Our instruction comes from “the porch of Solomon,” who had himself taught that “the Lord should be sought in simplicity of heart.” Away with all attempts to produce a mottled Christianity of Stoic, Platonic, and dialectic composition! We want no curious disputation after possessing Christ Jesus, no inquisition after enjoying the gospel! With our faith, we desire no further belief. For this is our palmary faith, that there is nothing which we ought to believe besides.

Chapter VIII. — Christ's Word, Seek, and Ye Shall Find, No Warrant for Heretical Deviations from the Faith. All Christ's Words to the Jews are for Us, Not Indeed as Specific Commands, But as Principles to Be Applied.

I come now to the point which (is urged both by our own brethren and by the heretics). Our brethren adduce *it* as a pretext for entering on curious inquiries, and the heretics insist on it for importing the scrupulosity (of their unbelief). It is written, they say, "Seek, and ye shall find." Let us remember at what time the Lord said this. I think it was at the very outset of His teaching, when there was still a doubt felt by all whether He were the Christ, and when even Peter had not yet declared Him to be the Son of God, and John (Baptist) had actually ceased to feel assurance about Him. With good reason, therefore, was it then said, "Seek, and ye shall find," when inquiry was still to be made of Him who was not yet become known. Besides, this *was said* in respect of the Jews. For it is to them that the whole matter of this reproof pertains, seeing that they had (a revelation) where they might seek Christ.

"They have," says He, "Moses and Elias," — in other words, the law and the prophets, which preach Christ; as also in another place He says plainly, "Search the Scriptures, in which ye expect (to find) salvation; for they testify of me;" which will be the meaning of "Seek, and ye shall find." For it is clear that the next words also apply to the Jews: "Knock, and it shall be opened unto you." The Jews had formerly been in covenant with God; but being afterwards cast off on account of their sins, they began to be without God. The Gentiles, on the contrary, had never been in covenant with God; they were only as "a drop from a bucket," and "as dust from the threshing floor," and were ever outside the door. Now, how shall he who was always outside knock at the place where he never was? What door does he know of, when he has passed through none, either by entrance or ejection? Is it not rather he who is aware that he once lived within and was thrust out, that (probably) found the door and knocked thereat? In like manner, "Ask, and ye shall receive," is suitably said to one who was aware from whom he ought to ask, — by whom also some promise had been given; that is to say, "the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob." Now, the Gentiles knew nothing either of Him, or of any

of His promises. Therefore it was to Israel that he spake when He said, "I am not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." Not yet had He "cast to the dogs the children's bread;" not yet did He charge them to "go into the way of the Gentiles." It is only at the last that He instructs them to "go and teach all nations, and baptize them," when they were so soon to receive "the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, who should guide them into all the truth." And this, too, makes towards the same conclusion. If the apostles, who were ordained to be teachers to the Gentiles, were themselves to have the Comforter for their teacher, far more needless was it to say to us, "Seek, and ye shall find," to whom was to come, without research, our instruction by the apostles, and to the apostles themselves by the Holy Ghost. All the Lord's sayings, indeed, are set forth for all men; through the ears of the Jews have they passed on to us. Still most of them were addressed to *Jewish* persons; they therefore did not constitute instruction properly designed for ourselves, but *rather* an example.

Chapter IX. — The Research After Definite Truth Enjoined on Us. When We Have Discovered This, We Should Be Content.

I now purposely relinquish this ground of argument. Let it be granted, that the words, “Seek, and ye shall find,” were addressed to all men (equally). Yet even here one’s aim is carefully to determine the sense of the words consistently with (that reason), which is the guiding principle in all interpretation. (Now) no divine saying is so unconnected and diffuse, that its *words* only are to be insisted on, and their *connection* left undetermined. But at the outset I lay down (this position) that there is some one, and therefore definite, thing taught by Christ, which the Gentiles are by all means bound to believe, and for that purpose to “seek,” in order that they may be able, when they have “found” it, to believe. However, there can be no indefinite seeking for that which has been taught as one only definite thing. You must “seek” until you “find,” and believe when you have found; nor have you anything further to do but to keep what you have believed provided you believe this besides, that nothing else is to be believed, and therefore nothing else is to be sought, after you have found and believed what has been taught by Him who charges you to seek no other thing than that which He has taught. When, indeed, any man doubts about this, proof will be forthcoming, that we have in our possession that which was taught by Christ. Meanwhile, such is my confidence in our proof, that I anticipate it, in the shape of an admonition to certain persons, not “to seek” anything beyond what they have believed — that this is what they ought to have sought, how to avoid interpreting, “Seek, and ye shall find,” without regard to the rule of reason.

Chapter X. — One Has Succeeded in Finding Definite Truth, When He Believes. Heretical Wits are Always Offering Many Things for Vain Discussion, But We are Not to Be Always Seeking.

Now the reason of this saying is comprised in three points: in the matter, in the time, in the limit. In the matter, so that you must consider *what it is* you have to seek; in the time, *when* you have to seek; in the limit, *how long*. What you have “to seek,” then, is that which Christ has taught, (and you must go on seeking) of course for such time as you fail to find, — until indeed you find it. But you have succeeded in finding when you have believed. For you would not have believed if you had not found; as neither would you have sought except with a view to find. Your object, therefore, in seeking *was* to find; and your object in finding *was* to believe. All further delay for seeking and finding you have prevented by believing. The very fruit of your seeking has determined for you this limit. This boundary has He set for you Himself, who is unwilling that you should believe anything else than what He has taught, or, therefore, even seek for it. If, however, because so many other things have been taught by one and another, we are on that account bound to go on seeking, so long as we are able to find anything, we must (at that rate) be ever seeking, and never believe anything at all. For where shall be the end of seeking? where the stop in believing? where the completion in finding? (Shall it be) with Marcion? But even Valentinus proposes (to us the) maxim, “Seek, and ye shall find.” (Then shall it be) with Valentinus? Well, but Apelles, too, will assail me with the same quotation; Hebion also, and Simon, and all in turn, have no other argument wherewithal to entice me, and draw me over to their side. Thus I shall be nowhere, and still be encountering (that challenge), “Seek, and ye shall find,” precisely as if I had no resting-place; as if (indeed) I had never found that which Christ has taught — that which ought to be sought, that which must needs be believed.

Chapter XI. — After We Have Believed, Search Should Cease; Otherwise It Must End in a Denial of What We Have Believed. No Other Object Proposed for Our Faith.

There is impunity in erring, if there is no delinquency; although indeed to err it is itself an act of delinquency. With impunity, I repeat, does a man ramble, when he (purposely) deserts nothing. But yet, if I have believed what I was bound to believe, and then afterwards think that there is something new to be sought after, I of course expect that there is something else to be found, although I should by no means entertain such expectation, unless it were because I either had not believed, although I apparently had become a believer, or else have ceased to believe. If I thus desert my faith, I am found to be a denier thereof. Once for all I would say, No man seeks, except him who either never possessed, or else has lost (what he sought). The old woman (in the Gospel) had lost one of her ten pieces of silver, and therefore she sought it; when, however, she found it, she ceased to look for it. The neighbour was without bread, and therefore he knocked; but as soon as the door was opened to him, and he received the bread, he discontinued knocking. The widow kept asking to be heard by the judge, because she was not admitted; but when her suit was heard, thenceforth she was silent. So that there is a limit both to seeking, and to knocking, and to asking. “For to every one that asketh,” says He, “it shall be given, and to him that knocketh it shall be opened, and by him that seeketh it shall be found.” Away with the man who is ever seeking because he never finds; for he seeks there where nothing can be found. Away with him who is always knocking because it will never be opened to him; for he knocks where there is none (to open). Away with him who is always asking because he will never be heard; for he asks of one who does not hear.

Chapter XII. — A Proper Seeking After Divine Knowledge, Which Will Never Be Out of Place or Excessive, is Always Within the Rule of Faith.

As for us, although we must still seek, and *that* always, yet where ought our search to be made? Amongst the heretics, where all things are foreign and opposed to our own verity, and to whom we are forbidden to draw near? What slave looks for food from a stranger, not to say an enemy of his master? What soldier expects to get bounty and pay from kings who are unallied, I might almost say hostile — unless forsooth he be a deserter, and a runaway, and a rebel? Even that old woman searched for the piece of silver within her own house. It was also at his neighbour's door that the persevering assailant kept knocking. Nor was it to a hostile judge, although a severe one, that the widow made her appeal. No man gets instruction from that which tends to destruction. No man receives illumination from a quarter where all is darkness. Let our “seeking,” therefore be in that which is our own, and from those who are our own: and concerning that which is our own, — that, and only that, which can become an object of inquiry without impairing the rule of faith.

Chapter XIII. — Summary of the Creed, or Rule of Faith. No Questions Ever Raised About It by Believers. Heretics Encourage and Perpetuate Thought Independent of Christ's Teaching.

Now, with regard to this rule of faith — that we may from this point acknowledge what it is which we defend — it is, you must know, that which prescribes the belief that there is one only God, and that He is none other than the Creator of the world, who produced all things out of nothing through His own Word, first of all sent forth; that this Word is called His Son, *and*, under the name of God, was seen “in diverse manners” by the patriarchs, heard at all times in the prophets, at last brought down by the Spirit and Power of the Father into the Virgin Mary, was made flesh in her womb, and, being born of her, went forth as Jesus Christ; thenceforth He preached the new law and the new promise of the kingdom of heaven, worked miracles; having been crucified, He rose again the third day; (then) having ascended into the heavens, He sat at the right hand of the Father; sent instead of Himself the Power of the Holy Ghost to lead such as believe; will come with glory to take the saints to the enjoyment of everlasting life and of the heavenly promises, and to condemn the wicked to everlasting fire, after the resurrection of both these classes shall have happened, together with the restoration of their flesh. This rule, as it will be proved, was taught by Christ, and raises amongst ourselves no other questions than those which heresies introduce, and which make men heretics.

Chapter XIV. — Curiosity Ought Not Range Beyond the Rule of Faith. Restless Curiosity, the Feature of Heresy.

So long, however, as its form exists in its proper order, you may seek and discuss as much as you please, and give full rein to your curiosity, in whatever seems to you to hang in doubt, or to be shrouded in obscurity. You have at hand, no doubt, some learned brother gifted with the grace of knowledge, some one of the experienced class, some one of your close acquaintance who is curious like yourself; although with yourself, a seeker he will, after all, be quite aware that it is better for you to remain in ignorance, lest you should come to know what you ought not, because you have acquired the knowledge of what you ought to know. “Thy faith,” He says, “hath saved thee” not *observe* your skill in the Scriptures. Now, faith has been deposited in the rule; it has a law, and (in the observance thereof) salvation. Skill, however, consists in curious art, having for its glory simply the readiness that comes from knack. Let such curious art give place to faith; let such glory yield to salvation. At any rate, let them either relinquish their noisiness, or else be quiet. To know nothing in opposition to the rule (of faith), is to know all things. (Suppose) that heretics were not enemies to the truth, so that we were not forewarned to avoid them, what sort of conduct would it be to agree with men who do themselves confess that they are still seeking? For if they are still seeking, they have not as yet found anything amounting to certainty; and therefore, whatever they seem for a while to hold, they betray their own scepticism, whilst they continue seeking. You therefore, who seek after their fashion, looking to those who are themselves ever seeking, a doubter to doubters, a waverer to waverers, must needs be “led, blindly by the blind, down into the ditch.” But when, for the sake of deceiving us, they pretend that they are still seeking, in order that they may palm their essays upon us by the suggestion of an anxious sympathy, — when, in short (after gaining an access to us), they proceed at once to insist on the necessity of our inquiring into such points as they were in the habit of advancing, then it is high time for us in moral obligation to repel them, so that they may know that it is not Christ, but themselves, whom we disavow. For since they are still seekers, they have no fixed tenets yet; and being not fixed in tenet, they have not yet believed; and being not yet believers, they are not Christians. But even though they

have their tenets and their belief, they still say that inquiry is necessary in order to discussion. Previous, however, to the discussion, they deny what they confess not yet to have believed, so long as they keep it an object of inquiry. When men, therefore, are not Christians even on their own admission, how much more (do they fail to appear such) to us! What sort of truth is that which they patronize, when they commend it to us with a lie? Well, but they actually treat of the Scriptures and recommend (their opinions) out of the Scriptures! To be sure they do. From what other source could they derive arguments concerning the things of the faith, except from the records of the faith?

Chapter XV. — Heretics Not to Be Allowed to Argue Out of the Scriptures. The Scriptures, in Fact, Do Not Belong to Them.

We are therefore come to (the gist of) our position; for at this point we were aiming, and for this we were preparing in the preamble of our address (which we have just completed), — so that we may now join issue on the contention to which our adversaries challenge us. They put forward the Scriptures, and by this insolence of theirs they at once influence some. In the encounter itself, however, they weary the strong, they catch the weak, and dismiss waverers with a doubt. Accordingly, we oppose to them this step above all others, of not admitting them to any discussion of the Scriptures.

If in these lie their resources, before they can use them, it ought to be clearly seen to whom belongs the possession of the Scriptures, that none may be admitted to the use thereof who has no title at all to the privilege.

Chapter XVI. — Apostolic Sanction to This Exclusion of Heretics from the Use of the Scriptures. Heretics, According to the Apostle, are Not to Be Disputed With, But to Be Admonished.

I might be thought to have laid down this position to remedy distrust in my case, or from a desire of entering on the contest in some other way, were there not reasons on my side, especially this, that our faith owes deference to the apostle, who forbids us to enter on “questions,” or to lend our ears to new-fangled statements, or to consort with a heretic “after the first and second admonition,” not, (be it observed,) after discussion. Discussion he has inhibited in this way, by designating *admonition* as the purpose of dealing with a heretic, and the *first* one too, because he is not a Christian; in order that he might not, after the manner of a Christian, seem to require correction again and again, and “before two or three witnesses,” seeing that he ought to be corrected, for the very reason that he is not to be disputed with; and in the next place, because a controversy over the Scriptures can, clearly, produce no other effect than help to upset either the stomach or the brain.

Chapter XVII. — Heretics, in Fact, Do Not Use, But Only Abuse, Scripture. No Common Ground Between Them and You.

Now this heresy of yours does not receive certain Scriptures; and whichever of them it does receive, it perverts by means of additions and diminutions, for the accomplishment of its own purpose; and such as it does receive, it receives not in their entirety; but even when it does receive any up to a certain point as entire, it nevertheless perverts even these by the contrivance of diverse interpretations. Truth is just as much opposed by an adulteration of its meaning as it is by a corruption of its text. Their vain presumptions must needs refuse to acknowledge the (writings) whereby they are refuted. They rely on those which they have falsely put together, and which they have selected, because of their ambiguity. Though most skilled in the Scriptures, you will make no progress, when everything which you maintain is denied on the other side, and whatever you deny is (by them) maintained. As for yourself, indeed, you will lose nothing but your breath, and gain nothing but vexation from their blasphemy.

Chapter XVIII. — Great Evil Ensues to the Weak in Faith, from Any Discussion Out of the Scriptures. Conviction Never Comes to the Heretic from Such a Process.

But with respect to the man for whose sake you enter on the discussion of the Scriptures, with the view of strengthening him when afflicted with doubts, (let me ask) will it be to the truth, or rather to heretical opinions that he will lean? Influenced by the very fact that he sees you have made no progress, whilst the other side is on an equal footing (with yourself) in denying and in defence, or at any rate on a like standing he will go away confirmed in his uncertainty by the discussion, not knowing which side to adjudge heretical. For, no doubt, they too are able to retort these things on us. It is indeed a necessary consequence that they should go so far as to say that adulterations of the Scriptures, and false expositions thereof, are rather introduced by ourselves, inasmuch as they, no less than we maintain that truth is on their side.

Chapter XIX. — Appeal, in Discussion of Heresy, Lies Not to the Scriptures. The Scriptures Belong Only to Those Who Have the Rule of Faith.

Our appeal, therefore, must not be made to the Scriptures; nor must controversy be admitted on points in which victory will either be impossible, or uncertain, or not certain enough. But even if a discussion from the Scriptures should not turn out in such a way as to place both sides on a par, (yet) the natural order of things would require that this point should be first proposed, which is now the only one which we must discuss: “With whom lies that very faith to which the Scriptures belong. From what and through whom, and when, and to whom, has been handed down that rule, by which men become Christians?” For wherever it shall be manifest that the true Christian rule and faith shall be, *there* will likewise be the true Scriptures and expositions thereof, and all the Christian traditions.

Chapter XX. — Christ First Delivered the Faith. The Apostles Spread It; They Founded Churches as the Depositories Thereof. That Faith, Therefore, is Apostolic, Which Descended from the Apostles, Through Apostolic Churches.

Christ Jesus our Lord (may He bear with me a moment in thus expressing myself!), whosoever He is, of what God soever He is the Son, of what substance soever He is man and God, of what faith soever He is the teacher, of what reward soever He is the Promiser, did, whilst He lived on earth, Himself declare what He was, what He had been, what the Father's will was which He was administering, what the duty of man was which He was prescribing; (and this declaration He made,) either openly to the people, or privately to His disciples, of whom He had chosen the twelve chief ones to be at His side, and whom He destined to be the teachers of the nations. Accordingly, after one of these had been struck off, He commanded the eleven others, on His departure to the Father, to "go and teach *all* nations, who were to be baptized into the Father, and into the Son, and into the Holy Ghost." Immediately, therefore, so did the apostles, whom this designation indicates as "*the sent.*" Having, on the authority of a prophecy, which occurs in a psalm of David, chosen Matthias by lot as the twelfth, into the place of Judas, they obtained the promised power of the Holy Ghost for the gift of miracles and of utterance; and after first bearing witness to the faith in Jesus Christ throughout Judæa, and founding churches (there), they next went forth into the world and preached the same doctrine of the same faith to the nations. They then in like manner founded churches in every city, from which all the other churches, one after another, derived the tradition of the faith, and the seeds of doctrine, and are every day deriving them, that they may become churches. Indeed, it is on this account only that they will be able to deem themselves apostolic, as being the offspring of apostolic churches. Every sort of thing must necessarily revert to its original for its classification. Therefore the churches, although they are so many and so great, comprise but the one primitive church, (founded) by the apostles, from which they all (spring). In this way all are primitive, and all are apostolic, whilst they are all proved to be one, in (unbroken) unity, by their peaceful communion, and title of brotherhood, and bond of hospitality, —

privileges which no other rule directs than the one tradition of the selfsame mystery.

Chapter XXI. — All Doctrine True Which Comes Through the Church from the Apostles, Who Were Taught by God Through Christ. All Opinion Which Has No Such Divine Origin and Apostolic Tradition to Show, is Ipso Facto False.

From this, therefore, do we draw up our rule. Since the Lord Jesus Christ sent the apostles to preach, (our rule is) that no others ought to be received as preachers than those whom Christ appointed; for “no man knoweth the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him.” Nor does the Son seem to have revealed Him to any other than the apostles, whom He sent forth to preach — that, of course, which He revealed to them. Now, what that was which they preached — in other words, what it was which Christ revealed to them — can, as I must here likewise prescribe, properly be proved in no other way than by those very churches which the apostles founded in person, by declaring the gospel to them directly themselves, both *vivâ voce*, as the phrase is, and subsequently by their epistles. If, then, these things are so, it is in the same degree manifest that all doctrine which agrees with the apostolic churches — those moulds and original sources of the faith must be reckoned for truth, as undoubtedly containing that which the (said) churches received from the apostles, the apostles from Christ, Christ from God. Whereas all doctrine must be prejudged as false which savours of contrariety to the truth of the churches and apostles of Christ and God. It remains, then, that we demonstrate whether this doctrine of ours, of which we have now given the rule, has its origin in the tradition of the apostles, and whether all other doctrines do not *ipso facto* proceed from falsehood. We hold communion with the apostolic churches because our doctrine is in no respect different from theirs. This is our witness of truth.

Chapter XXII. — Attempt to Invalidate This Rule of Faith Rebutted. The Apostles Safe Transmitters of the Truth. Sufficiently Taught at First, and Faithful in the Transmission.

But inasmuch as the proof is so near at hand, that if it were at once produced there would be nothing left to be dealt with, let us give way for a while to the opposite side, if they think that they can find some means of invalidating this rule, just as if no proof were forthcoming from us. They usually tell us that the apostles did not know all things: (but herein) they are impelled by the same madness, whereby they turn round to the very opposite point, and declare that the apostles certainly knew all things, but did not deliver all things to all persons, — in either case exposing Christ to blame for having sent forth apostles who had either too much ignorance, or too little simplicity. What man, then, of sound mind can possibly suppose that they were ignorant of anything, whom the Lord ordained to be masters (or teachers), keeping them, as He did, inseparable (from Himself) in their attendance, in their discipleship, in their society, to whom, “when they were alone, He used to expound” all things which were obscure, telling them that “to them it was given to know those mysteries,” which it was not permitted the people to understand? Was anything withheld from the knowledge of Peter, who is called “the rock on which the church should be built,” who also obtained “the keys of the kingdom of heaven,” with the power of “loosing and binding in heaven and on earth?” Was anything, again, concealed from John, the Lord’s most beloved disciple, who used to lean on His breast to whom alone the Lord pointed Judas out as the traitor, whom He commended to Mary as a son in His own stead? Of what could He have meant those to be ignorant, to whom He even exhibited His own glory with Moses and Elias, and the Father’s voice moreover, from heaven? Not as if He thus disapproved of all the rest, but because “by three witnesses must every word be established.” After the same fashion, too, (I suppose,) were they ignorant to whom, after His resurrection also, He vouchsafed, as they were journeying together, “to expound all the Scriptures.” No doubt He had once said, “I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot hear them now;” but even then He added, “When He, the Spirit of truth, shall come, He will lead you into all truth.” He (thus) shows

that there was nothing of which they were ignorant, to whom He had promised the future attainment of all truth by help of the Spirit of truth. And assuredly He fulfilled His promise, since it is proved in the Acts of the Apostles that the Holy Ghost did come down. Now they who reject that Scripture can neither belong to the Holy Spirit, seeing that they cannot acknowledge that the Holy Ghost has been sent as yet to the disciples, nor can they presume to claim to be a church themselves who positively have no means of proving when, and with what swaddling-clothes this body was established. Of so much importance is it to them not to have any proofs for the things which they maintain, lest along with them there be introduced damaging exposures of those things which they mendaciously devise.

Chapter XXIII. — The Apostles Not Ignorant. The Heretical Pretence of St. Peter's Imperfection Because He Was Rebuked by St. Paul. St. Peter Not Rebuked for Error in Teaching.

Now, with the view of branding the apostles with some mark of ignorance, they put forth the case of Peter and them that were with him having been rebuked by Paul. "Something therefore," they say, "was wanting in them." (This they allege,) in order that they may from this construct that other position of theirs, that a fuller knowledge may possibly have afterwards come over (the apostles,) such as fell to the share of Paul when he rebuked those who preceded him. I may here say to those who reject *The Acts of the Apostles*: "*It is first necessary that you show us who this Paul was, — both what he was before he was an apostle, and how he became an apostle,*" — so very great is the use which they make of him in respect of other questions also. It is true that he tells us himself that he was a persecutor before he became an apostle, still this is not enough for any man who examines before he believes, since even the Lord Himself did not bear witness of Himself. But let them believe without the Scriptures, if their object is to believe contrary to the Scriptures. Still they should show, from the circumstance which they allege of Peter's being rebuked by Paul, that Paul added yet another form of the gospel besides that which Peter and the rest had previously set forth. But the fact is, having been converted from a persecutor to a preacher, he is introduced as one of the brethren to brethren, by brethren — to them, indeed, by men who had put on faith from the apostles' hands. Afterwards, as he himself narrates, he "went up to Jerusalem for the purpose of seeing Peter," because of his office, no doubt, and by right of a common belief and preaching. Now they certainly would not have been surprised at his having become a preacher instead of a persecutor, if his preaching were of something contrary; nor, moreover, would they have "glorified the Lord," because Paul had presented himself as an adversary to Him. They accordingly even gave him "the right hand of fellowship," as a sign of their agreement with him, and arranged amongst themselves a distribution of office, not a diversity of gospel, so that they should severally preach not a different gospel, but (the same), to different persons, Peter to the circumcision, Paul to the Gentiles. Forasmuch,

then, as Peter was rebuked because, after he had lived with the Gentiles, he proceeded to separate himself from their company out of respect for persons, the fault surely was one of conversation, not of preaching. For it does not appear from this, that any other God than the Creator, or any other Christ than (the son) of Mary, or any other hope than the resurrection, was (by him) announced.

Chapter XXIV. — St. Peter's Further Vindication. St. Paul Not Superior to St. Peter in Teaching. Nothing Imparted to the Former in the Third Heaven Enabled Him to Add to the Faith. Heretics Boast as If Favoured with Some of the Secrets Imparted to Him.

I have not the good fortune, or, as I must rather say, I have not the unenviable task, of setting apostles by the ears. But, inasmuch as our very perverse cavillers obtrude the rebuke in question for the set purpose of bringing the earlier doctrine into suspicion, I will put in a defence, as it were, for Peter, to the effect that even Paul said that he was “made all things to all men — to the Jews a Jew,” to those who were not Jews as one who was not a Jew— “that he might gain all.” Therefore it was according to times and persons and causes that they used to censure certain practices, which they would not hesitate themselves to pursue, in like conformity to times and persons and causes. Just (*e.g.*) as if Peter too had censured Paul, because, whilst forbidding circumcision, he actually circumcised Timothy himself. Never mind those who pass sentence on apostles! It is a happy fact that Peter is on the same level with Paul in the very glory of martyrdom. Now, although Paul was carried away even to the third heaven, and was caught up to paradise, and heard certain revelations there, yet these cannot possibly seem to have qualified him for (teaching) another doctrine, seeing that their very nature was such as to render them communicable to no human being. If, however, that unspeakable mystery did leak out, and become known to any man, and if any heresy affirms that it does itself follow the same, (then) either Paul must be charged with having betrayed the secret, or some other man must actually be shown to have been afterwards “caught up into paradise,” who had permission to speak out plainly what Paul was not allowed (even) to mutter.

Chapter XXV. — The Apostles Did Not Keep Back Any of the Deposit of Doctrine Which Christ Had Entrusted to Them. St. Paul Openly Committed His Whole Doctrine to Timothy.

But here is, as we have said, the same madness, in their allowing indeed that the apostles were ignorant of nothing, and preached not any (doctrines) which contradicted one another, but at the same time insisting that they did not reveal all to all men, for that they proclaimed some openly and to all the world, whilst they disclosed others (only) in secret and to a few, because Paul addressed even this expression to Timothy: “O Timothy, guard that which is entrusted to thee;” and again: “That good thing which was committed unto thee keep.” What is this deposit? Is it so secret as to be supposed to characterize a new doctrine? or is it a part of that charge of which he says, “This charge I commit unto thee, son Timothy?” and also of that precept of which he says, “I charge thee in the sight of God, who quickeneth all things, and before Jesus Christ who witnessed a good confession under Pontius Pilate, that thou keep this commandment?” Now, what is (this) commandment and what is (this) charge? From the preceding and the succeeding contexts, it will be manifest that there is no mysterious hint darkly suggested in this expression about (some) far-fetched doctrine, but that a warning is rather given against receiving any other (doctrine) than that which *Timothy* had heard from himself, *as I take it* publicly: “Before many witnesses” is his phrase. Now, if they refuse to allow that the church is meant by these “many witnesses,” it matters nothing, since nothing could have been secret which was produced “before many witnesses.” Nor, again, must the circumstance of his having wished him to “commit these things to faithful men, who should be able to teach others also,” be construed into a proof of there being some occult gospel. For, when he says “these things,” he refers to the things of which he is writing at the moment. In reference, however, to occult subjects, he would have called them, as being absent, *those things*, not *these things*, to one who had a joint knowledge of them with himself.

Chapter XXVI. — The Apostles Did in All Cases Teach the Whole Truth to the Whole Church. No Reservation, Nor Partial Communication to Favourite Friends.

Besides which, it must have followed, that, for the man to whom he committed the ministration of the gospel, he would add the injunction that it be not ministered in all places, and without respect to persons, in accordance with the Lord's saying, "Not to cast one's pearls before swine, nor that which is holy unto dogs." Openly did the Lord speak, without any intimation of a hidden mystery. He had Himself commanded that, "whatsoever they had heard in darkness" and in secret, they should "declare in the light and on the house-tops." He had Himself foreshown, by means of a parable, that they should not keep back in secret, fruitless of interest, a single pound, that is, one word of His. He used Himself to tell them that a candle was not usually "pushed away under a bushel, but placed on a candlestick," in order to "give light to all who are in the house." These things the apostles either neglected, or failed to understand, if they fulfilled them not, by concealing any portion of the light, that is, of the word of God and the mystery of Christ. Of no man, I am quite sure, were they afraid, — neither of Jews nor of Gentiles in their violence; with all the greater freedom, then, would they certainly preach in the church, who held not their tongue in synagogues and public places. Indeed they would have found it impossible either to convert Jews or to bring in Gentiles, unless they "set forth in order" that which they would have them believe. Much less, when churches were advanced in the faith, would they have withdrawn from them anything for the purpose of committing it separately to some few others. Although, even supposing that among intimate friends, so to speak, they did hold certain discussions, yet it is incredible that these could have been such as to bring in some other rule of faith, differing from and contrary to that which they were proclaiming through the Catholic churches, — as if they spoke of one God in the Church, (and) another at home, and described one substance of Christ, publicly, (and) another secretly, and announced one hope of the resurrection before all men, (and) another before the few; although they themselves, in their epistles, besought men that they would all speak one and the same thing, and that there should be no divisions and dissensions in the church, seeing that they, whether Paul or

others, preached the same things. Moreover, they remembered (the words): “Let your communication be yea, yea; nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than this cometh of evil;” so that they were not to handle the gospel in a diversity of treatment.

Chapter XXVII. — Granted that the Apostles Transmitted the Whole Doctrine of Truth, May Not the Churches Have Been Unfaithful in Handing It On? Inconceivable that This Can Have Been the Case.

Since, therefore, it is incredible that the apostles were either ignorant of the whole scope of the message which they had to declare, or failed to make known to all men the entire rule of faith, let us see whether, while the apostles proclaimed it, perhaps, simply and fully, the churches, through their own fault, set it forth otherwise than the apostles had done. All these suggestions of distrust you may find put forward by the heretics. They bear in mind how the churches were rebuked by the apostle: “O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you?” and, “Ye did run so well; who hath hindered you?” and how the epistle actually begins: “I marvel that ye are so soon removed from Him, who hath called you as His own in grace, to another gospel.” That they likewise (remember), what was written to the Corinthians, that they “were yet carnal,” who “required to be fed with milk,” being as yet “unable to bear strong meat;” who also “thought that they knew somewhat, whereas they knew not yet anything, as they ought to know.” When they raise the objection that the churches were rebuked, let them suppose that they were also corrected; let them also remember those (churches), concerning whose faith and knowledge and conversation the apostle “rejoices and gives thanks to God,” which nevertheless even at this day, unite with those which were rebuked in the privileges of one and the same institution.

Chapter XXVIII. — The One Tradition of the Faith, Which is Substantially Alike in the Churches Everywhere, a Good Proof that the Transmission Has Been True and Honest in the Main.

Grant, then, that all have erred; that the apostle was mistaken in giving his testimony; that the Holy Ghost had no such respect to any one (church) as to lead it into truth, although sent with this view by Christ, and for this asked of the Father that He might be the teacher of truth; grant, also, that He, the Steward of God, the Vicar of Christ, neglected His office, permitting the churches for a time to understand differently, (and) to believe differently, what He Himself was preaching by the apostles, — is it likely that so many churches, and they so great, should have gone astray into one and the same faith? No casualty distributed among many men issues in one and the same result. Error of doctrine in the churches must necessarily have produced various issues. When, however, that which is deposited among many is found to be one and the same, it is not the result of error, but of tradition. Can any one, then, be reckless enough to say that they were in error who handed on the tradition?

Chapter XXIX. — The Truth Not Indebted to the Care of the Heretics; It Had Free Course Before They Appeared. Priority of the Church's Doctrine a Mark of Its Truth.

In whatever manner error came, it reigned of course only as long as there was an absence of heresies? Truth had to wait for certain Marcionites and Valentinians to set it free. During the interval the gospel was wrongly preached; men wrongly believed; so many thousands were wrongly baptized; so many works of faith were wrongly wrought; so many miraculous gifts, so many spiritual endowments, were wrongly set in operation; so many priestly functions, so many ministries, were wrongly executed; and, to sum up the whole, so many martyrs wrongly received their crowns! Else, if not wrongly done, and to no purpose, how comes it to pass that the things of God were on their course before it was known to what God they belonged? that there were Christians before Christ was found? that there were heresies before true doctrine? Not so; for in all cases truth precedes its copy, the likeness succeeds the reality. Absurd enough, however, is it, that heresy should be deemed to have preceded its own prior doctrine, even on this account, because it is that (doctrine) itself which foretold that there should be heresies against which men would have to guard! To a church which possessed this doctrine, it was written — yea, the doctrine itself writes to its own church— “Though an angel from heaven preach any other gospel than that which we have preached, let him be accursed.”

Chapter XXX. — Comparative Lateness of Heresies. Marcion's Heresy. Some Personal Facts About Him. The Heresy of Apelles. Character of This Man; Philumene; Valentinus; Nigidius, and Hermogenes.

Where was Marcion *then*, that shipmaster of Pontus, the zealous student of Stoicism? Where was Valentinus *then*, the disciple of Platonism? For it is evident that those men lived not so long ago, — in the reign of Antoninus for the most part, — and that they at first were believers in the doctrine of the Catholic Church, in the church of Rome under the episcopate of the blessed Eleutherus, until on account of their ever restless curiosity, with which they even infected the brethren, they were more than once expelled. Marcion, indeed, [went] with the two hundred sesterces which he had brought into the church, and, when banished at last to a permanent excommunication, they scattered abroad the poisons of their doctrines. Afterwards, it is true, Marcion professed repentance, and agreed to the conditions granted to him — that he should receive reconciliation if he restored to the church all the others whom he had been training for perdition: he was prevented, however, by death. It was indeed necessary that there should be heresies; and yet it does not follow from that necessity, that heresies are a good thing. As if it has not been necessary also that there should be evil! It was even necessary that the Lord should be betrayed; but woe to the traitor! So that no man may from this defend heresies. If we must likewise touch the descent of Apelles, he is far from being “one of the old school,” like his instructor and moulder, Marcion; he rather forsook the continence of Marcion, by resorting to the company of a woman, and withdrew to Alexandria, out of sight of his most abstemious master. Returning therefrom, after some years, unimproved, except that he was no longer a Marcionite, he clave to another woman, the maiden Philumene (whom we have already mentioned), who herself afterwards became an enormous prostitute. Having been imposed on by her vigorous spirit, he committed to writing *the revelations* which he had learned of her. Persons are still living who remember them, — their own actual disciples and successors, — who cannot therefore deny the lateness of their date. But, in fact, by their own works they are convicted, even as the Lord said. For since Marcion separated the New Testament from the Old, he is (necessarily)

subsequent to that which he separated, inasmuch as it was only in his power to separate what was (previously) united. Having then been united previous to its separation, the fact of its subsequent separation proves the subsequence also of the man who effected the separation. In like manner Valentinus, by his different expositions and acknowledged emendations, makes these changes on the express ground of previous faultiness, and therefore demonstrates the difference of the documents. These corrupters of the truth we mention as being more notorious and more public than others. There is, however, a certain man named Nigidius, and Hermogenes, and several others, who still pursue the course of perverting the ways of the Lord. Let them show me by what authority they come! If it be some other God they preach, how comes it that they employ the things and the writings and the names of that God against whom they preach? If it be the same God, why treat Him in some other way? Let them prove themselves to be new apostles! Let them maintain that Christ has come down a second time, taught in person a second time, has been twice crucified, twice dead, twice raised! For thus has the apostle described (the order of events in the life of Christ); for thus, too, is He accustomed to make His apostles — to give them, (that is), power besides of working the same miracles which He worked Himself. I would therefore have their mighty deeds also brought forward; except that I allow their mightiest deed to be that by which they perversely vie with the apostles. For whilst they used to raise men to life from the dead, these consign men to death from their living state.

Chapter XXXI. — Truth First, Falsehood Afterwards, as Its Perversion. Christ's Parable Puts the Sowing of the Good Seed Before the Useless Tares.

Let me return, however, from this digression to discuss the priority of truth, and the comparative lateness of falsehood, deriving support for my argument even from that parable which puts in the first place the sowing by the Lord of the good seed of the wheat, but introduces at a later stage the adulteration of the crop by its enemy the devil with the useless weed of the wild oats. For herein is figuratively described the difference of doctrines, since in other passages also the word of God is likened unto seed. From the actual order, therefore, it becomes clear, that that which was first delivered is of the Lord and is true, whilst that is strange and false which was afterwards introduced. This sentence will keep its ground in opposition to all later heresies, which have no consistent quality of kindred knowledge inherent in them — to claim the truth as on their side.

Chapter XXXII. — None of the Heretics Claim Succession from the Apostles. New Churches Still Apostolic, Because Their Faith is that Which the Apostles Taught and Handed Down. The Heretics Challenged to Show Any Apostolic Credentials.

But if there be any (heresies) which are bold enough to plant themselves in the midst of the apostolic age, that they may thereby seem to have been handed down by the apostles, because they existed in the time of the apostles, we can say: Let them produce the original records of their churches; let them unfold the roll of their bishops, running down in due succession from the beginning in such a manner that [that first bishop of theirs] bishop shall be able to show for his ordainer and predecessor some one of the apostles or of apostolic men, — a man, moreover, who continued stedfast with the apostles. For this is the manner in which the apostolic churches transmit their registers: as the church of Smyrna, which records that Polycarp was placed therein by John; as also the church of Rome, which makes Clement to have been ordained in like manner by Peter. In exactly the same way the other churches likewise exhibit (their several worthies), whom, as having been appointed to their episcopal places by apostles, they regard as transmitters of the apostolic seed. Let the heretics contrive something of the same kind. For after their blasphemy, what is there that is unlawful for them (to attempt)? But should they even effect the contrivance, they will not advance a step. For their very doctrine, after comparison with that of the apostles, will declare, by its own diversity and contrariety, that it had for its author neither an apostle nor an apostolic man; because, as the apostles would never have taught things which were self-contradictory, so the apostolic men would not have inculcated teaching different from the apostles, unless they who received their instruction from the apostles went and preached in a contrary manner. To this test, therefore will they be submitted for proof by those churches, who, although they derive not their founder from apostles or apostolic men (as being of much later date, for they are in fact being founded daily), yet, since they agree in the same faith, they are accounted as not less apostolic because they are akin in doctrine. Then let all the heresies, when challenged to these two tests by our apostolic church, offer their proof of how they deem themselves to be

apostolic. But in truth they neither are so, nor are they able to prove themselves to be what they are not. Nor are they admitted to peaceful relations and communion by such churches as are in any way connected with apostles, inasmuch as they are in no sense themselves apostolic because of their diversity as to the mysteries of the faith.

Chapter XXXIII. — Present Heresies (Seedlings of the Tares Noted by the Sacred Writers) Already Condemned in Scripture. This Descent of Later Heresy from the Earlier Traced in Several Instances.

Besides all this, I add a review of the doctrines themselves, which, existing as they did in the days of the apostles, were both exposed and denounced by the said apostles. For by this method they will be more easily reprobated, when they are detected to have been even then in existence, or at any rate to have been seedlings of the (tares) which then were. Paul, in his first epistle to the Corinthians, sets his mark on certain who denied and doubted the resurrection. This opinion was the especial property of the Sadducees. A part of it, however, is maintained by Marcion and Apelles and Valentinus, and all other impugnors of the resurrection. Writing also to the Galatians, he inveighs against such men as observed and defend circumcision and the (Mosaic) law. Thus runs Hebion's heresy. Such also as "forbid to marry" he reproaches in his instructions to Timothy. Now, this is the teaching of Marcion and his follower Apelles. (The apostle) directs a similar blow against those who said that "the resurrection was past already." Such an opinion did the Valentinians assert of themselves. When again he mentions "endless genealogies," one also recognises Valentinus, in whose system a certain Æon, whosoever he be, of a new name, and that not one only, generates of his own grace Sense and Truth; and these in like manner produce of themselves Word and Life, while these again afterwards beget Man and the Church. From these primary eight ten other Æons after them spring, and then the twelve others arise with their wonderful names, to complete the mere story of the thirty Æons. The same apostle, when disapproving of those who are "in bondage to elements," points us to some dogma of Hermogenes, who introduces matter as having no beginning, and then compares it with God, who has no beginning. By thus making the mother of the elements a goddess, he has it in his power "to be in bondage" to a being which he puts on a par with God. John, however, in the Apocalypse is charged to chastise those "who eat things sacrificed to idols," and "who commit fornication." There are even now another sort of Nicolaitans. Theirs is called the Gaian heresy. But in his epistle he especially designates those as "Antichrists" who "denied that Christ was come in the

flesh,” and who refused to think that Jesus was the Son of God. The one dogma Marcion maintained; the other, Hebion. The doctrine, however, of Simon’s sorcery, which inculcated the worship of angels, was itself actually reckoned amongst idolatries and condemned by the Apostle Peter in Simon’s own person.

Chapter XXXIV. — No Early Controversy Respecting the Divine Creator; No Second God Introduced at First. Heresies Condemned Alike by the Sentence and the Silence of Holy Scripture.

These are, as I suppose, the different kinds of spurious doctrines, which (as we are informed by the apostles themselves) existed in their own day. And yet we find amongst so many various perversions of truth, not one school which raised any controversy concerning God as the Creator of all things. No man was bold enough to surmise a second god. More readily was doubt felt about the Son than about the Father, until Marcion introduced, in addition to the Creator, another god of goodness only. Apelles made the Creator of some nondescript glorious angel, who belonged to the superior God, the god (according to him,) of the law and of Israel, affirming that he was fire. Valentinus disseminated his *Æons*, and traced the sin of one *Æon* to the production of God the Creator. To none, forsooth, except these, nor prior to these, was revealed the truth of the Divine Nature; and they obtained this especial honour and fuller favour from the devil, we cannot doubt, because he wished even in this respect to rival God, that he might succeed, by the poison of his doctrines, in doing himself what the Lord said could not be done — making “the disciples above their Master.” Let the entire mass of heresies choose, therefore, for themselves the times when they should appear, provided that the *when* be an unimportant point; allowing, too, that they be not of the truth, and (as a matter of course) that such as had no existence in the time of the apostles could not possibly have had any connection with the apostles. If indeed they had then existed, their names would be extant, with a view to their own repression likewise. Those (heresies) indeed which did exist in the days of the apostles, are condemned in their very mention. If it be true, then, that those heresies, which in the apostolic times were in a rude form, are now found to be the same, only in a much more polished shape, they derive their condemnation from this very circumstance. Or if they were not the same, but arose afterwards in a different form, and merely assumed from them certain tenets, then, by sharing with them an agreement in their teaching, they must needs partake in their condemnation, by reason of the above-mentioned definition, of lateness of date, which meets us on the very threshold. Even if

they were free from any participation in condemned doctrine, they would stand already judged on the mere ground of time, being all the more spurious because they were not even named by the apostles. Whence we have the firmer assurance, that these were (the heresies) which even then, were announced as about to arise.

Chapter XXXV. — Let Heretics Maintain Their Claims by a Definite and Intelligible Evidence. This the Only Method of Solving Their Questions. Catholics Appeal Always to Evidence Traceable to Apostolic Sources.

Challenged and refuted by us, according to these definitions, let all the heresies boldly on their part also advance similar rules to these against our doctrine, whether they be later than the apostles or contemporary with the apostles, provided they be different from them; provided also they were, by either a general or a specific censure, precondemned by them. For since they deny the truth of (our doctrine), they ought to prove that it also is heresy, refutable by the same rule as that by which they are themselves refuted; and at the same time to show us where we must seek the truth, which it is by this time evident has no existence amongst them. Our system is not behind any in date; on the contrary, it is earlier than all; and this fact will be the evidence of that truth which everywhere occupies the first place. The apostles, again, nowhere condemn it; they rather defend it, — a fact which will show that it comes from themselves. For that doctrine which they refrain from condemning, when they have condemned every strange opinion, they show to be their own, and on that ground too they defend it.

Chapter XXXVI. — The Apostolic Churches the Voice of the Apostles. Let the Heretics Examine Their Apostolic Claims, in Each Case, Indisputable. The Church of Rome Doubly Apostolic; Its Early Eminence and Excellence. Heresy, as Perverting the Truth, is Connected Therewith.

Come now, you who would indulge a better curiosity, if you would apply it to the business of your salvation, run over the apostolic churches, in which the very thrones of the apostles are still pre-eminent in their places, in which their own authentic writings are read, uttering the voice and representing the face of each of them severally. Achaia is very near you, (in which) you find Corinth. Since you are not far from Macedonia, you have Philippi; (and there too) you have the Thessalonians. Since you are able to cross to Asia, you get Ephesus. Since, moreover, you are close upon Italy, you have Rome, from which there comes even into our own hands the very authority (of apostles themselves). How happy is its church, on which apostles poured forth all their doctrine along with their blood! where Peter endures a passion like his Lord's! where Paul wins his crown in a death like John's where the Apostle John was first plunged, unhurt, into boiling oil, and thence remitted to his island-exile! See what she has learned, what taught, what fellowship has had with even (our) churches in Africa! One Lord God does she acknowledge, the Creator of the universe, and Christ Jesus (born) of the Virgin Mary, the Son of God the Creator; and the Resurrection of the flesh; the law and the prophets she unites in one volume with the writings of evangelists and apostles, from which she drinks in her faith. This she seals with the water (of baptism), arrays with the Holy Ghost, feeds with the Eucharist, cheers with martyrdom, and against such a discipline thus (maintained) she admits no gainsayer. This is the discipline which I no longer say foretold that heresies should come, but from which they proceeded. However, they were not of her, because they were opposed to her. Even the rough wild-olive arises from the germ of the fruitful, rich, and genuine olive; also from the seed of the mellowest and sweetest fig there springs the empty and useless wild-fig. In the same way heresies, too, come from our plant, although not of our kind; (they come) from the grain of truth, but, owing to their falsehood, they have only wild leaves to show.

Chapter XXXVII. — Heretics Not Being Christians, But Rather Perverters of Christ's Teaching, May Not Claim the Christian Scriptures. These are a Deposit, Committed to and Carefully Kept by the Church.

Since this is the case, in order that the truth may be adjudged to belong to us, "as many as walk according to the rule," which the church has handed down from the apostles, the apostles from Christ, *and* Christ from God, the reason of our position is clear, when it determines that heretics ought not to be allowed to challenge an appeal to the Scriptures, since we, without the Scriptures, prove that they have nothing to do with the Scriptures. For as they are heretics, they cannot be true Christians, because it is not from Christ that they get that which they pursue of their own mere choice, and from the pursuit incur and admit the name of heretics. Thus, not being Christians, they have acquired no right to the Christian Scriptures; and it may be very fairly said to them, "Who are you? When and whence did you come? As you are none of mine, what have you to do with that which is mine? Indeed, Marcion, by what right do you hew my wood? By whose permission, Valentinus, are you diverting the streams of my fountain? By what power, Apelles, are you removing my landmarks? This is my property. Why are you, the rest, sowing and feeding here at your own pleasure? This (I say) is my property. I have long possessed it; I possessed it before you. I hold sure title-deeds from the original owners themselves, to whom the estate belonged. I am the heir of the apostles. Just as they carefully prepared their will and testament, and committed it to a trust, and adjudged (the trustees to be faithful to their charge), even so do I hold it. As for you, they have, it is certain, always held you as disinherited, and rejected you as strangers — as enemies. But on what ground are heretics strangers and enemies to the apostles, if it be not from the difference of their teaching, which each individual of his own mere will has either advanced or received in opposition to the apostles?"

Chapter XXXVIII. — Harmony of the Church and the Scriptures. Heretics Have Tampered with the Scriptures, and Mutilated, and Altered Them. Catholics Never Change the Scriptures, Which Always Testify for Them.

Where diversity of doctrine is found, *there*, then, must the corruption both of the Scriptures and the expositions thereof be regarded as existing. On those whose purpose it was to teach differently, lay the necessity of differently arranging the instruments of doctrine. They could not possibly have effected their diversity of teaching in any other way than by having a difference in the means whereby they taught. As in their case, corruption in doctrine could not possibly have succeeded without a corruption also of its instruments, so to ourselves also integrity of doctrine could not have accrued, without integrity in those means by which doctrine is managed. Now, what is there in our Scriptures which is contrary to us? What of our own have we introduced, that we should have to take it away again, or else add to it, or alter it, in order to restore to its natural soundness anything which is contrary to it, and contained in the Scriptures? What we are ourselves, that also the Scriptures are (and have been) from the beginning. Of them we have our being, before there was any other way, before they were interpolated by you. Now, inasmuch as all interpolation must be believed to be a later process, for the express reason that it proceeds from rivalry which is never in any case previous to nor home-born with that which it emulates, it is as incredible to every man of sense that we should seem to have introduced any corrupt text into the Scriptures, existing, as we have been, from the very first, and being the first, as it is that they have not in fact introduced it who are both later in date and opposed (to the Scriptures). One man perverts the Scriptures with his hand, another their meaning by his exposition. For although Valentinus seems to use the entire volume, he has none the less laid violent hands on the truth only with a more cunning mind and skill than Marcion. Marcion expressly and openly used the knife, not the pen, since he made such an excision of the Scriptures as suited his own subject-matter. Valentinus, however, abstained from such excision, because he did not invent Scriptures to square with his own subject-matter, but adapted his matter to the Scriptures; and yet he took away more, and added more, by removing the proper meaning of every particular word, and

adding fantastic arrangements of things which have no real existence.

Chapter XXXIX. — What St. Paul Calls Spiritual Wickednesses Displayed by Pagan Authors, and by Heretics, in No Dissimilar Manner. Holy Scripture Especially Liable to Heretical Manipulation. Affords Material for Heresies, Just as Virgil Has Been the Groundwork of Literary Plagiarisms, Different in Purport from the Original.

These were the ingenious arts of “spiritual wickednesses,” wherewith we also, my brethren, may fairly expect to have “to wrestle,” as necessary for faith, that the elect may be made manifest, (and) that the reprobate may be discovered. And therefore they possess influence, and a facility in thinking out and fabricating errors, which ought not to be wondered at as if it were a difficult and inexplicable process, seeing that in profane writings also an example comes ready to hand of a similar facility. You see in our own day, composed out of Virgil, a story of a wholly different character, the subject-matter being arranged according to the verse, and the verse according to the subject-matter. In short, Hosidius Geta has most completely pilfered his tragedy of *Medea* from Virgil. A near relative of my own, among some leisure productions of his pen, has composed out of the same poet *The Table of Cebes*. On the same principle, those *poetasters* are commonly called *Homerocentones*, “collectors of Homeric odds and ends,” who stitch into one piece, patchwork fashion, works of their own from the lines of Homer, out of many scraps put together from this passage and from that (in miscellaneous confusion). Now, unquestionably, the Divine Scriptures are more fruitful in resources of all kinds for this sort of facility. Nor do I risk contradiction in saying that the very Scriptures were even arranged by the will of God in such a manner as to furnish materials for heretics, inasmuch as I read that “there must be heresies,” which there cannot be without the Scriptures.

Chapter XL. — No Difference in the Spirit of Idolatry and of Heresy. In the Rites of Idolatry, Satan Imitated and Distorted the Divine Institutions of the Older Scriptures. The Christian Scriptures Corrupted by Him in the Perversions of the Various Heretics.

The question will arise, By whom is to be interpreted the sense of the passages which make for heresies? By the devil, of course, to whom pertain those wiles which pervert the truth, and who, by the mystic rites of his idols, vies even with the essential portions of the sacraments of God. He, too, baptizes some — that is, his own believers and faithful followers; he promises the putting away of sins by a laver (of his own); and if my memory still serves me, Mithra there, (in the kingdom of Satan,) sets his marks on the foreheads of his soldiers; celebrates also the oblation of bread, and introduces an image of a resurrection, and before a sword wreathes a crown. What also must we say to (Satan's) limiting his chief priest to a single marriage? He, too, has his virgins; he, too, has his proficients in continence. Suppose now we revolve in our minds the superstitions of Numa Pompilius, and consider his priestly offices and badges and privileges, his sacrificial services, too, and the instruments and vessels of the sacrifices themselves, and the curious rites of his expiations and vows: is it not clear to us that the devil imitated the well-known moroseness of the Jewish law? Since, therefore he has shown such emulation in his great aim of expressing, in the concerns of his idolatry, those very things of which consists the administration of Christ's sacraments, it follows, of course, that the same being, possessing still the same genius, both set his heart upon, and succeeded in, adapting to his profane and rival creed the very documents of divine things and of the Christian saints — his interpretation from their interpretations, his words from their words, his parables from their parables. For this reason, then, no one ought to doubt, either that "spiritual wickednesses," from which also heresies come, have been introduced by the devil, or that there is any real difference between heresies and idolatry, seeing that they appertain both to the same author and the same work that idolatry does. They either pretend that there is another god in opposition to the Creator, or, even if they acknowledge that the Creator is the one only God, they treat of Him as a different being from what He is in

truth. The consequence is, that every lie which they speak of God is in a certain sense a sort of idolatry.

Chapter XLI. — The Conduct of Heretics: Its Frivolity, Worldliness, and Irregularity. The Notorious Wantonness of Their Women.

I must not omit an account of the conduct also of the heretics — how frivolous it is, how worldly, how merely human, without seriousness, without authority, without discipline, as suits their creed. To begin with, it is doubtful who is a catechumen, and who a believer; they have all access alike, they hear alike, they pray alike — even heathens, if any such happen to come among them. “That which is holy they will cast to the dogs, and their pearls,” although (to be sure) they are not real ones, “they will fling to the swine.” Simplicity they will have to consist in the overthrow of discipline, attention to which on our part they call brothelry. Peace also they huddle up anyhow with all comers; for it matters not to them, however different be their treatment of subjects, provided only they can conspire together to storm the citadel of the one only Truth. All are puffed up, all offer you knowledge. Their catechumens are perfect before they are full-taught. The very women of these heretics, how wanton they are! For they are bold enough to teach, to dispute, to enact exorcisms, to undertake cures — it may be even to baptize. Their ordinations, are carelessly administered, capricious, changeable. At one time they put *novices* in office; at another time, men who are bound to some secular employment; at another, persons who have apostatized from us, to bind them by vainglory, since they cannot by the truth. Nowhere is promotion easier than in the camp of rebels, where the mere fact of being there is a foremost service. And so it comes to pass that to-day one man is their bishop, to-morrow another; to-day he is a deacon who to-morrow is a reader; to-day he is a presbyter who tomorrow is a layman. For even on laymen do they impose the functions of priesthood.

Chapter XLII. — Heretics Work to Pull Down and to Destroy, Not to Edify and Elevate. Heretics Do Not Adhere Even to Their Own Traditions, But Harbour Dissent Even from Their Own Founders.

But what shall I say concerning the ministry of the word, since they make it their business not to convert the heathen, but to subvert our people? This is rather the glory which they catch at, to compass the fall of those who stand, not the raising of those who are down. Accordingly, since the very work which they purpose to themselves comes not from the building up of their own society, but from the demolition of the truth, they undermine our edifices, that they may erect their own. Only deprive them of the law of Moses, and the prophets, and the divinity of the Creator, and they have not another objection to talk about. The consequence is, that they more easily accomplish the ruin of standing houses than the erection of fallen ruins. It is only when they have such objects in view that they show themselves humble and bland and respectful. Otherwise they know no respect even for their own leaders. Hence it is [supposed] that schisms seldom happen among heretics, because, even when they exist, they are not obvious. Their very unity, however, is schism. I am greatly in error if they do not amongst themselves swerve even from their own regulations, forasmuch as every man, just as it suits his own temper, modifies the traditions he has received after the same fashion as the man who handed them down did, when he moulded them according to his own will. The progress of the matter is an acknowledgment at once of its character and of the manner of its birth. That was allowable to the Valentinians which had been allowed to Valentinus; that was also fair for the Marcionites which had been done by Marcion — even to innovate on the faith, as was agreeable to their own pleasure. In short, all heresies, when thoroughly looked into, are detected harbouring dissent in many particulars even from their own founders. The majority of them have not even churches. Motherless, houseless, creedless, outcasts, they wander about in their own essential worthlessness.

Chapter XLIII. — Loose Company Preferred by Heretics. Ungodliness the Effect of Their Teaching the Very Opposite of Catholic Truth, Which Promotes the Fear of God, Both in Religious Ordinances and Practical Life.

It has also been a subject of remark, how extremely frequent is the intercourse which heretics hold with magicians, with mountebanks, with astrologers, with philosophers; and the reason is, that they are men who devote themselves to curious questions. “Seek, and ye shall find,” is everywhere in their minds. Thus, from the very nature of their conduct, may be estimated the quality of their faith. In their discipline we have an index of their doctrine. They say that God is not to be feared; therefore all things are in their view free and unchecked. Where, however is God not feared, except where He *is* not? Where God is not, there truth also is not. Where there is no truth, then, naturally enough, there is also such a discipline as theirs. But where God is, there exists “the fear of God, which is the beginning of wisdom.” Where the fear of God is, there is seriousness, an honourable and yet thoughtful diligence, as well as an anxious carefulness and a well-considered admission (to the sacred ministry) and a safely-guarded communion, and promotion after good service, and a scrupulous submission (to authority), and a devout attendance, and a modest gait, and a united church, and God *in* all things.

Chapter XLIV. — Heresy Lowers Respect for Christ, and Destroys All Fear of His Great Judgment. The Tendency of Heretical Teaching on This Solemn Article of the Faith. The Present Treatise an Introduction to Certain Other Anti-Heretical Works of Our Author.

These evidences, then, of a stricter discipline existing among us, are an additional proof of truth, from which no man can safely turn aside, who bears in mind that future judgment, when “we must all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ,” to render an account of our faith itself before all things. What, then, will they say who shall have defiled it, even the virgin which Christ committed to them with the adultery of heretics? I suppose they will allege that no injunction was ever addressed to them by Him or by His apostles concerning depraved and perverse doctrines assailing them, or about their avoiding and abhorring the same. (He and His apostles, perhaps,) will acknowledge that the blame rather lies with themselves and their disciples, in not having given us previous warning and instruction! They will, besides, add a good deal respecting the high authority of each doctor of heresy, — how that these mightily strengthened belief in their own doctrine; how that they raised the dead, restored the sick, foretold the future, that so they might deservedly be regarded as apostles. As if this caution were not also in the written record: that many should come who were to work even the greatest miracles, in defence of the deceit of their corrupt preaching. So, forsooth, they will deserve to be forgiven! If, however, any, being mindful of the writings and the denunciations of the Lord and the apostles, shall have stood firm in the integrity of the faith, I suppose *they* will run great risk of missing pardon, when the Lord answers: I plainly forewarned you that there should be teachers of false doctrine in my name, as well as that of the prophets and apostles also; and to my own disciples did I give a charge, that they should preach the same things to you. But as for you, it was not, of course, to be supposed that you would believe me! I once gave the gospel and the doctrine of the said rule (of life and faith) to my apostles; but afterwards it was my pleasure to make considerable changes in it! I had promised a resurrection, even of the flesh; but, on second thoughts, it struck me that I might not be able to keep my promise! I had shown myself to have been born of a virgin; but this seemed

to me afterwards to be a discreditable thing. I had said that He was my Father, who is the Maker of the sun and the showers; but another and better father has adopted me! I had forbidden you to lend an ear to heretics; but in this I erred! Such (blasphemies), it is possible, do enter the minds of those who go out of the right path, and who do not defend the true faith from the danger which besets it. On the present occasion, indeed, our treatise has rather taken up a general position against heresies, (showing that they must) all be refuted on definite, equitable, and necessary rules, without any comparison with the Scriptures. For the rest, if God in His grace permit, we shall prepare answers to certain of these heresies in separate treatises. To those who may devote their leisure in reading through these (pages), in the belief of the truth, be peace, and the grace of our God Jesus Christ for ever.

Elucidations.

I.

(Prescription, Chap. I., , *Supra.*)

In adopting this expression from the Roman Law, Tertullian has simply puzzled beginners to get at his idea. Nor do they learn much when it is called a *demurrer*, which, if I comprehend the word as used in law-cases, is a rejoinder to the testimony of the other party, amounting to— “Well, what of it? It does not prove your case.” Something like this is indeed in Tertullian’s use of the term *præscription*; but Dr. Holmes furnishes what seems to me the best explanation, (though he only half renders it,) “the Prescriptive Rule against Heresies.” In a word, it means, “*the Rule of Faith* asserted against Heresies.” And his practical point is, it is useless to discuss Scripture with convicted (Titus iii. 10, 11.) heretics; every one of them is ready with “his psalm, his doctrine, his interpretation,” and you may argue fruitlessly till Doomsday. But bring them to the test of (*Quod Semper*, etc.), the apostolic *præscription* (1 Corinthians xi. 16). — *We have no such custom* neither the Churches of God. *State this Rule of Faith*, viz. Holy Scripture, as interpreted from the apostolic day: if it proves the doctrine or custom a *novelty*, then it has no foundation, and even if it be harmless, it cannot be innocently professed against the order and peace of the churches.

II.

(Semler, cap. x., note 15, .)

The extent to which Bp. Kaye has stretched his notice of this critic is to be accounted for by the fact that, for a time, the German School of the last century exerted a sad influence in England. In early life Dr. Pusey came near to being led away by it, and Hugh James Rose was raised up to resist it. Semler lived (at Halle and elsewhere) from a.d. 1725 to 1791. Kahnis in his invaluable manual, named below, thus speaks of his Patristic theories: “The history of the Kingdom of God became, under his hands, a world of atoms, which crossed each other as chaotically as the masses of notes which lay heaped up in the memory of Semler....Under his pragmatistical touches the halo of the martyrs faded, etc.” *Internal Hist. of German Protestantism* (since circa

1750,) by Ch. Fred. Aug. Kahnis, D.D. (Lutheran) Professor at Leipzig. Translated. T. and F. Clark, Edinburgh, 1856.

III.

(Peter, cap. xxii. note 6, .)

In the treatise of Cyprian, *De Unitate*, we shall have occasion to speak fully on this interesting point. The reference to Kaye may suffice, here. But, since the inveterate confusion of all that is said of Peter with all that is claimed by a modern bishop for himself promotes a false view of this passage, it may be well to note (1) that St. Peter's name is expounded by himself (1 Peter ii. 4, 5) so as to make Christ the Rock and *all believers* "lively stones" — or *Peters* — by faith in Him. St. Peter is often called *the rock*, *most justly, in this sense, by a rhetorical play on his name*: Christ the Rock and all believers "*lively stones*," being cemented with Him by the Spirit. But, (2) this *specialty* of St. Peter, as such, belongs to him (*Cephas*) only. (3) So far as transmitted it belongs to no particular See. (4) The claim of Rome is disproved by *Præscription*. (5) Were it otherwise, it would not justify that See in making new articles of Faith. (6) Nor in its Schism with the East. (7) When it restores St. Peter's Doctrine and Holiness, to the Latin Churches, there will be no quarrel about pre-eminence. Meantime, Rome's *fallibility* is expressly taught in Romans xi. 18–21.

IV.

(The Apostles, cap. xxv. .)

Nothing less than a new incarnation of Christ and a new commission to new apostles can give us anything new in religion. This *præscription* is our Catholic answer to the Vatican oracles of our own time. These give us a new revelation, prefacing the Gospels (1) by defining the *immaculate conception* of Mary in the womb of her mother; and (2) adding a new chapter to the Acts of the Apostles, in defining the infallibility of a single bishop.

Clearly, had Tertullian known anything of this last dogma of Latin Novelty, he would not have taken the trouble to write this treatise. He would have said to heretics, We can neither discuss Scripture nor Antiquity with you. Rome is the touchstone of dogma, and to its bishop we refer you.

(Truth and Peace, cap. xlv. .)

The famous appeal of Bishop Jewel, known as “the Challenge at Paul’s Cross,” which he made in a sermon preached there on Passion Sunday, a.d. 1560, is an instance of “*Præscription* against heresies,” well worthy of being recalled, in a day which has seen Truth and Peace newly sacrificed to the ceaseless innovations of Rome. It is as follows:— “If any learned man of all our adversaries, or, if all the learned men that be alive, be able to bring *any one sufficient* sentence *out of any old Catholic doctor or father; or out of any old general Council; or out of the Holy Scriptures of God; or, any one example* of the primitive Church, whereby it may be clearly and plainly proved, that —

1. There was any private mass in the whole world at that time, for the space of six hundred years after Christ; or that —

2. There was then any communion ministered unto the people under one kind; or that —

3. The people had their common prayers, then, in a strange tongue that they understood not; or that —

4. The bishop of Rome was then called an universal bishop, or the head of the universal Church; or that —

5. The people was then taught to believe that Christ’s body is really, substantially, corporally, carnally or naturally in the Sacrament; or that —

6. His body is, or may be, in a thousand places or more, at one time; or that —

7. The priest did then hold up the Sacrament over his head; or that —

8. The people did then fall down and worship it with godly honour; or that —

9. The Sacrament was then, or now ought to be, hanged up under a canopy; or that —

10. In the Sacrament after the words of consecration there remaineth only the *accidents* and shews, without the *substance* of bread and wine; or that —

11. The priest then divided the Sacrament in three parts and afterwards received himself, alone; or that —

12. Whosoever had said the Sacrament is a pledge, a token, or a remembrance of Christ’s body, had therefore been judged a heretic; or that —

13. It was lawful, then, to have thirty, twenty, fifteen, ten, or five masses said in one Church, in one day; or that —

14. Images were then set up in churches to the intent the people might worship them; or that —

15. The lay people was then forbidden to read the word of God, in their own tongue:

“If any man alive be able to prove any of these articles, by any one clear or plain clause or sentence, either of the Scriptures, or of the old doctors, or of any old General Council, or by any Example of the Primitive Church; I promise, then, that I will give over and subscribe unto him.”

All this went far beyond the concession of *præscription* which makes little of *any one saying of any one Father, and demands the general consent of Antiquity; but, it* is needless to say that Jewel’s challenge has remained unanswered for more than three hundred years, and so it will be to all Eternity.

With great erudition Jewel enlarged his propositions and maintained all his points. See his works, vol. I., *et seqq.* Cambridge University Press, 1845.

Apologeticus pro Christianis (Apology for the Christians)



Translated by Sydney Thelwall

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Chapter I.

Rulers of the Roman Empire, if, seated for the administration of justice on your lofty tribunal, under the gaze of every eye, and occupying there all but the highest position in the state, you may not openly inquire into and sift before the world the real truth in regard to the charges made against the Christians; if in this case alone you are afraid or ashamed to exercise your authority in making public inquiry with the carefulness which becomes justice; if, finally, the extreme severities inflicted on our people in recently private judgments, stand in the way of our being permitted to defend ourselves before you, you cannot surely forbid the Truth to reach your ears by the secret pathway of a noiseless book. She has no appeals to make to you in regard of her condition, for that does not excite her wonder. She knows that she is but a sojourner on the earth, and that among strangers she naturally finds foes; and more than this, that her origin, her dwelling-place, her hope, her recompense, her honours, are above. One thing, meanwhile, she anxiously desires of earthly rulers — not to be condemned unknown. What harm can it do to the laws, supreme in their domain, to give her a hearing? Nay, for that part of it, will not their absolute supremacy be more conspicuous in their condemning her, even after she has made her plea? But if, unheard, sentence is pronounced against her, besides the odium of an unjust deed, you will incur the merited suspicion of doing it with some idea that it is unjust, as not wishing to hear what you may not be able to hear and condemn. We lay this before you as the first ground on which we urge that your hatred to the name of Christian is unjust. And the very reason which seems to excuse this injustice (I mean ignorance) at once aggravates and convicts it. For what is there more unfair than to hate a thing of which you know nothing, even though it deserve to be hated? Hatred is only merited when it is *known* to be merited. But without that knowledge, whence is its justice to be vindicated? for that is to be proved, not from the mere fact that an aversion exists, but from acquaintance with the subject. When men, then, give way to a dislike simply because they are entirely ignorant of the nature of the thing disliked, why may it not be precisely the very sort of thing they should not dislike? So we maintain that they are both ignorant while they hate us, and hate us unrighteously while they continue in ignorance, the one thing being the result

of the other either way of it. The proof of their ignorance, at once condemning and excusing their injustice, is this, that those who once hated Christianity because they knew nothing about it, no sooner come to know it than they all lay down at once their enmity. From being its haters they become its disciples. By simply getting acquainted with it, they begin now to hate what they had formerly been, and to profess what they had formerly hated; and their numbers are as great as are laid to our charge. The outcry is that the State is filled with Christians — that they are in the fields, in the citadels, in the islands: they make lamentation, as for some calamity, that both sexes, every age and condition, even high rank, are passing over to the profession of the Christian faith; and yet for all, their minds are not awakened to the thought of some good they have failed to notice in it. They must not allow any truer suspicions to cross their minds; they have no desire to make closer trial. Here alone the curiosity of human nature slumbers. They like to be ignorant, though to others the knowledge has been bliss. Anacharsis reproved the rude venturing to criticise the cultured; how much more this judging of those who know, by men who are entirely ignorant, might he have denounced! Because they already dislike, they want to know no more. Thus they prejudge that of which they are ignorant to be such, that, if they came to know it, it could no longer be the object of their aversion; since, if inquiry finds nothing worthy of dislike, it is certainly proper to cease from an unjust dislike, while if its bad character comes plainly out, instead of the detestation entertained for it being thus diminished, a stronger reason for perseverance in that detestation is obtained, even under the authority of justice itself. But, says one, a thing is not good merely because multitudes go over to it; for how many have the bent of their nature towards whatever is bad! how many go astray into ways of error! It is undoubted. Yet a thing that is thoroughly evil, not even those whom it carries away venture to defend as good. Nature throws a veil either of fear or shame over all evil. For instance, you find that criminals are eager to conceal themselves, avoid appearing in public, are in trepidation when they are caught, deny their guilt, when they are accused; even when they are put to the rack, they do not easily or always confess; when there is no doubt about their condemnation, they grieve for what they have done. In their self-communings they admit their being impelled by sinful dispositions, but they lay the blame either on fate or on the stars. They are unwilling to acknowledge that the thing

is theirs, because they own that it is wicked. But what is there like this in the Christian's case? The only shame or regret he feels, is at not having been a Christian earlier. If he is pointed out, he glories in it; if he is accused, he offers no defence; interrogated, he makes voluntary confession; condemned he renders thanks. What sort of evil thing is this, which wants all the ordinary peculiarities of evil — fear, shame, subterfuge, penitence, lamenting? What! is that a crime in which the criminal rejoices? to be accused of which is his ardent wish, to be punished for which is his felicity? You cannot call it madness, you who stand convicted of knowing nothing of the matter.

Chapter II.

If, again, it is certain that we are the most wicked of men, why do you treat us so differently from our fellows, that is, from other criminals, it being only fair that the same crime should get the same treatment? When the charges made against us are made against others, they are permitted to make use both of their own lips and of hired pleaders to show their innocence. They have full opportunity of answer and debate; in fact, it is against the law to condemn anybody undefended and unheard. Christians alone are forbidden to say anything in exculpation of themselves, in defence of the truth, to help the judge to a righteous decision; all that is cared about is having what the public hatred demands — the confession of the name, not examination of the charge: while in your ordinary judicial investigations, on a man's confession of the crime of murder, or sacrilege, or incest, or treason, to take the points of which we are accused, you are not content to proceed at once to sentence, — you do not take that step till you thoroughly examine the circumstances of the confession — what is the real character of the deed, how often, where, in what way, when he has done it, who were privy to it, and who actually took part with him in it. Nothing like this is done in our case, though the falsehoods disseminated about us ought to have the same sifting, that it might be found how many murdered children each of us had tasted; how many incests each of us had shrouded in darkness; what cooks, what dogs had been witness of our deeds. Oh, how great the glory of the ruler who should bring to light some Christian who had devoured a hundred infants! But, instead of that, we find that even inquiry in regard to our case is forbidden. For the younger Pliny, when he was ruler of a province, having condemned some Christians to death, and driven some from their steadfastness, being still annoyed by their great numbers, at last sought the advice of Trajan, the reigning emperor, as to what he was to do with the rest, explaining to his master that, except an obstinate disinclination to offer sacrifices, he found in the religious services nothing but meetings at early morning for singing hymns to Christ and God, and sealing home their way of life by a united pledge to be faithful to their religion, forbidding murder, adultery, dishonesty, and other crimes. Upon this Trajan wrote back that Christians were by no means to be sought after; but if they were brought before him, they should be punished. O miserable deliverance,

— under the necessities of the case, a self-contradiction! It forbids them to be sought after as innocent, and it commands them to be punished as guilty. It is at once merciful and cruel; it passes by, and it punishes. Why dost thou play a game of evasion upon thyself, O Judgment? If thou condemnest, why dost thou not also inquire. If thou does not inquire, why dost thou not also absolve? Military stations are distributed through all the provinces for tracking robbers. Against traitors and public foes every man is a soldier; search is made even for their confederates and accessories. The Christian alone must not be sought, though he may be brought and accused before the judge; as if a search had any other end than that in view! And so you condemn the man for whom nobody wished a search to be made when he is presented to you, and who even now does not deserve punishment, I suppose, because of his guilt, but because, though forbidden to be sought, he was found. And then, too, you do not in that case deal with us in the ordinary way of judicial proceedings against offenders; for, in the case of others denying, you apply the torture to make them confess — Christians alone you torture, to make them deny; whereas, if we were guilty of any crime, we should be sure to deny it, and you with your tortures would force us to confession. Nor indeed should you hold that our crimes require no such investigation merely on the ground that you are convinced by our confession of the name that the deeds were done, — *you* who are daily wont, though you know well enough what murder is, none the less to extract from the confessed murderer a full account of how the crime was perpetrated. So that with all the greater perversity you act, when, holding our crimes proved by our confession of the name of Christ, you drive us by torture to fall from our confession, that, repudiating the name, we may in like manner repudiate also the crimes with which, from that same confession, you had assumed that we were chargeable. I suppose, though you believe us to be the worst of mankind, you do not wish us to perish. For thus, no doubt, you are in the habit of bidding the murderer deny, and of ordering the man guilty of sacrilege to the rack if he persevere in his acknowledgment! Is that the way of it? But if thus you do not deal with us as criminals, you declare us thereby innocent, when as innocent you are anxious that we do not persevere in a confession which you know will bring on us a condemnation of necessity, not of justice, at your hands. “I am a Christian,” the man cries out. He tells you what he is; you wish to hear from him what he is not. Occupying your place

of authority to extort the truth, you do your utmost to get lies from us. "I am," he says, "that which you ask me if I am. Why do you torture me to sin? I confess, and you put me to the rack. What would you do if I denied? Certainly you give no ready credence to others when they deny. When we deny, you believe at once. Let this perversity of yours lead you to suspect that there is some hidden power in the case under whose influence you act against the forms, against the nature of public justice, even against the very laws themselves. For, unless I am greatly mistaken, the laws enjoin offenders to be searched out, and not to be hidden away. They lay it down that persons who own a crime are to be condemned, not acquitted. The decrees of the senate, the commands of your chiefs, lay this clearly down. The power of which you are servants is a civil, not a tyrannical domination. Among tyrants, indeed, torments used to be inflicted even as punishments: with you they are mitigated to a means of questioning alone. Keep to your law in these as necessary till confession is obtained; and if the torture is anticipated by confession, there will be no occasion for it: sentence should be passed; the criminal should be given over to the penalty which is his due, not released. Accordingly, no one is eager for the acquittal of the guilty; it is not right to desire that, and so no one is ever compelled to deny. Well, you think the Christian a man of every crime, an enemy of the gods, of the emperor, of the laws, of good morals, of all nature; yet you compel him to deny, that you may acquit him, which without him denial you could not do. You play fast and loose with the laws. You wish him to deny his guilt, that you may, even against his will, bring him out blameless and free from all guilt in reference to the past! Whence is this strange perversity on your part? How is it you do not reflect that a spontaneous confession is greatly more worthy of credit than a compelled denial; or consider whether, when compelled to deny, a man's denial may not be in good faith, and whether acquitted, he may not, then and there, as soon as the trial is over, laugh at your hostility, a Christian as much as ever? Seeing, then, that in everything you deal differently with us than with other criminals, bent upon the one object of taking from us our name (indeed, it is ours no more if we do what Christians never do), it is made perfectly clear that there is no crime of any kind in the case, but merely a name which a certain system, ever working against the truth, pursues with its enmity, doing this chiefly with the object of securing that men may have no desire to know for certain what

they know for certain they are entirely ignorant of. Hence, too, it is that they believe about us things of which they have no proof, and they are disinclined to have them looked into, lest the charges, they would rather take on trust, are all proved to have no foundation, that the name so hostile to that rival power — its crimes presumed, not proved — may be condemned simply on its own confession. So we are put to the torture if we confess, and we are punished if we persevere, and if we deny we are acquitted, because all the contention is about a name. Finally, why do you read out of your tablet-lists that such a man is a Christian? Why not also that he is a murderer? And if a Christian is a murderer, why not guilty, too, of incest, or any other vile thing you believe of us? In our case alone you are either ashamed or unwilling to mention the very names of our crimes — If to be called a “Christian” does not imply any crime, the name is surely very hateful, when that of itself is made a crime.

Chapter III.

What are we to think of it, that most people so blindly knock their heads against the hatred of the Christian name; that when they bear favourable testimony to any one, they mingle with it abuse of the name he bears? “A good man,” says one, “is Gaius Seius, only that he is a Christian.” So another, “I am astonished that a wise man like Lucius should have suddenly become a Christian.” Nobody thinks it needful to consider whether Gaius is not good and Lucius wise, on this very account that he is a Christian; or a Christian, for the reason that he is wise and good. They praise what they know, they abuse what they are ignorant of, and they inspire their knowledge with their ignorance; though in fairness you should rather judge of what is unknown from what is known, than what is known from what is unknown. Others, in the case of persons whom, before they took the name of Christian, they had known as loose, and vile, and wicked, put on them a brand from the very thing which they praise. In the blindness of their hatred, they fall foul of their own approving judgment! “What a woman she was! how wanton! how gay! What a youth he was! how profligate! how libidinous! — they have become Christians!” So the hated name is given to a reformation of character. Some even barter away their comforts for that hatred, content to bear injury, if they are kept free at home from the object of their bitter enmity. The wife, now chaste, the husband, now no longer jealous, casts out of his house; the son, now obedient, the father, who used to be so patient, disinherits; the servant, now faithful, the master, once so mild, commands away from his presence; it is a high offence for any one to be reformed by the detested name. Goodness is of less value than hatred of Christians. Well now, if there is this dislike of the name, what blame can you attach to names? What accusation can you bring against mere designations, save that something in the word sounds either barbarous, or unlucky, or scurrilous, or unchaste? But Christian, so far as the meaning of the word is concerned, is derived from anointing. Yes, and even when it is wrongly pronounced by you “Chrestianus” (for you do not even know accurately the name you hate), it comes from sweetness and benignity. You hate, therefore, in the guiltless, even a guiltless name. But the special ground of dislike to the sect is, that it bears the name of its Founder. Is there anything new in a religious sect getting for its followers a designation

from its master? Are not the philosophers called from the founders of *their* systems — Platonists, Epicureans, Pythagoreans? Are not the Stoics and Academics so called also from the places in which they assembled and stationed themselves? and are not physicians named from Erasistratus, grammarians from Aristarchus, cooks even from Apicius? And yet the bearing of the name, transmitted from the original institutor with whatever he has instituted, offends no one. No doubt, if it is proved that the sect is a bad one, and so its founder bad as well, that will prove that the name is bad and deserves our aversion, in respect of the character both of the sect and its author. Before, therefore, taking up a dislike to the name, it behoved you to consider the sect in the author, or the author in the sect. But now, without any sifting and knowledge of either, the mere name is made matter of accusation, the mere name is assailed, and a sound alone brings condemnation on a sect and its author both, while of both you are ignorant, because they have such and such a designation, not because they are convicted of anything wrong.

Chapter IV.

And so, having made these remarks as it were by way of preface, that I might show in its true colours the injustice of the public hatred against us, I shall now take my stand on the plea of our blamelessness; and I shall not only refute the things which are objected to us, but I shall also retort them on the objectors, that in this way all may know that Christians are free from the very crimes they are so well aware prevail among themselves, that they may at the same time be put to the blush for their accusations against us, — accusations I shall not say of the worst of men against the best, but now, as they will have it, against those who are only their fellows in sin. We shall reply to the accusation of all the various crimes we are said to be guilty of in secret, such as we find them committing in the light of day, and as being guilty of which we are held to be wicked, senseless, worthy of punishment, deserving of ridicule. But since, when our truth meets you successfully at all points, the authority of the laws as a last resort is set up against it, so that it is either said that their determinations are absolutely conclusive, or the necessity of obedience is, however unwillingly, preferred to the truth, I shall first, in this matter of the laws grapple with you as with their chosen protectors. Now first, when you sternly lay it down in your sentences, “It is not lawful for you to exist,” and with unhesitating rigour you enjoin this to be carried out, you exhibit the violence and unjust domination of mere tyranny, if you deny the thing to be lawful, simply on the ground that you wish it to be unlawful, not because it ought to be. But if you would have it unlawful because it *ought* not to be lawful, without doubt that should have no permission of law which does harm; and on this ground, in fact, it is already determined that whatever is beneficial is legitimate. Well, if I have found what your law prohibits to be good, as one who has arrived at such a previous opinion, has it not lost its power to debar me from it, though that very thing, if it were evil, it would justly forbid to me? If your law has gone wrong, it is of human origin, I think; it has not fallen from heaven. Is it wonderful that man should err in making a law, or come to his senses in rejecting it? Did not the Lacedæmonians amend the laws of Lycurgus himself, thereby inflicting such pain on their author that he shut himself up, and doomed himself to death by starvation? Are you not yourselves every day, in your efforts to illumine the darkness of antiquity,

cutting and hewing with the new axes of imperial rescripts and edicts, that whole ancient and rugged forest of your laws? Has not Severus, that most resolute of rulers, but yesterday repealed the ridiculous Papian laws which compelled people to have children before the Julian laws allow matrimony to be contracted, and that though they have the authority of age upon their side? There were laws, too, in old times, that parties against whom a decision had been given might be cut in pieces by their creditors; however, by common consent that cruelty was afterwards erased from the statutes, and the capital penalty turned into a brand of shame. By adopting the plan of confiscating a debtor's goods, it was sought rather to pour the blood in blushes over his face than to pour it out. How many laws lie hidden out of sight which still require to be reformed! For it is neither the number of their years nor the dignity of their maker that commends them, but simply that they are just; and therefore, when their injustice is recognized, they are deservedly condemned, even though they condemn. Why speak we of them as unjust? nay, if they punish mere names, we may well call them irrational. But if they punish acts, why in our case do they punish acts solely on the ground of a name, while in others they must have them proved not from the name, but from the wrong done? I am a practiser of incest (so they say); why do they not inquire into it? I am an infant-killer; why do they not apply the torture to get from me the truth? I am guilty of crimes against the gods, against the Cæsars; why am I, who am able to clear myself, not allowed to be heard on my own behalf? No law forbids the sifting of the crimes which it prohibits, for a judge never inflicts a righteous vengeance if he is not well assured that a crime has been committed; nor does a citizen render a true subjection to the law, if he does not know the nature of the thing on which the punishment is inflicted. It is not enough that a law is just, nor that the judge should be convinced of its justice; those from whom obedience is expected should have that conviction too. Nay, a law lies under strong suspicions which does not care to have itself tried and approved: it is a positively wicked law, if, unproved, it tyrannizes over men.

Chapter V.

To say a word about the origin of laws of the kind to which we now refer, there was an old decree that no god should be consecrated by the emperor till first approved by the senate. Marcus Æmilius had experience of this in reference to his god Alburnus. And this, too, makes for our case, that among you divinity is allotted at the judgment of human beings. Unless gods give satisfaction to men, there will be no deification for them: the god will have to propitiate the man. Tiberius accordingly, in whose days the Christian name made its entry into the world, having himself received intelligence from Palestine of events which had clearly shown the truth of Christ's divinity, brought the matter before the senate, with his own decision in favour of Christ. The senate, because it had not given the approval itself, rejected his proposal. Cæsar held to his opinion, threatening wrath against all accusers of the Christians. Consult your histories; you will there find that Nero was the first who assailed with the imperial sword the Christian sect, making progress then especially at Rome. But we glory in having our condemnation hallowed by the hostility of such a wretch. For any one who knows him, can understand that not except as being of singular excellence did anything bring on it Nero's condemnation. Domitian, too, a man of Nero's type in cruelty, tried his hand at persecution; but as he had something of the human in him, he soon put an end to what he had begun, even restoring again those whom he had banished. Such as these have always been our persecutors, — men unjust, impious, base, of whom even you yourselves have no good to say, the sufferers under whose sentences you have been wont to restore. But among so many princes from that time to the present day, with anything of divine and human wisdom in them, point out a single persecutor of the Christian name. So far from that, we, on the contrary, bring before you one who was their protector, as you will see by examining the letters of Marcus Aurelius, that most grave of emperors, in which he bears his testimony that that Germanic drought was removed by the rains obtained through the prayers of the Christians who chanced to be fighting under him. And as he did not by public law remove from Christians their legal disabilities, yet in another way he put them openly aside, even adding a sentence of condemnation, and that of greater severity, against their accusers. What sort of laws are these which the impious alone execute against

us — and the unjust, the vile, the bloody, the senseless, the insane? which Trajan to some extent made naught by forbidding Christians to be sought after; which neither a Hadrian, though fond of searching into all things strange and new, nor a Vespasian, though the subjugator of the Jews, nor a Pius, nor a Verus, ever enforced? It should surely be judged more natural for bad men to be eradicated by good princes as being their natural enemies, than by those of a spirit kindred with their own.

Chapter VI.

I would now have these most religious protectors and vindicators of the laws and institutions of their fathers, tell me, in regard to their own fidelity and the honour, and submission they themselves show to ancestral institutions, if they have departed from nothing — if they have in nothing gone out of the old paths — if they have not put aside whatsoever is most useful and necessary as rules of a virtuous life. What has become of the laws repressing expensive and ostentatious ways of living? which forbade more than a hundred *asses* to be expended on a supper, and more than one fowl to be set on the table at a time, and that not a fatted one; which expelled a patrician from the senate on the serious ground, as it was counted, of aspiring to be too great, because he had acquired ten pounds of silver; which put down the theatres as quickly as they arose to debauch the manners of the people; which did not permit the insignia of official dignities or of noble birth to be rashly or with impunity usurped? For I see the Centenarian suppers must now bear the name, not from the hundred asses, but from the hundred sester tia expended on them; and that mines of silver are made into dishes (it were little if this applied only to senators, and not to freedmen or even mere whip-spoilers). I see, too, that neither is a single theatre enough, nor are theatres unsheltered: no doubt it was that immodest pleasure might not be torpid in the wintertime, the Lacedæmonians invented their woollen cloaks for the plays. I see now no difference between the dress of matrons and prostitutes. In regard to women, indeed, those laws of your fathers, which used to be such an encouragement to modesty and sobriety, have also fallen into desuetude, when a woman had yet known no gold upon her save on the finger, which, with the bridal ring, her husband had sacredly pledged to himself; when the abstinence of women from wine was carried so far, that a matron, for opening the compartments of a wine cellar, was starved to death by her friends, — while in the times of Romulus, for merely tasting wine, Mecenius killed his wife, and suffered nothing for the deed. With reference to this also, it was the custom of women to kiss their relatives, that they might be detected by their breath. Where is that happiness of married life, ever so desirable, which distinguished our earlier manners, and as the result of which for about 600 years there was not among us a single divorce? Now, women have every member of the body

heavy laden with gold; wine-bibbing is so common among them, that the kiss is never offered with their will; and as for divorce, they long for it as though it were the natural consequence of marriage. The laws, too, your fathers in their wisdom had enacted concerning the very gods themselves, you their most loyal children have rescinded. The consuls, by the authority of the senate, banished Father Bacchus and his mysteries not merely from the city, but from the whole of Italy. The consuls Piso and Gabinius, no Christians surely, forbade Serapis, and Isis, and Arpocrates, with their dogheaded friend, admission into the Capitol — in the act casting them out from the assembly of the gods — overthrow their altars, and expelled them from the country, being anxious to prevent the vices of their base and lascivious religion from spreading. These, you have restored, and conferred highest honours on them. What has come to your religion — of the veneration due by you to your ancestors? In your dress, in your food, in your style of life, in your opinions, and last of all in your very speech, you have renounced your progenitors. You are always praising antiquity, and yet every day you have novelties in your way of living. From your having failed to maintain what you should, you make it clear, that, while you abandon the good ways of your fathers, you retain and guard the things you ought not. Yet the very tradition of your fathers, which you still seem so faithfully to defend, and in which you find your principal matter of accusation against the Christians — I mean zeal in the worship of the gods, the point in which antiquity has mainly erred — although you have rebuilt the altars of Serapis, now a Roman deity, and to Bacchus, now become a god of Italy, you offer up your orgies, — I shall in its proper place show that you despise, neglect, and overthrow, casting entirely aside the authority of the men of old. I go on meantime to reply to that infamous charge of secret crimes, clearing my way to things of open day.

Chapter VII.

Monsters of wickedness, we are accused of observing a holy rite in which we kill a little child and then eat it; in which, after the feast, we practise incest, the dogs — our pimps, forsooth, overturning the lights and getting us the shamelessness of darkness for our impious lusts. This is what is constantly laid to our charge, and yet you take no pains to elicit the truth of what we have been so long accused. Either bring, then, the matter to the light of day if you believe it, or give it no credit as having never inquired into it. On the ground of your double dealing, we are entitled to lay it down to you that there is no reality in the thing which you dare not expiscate. You impose on the executioner, in the case of Christians, a duty the very opposite of expiscation: he is not to make them confess what they do, but to make them deny what they are. We date the origin of our religion, as we have mentioned before, from the reign of Tiberius. Truth and the hatred of truth come into our world together. As soon as truth appears, it is regarded as an enemy. It has as many foes as there are strangers to it: the Jews, as was to be looked for, from a spirit of rivalry; the soldiers, out of a desire to extort money; our very domestics, by their nature. We are daily beset by foes, we are daily betrayed; we are oftentimes surprised in our meetings and congregations. Whoever happened withal upon an infant wailing, according to the common story? Whoever kept for the judge, just as he had found them, the gory mouths of Cyclops and Sirens? Whoever found any traces of uncleanness in their wives? Where is the man who, when he had discovered such atrocities, concealed them; or, in the act of dragging the culprits before the judge, was bribed into silence? If we always keep our secrets, when were our proceedings made known to the world? Nay, by whom could they be made known? Not, surely, by the guilty parties themselves; even from the very idea of the thing, the fealty of silence being ever due to mysteries. The Samothracian and Eleusinian make no disclosures — how much more will silence be kept in regard to such as are sure, in their unveiling, to call forth punishment from man at once, while wrath divine is kept in store for the future? If, then, Christians are not themselves the publishers of their crime, it follows of course it must be strangers. And whence have they their knowledge, when it is also a universal custom in religious initiations to keep the profane aloof,

and to beware of witnesses, unless it be that those who are so wicked have less fear than their neighbors? Every one knows what sort of thing rumour is. It is one of your own sayings, that “among all evils, none flies so fast as rumour.” Why is rumour such an evil thing? Is it because it is fleet? Is it because it carries information? Or is it because it is in the highest degree mendacious? — a thing, not even when it brings some truth to us, without a taint of falsehood, either detracting, or adding, or changing from the simple fact? Nay more, it is the very law of its being to continue only while it lies, and to live but so long as there is no proof; for when the proof is given, it ceases to exist; and, as having done its work of merely spreading a report, it delivers up a fact, and is henceforth held to be a fact, and called a fact. And then no one says, for instance, “They say that it took place at Rome,” or, “There is a rumour that he has obtained a province,” but, “He has got a province,” and, “It took place at Rome.” Rumour, the very designation of uncertainty, has no place when a thing is certain. Does any but a fool put his trust in it? For a wise man never believes the dubious. Everybody knows, however zealously it is spread abroad, on whatever strength of asseveration it rests, that some time or other from some one fountain it has its origin. Thence it must creep into propagating tongues and ears; and a small seminal blemish so darkens all the rest of the story, that no one can determine whether the lips, from which it first came forth, planted the seed of falsehood, as often happens, from a spirit of opposition, or from a suspicious judgment, or from a confirmed, nay, in the case of some, an inborn, delight in lying. It is well that time brings all to light, as your proverbs and sayings testify, by a provision of Nature, which has so appointed things that nothing long is hidden, even though rumour has not disseminated it. It is just then as it should be, that fame for so long a period has been alone aware of the crimes of Christians. This is the witness you bring against us — one that has never been able to prove the accusation it some time or other sent abroad, and at last by mere continuance made into a settled opinion in the world; so that I confidently appeal to Nature herself, ever true, against those who groundlessly hold that such things are to be credited.

Chapter VIII.

See now, we set before you the reward of these enormities. They give promise of eternal life. Hold it meanwhile as your own belief. I ask you, then, whether, so believing, you think it worth attaining with a conscience such as you will have. Come, plunge your knife into the babe, enemy of none, accused of none, child of all; or if that is another's work, simply take your place beside a human being dying before he has really lived, await the departure of the lately given soul, receive the fresh young blood, saturate your bread with it, freely partake. The while as you recline at table, take note of the places which your mother and your sister occupy; mark them well, so that when the dog-made darkness has fallen on you, you may make no mistake, for you will be guilty of a crime — unless you perpetrate a deed of incest. Initiated and sealed into things like these, you have life everlasting. Tell me, I pray you, is eternity worth it? If it is not, then these things are not to be credited. Even although you had the belief, I deny the will; and even if you had the will, I deny the possibility. Why then can others do it, if you cannot? why cannot you, if others can? I suppose we are of a different nature — are we Cynopæ or Sciapodes? You are a man yourself as well as the Christian: if you cannot do it, you ought not to believe it of others, for a Christian is a man as well as you. But the ignorant, forsooth, are deceived and imposed on. They were quite unaware of anything of the kind being imputed to Christians, or they would certainly have looked into it for themselves, and searched the matter out. Instead of that, it is the custom for persons wishing initiation into sacred rites, I think, to go first of all to the master of them, that he may explain what preparations are to be made. Then, in this case, no doubt he would say, "You must have a child still of tender age, that knows not what it is to die, and can smile under thy knife; bread, too, to collect the gushing blood; in addition to these, candlesticks, and lamps, and dogs — with tid-bits to draw them on to the extinguishing of the lights: above all things, you will require to bring your mother and your sister with you." But what if mother and sister are unwilling? or if there be neither the one nor the other? What if there are Christians with no Christian relatives? He will not be counted, I suppose, a true follower of Christ, who has not a brother or a son. And what now, if these things are all in store for them without their knowledge? At least afterwards they come to

know them; and they bear with them, and pardon them. They fear, it may be said, lest they have to pay for it if they let the secret out: nay, but they will rather in that case have every claim to protection; they will even prefer, one might think, dying by their own hand, to living under the burden of such a dreadful knowledge. Admit that they have this fear; yet why do they still persevere? For it is plain enough that you will have no desire to continue what you would never have been, if you had had previous knowledge of it.

Chapter IX.

That I may refute more thoroughly these charges, I will show that in part openly, in part secretly, practices prevail among you which have led you perhaps to credit similar things about us. Children were openly sacrificed in Africa to Saturn as lately as the proconsulship of Tiberius, who exposed to public gaze the priests suspended on the sacred trees overshadowing their temple — so many crosses on which the punishment which justice craved overtook their crimes, as the soldiers of our country still can testify who did that very work for that proconsul. And even now that sacred crime still continues to be done in secret. It is not only Christians, you see, who despise you; for all that you do there is neither any crime thoroughly and abidingly eradicated, nor does any of your gods reform his ways. When Saturn did not spare his own children, he was not likely to spare the children of others; whom indeed the very parents themselves were in the habit of offering, gladly responding to the call which was made on them, and keeping the little ones pleased on the occasion, that they might not die in tears. At the same time, there is a vast difference between homicide and parricide. A more advanced age was sacrificed to Mercury in Gaul. I hand over the Tauric fables to their own theatres. Why, even in that most religious city of the pious descendants of Æneas, there is a certain Jupiter whom in their games they lave with human blood. It is the blood of a beast-fighter, you say. Is it less, because of that, the blood of a man? Or is it viler blood because it is from the veins of a wicked man? At any rate it is shed in murder. O Jove, thyself a Christian, and in truth only son of thy father in his cruelty! But in regard to child murder, as it does not matter whether it is committed for a sacred object, or merely at one's own self-impulse — although there is a great difference, as we have said, between parricide and homicide — I shall turn to the people generally. How many, think you, of those crowding around and gaping for Christian blood, — how many even of your rulers, notable for their justice to you and for their severe measures against us, may I charge in their own consciences with the sin of putting their offspring to death? As to any difference in the kind of murder, it is certainly the more cruel way to kill by drowning, or by exposure to cold and hunger and dogs. A maturer age has always preferred death by the sword. In our case, murder being once for all forbidden, we may not destroy even the

fœtus in the womb, while as yet the human being derives blood from other parts of the body for its sustenance. To hinder a birth is merely a speedier man-killing; nor does it matter whether you take away a life that is born, or destroy one that is coming to the birth. That is a man which is going to be one; you have the fruit already in its seed. As to meals of blood and such tragic dishes, read — I am not sure where it is told (it is in Herodotus, I think) — how blood taken from the arms, and tasted by both parties, has been the treaty bond among some nations. I am not sure what it was that was tasted in the time of Catiline. They say, too, that among some Scythian tribes the dead are eaten by their friends. But I am going far from home. At this day, among ourselves, blood consecrated to Bellona, blood drawn from a punctured thigh and then partaken of, seals initiation into the rites of that goddess. Those, too, who at the gladiator shows, for the cure of epilepsy, quaff with greedy thirst the blood of criminals slain in the arena, as it flows fresh from the wound, and then rush off — to whom do they belong? those, also, who make meals on the flesh of wild beasts at the place of combat — who have keen appetites for bear and stag? That bear in the struggle was bedewed with the blood of the man whom it lacerated: that stag rolled itself in the gladiator's gore. The entrails of the very bears, loaded with as yet undigested human viscera, are in great request. And you have men rifting up man-fed flesh? If you partake of food like this, how do your repasts differ from those you accuse us Christians of? And do those, who, with savage lust, seize on human bodies, do less because they devour the living? Have they less the pollution of human blood on them because they only lick up what is to turn into blood? They make meals, it is plain, not so much of infants, as of grown-up men. Blush for your vile ways before the Christians, who have not even the blood of animals at their meals of simple and natural food; who abstain from things strangled and that die a natural death, for no other reason than that they may not contract pollution, so much as from blood secreted in the viscera. To clench the matter with a single example, you tempt Christians with sausages of blood, just because you are perfectly aware that the thing by which you thus try to get them to transgress they hold unlawful. And how unreasonable it is to believe that those, of whom you are convinced that they regard with horror the idea of tasting the blood of oxen, are eager after blood of men; unless, mayhap, you have tried it, and found it sweeter to the taste! Nay, in fact, there is here a test

you should apply to discover Christians, as well as the fire-pan and the censer. They should be proved by their appetite for human blood, as well as by their refusal to offer sacrifice; just as otherwise they should be affirmed to be free of Christianity by their refusal to taste of blood, as by their sacrificing; and there would be no want of blood of men, amply supplied as that would be in the trial and condemnation of prisoners. Then who are more given to the crime of incest than those who have enjoyed the instruction of Jupiter himself? Ctesias tells us that the Persians have illicit intercourse with their mothers. The Macedonians, too, are suspected on this point; for on first hearing the tragedy of Œdipus they made mirth of the incest-doer's grief, exclaiming, ἤλαυνε εἰς τὴν μητέρα. Even now reflect what opportunity there is for mistakes leading to incestuous comminglings — your promiscuous looseness supplying the materials. You first of all expose your children, that they may be taken up by any compassionate passer-by, to whom they are quite unknown; or you give them away, to be adopted by those who will do better to them the part of parents. Well, some time or other, all memory of the alienated progeny must be lost; and when once a mistake has been made, the transmission of incest thence will still go on — the race and the crime creeping on together. Then, further, wherever you are — at home, abroad, over the seas — your lust is an attendant, whose general indulgence, or even its indulgence in the most limited scale, may easily and unwittingly anywhere beget children, so that in this way a progeny scattered about in the commerce of life may have intercourse with those who are their own kin, and have no notion that there is any incest in the case. A persevering and stedfast chastity has protected us from anything like this: keeping as we do from adulteries and all post-matrimonial unfaithfulness, we are not exposed to incestuous mishaps. Some of us, making matters still more secure, beat away from them entirely the power of sensual sin, by a virgin continence, still boys in this respect when they are old. If you would but take notice that such sins as I have mentioned prevail among you, that would lead you to see that they have no existence among Christians. The same eyes would tell you of both facts. But the two blindnesses are apt to go together; so that those who do not see what is, think they see what is not. I shall show it to be so in everything. But now let me speak of matters which are more clear.

Chapter X.

“You do not worship the gods,” you say; “and you do not offer sacrifices for the emperors.” Well, we do not offer sacrifice for others, for the same reason that we do not for ourselves, — namely, that your gods are not at all the objects of our worship. So we are accused of sacrilege and treason. This is the chief ground of charge against us — nay, it is the sum-total of our offending; and it is worthy then of being inquired into, if neither prejudice nor injustice be the judge, the one of which has no idea of discovering the truth, and the other simply and at once rejects it. We do not worship your gods, because we know that there are no such beings. This, therefore, is what you should do: you should call on us to demonstrate their non-existence, and thereby prove that they have no claim to adoration; for only if your gods were truly so, would there be any obligation to render divine homage to them. And punishment even were due to Christians, if it were made plain that those to whom they refused all worship were indeed divine. But you say, They are gods. We protest and appeal from yourselves to your knowledge; let that judge us; let that condemn us, if it can deny that all these gods of yours were but men. If even it venture to deny that, it will be confuted by its own books of antiquities, from which it has got its information about them, bearing witness to this day, as they plainly do, both of the cities in which they were born, and the countries in which they have left traces of their exploits, as well as where also they are proved to have been buried. Shall I now, therefore, go over them one by one, so numerous and so various, new and old, barbarian, Grecian, Roman, foreign, captive and adopted, private and common, male and female, rural and urban, naval and military? It were useless even to hunt out all their names: so I may content myself with a compend; and this not for your information, but that you may have what you know brought to your recollection, for undoubtedly you act as if you had forgotten all about them. No one of your gods is earlier than Saturn: from him you trace all your deities, even those of higher rank and better known. What, then, can be proved of the first, will apply to those that follow. So far, then, as books give us information, neither the Greek Diodorus or Thallus, neither Cassius Severus or Cornelius Nepos, nor any writer upon sacred antiquities, have ventured to say that Saturn was any but a man: so far as the question depends on facts, I

find none more trustworthy than those — that in Italy itself we have the country in which, after many expeditions, and after having partaken of Attic hospitalities, Saturn settled, obtaining cordial welcome from Janus, or, as the Salii will have it, Janis. The mountain on which he dwelt was called Saturnius; the city he founded is called Saturnia to this day; last of all, the whole of Italy, after having borne the name of Oenotria, was called Saturnia from him. He first gave you the art of writing, and a stamped coinage, and thence it is he presides over the public treasury. But if Saturn were a man, he had undoubtedly a human origin; and having a human origin, he was not the offspring of heaven and earth. As his parents were unknown, it was not unnatural that he should be spoken of as the son of those elements from which we might all seem to spring. For who does not speak of heaven and earth as father and mother, in a sort of way of veneration and honour? or from the custom which prevails among us of saying that persons of whom we have no knowledge, or who make a sudden appearance, have fallen from the skies? In this way it came about that Saturn, everywhere a sudden and unlooked-for guest, got everywhere the name of the Heaven-born. For even the common folk call persons whose stock is unknown, sons of earth. I say nothing of how men in these rude times were wont to act, when they were impressed by the look of any stranger happening to appear among them, as though it were divine, since even at this day men of culture make gods of those whom, a day or two before, they acknowledged to be dead men by their public mourning for them. Let these notices of Saturn, brief as they are, suffice. It will thus also be proved that Jupiter is as certainly a man, as from a man he sprung; and that one after another the whole swarm is mortal like the primal stock.

Chapter XI.

And since, as you dare not deny that these deities of yours once were men, you have taken it on you to assert that they were made gods after their decease, let us consider what necessity there was for this. In the first place, you must concede the existence of one higher God — a certain wholesale dealer in divinity, who has made gods of men. For they could neither have assumed a divinity which was not theirs, nor could any but one himself possessing it have conferred it on them. If there was no one to make gods, it is vain to dream of gods being made when thus you have no god-maker. Most certainly, if they could have deified themselves, with a higher state at their command, they never would have been men. If, then, there be one who is able to make gods, I turn back to an examination of any reason there may be for making gods at all; and I find no other reason than this, that the great God has need of their ministrations and aids in performing the offices of Deity. But first it is an unworthy idea that He should need the help of a man, and in fact a dead man, when, if He was to be in want of this assistance from the dead, He might more fittingly have created some one a god at the beginning. Nor do I see any place for his action. For this entire world-mass — whether self-existent and uncreated, as Pythagoras maintains, or brought into being by a creator's hands, as Plato holds — was manifestly, once for all in its original construction, disposed, and furnished, and ordered, and supplied with a government of perfect wisdom. That cannot be imperfect which has made all perfect. There was nothing waiting on for Saturn and his race to do. Men will make fools of themselves if they refuse to believe that from the very first rain poured down from the sky, and stars gleamed, and light shone, and thunders roared, and Jove himself dreaded the lightnings you put in his hands; that in like manner before Bacchus, and Ceres, and Minerva, nay before the first man, whoever that was, every kind of fruit burst forth plentifully from the bosom of the earth, for nothing provided for the support and sustenance of man could be introduced after his entrance on the stage of being. Accordingly, these necessities of life are said to have been discovered, not created. But the thing you discover existed before; and that which had a pre-existence must be regarded as belonging not to him who discovered it, but to him who made it, for of course it had a being before it could be found. But if, on account of his

being the discoverer of the vine, Bacchus is raised to godship, Lucullus, who first introduced the cherry from Pontus into Italy, has not been fairly dealt with; for as the discoverer of a new fruit, he has not, as though he were its creator, been awarded divine honours. Wherefore, if the universe existed from the beginning, thoroughly furnished with its system working under certain laws for the performance of its functions, there is, in this respect, an entire absence of all reason for electing humanity to divinity; for the positions and powers which you have assigned to your deities have been from the beginning precisely what they would have been, although you had never deified them. But you turn to another reason, telling us that the conferring of deity was a way of rewarding worth. And hence you grant, I conclude, that the god-making God is of transcendent righteousness, — one who will neither rashly, improperly, nor needlessly bestow a reward so great. I would have you then consider whether the merits of your deities are of a kind to have raised them to the heavens, and not rather to have sunk them down into lowest depths of Tartarus, — the place which you regard, with many, as the prison-house of infernal punishments. For into this dread place are wont to be cast all who offend against filial piety, and such as are guilty of incest with sisters, and seducers of wives, and ravishers of virgins, and boy-polluters, and men of furious tempers, and murderers, and thieves, and deceivers; all, in short, who tread in the footsteps of your gods, not one of whom you can prove free from crime or vice, save by denying that they had ever a human existence. But as you cannot deny that, you have those foul blots also as an added reason for not believing that they were made gods afterwards. For if you rule for the very purpose of punishing such deeds; if every virtuous man among you rejects all correspondence, converse, and intimacy with the wicked and base, while, on the other hand, the high God has taken up their mates to a share of His majesty, on what ground is it that you thus condemn those whose fellow-actors you adore? Your goodness is an affront in the heavens. Deify your vilest criminals, if you would please your gods. You honour them by giving divine honours to their fellows. But to say no more about a way of acting so unworthy, there have been men virtuous, and pure, and good. Yet how many of these nobler men you have left in the regions of doom! as Socrates, so renowned for his wisdom, Aristides for his justice, Themistocles for his warlike genius, Alexander for his sublimity of soul, Polycrates for his good

fortune, Cræsus for his wealth, Demosthenes for his eloquence. Which of these gods of yours is more remarkable for gravity and wisdom than Cato, more just and warlike than Scipio? which of them more magnanimous than Pompey, more prosperous than Sylla, of greater wealth than Crassus, more eloquent than Tullius? How much better it would have been for the God Supreme to have waited that He might have taken such men as these to be His heavenly associates, prescient as He must have surely been of their worthier character! He was in a hurry, I suppose, and straightway shut heaven's gates; and now He must surely feel ashamed at these worthies murmuring over their lot in the regions below.

Chapter XII.

But I pass from these remarks, for I know and I am going to show what your gods are not, by showing what they are. In reference, then, to these, I see only names of dead men of ancient times; I hear fabulous stories; I recognize sacred rites founded on mere myths. As to the actual images, I regard them as simply pieces of matter akin to the vessels and utensils in common use among us, or even undergoing in their consecration a hapless change from these useful articles at the hands of reckless art, which in the transforming process treats them with utter contempt, nay, in the very act commits sacrilege; so that it might be no slight solace to us in all our punishments, suffering as we do because of these same gods, that in their making they suffer as we do themselves. You put Christians on crosses and stakes: what image is not formed from the clay in the first instance, set on cross and stake? The body of your god is first consecrated on the gibbet. You tear the sides of Christians with your claws; but in the case of your own gods, axes, and planes, and rasps are put to work more vigorously on every member of the body. We lay our heads upon the block; before the lead, and the glue, and the nails are put in requisition, your deities are headless. We are cast to the wild beasts, while you attach them to Bacchus, and Cybele, and Cælestis. We are burned in the flames; so, too, are they in their original lump. We are condemned to the mines; from these your gods originate. We are banished to islands; in islands it is a common thing for your gods to have their birth or die. If it is in this way a deity is made, it will follow that as many as are punished are deified, and tortures will have to be declared divinities. But plain it is these objects of your worship have no sense of the injuries and disgraces of their consecrating, as they are equally unconscious of the honours paid to them. O impious words! O blasphemous reproaches! Gnash your teeth upon us — foam with maddened rage against us — ye are the persons, no doubt, who censured a certain Seneca speaking of your superstition at much greater length and far more sharply! In a word, if we refuse our homage to statues and frigid images, the very counterpart of their dead originals, with which hawks, and mice, and spiders are so well acquainted, does it not merit praise instead of penalty, that we have rejected what we have come to see is error? We cannot surely be made out to injure those who we are certain are nonentities. What does not

exist, is in its nonexistence secure from suffering.

Chapter XIII.

“But they are gods to us,” you say. And how is it, then, that in utter inconsistency with this, you are convicted of impious, sacrilegious, and irreligious conduct to them, neglecting those you imagine to exist, destroying those who are the objects of your fear, making mock of those whose honour you avenge? See now if I go beyond the truth. First, indeed, seeing you worship, some one god, and some another, of course you give offence to those you do not worship. You cannot continue to give preference to one without slighting another, for selection implies rejection. You despise, therefore, those whom you thus reject; for in your rejection of them, it is plain you have no dread of giving them offence. For, as we have already shown, every god depended on the decision of the senate for his godhead. No god was he whom man in his own counsels did not wish to be so, and thereby condemned. The family deities you call Lares, you exercise a domestic authority over, pledging them, selling them, changing them — making sometimes a cooking-pot of a Saturn, a firepan of a Minerva, as one or other happens to be worn down, or broken in its long sacred use, or as the family head feels the pressure of some more sacred home necessity. In like manner, by public law you disgrace your state gods, putting them in the auction-catalogue, and making them a source of revenue. Men seek to get the Capitol, as they seek to get the herb market, under the voice of the crier, under the auction spear, under the registration of the quæstor. Deity is struck off and farmed out to the highest bidder. But indeed lands burdened with tribute are of less value; men under the assessment of a poll-tax are less noble; for these things are the marks of servitude. In the case of the gods, on the other hand, the sacredness is great in proportion to the tribute which they yield; nay, the more sacred is a god, the larger is the tax he pays. Majesty is made a source of gain. Religion goes about the taverns begging. You demand a price for the privilege of standing on temple ground, for access to the sacred services; there is no gratuitous knowledge of your divinities permitted — you must buy their favours with a price. What honours in any way do you render to them that you do not render to the dead? You have temples in the one case just as in the other; you have altars in the one case as in the other. Their statues have the same dress, the same insignia. As the dead man had his age, his art, his occupation, so it is

with the deity. In what respect does the funeral feast differ from the feast of Jupiter? or the bowl of the gods from the ladle of the manes? or the undertaker from the soothsayer, as in fact this latter personage also attends upon the dead? With perfect propriety you give divine honours to your departed emperors, as you worship them in life. The gods will count themselves indebted to you; nay, it will be matter of high rejoicing among them that their masters are made their equals. But when you adore Larentina, a public prostitute — I could have wished that it might at least have been Lais or Phryne — among your Junos, and Cereses, and Dianas; when you instal in your Pantheon Simon Magus, giving him a statue and the title of Holy God; when you make an infamous court page a god of the sacred synod, although your ancient deities are in reality no better, they will still think themselves affronted by you, that the privilege antiquity conferred on them alone, has been allowed to others.

Chapter XIV.

I wish now to review your sacred rites; and I pass no censure on your sacrificing, when you offer the worn-out, the scabbed, the corrupting; when you cut off from the fat and the sound the useless parts, such as the head and the hoofs, which in your house you would have assigned to the slaves or the dogs; when of the tithe of Hercules you do not lay a third upon his altar (I am disposed rather to praise your wisdom in rescuing something from being lost); but turning to your books, from which you get your training in wisdom and the nobler duties of life, what utterly ridiculous things I find! — that for Trojans and Greeks the gods fought among themselves like pairs of gladiators; that Venus was wounded by a man, because she would rescue her son Æneas when he was in peril of his life from the same Diomedes; that Mars was almost wasted away by a thirteen months' imprisonment; that Jupiter was saved by a monster's aid from suffering the same violence at the hands of the other gods; that he now laments the fate of Sarpedon, now foully makes love to his own sister, recounting (to her) former mistresses, now for a long time past not so dear as she. After this, what poet is not found copying the example of his chief, to be a disgracer of the gods? One gives Apollo to king Admetus to tend his sheep; another hires out the building labours of Neptune to Laomedon. A well-known lyric poet, too — Pindar, I mean — sings of Æsculapius deservedly stricken with lightning for his greed in practising wrongfully his art. A wicked deed it was of Jupiter — if he hurled the bolt — unnatural to his grandson, and exhibiting envious feeling to the Physician. Things like these should not be made public if they are true; and if false, they should not be fabricated among people professing a great respect for religion. Nor indeed do either tragic or comic writers shrink from setting forth the gods as the origin of all family calamities and sins. I do not dwell on the philosophers, contenting myself with a reference to Socrates, who, in contempt of the gods, was in the habit of swearing by an oak, and a goat, and a dog. In fact, for this very thing Socrates was condemned to death, that he overthrew the worship of the gods. Plainly, at one time as well as another, that is, always truth is disliked. However, when rueing their judgment, the Athenians inflicted punishment on his accusers, and set up a golden image of him in a temple, the condemnation was in the very act rescinded, and his witness was restored to

its former value. Diogenes, too, makes utter mock of Hercules and the Roman cynic Varro brings forward three hundred Joves, or Jupiters they should be called, all headless.

Chapter XV.

Others of your writers, in their wantonness, even minister to your pleasures by vilifying the gods. Examine those charming farces of your Lentuli and Hostilii, whether in the jokes and tricks it is the buffoons or the deities which afford you merriment; such farces I mean as Anubis the Adulterer, and Luna of the masculine gender, and Diana under the lash, and the reading the will of Jupiter deceased, and the three famishing Herculeses held up to ridicule. Your dramatic literature, too, depicts all the vileness of your gods. The Sun mourns his offspring cast down from heaven, and you are full of glee; Cybele sighs after the scornful swain, and you do not blush; you brook the stage recital of Jupiter's misdeeds, and the shepherd judging Juno, Venus, and Minerva. Then, again, when the likeness of a god is put on the head of an ignominious and infamous wretch, when one impure and trained up for the art in all effeminacy, represents a Minerva or a Hercules, is not the majesty of your gods insulted, and their deity dishonored? Yet you not merely look on, but applaud. You are, I suppose, more devout in the arena, where after the same fashion your deities dance on human blood, on the pollutions caused by inflicted punishments, as they act their themes and stories, doing their turn for the wretched criminals, except that these, too, often put on divinity and actually play the very gods. We have seen in our day a representation of the mutilation of Attis, that famous god of Pessinus, and a man burnt alive as Hercules. We have made merry amid the ludicrous cruelties of the noonday exhibition, at Mercury examining the bodies of the dead with his hot iron; we have witnessed Jove's brother, mallet in hand, dragging out the corpses of the gladiators. But who can go into everything of this sort? If by such things as these the honour of deity is assailed, if they go to blot out every trace of its majesty, we must explain them by the contempt in which the gods are held, alike by those who actually do them, and by those for whose enjoyment they are done. This it will be said, however, is all in sport. But if I add — it is what all know and will admit as readily to be the fact — that in the temples adulteries are arranged, that at the altars pimping is practised, that often in the houses of the temple-keepers and priests, under the sacrificial fillets, and the sacred hats, and the purple robes, amid the fumes of incense, deeds of licentiousness are done, I am not sure but your gods have more reason to

complain of you than of Christians. It is certainly among the votaries of your religion that the perpetrators of sacrilege are always found, for Christians do not enter your temples even in the day-time. Perhaps they too would be spoilers of them, if they worshipped in them. What then do they worship, since their objects of worship are different from yours? Already indeed it is implied, as the corollary from their rejection of the lie, that they render homage to the truth; nor continue longer in an error which they have given up in the very fact of recognizing it to be an error. Take this in first of all, and when we have offered a preliminary refutation of some false opinions, go on to derive from it our entire religious system.

Chapter XVI.

For, like some others, you are under the delusion that our god is an ass's head. Cornelius Tacitus first put this notion into people's minds. In the fifth book of his histories, beginning the (narrative of the) Jewish war with an account of the origin of the nation; and theorizing at his pleasure about the origin, as well as the name and the religion of the Jews, he states that having been delivered, or rather, in his opinion, expelled from Egypt, in crossing the vast plains of Arabia, where water is so scanty, they were in extremity from thirst; but taking the guidance of the wild asses, which it was thought might be seeking water after feeding, they discovered a fountain, and thereupon in their gratitude they consecrated a head of this species of animal. And as Christianity is nearly allied to Judaism, from this, I suppose, it was taken for granted that we too are devoted to the worship of the same image. But the said Cornelius Tacitus (the very opposite of *tacit* in telling lies) informs us in the work already mentioned, that when Cneius Pompeius captured Jerusalem, he entered the temple to see the arcana of the Jewish religion, but found no image there. Yet surely if worship was rendered to any visible object, the very place for its exhibition would be the shrine; and that all the more that the worship, however unreasonable, had no need there to fear outside beholders. For entrance to the holy place was permitted to the priests alone, while all vision was forbidden to others by an outspread curtain. You will not, however, deny that all beasts of burden, and not parts of them, but the animals entire, are with their goddess Epona objects of worship with you. It is this, perhaps, which displeases you in us, that while your worship here is universal, we do homage only to the ass. Then, if any of you think we render superstitious adoration to the cross, in that adoration he is sharer with us. If you offer homage to a piece of wood at all, it matters little what it is like when the substance is the same: it is of no consequence the form, if you have the very body of the god. And yet how far does the Athenian Pallas differ from the stock of the cross, or the Pharian Ceres as she is put up uncarved to sale, a mere rough stake and piece of shapeless wood? Every stake fixed in an upright position is a portion of the cross; we render our adoration, if you will have it so, to a god entire and complete. We have shown before that your deities are derived from shapes modelled from the cross. But you also

worship victories, for in your trophies the cross is the heart of the trophy. The camp religion of the Romans is all through a worship of the standards, a setting the standards above all gods. Well, as those images decking out the standards are ornaments of crosses. All those hangings of your standards and banners are robes of crosses. I praise your zeal: you would not consecrate crosses unclothed and unadorned. Others, again, certainly with more information and greater verisimilitude, believe that the sun is our god. We shall be counted Persians perhaps, though we do not worship the orb of day painted on a piece of linen cloth, having himself everywhere in his own disk. The idea no doubt has originated from our being known to turn to the east in prayer. But you, many of you, also under pretence sometimes of worshipping the heavenly bodies, move your lips in the direction of the sunrise. In the same way, if we devote Sun-day to rejoicing, from a far different reason than Sun-worship, we have some resemblance to those of you who devote the day of Saturn to ease and luxury, though they too go far away from Jewish ways, of which indeed they are ignorant. But lately a new edition of our god has been given to the world in that great city: it originated with a certain vile man who was wont to hire himself out to cheat the wild beasts, and who exhibited a picture with this inscription: The God of the Christians, born of an ass. He had the ears of an ass, was hoofed in one foot, carried a book, and wore a toga. Both the name and the figure gave us amusement. But our opponents ought straightway to have done homage to this biformed divinity, for they have acknowledged gods dog-headed and lion-headed, with horn of buck and ram, with goat-like loins, with serpent legs, with wings sprouting from back or foot. These things we have discussed *ex abundanti*, that we might not seem willingly to pass by any rumor against us unrefuted. Having thoroughly cleared ourselves, we turn now to an exhibition of what our religion really is.

Chapter XVII.

The object of our worship is the One God, He who by His commanding word, His arranging wisdom, His mighty power, brought forth from nothing this entire mass of our world, with all its array of elements, bodies, spirits, for the glory of His majesty; whence also the Greeks have bestowed on it the name of Κόσμος. The eye cannot see Him, though He is (spiritually) visible. He is incomprehensible, though in grace He is manifested. He is beyond our utmost thought, though our human faculties conceive of Him. He is therefore equally real and great. But that which, in the ordinary sense, can be seen and handled and conceived, is inferior to the eyes by which it is taken in, and the hands by which it is tainted, and the faculties by which it is discovered; but that which is infinite is known only to itself. This it is which gives some notion of God, while yet beyond all our conceptions — our very incapacity of fully grasping Him affords us the idea of what He really is. He is presented to our minds in His transcendent greatness, as at once known and unknown. And this is the crowning guilt of men, that they will not recognize One, of whom they cannot possibly be ignorant. Would you have the proof from the works of His hands, so numerous and so great, which both contain you and sustain you, which minister at once to your enjoyment, and strike you with awe; or would you rather have it from the testimony of the soul itself? Though under the oppressive bondage of the body, though led astray by depraving customs, though enervated by lusts and passions, though in slavery to false gods; yet, whenever the soul comes to itself, as out of a surfeit, or a sleep, or a sickness, and attains something of its natural soundness, it speaks of God; using no other word, because this is the peculiar name of the true God. “God is great and good”— “Which may God give,” are the words on every lip. It bears witness, too, that God is judge, exclaiming, “God sees,” and, “I commend myself to God,” and, “God will repay me.” O noble testimony of the soul by nature Christian! Then, too, in using such words as these, it looks not to the Capitol, but to the heavens. It knows that there is the throne of the living God, as from Him and from thence itself came down.

Chapter XVIII.

But, that we might attain an ampler and more authoritative knowledge at once of Himself, and of His counsels and will, God has added a written revelation for the behoof of every one whose heart is set on seeking Him, that seeking he may find, and finding believe, and believing obey. For from the first He sent messengers into the world, — men whose stainless righteousness made them worthy to know the Most High, and to reveal Him, — men abundantly endowed with the Holy Spirit, that they might proclaim that there is one God only who made all things, who formed man from the dust of the ground (for He is the true Prometheus who gave order to the world by arranging the seasons and their course), — these have further set before us the proofs He has given of His majesty in His judgments by floods and fires, the rules appointed by Him for securing His favour, as well as the retribution in store for the ignoring, forsaking and keeping them, as being about at the end of all to adjudge His worshippers to everlasting life, and the wicked to the doom of fire at once without ending and without break, raising up again all the dead from the beginning, reforming and renewing them with the object of awarding either recompense. Once these things were with us, too, the theme of ridicule. We are of your stock and nature: men are made, not born, Christians. The preachers of whom we have spoken are called prophets, from the office which belongs to them of predicting the future. Their words, as well as the miracles which they performed, that men might have faith in their divine authority, we have still in the literary treasures they have left, and which are open to all. Ptolemy, surnamed Philadelphus, the most learned of his race, a man of vast acquaintance with all literature, emulating, I imagine, the book enthusiasm of Pisistratus, among other remains of the past which either their antiquity or something of peculiar interest made famous, at the suggestion of Demetrius Phalereus, who was renowned above all grammarians of his time, and to whom he had committed the management of these things, applied to the Jews for their writings — I mean the writings peculiar to them and in their tongue, which they alone possessed, for from themselves, as a people dear to God for their fathers' sake, their prophets had ever sprung, and to them they had ever spoken. Now in ancient times the people we call Jews bare the name of Hebrews, and so both their writings and their speech were Hebrew. But that

the understanding of their books might not be wanting, this also the Jews supplied to Ptolemy; for they gave him seventy-two interpreters — men whom the philosopher Menedemus, the well-known assertor of a Providence, regarded with respect as sharing in his views. The same account is given by Aristæus. So the king left these works unlocked to all, in the Greek language. To this day, at the temple of Serapis, the libraries of Ptolemy are to be seen, with the identical Hebrew originals in them. The Jews, too, read them publicly. Under a tribute-liberty, they are in the habit of going to hear them every Sabbath. Whoever gives ear will find God in them; whoever takes pains to understand, will be compelled to believe.

Chapter XIX.

Their high antiquity, first of all, claims authority for these writings. With you, too, it is a kind of religion to demand belief on this very ground. Well, all the substances, all the materials, the origins, classes, contents of your most ancient writings, even most nations and cities illustrious in the records of the past and noted for their antiquity in books of annals, — the very forms of your letters, those revealers and custodiers of events, nay (I think I speak still within the mark), your very gods themselves, your very temples and oracles, and sacred rites, are less ancient than the work of a single prophet, in whom you have the *thesaurus* of the entire Jewish religion, and therefore too of ours. If you happen to have heard of a certain Moses, I speak first of him: he is as far back as the Argive Inachus; by nearly four hundred years — only seven less — he precedes Danaus, your most ancient name; while he antedates by a millennium the death of Priam. I might affirm, too, that he is five hundred years earlier than Homer, and have supporters of that view. The other prophets also, though of later date, are, even the most recent of them, as far back as the first of your philosophers, and legislators, and historians. It is not so much the difficulty of the subject, as its vastness, that stands in the way of a statement of the grounds on which these statements rest; the matter is not so arduous as it would be tedious. It would require the anxious study of many books, and the fingers busy reckoning. The histories of the most ancient nations, such as the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, the Phœnicians, would need to be ransacked; the men of these various nations who have information to give, would have to be called in as witnesses. Manetho the Egyptian, and Berosus the Chaldean, and Hieromus the Phœnician king of Tyre; their successors too, Ptolemy the Mendesian, and Demetrius Phalereus, and King Juba, and Apion, and Thallus, and their critic the Jew Josephus, the native vindicator of the ancient history of his people, who either authenticates or refutes the others. Also the Greek censors' lists must be compared, and the dates of events ascertained, that the chronological connections may be opened up, and thus the reckonings of the various annals be made to give forth light. We must go abroad into the histories and literature of all nations. And, in fact, we have already brought the proof in part before you, in giving those hints as to how it is to be effected. But it seems better to delay the full discussion of this, lest in our haste we do

not sufficiently carry it out, or lest in its thorough handling we make too lengthened a digression.

Chapter XX.

To make up for our delay in this, we bring under your notice something of even greater importance; we point to the majesty of our Scriptures, if not to their antiquity. If you doubt that they are as ancient as we say, we offer proof that they are divine. And you may convince yourselves of this at once, and without going very far. Your instructors, the world, and the age, and the event, are all before you. All that is taking place around you was fore-announced; all that you now see with your eye was previously heard by the ear. The swallowing up of cities by the earth; the theft of islands by the sea; wars, bringing external and internal convulsions; the collision of kingdoms with kingdoms; famines and pestilences, and local massacres, and widespread desolating mortalities; the exaltation of the lowly, and the humbling of the proud; the decay of righteousness, the growth of sin, the slackening interest in all good ways; the very seasons and elements going out of their ordinary course, monsters and portents taking the place of nature's forms — it was all foreseen and predicted before it came to pass. While we suffer the calamities, we read of them in the Scriptures; as we examine, they are proved. Well, the truth of a prophecy, I think, is the demonstration of its being from above. Hence there is among us an assured faith in regard to coming events as things already proved to us, for they were predicted along with what we have day by day fulfilled. They are uttered by the same voices, they are written in the same books — the same Spirit inspires them. All time is one to prophecy foretelling the future. Among men, it may be, a distinction of times is made while the fulfilment is going on: from being future we think of it as present, and then from being present we count it as belonging to the past. How are we to blame, I pray you, that we believe in things to come as though they already were, with the grounds we have for our faith in these two steps?

Chapter XXI.

But having asserted that our religion is supported by the writings of the Jews, the oldest which exist, though it is generally known, and we fully admit that it dates from a comparatively recent period — no further back indeed than the reign of Tiberius — a question may perhaps be raised on this ground about its standing, as if it were hiding something of its presumption under shadow of an illustrious religion, one which has at any rate undoubted allowance of the law, or because, apart from the question of age, we neither accord with the Jews in their peculiarities in regard to food, nor in their sacred days, nor even in their well-known bodily sign, nor in the possession of a common name, which surely behoved to be the case if we did homage to the same God as they. Then, too, the common people have now some knowledge of Christ, and think of Him as but a man, one indeed such as the Jews condemned, so that some may naturally enough have taken up the idea that we are worshippers of a mere human being. But we are neither ashamed of Christ — for we rejoice to be counted His disciples, and in His name to suffer — nor do we differ from the Jews concerning God. We must make, therefore, a remark or two as to Christ's divinity. In former times the Jews enjoyed much of God's favour, when the fathers of their race were noted for their righteousness and faith. So it was that as a people they flourished greatly, and their kingdom attained to a lofty eminence; and so highly blessed were they, that for their instruction God spake to them in special revelations, pointing out to them beforehand how they should merit His favor and avoid His displeasure. But how deeply they have sinned, puffed up to their fall with a false trust in their noble ancestors, turning from God's way into a way of sheer impiety, though they themselves should refuse to admit it, their present national ruin would afford sufficient proof. Scattered abroad, a race of wanderers, exiles from their own land and clime, they roam over the whole world without either a human or a heavenly king, not possessing even the stranger's right to set so much as a simple footstep in their native country. The sacred writers withal, in giving previous warning of these things, all with equal clearness ever declared that, in the last days of the world, God would, out of every nation, and people, and country, choose for Himself more faithful worshippers, upon whom He would bestow His grace, and that indeed in ampler measure, in keeping with the enlarged

capacities of a nobler dispensation. Accordingly, He appeared among us, whose coming to renovate and illuminate man's nature was pre-announced by God — I mean Christ, that Son of God. And so the supreme Head and Master of this grace and discipline, the Enlightener and Trainer of the human race, God's own Son, was announced among us, born — but not so born as to make Him ashamed of the name of Son or of His paternal origin. It was not His lot to have as His father, by incest with a sister, or by violation of a daughter or another's wife, a god in the shape of serpent, or ox, or bird, or lover, for his vile ends transmuting himself into the gold of Danaus. They are your divinities upon whom these base deeds of Jupiter were done. But the Son of God has no mother in any sense which involves impurity; she, whom men suppose to be His mother in the ordinary way, had never entered into the marriage bond. But, first, I shall discuss His essential nature, and so the nature of His birth will be understood. We have already asserted that God made the world, and all which it contains, by His Word, and Reason, and Power. It is abundantly plain that your philosophers, too, regard the Logos — that is, the Word and Reason — as the Creator of the universe. For Zeno lays it down that he is the creator, having made all things according to a determinate plan; that his name is Fate, and God, and the soul of Jupiter, and the necessity of all things. Cleanthes ascribes all this to spirit, which he maintains pervades the universe. And we, in like manner, hold that the Word, and Reason, and Power, by which we have said God made all, have spirit as their proper and essential *stratum*, in which the Word has in being to give forth utterances, and reason abides to dispose and arrange, and power is over all to execute. We have been taught that He proceeds forth from God, and in that procession He is generated; so that He is the Son of God, and is called God from unity of substance with God. For God, too, is a Spirit. Even when the ray is shot from the sun, it is still part of the parent mass; the sun will still be in the ray, because it is a ray of the sun — there is no division of substance, but merely an extension. Thus Christ is Spirit of Spirit, and God of God, as light of light is kindled. The material matrix remains entire and unimpaired, though you derive from it any number of shoots possessed of its qualities; so, too, that which has come forth out of God is at once God and the Son of God, and the two are one. In this way also, as He is Spirit of Spirit and God of God, He is made a second in manner of existence — in position, not in nature; and He did

not withdraw from the original source, but went forth. This ray of God, then, as it was always foretold in ancient times, descending into a certain virgin, and made flesh in her womb, is in His birth God and man united. The flesh formed by the Spirit is nourished, grows up to manhood, speaks, teaches, works, and is the Christ. Receive meanwhile this fable, if you choose to call it so — it is like some of your own — while we go on to show how Christ's claims are proved, and who the parties are with you by whom such fables have been set a going to overthrow the truth, which they resemble. The Jews, too, were well aware that Christ was coming, as those to whom the prophets spake. Nay, even now His advent is expected by them; nor is there any other contention between them and us, than that they believe the advent has not yet occurred. For two comings of Christ having been revealed to us: a first, which has been fulfilled in the lowliness of a human lot; a second, which impends over the world, now near its close, in all the majesty of Deity unveiled; and, by misunderstanding the first, they have concluded that the second — which, as matter of more manifest prediction, they set their hopes on — is the only one. It was the merited punishment of their sin not to understand the Lord's first advent: for if they had, they would have believed; and if they had believed, they would have obtained salvation. They themselves read how it is written of them that they are deprived of wisdom and understanding — of the use of eyes and ears. As, then, under the force of their pre-judgment, they had convinced themselves from His lowly guise that Christ was no more than man, it followed from that, as a necessary consequence, that they should hold Him a magician from the powers which He displayed, — expelling devils from men by a word, restoring vision to the blind, cleansing the leprous, reinvigorating the paralytic, summoning the dead to life again, making the very elements of nature obey Him, stilling the storms and walking on the sea; proving that He was the Logos of God, that primordial first-begotten Word, accompanied by power and reason, and based on Spirit, — that He who was now doing all things by His word, and He who had done that of old, were one and the same. But the Jews were so exasperated by His teaching, by which their rulers and chiefs were convicted of the truth, chiefly because so many turned aside to Him, that at last they brought Him before Pontius Pilate, at that time Roman governor of Syria; and, by the violence of their outcries against Him, extorted a sentence giving Him

up to them to be crucified. He Himself had predicted this; which, however, would have signified little had not the prophets of old done it as well. And yet, nailed upon the cross, He exhibited many notable signs, by which His death was distinguished from all others. At His own free-will, He with a word dismissed from Him His spirit, anticipating the executioner's work. In the same hour, too, the light of day was withdrawn, when the sun at the very time was in his meridian blaze. Those who were not aware that this had been predicted about Christ, no doubt thought it an eclipse. You yourselves have the account of the world-portent still in your archives. Then, when His body was taken down from the cross and placed in a sepulchre, the Jews in their eager watchfulness surrounded it with a large military guard, lest, as He had predicted His resurrection from the dead on the third day, His disciples might remove by stealth His body, and deceive even the incredulous. But, lo, on the third day there was a sudden shock of earthquake, and the stone which sealed the sepulchre was rolled away, and the guard fled off in terror: without a single disciple near, the grave was found empty of all but the clothes of the buried One. But nevertheless, the leaders of the Jews, whom it nearly concerned both to spread abroad a lie, and keep back a people tributary and submissive to them from the faith, gave it out that the body of Christ had been stolen by His followers. For the Lord, you see, did not go forth into the public gaze, lest the wicked should be delivered from their error; that faith also, destined to a great reward, might hold its ground in difficulty. But He spent forty days with some of His disciples down in Galilee, a region of Judea, instructing them in the doctrines they were to teach to others. Thereafter, having given them commission to preach the gospel through the world, He was encompassed with a cloud and taken up to heaven, — a fact more certain far than the assertions of your Proculi concerning Romulus. All these things Pilate did to Christ; and now in fact a Christian in his own convictions, he sent word of Him to the reigning Cæsar, who was at the time Tiberius. Yes, and the Cæsars too would have believed on Christ, if either the Cæsars had not been necessary for the world, or if Christians could have been Cæsars. His disciples also, spreading over the world, did as their Divine Master bade them; and after suffering greatly themselves from the persecutions of the Jews, and with no unwilling heart, as having faith undoubting in the truth, at last by Nero's cruel sword sowed the seed of Christian blood at Rome. Yes, and we

shall prove that even your own gods are effective witnesses for Christ. It is a great matter if, to give you faith in Christians, I can bring forward the authority of the very beings on account of whom you refuse them credit. Thus far we have carried out the plan we laid down. We have set forth this origin of our sect and name, with this account of the Founder of Christianity. Let no one henceforth charge us with infamous wickedness; let no one think that it is otherwise than we have represented, for none may give a false account of his religion. For in the very fact that he says he worships another god than he really does, he is guilty of denying the object of his worship, and transferring his worship and homage to another; and, in the transference, he ceases to worship the god he has repudiated. We say, and before all men we say, and torn and bleeding under your tortures, we cry out, "We worship God through Christ." Count Christ a man, if you please; by Him and in Him God would be known and be adored. If the Jews object, we answer that Moses, who was but a man, taught them their religion; against the Greeks we urge that Orpheus at Pieria, Musæus at Athens, Melampus at Argos, Trophonius in Bœotia, imposed religious rites; turning to yourselves, who exercise sway over the nations, it was the man Numa Pompilius who laid on the Romans a heavy load of costly superstitions. Surely Christ, then, had a right to reveal Deity, which was in fact His own essential possession, not with the object of bringing boors and savages by the dread of multitudinous gods, whose favour must be won into some civilization, as was the case with Numa; but as one who aimed to enlighten men already civilized, and under illusions from their very culture, that they might come to the knowledge of the truth. Search, then, and see if that divinity of Christ be true. If it be of such a nature that the acceptance of it transforms a man, and makes him truly good, there is implied in that the duty of renouncing what is opposed to it as false; especially and on every ground that which, hiding itself under the names and images of dead, the labours to convince men of its divinity by certain signs, and miracles, and oracles.

Chapter XXII.

And we affirm indeed the existence of certain spiritual essences; nor is their name unfamiliar. The philosophers acknowledge there are demons; Socrates himself waiting on a demon's will. Why not? since it is said an evil spirit attached itself specially to him even from his childhood — turning his mind no doubt from what was good. The poets are all acquainted with demons too; even the ignorant common people make frequent use of them in cursing. In fact, they call upon Satan, the demon-chief, in their execrations, as though from some instinctive soul-knowledge of him. Plato also admits the existence of angels. The dealers in magic, no less, come forward as witnesses to the existence of both kinds of spirits. We are instructed, moreover, by our sacred books how from certain angels, who fell of their own free-will, there sprang a more wicked demon-brood, condemned of God along with the authors of their race, and that chief we have referred to. It will for the present be enough, however, that some account is given of their work. Their great business is the ruin of mankind. So, from the very first, spiritual wickedness sought our destruction. They inflict, accordingly, upon our bodies diseases and other grievous calamities, while by violent assaults they hurry the soul into sudden and extraordinary excesses. Their marvellous subtleness and tenuity give them access to both parts of our nature. As spiritual, they can do no harm; for, invisible and intangible, we are not cognizant of their action save by its effects, as when some inexplicable, unseen poison in the breeze blights the apples and the grain while in the flower, or kills them in the bud, or destroys them when they have reached maturity; as though by the tainted atmosphere in some unknown way spreading abroad its pestilential exhalations. So, too, by an influence equally obscure, demons and angels breathe into the soul, and rouse up its corruptions with furious passions and vile excesses; or with cruel lusts accompanied by various errors, of which the worst is that by which these deities are commended to the favour of deceived and deluded human beings, that they may get their proper food of flesh-fumes and blood when that is offered up to idol-images. What is daintier food to the spirit of evil, than turning men's minds away from the true God by the illusions of a false divination? And here I explain how these illusions are managed. Every spirit is possessed of wings. This is a common property of both angels and demons.

So they are everywhere in a single moment; the whole world is as one place to them; all that is done over the whole extent of it, it is as easy for them to know as to report. Their swiftness of motion is taken for divinity, because their nature is unknown. Thus they would have themselves thought sometimes the authors of the things which they announce; and sometimes, no doubt, the bad things are their doing, never the good. The purposes of God, too, they took up of old from the lips of the prophets, even as they spoke them; and they gather them still from their works, when they hear them read aloud. Thus getting, too, from this source some intimations of the future, they set themselves up as rivals of the true God, while they steal His divinations. But the skill with which their responses are shaped to meet events, your Cræsi and Pyrrhi know too well. On the other hand, it was in that way we have explained, the Pythian was able to declare that they were cooking a tortoise with the flesh of a lamb; in a moment he had been to Lydia. From dwelling in the air, and their nearness to the stars, and their commerce with the clouds, they have means of knowing the preparatory processes going on in these upper regions, and thus can give promise of the rains which they already feel. Very kind too, no doubt, they are in regard to the healing of diseases. For, first of all, they make you ill; then, to get a miracle out of it, they command the application of remedies either altogether new, or contrary to those in use, and straightway withdrawing hurtful influence, they are supposed to have wrought a cure. What need, then, to speak of their other artifices, or yet further of the deceptive power which they have as spirits: of these Castor apparitions, of water carried by a sieve, and a ship drawn along by a girdle, and a beard reddened by a touch, all done with the one object of showing that men should believe in the deity of stones, and not seek after the only true God?

Chapter XXIII.

Moreover, if sorcerers call forth ghosts, and even make what seem the souls of the dead to appear; if they put boys to death, in order to get a response from the oracle; if, with their juggling illusions, they make a pretence of doing various miracles; if they put dreams into people's minds by the power of the angels and demons whose aid they have invited, by whose influence, too, goats and tables are made to divine, — how much more likely is this power of evil to be zealous in doing with all its might, of its own inclination, and for its own objects, what it does to serve the ends of others! Or if both angels and demons do just what your gods do, where in that case is the pre-eminence of deity, which we must surely think to be above all in might? Will it not then be more reasonable to hold that these spirits make themselves gods, giving as they do the very proofs which raise your gods to godhead, than that the gods are the equals of angels and demons? You make a distinction of places, I suppose, regarding as gods in their temple those whose divinity you do not recognize elsewhere; counting the madness which leads one man to leap from the sacred houses, to be something different from that which leads another to leap from an adjoining house; looking on one who cuts his arms and secret parts as under a different furor from another who cuts his throat. The result of the frenzy is the same, and the manner of instigation is one. But thus far we have been dealing only in words: we now proceed to a proof of facts, in which we shall show that under different names you have real identity. Let a person be brought before your tribunals, who is plainly under demoniacal possession. The wicked spirit, bidden to speak by a follower of Christ, will as readily make the truthful confession that he is a demon, as elsewhere he has falsely asserted that he is a god. Or, if you will, let there be produced one of the god-possessed, as they are supposed, who, inhaling at the altar, conceive divinity from the fumes, who are delivered of it by retching, who vent it forth in agonies of gasping. Let that same Virgin Cælestis herself the rain-promiser, let Æsculapius discoverer of medicines, ready to prolong the life of Socordius, and Tenatius, and Asclepiodotus, now in the last extremity, if they would not confess, in their fear of lying to a Christian, that they were demons, then and there shed the blood of that most impudent follower of Christ. What clearer than a work like that? what more trustworthy than such a proof? The

simplicity of truth is thus set forth; its own worth sustains it; no ground remains for the least suspicion. Do you say that it is done by magic, or some trick of that sort? You will not say anything of the sort, if you have been allowed the use of your ears and eyes. For what argument can you bring against a thing that is exhibited to the eye in its naked reality? If, on the one hand, they are really gods, why do they pretend to be demons? Is it from fear of us? In that case your divinity is put in subjection to Christians; and you surely can never ascribe deity to that which is under authority of man, nay (if it adds aught to the disgrace) of its very enemies. If, on the other hand, they are demons or angels, why, inconsistently with this, do they presume to set themselves forth as acting the part of gods? For as beings who put themselves out as gods would never willingly call themselves demons, if they were gods indeed, that they might not thereby in fact abdicate their dignity; so those whom you know to be no more than demons, would not dare to act as gods, if those whose names they take and use were really divine. For they would not dare to treat with disrespect the higher majesty of beings, whose displeasure they would feel was to be dreaded. So this divinity of yours is no divinity; for if it were, it would not be pretended to by demons, and it would not be denied by gods. But since on both sides there is a concurrent acknowledgment that they are not gods, gather from this that there is but a single race — I mean the race of demons, the real race in both cases. Let your search, then, now be after gods; for those whom you had imagined to be so you find to be spirits of evil. The truth is, as we have thus not only shown from our own gods that neither themselves nor any others have claims to deity, you may see at once who is really God, and whether that is He and He alone whom we Christians own; as also whether you are to believe in Him, and worship Him, after the manner of our Christian faith and discipline. But at once they will say, Who is this Christ with his fables? is he an ordinary man? is he a sorcerer? was his body stolen by his disciples from its tomb? is he now in the realms below? or is he not rather up in the heavens, thence about to come again, making the whole world shake, filling the earth with dread alarms, making all but Christians wail — as the Power of God, and the Spirit of God, as the Word, the Reason, the Wisdom, and the Son of God? Mock as you like, but get the demons if you can to join you in your mocking; let *them* deny that Christ is coming to judge every human soul which has existed from the world's

beginning, clothing it again with the body it laid aside at death; let *them* declare it, say, before your tribunal, that this work has been allotted to Minos and Rhadamanthus, as Plato and the poets agree; let them put away from them at least the mark of ignominy and condemnation. They disclaim being unclean spirits, which yet we must hold as indubitably proved by their relish for the blood and fumes and foetid carcasses of sacrificial animals, and even by the vile language of their ministers. Let them deny that, for their wickedness condemned already, they are kept for that very judgment-day, with all their worshippers and their works. Why, all the authority and power we have over them is from our naming the name of Christ, and recalling to their memory the woes with which God threatens them at the hands of Christ as Judge, and which they expect one day to overtake them. Fearing Christ in God, and God in Christ, they become subject to the servants of God and Christ. So at our touch and breathing, overwhelmed by the thought and realization of those judgment fires, they leave at our command the bodies they have entered, unwilling, and distressed, and before your very eyes put to an open shame. You believe them when they lie; give credit to them, then, when they speak the truth about themselves. No one plays the liar to bring disgrace upon his own head, but for the sake of honour rather. You give a readier confidence to people making confessions against themselves, than denials in their own behalf. It has not been an unusual thing, accordingly, for those testimonies of your deities to convert men to Christianity; for in giving full belief to them, we are led to believe in Christ. Yes, your very gods kindle up faith in our Scriptures, they build up the confidence of our hope. You do homage, as I know, to them also with the blood of Christians. On no account, then, would they lose those who are so useful and dutiful to them, anxious even to hold you fast, lest some day or other as Christians you might put them to the rout, — if under the power of a follower of Christ, who desires to prove to you the Truth, it were at all possible for them to lie.

Chapter XXIV.

This whole confession of these beings, in which they declare that they are not gods, and in which they tell you that there is no God but one, the God whom we adore, is quite sufficient to clear us from the crime of treason, chiefly against the Roman religion. For if it is certain the gods have no existence, there is no religion in the case. If there is no religion, because there are no gods, we are assuredly not guilty of any offence against religion. Instead of that, the charge recoils on your own head: worshipping a lie, you are really guilty of the crime you charge on us, not merely by refusing the true religion of the true God, but by going the further length of persecuting it. But now, granting that these objects of your worship are really gods, is it not generally held that there is one higher and more potent, as it were the world's chief ruler, endowed with absolute power and majesty? For the common way is to apportion deity, giving an imperial and supreme domination to one, while its offices are put into the hands of many, as Plato describes great Jupiter in the heavens, surrounded by an array at once of deities and demons. It behooves us, therefore, to show equal respect to the procurators, prefects, and governors of the divine empire. And yet how great a crime does he commit, who, with the object of gaining higher favour with the Cæsar, transfers his endeavours and his hopes to another, and does not confess that the appellation of God as of Emperor belongs only to the Supreme Head, when it is held a capital offence among us to call, or hear called, by the highest title any other than Cæsar himself! Let one man worship God, another Jupiter; let one lift suppliant hands to the heavens, another to the altar of Fides; let one — if you choose to take this view of it — count in prayer the clouds, and another the ceiling panels; let one consecrate his own life to his God, and another that of a goat. For see that you do not give a further ground for the charge of irreligion, by taking away religious liberty, and forbidding free choice of deity, so that I may no longer worship according to my inclination, but am compelled to worship against it. Not even a human being would care to have unwilling homage rendered him; and so the very Egyptians have been permitted the legal use of their ridiculous superstition, liberty to make gods of birds and beasts, nay, to condemn to death any one who kills a god of their sort. Every province even, and every city, has its god. Syria has Astarte, Arabia has

Dusares, the Norici have Belenus, Africa has its Cælestis, Mauritania has its own princes. I have spoken, I think, of Roman provinces, and yet I have not said their gods are Roman; for they are not worshipped at Rome any more than others who are ranked as deities over Italy itself by municipal consecration, such as Delventinus of Casinum, Visidianus of Narnia, Ancharia of Asculum, Nortia of Volsinii, Valentia of Ocrinum, Hostia of Satrium, Father Curis of Falisci, in honour of whom, too, Juno got her surname. In fact, we alone are prevented having a religion of our own. We give offence to the Romans, we are excluded from the rights and privileges of Romans, because we do not worship the gods of Rome. It is well that there is a God of all, whose we all are, whether we will or no. But with you liberty is given to worship any god but the true God, as though He were not rather the God all should worship, to whom all belong.

Chapter XXV.

I think I have offered sufficient proof upon the question of false and true divinity, having shown that the proof rests not merely on debate and argument, but on the witness of the very beings whom you believe are gods, so that the point needs no further handling. However, having been led thus naturally to speak of the Romans, I shall not avoid the controversy which is invited by the groundless assertion of those who maintain that, as a reward of their singular homage to religion, the Romans have been raised to such heights of power as to have become masters of the world; and that so certainly divine are the beings they worship, that those prosper beyond all others, who beyond all others honour them. This, forsooth, is the wages the gods have paid the Romans for their devotion. The progress of the empire is to be ascribed to Sterculus, the Mutunus, and Larentina! For I can hardly think that foreign gods would have been disposed to show more favour to an alien race than to their own, and given their own fatherland, in which they had their birth, grew up to manhood, became illustrious, and at last were buried, over to invaders from another shore! As for Cybele, if she set her affections on the city of Rome as sprung of the Trojan stock saved from the arms of Greece, she herself forsooth being of the same race, — if she foresaw her transference to the avenging people by whom Greece the conqueror of Phrygia was to be subdued, let her look to it (in regard of her native country's conquest by Greece). Why, too, even in these days the *Mater Magna has given a notable proof of her greatness which she has conferred as a boon upon the city*; when, after the loss to the State of Marcus Aurelius at Sirmium, on the sixteenth before the Kalends of April, that most sacred high priest of hers was offering, a week after, impure libations of blood drawn from his own arms, and issuing his commands that the ordinary prayers should be made for the safety of the emperor already dead. O tardy messengers! O sleepy despatches! through whose fault Cybele had not an earlier knowledge of the imperial decease, that the Christians might have no occasion to ridicule a goddess so unworthy. Jupiter, again, would surely never have permitted his own Crete to fall at once before the Roman Fasces, forgetful of that Idean cave and the Corybantian cymbals, and the sweet odour of her who nursed him there. Would he not have exalted his own tomb above the entire Capitol, that the land which covered the

ashes of Jove might rather be the mistress of the world? Would Juno have desired the destruction of the Punic city, beloved even to the neglect of Samos, and that by a nation of Æneadæ? As to that I know, “Here were her arms, here was her chariot, this kingdom, if the Fates permit, the goddess tends and cherishes to be mistress of the nations.” Jove’s hapless wife and sister had no power to prevail against the Fates! “Jupiter himself is sustained by fate.” And yet the Romans have never done such homage to the Fates, which gave them Carthage against the purpose and the will of Juno, as to the abandoned harlot Larentina. It is undoubted that not a few of your gods have reigned on earth as kings. If, then, they now possess the power of bestowing empire, when they were kings themselves, from whence had they received their kingly honours? Whom did Jupiter and Saturn worship? A Sterculus, I suppose. But did the Romans, along with the native-born inhabitants, afterwards adore also some who were never kings? In that case, however, they were under the reign of others, who did not yet bow down to them, as not yet raised to godhead. It belongs to others, then, to make gift of kingdoms, since there were kings before these gods had their names on the roll of divinities. But how utterly foolish it is to attribute the greatness of the Roman name to religious merits, since it was after Rome became an empire, or call it still a kingdom, that the religion she professes made its chief progress! Is it the case now? Has its religion been the source of the prosperity of Rome? Though Numa set agoing an eagerness after superstitious observances, yet religion among the Romans was not yet a matter of images or temples. It was frugal in its ways, its rites were simple, and there were no capitols struggling to the heavens; but the altars were offhand ones of turf, and the sacred vessels were yet of Samian earthen-ware, and from these the odours rose, and no likeness of God was to be seen. For at that time the skill of the Greeks and Tuscans in image-making had not yet overrun the city with the products of their art. The Romans, therefore, were not distinguished for their devotion to the gods before they attained to greatness; and so their greatness was not the result of their religion. Indeed, how could religion make a people great who have owed their greatness to their irreligion? For, if I am not mistaken, kingdoms and empires are acquired by wars, and are extended by victories. More than that, you cannot have wars and victories without the taking, and often the destruction, of cities. That is a thing in which the gods have their share of

calamity. Houses and temples suffer alike; there is indiscriminate slaughter of priests and citizens; the hand of rapine is laid equally upon sacred and on common treasure. Thus the sacrileges of the Romans are as numerous as their trophies. They boast as many triumphs over the gods as over the nations; as many spoils of battle they have still, as there remain images of captive deities. And the poor gods submit to be adored by their enemies, and they ordain illimitable empire to those whose injuries rather than their simulated homage should have had retribution at their hands. But divinities unconscious are with impunity dishonoured, just as in vain they are adored. You certainly never can believe that devotion to religion has evidently advanced to greatness a people who, as we have put it, have either grown by injuring religion, or have injured religion by their growth. Those, too, whose kingdoms have become part of the one great whole of the Roman empire, were not without religion when their kingdoms were taken from them.

Chapter XXVI.

Examine then, and see if *He* be not the dispenser of kingdoms, who is Lord at once of the world which is ruled, and of man himself who rules; if He have not ordained the changes of dynasties, with their appointed seasons, who was before all time, and made the world a body of times; if the rise and the fall of states are not the work of Him, under whose sovereignty the human race once existed without states at all. How do you allow yourselves to fall into such error? Why, the Rome of rural simplicity is older than some of her gods; she reigned before her proud, vast Capitol was built. The Babylonians exercised dominion, too, before the days of the Pontiffs; and the Medes before the Quindecemvirs; and the Egyptians before the Salii; and the Assyrians before the Luperci; and the Amazons before the Vestal Virgins. And to add another point: if the religions of Rome give empire, ancient Judea would never have been a kingdom, despising as it did one and all these idol deities; Judea, whose God you Romans once honoured with victims, and its temple with gifts, and its people with treaties; and which would never have been beneath your sceptre but for that last and crowning offence against God, in rejecting and crucifying Christ.

Chapter XXVII.

Enough has been said in these remarks to confute the charge of treason against your religion: for we cannot be held to do harm to that which has no existence. When we are called therefore to sacrifice, we resolutely refuse, relying on the knowledge we possess, by which we are well assured of the real objects to whom these services are offered, under profaning of images and the deification of human names. Some, indeed, think it a piece of insanity that, when it is in our power to offer sacrifice at once, and go away unharmed, holding as ever our convictions, we prefer an obstinate persistence in our confession to our safety. You advise us, forsooth, to take unjust advantage of you; but we know whence such suggestions come, who is at the bottom of it all, and how every effort is made, now by cunning suasion, and now by merciless persecution, to overthrow our constancy. No other than that spirit, half devil and half angel, who, hating us because of his own separation from God, and stirred with envy for the favour God has shown us, turns your minds against us by an occult influence, moulding and instigating them to all that perversity in judgment, and that unrighteous cruelty, which we have mentioned at the beginning of our work, when entering on this discussion. For, though the whole power of demons and kindred spirits is subject to us, yet still, as ill-disposed slaves sometimes conjoin contumacy with fear, and delight to injure those of whom they at the same time stand in awe, so is it here. For fear also inspires hatred. Besides, in their desperate condition, as already under condemnation, it gives them some comfort, while punishment delays, to have the usufruct of their malignant dispositions. And yet, when hands are laid on them, they are subdued at once, and submit to their lot; and those whom at a distance they oppose, in close quarters they supplicate for mercy. So when, like insurrectionary workhouses, or prisons, or mines, or any such penal slaveries, they break forth against us their masters, they know all the while that they are not a match for us, and just on that account, indeed, rush the more recklessly to destruction. We resist them, unwillingly, as though they were equals, and contend against them by persevering in that which they assail; and our triumph over them is never more complete than when we are condemned for resolute adherence to our faith.

Chapter XXVIII.

But as it was easily seen to be unjust to compel freemen against their will to offer sacrifice (for even in other acts of religious service a willing mind is required), it should be counted quite absurd for one man to compel another to do honour to the gods, when he ought ever voluntarily, and in the sense of his own need, to seek their favour, lest in the liberty which is his right he should be ready to say, "I want none of Jupiter's favours; pray who art thou? Let Janus meet me with angry looks, with whichever of his faces he likes; what have you to do with me?" You have been led, no doubt, by these same evil spirits to compel us to offer sacrifice for the well-being of the emperor; and you are under a necessity of using force, just as we are under an obligation to face the dangers of it. This brings us, then, to the second ground of accusation, that we are guilty of treason against a majesty more august; for you do homage with a greater dread and an intenser reverence to Cæsar, than Olympian Jove himself. And if you knew it, upon sufficient grounds. For is not any living man better than a dead one, whoever he be? But this is not done by you on any other ground than regard to a power whose presence you vividly realize; so that also in this you are convicted of impiety to your gods, inasmuch as you show a greater reverence to a human sovereignty than you do to them. Then, too, among you, people far more readily swear a false oath in the name of all the gods, than in the name of the single genius of Cæsar.

Chapter XXIX.

Let it be made clear, then, first of all, if those to whom sacrifice is offered are really able to protect either emperor or anybody else, and so adjudge us guilty of treason, if angels and demons, spirits of most wicked nature, do any good, if the lost save, if the condemned give liberty, if the dead (I refer to what you know well enough) defend the living. For surely the first thing they would look to would be the protection of their statues, and images, and temples, which rather owe their safety, I think, to the watch kept by Cæsar's guards. Nay, I think the very materials of which these are made come from Cæsar's mines, and there is not a temple but depends on Cæsar's will. Yes, and many gods have felt the displeasure of the Cæsar. It makes for my argument if they are also partakers of his favour, when he bestows on them some gift or privilege. How shall they who are thus in Cæsar's power, who belong entirely to him, have Cæsar's protection in their hands, so that you can imagine them able to give to Cæsar what they more readily get from him? This, then, is the ground on which we are charged with treason against the imperial majesty, to wit, that we do not put the emperors under their own possessions; that we do not offer a mere mock service on their behalf, as not believing their safety rests in leaden hands. But you are impious in a high degree who look for it where it is not, who seek it from those who have it not to give, passing by Him who has it entirely in His power. Besides this, you persecute those who know where to seek for it, and who, knowing where to seek for it, are able as well to secure it.

Chapter XXX.

For we offer prayer for the safety of our princes to the eternal, the true, the living God, whose favour, beyond all others, they must themselves desire. They know from whom they have obtained their power; they know, as they are men, from whom they have received life itself; they are convinced that He is God alone, on whose power alone they are entirely dependent, to whom they are second, after whom they occupy the highest places, before and above all the gods. Why not, since they are above all living men, and the living, as living, are superior to the dead? They reflect upon the extent of their power, and so they come to understand the highest; they acknowledge that they have all their might from Him against whom their might is nought. Let the emperor make war on heaven; let him lead heaven captive in his triumph; let him put guards on heaven; let him impose taxes on heaven! He cannot. Just because he is less than heaven, he is great. For he himself is His to whom heaven and every creature appertains. He gets his sceptre where he first got his humanity; his power where he got the breath of life. Thither we lift our eyes, with hands outstretched, because free from sin; with head uncovered, for we have nothing whereof to be ashamed; finally, without a monitor, because it is from the heart we supplicate. Without ceasing, for all our emperors we offer prayer. We pray for life prolonged; for security to the empire; for protection to the imperial house; for brave armies, a faithful senate, a virtuous people, the world at rest, whatever, as man or Cæsar, an emperor would wish. These things I cannot ask from any but the God from whom I know I shall obtain them, both because He alone bestows them and because I have claims upon Him for their gift, as being a servant of His, rendering homage to Him alone, persecuted for His doctrine, offering to Him, at His own requirement, that costly and noble sacrifice of prayer despatched from the chaste body, an unstained soul, a sanctified spirit, not the few grains of incense a farthing buys — tears of an Arabian tree, — not a few drops of wine, — not the blood of some worthless ox to which death is a relief, and, in addition to other offensive things, a polluted conscience, so that one wonders, when your victims are examined by these vile priests, why the examination is not rather of the sacrificers than the sacrifices. With our hands thus stretched out and up to God, rend us with your iron claws, hang us up on crosses, wrap us in flames, take our heads from us

with the sword, let loose the wild beasts on us, — the very attitude of a Christian praying is one of preparation for all punishment. Let this, good rulers, be your work: wring from us the soul, beseeching God on the emperor's behalf. Upon the truth of God, and devotion to His name, put the brand of crime.

Chapter XXXI.

But we merely, you say, flatter the emperor, and feign these prayers of ours to escape persecution. Thank you for your mistake, for you give us the opportunity of proving our allegations. Do you, then, who think that we care nothing for the welfare of Cæsar, look into God's revelations, examine our sacred books, which we do not keep in hiding, and which many accidents put into the hands of those who are not of us. Learn from them that a large benevolence is enjoined upon us, even so far as to supplicate God for our enemies, and to beseech blessings on our persecutors. Who, then, are greater enemies and persecutors of Christians, than the very parties with treason against whom we are charged? Nay, even in terms, and most clearly, the Scripture says, "Pray for kings, and rulers, and powers, that all may be peace with you." For when there is disturbance in the empire, if the commotion is felt by its other members, surely we too, though we are not thought to be given to disorder, are to be found in some place or other which the calamity affects.

Chapter XXXII.

There is also another and a greater necessity for our offering prayer in behalf of the emperors, nay, for the complete stability of the empire, and for Roman interests in general. For we know that a mighty shock impending over the whole earth — in fact, the very end of all things threatening dreadful woes — is only retarded by the continued existence of the Roman empire. We have no desire, then, to be overtaken by these dire events; and in praying that their coming may be delayed, we are lending our aid to Rome's duration. More than this, though we decline to swear by the genii of the Cæsars, we swear by their safety, which is worth far more than all your genii. Are you ignorant that these genii are called "Dæmones," and thence the diminutive name "Dæmonia" is applied to them? We respect in the emperors the ordinance of God, who has set them over the nations. We know that there is that in them which God has willed; and to what God has willed we desire all safety, and we count an oath by it a great oath. But as for demons, that is, your genii, we have been in the habit of exorcising them, not of swearing by them, and thereby conferring on them divine honour.

Chapter XXXIII.

But why dwell longer on the reverence and sacred respect of Christians to the emperor, whom we cannot but look up to as called by our Lord to his office? So that on valid grounds I might say Cæsar is more ours than yours, for our God has appointed him. Therefore, as having this propriety in him, I do more than you for his welfare, not merely because I ask it of Him who can give it, or because I ask it as one who deserves to get it, but also because, in keeping the majesty of Cæsar within due limits, and putting it under the Most High, and making it less than divine, I commend him the more to the favour of Deity, to whom I make him alone inferior. But I place him in subjection to one I regard as more glorious than himself. Never will I call the emperor God, and that either because it is not in me to be guilty of falsehood; or that I dare not turn him into ridicule; or that not even himself will desire to have that high name applied to him. If he is but a man, it is his interest as man to give God His higher place. Let him think it enough to bear the name of emperor. That, too, is a great name of God's giving. To call him God, is to rob him of his title. If he is not a man, emperor he cannot be. Even when, amid the honours of a triumph, he sits on that lofty chariot, he is reminded that he is only human. A voice at his back keeps whispering in his ear, "Look behind thee; remember thou art but a man." And it only adds to his exultation, that he shines with a glory so surpassing as to require an admonitory reference to his condition. It adds to his greatness that he needs such a reminiscence, lest he should think himself divine.

Chapter XXXIV.

Augustus, the founder of the empire, would not even have the title Lord; for that, too, is a name of Deity. For my part, I am willing to give the emperor this designation, but in the common acceptation of the word, and when I am not forced to call him Lord as in God's place. But my relation to him is one of freedom; for I have but one true Lord, the God omnipotent and eternal, who is Lord of the emperor as well. How can he, who is truly father of his country, be its lord? The name of piety is more grateful than the name of power; so the heads of families are called fathers rather than lords. Far less should the emperor have the name of God. We can only profess our belief that he is that by the most unworthy, nay, a fatal flattery; it is just as if, having an emperor, you call another by the name, in which case will you not give great and unappeasable offence to him who actually reigns? — an offence he, too, needs to fear on whom you have bestowed the title. Give all reverence to God, if you wish Him to be propitious to the emperor. Give up all worship of, and belief in, any other being as divine. Cease also to give the sacred name to him who has need of God himself. If such adulation is not ashamed of its lie, in addressing a man as divine, let it have some dread at least of the evil omen which it bears. It is the invocation of a curse, to give Cæsar the name of god before his apotheosis.

Chapter XXXV.

This is the reason, then, why Christians are counted public enemies: that they pay no vain, nor false, nor foolish honours to the emperor; that, as men believing in the true religion, they prefer to celebrate their festal days with a good conscience, instead of with the common wantonness. It is, forsooth, a notable homage to bring fires and couches out before the public, to have feasting from street to street, to turn the city into one great tavern, to make mud with wine, to run in troops to acts of violence, to deeds of shamelessness to lust allurements! What! is public joy manifested by public disgrace? Do things unseemly at other times besem the festal days of princes? Do they who observe the rules of virtue out of reverence for Cæsar, for his sake turn aside from them? Shall piety be a license to immoral deeds, and shall religion be regarded as affording the occasion for all riotous extravagance? Poor we, worthy of all condemnation! For why do we keep the votive days and high rejoicings in honour of the Cæsars with chastity, sobriety, and virtue? Why, on the day of gladness, do we neither cover our door-posts with laurels, nor intrude upon the day with lamps? It is a proper thing, at the call of a public festivity, to dress your house up like some new brothel. However, in the matter of this homage to a lesser majesty, in reference to which we are accused of a lower sacrilege, because we do not celebrate along with you the holidays of the Cæsars in a manner forbidden alike by modesty, decency, and purity, — in truth they have been established rather as affording opportunities for licentiousness than from any worthy motive; — in this matter I am anxious to point out how faithful and true *you* are, lest perchance here also those who will not have us counted Romans, but enemies of Rome's chief rulers, be found themselves worse than we wicked Christians! I appeal to the inhabitants of Rome themselves, to the native population of the seven hills: does that Roman vernacular of theirs ever spare a Cæsar? The Tiber and the wild beasts' schools bear witness. Say now if nature had covered our hearts with a transparent substance through which the light could pass, whose hearts, all graven over, would not betray the scene of another and another Cæsar presiding at the distribution of a largess? And this at the very time they are shouting, "May Jupiter take years from us, and with them lengthen like to you," — words as foreign to the lips of a Christian as it is out of keeping with

his character to desire a change of emperor. But this is the rabble, you say; yet, as the rabble, they still are Romans, and none more frequently than they demand the death of Christians. Of course, then, the other classes, as befits their higher rank, are religiously faithful. No breath of treason is there ever in the senate, in the equestrian order, in the camp, in the palace. Whence, then, came a Cassius, a Niger, an Albinus? Whence they who beset the Cæsar between the two laurel groves? Whence they who practised wrestling, that they might acquire skill to strangle him? Whence they who in full armour broke into the palace, more audacious than all your Tigerii and Parthenii. If I mistake not, they were Romans; that is, they were not Christians. Yet all of them, on the very eve of their traitorous outbreak, offered sacrifices for the safety of the emperor, and swore by his genius, one thing in profession, and another in the heart; and no doubt they were in the habit of calling Christians enemies of the state. Yes, and persons who are now daily brought to light as confederates or approvers of these crimes and treasons, the still remnant gleanings after a vintage of traitors, with what verdant and branching laurels they clad their door-posts, with what lofty and brilliant lamps they smoked their porches, with what most exquisite and gaudy couches they divided the Forum among themselves; not that they might celebrate public rejoicings, but that they might get a foretaste of their own votive seasons in partaking of the festivities of another, and inaugurate the model and image of their hope, changing in their minds the emperor's name. The same homage is paid, dutifully too, by those who consult astrologers, and soothsayers, and augurs, and magicians, about the life of the Cæsars, — arts which, as made known by the angels who sinned, and forbidden by God, Christians do not even make use of in their own affairs. But who has any occasion to inquire about the life of the emperor, if he have not some wish or thought against it, or some hopes and expectations after it? For consultations of this sort have not the same motive in the case of friends as in the case of sovereigns. The anxiety of a kinsman is something very different from that of a subject.

Chapter XXXVI.

If it is the fact that men bearing the name of Romans are found to be enemies of Rome, why are we, on the ground that we are regarded as enemies, denied the name of Romans? *We* may be at once Romans and foes of Rome, when men passing for Romans are discovered to be enemies of their country. So the affection, and fealty, and reverence, due to the emperors do not consist in such tokens of homage as these, which even hostility may be zealous in performing, chiefly as a cloak to its purposes; but in those ways which Deity as certainly enjoins on us, as they are held to be necessary in the case of all men as well as emperors. Deeds of true heart-goodness are not due by us to emperors alone. We never do good with respect of persons; for in our own interest we conduct ourselves as those who take no payment either of praise or premium from man, but from God, who both requires and remunerates an impartial benevolence. We are the same to emperors as to our ordinary neighbors. For we are equally forbidden to wish ill, to do ill, to speak ill, to think ill of all men. The thing we must not do to an emperor, we must not do to any one else: what we would not do to anybody, a *fortiori*, perhaps we should not do to him whom God has been pleased so highly to exalt.

Chapter XXXVII.

If we are enjoined, then, to love our enemies, as I have remarked above, whom have we to hate? If injured, we are forbidden to retaliate, lest we become as bad ourselves: who can suffer injury at our hands? In regard to this, recall your own experiences. How often you inflict gross cruelties on Christians, partly because it is your own inclination, and partly in obedience to the laws! How often, too, the hostile mob, paying no regard to you, takes the law into its own hand, and assails us with stones and flames! With the very frenzy of the Bacchanals, they do not even spare the Christian dead, but tear them, now sadly changed, no longer entire, from the rest of the tomb, from the asylum we might say of death, cutting them in pieces, rending them asunder. Yet, banded together as we are, ever so ready to sacrifice our lives, what single case of revenge for injury are you able to point to, though, if it were held right among us to repay evil by evil, a single night with a torch or two could achieve an ample vengeance? But away with the idea of a sect divine avenging itself by human fires, or shrinking from the sufferings in which it is tried. If we desired, indeed, to act the part of open enemies, not merely of secret avengers, would there be any lacking in strength, whether of numbers or resources? The Moors, the Marcomanni, the Parthians themselves, or any single people, however great, inhabiting a distinct territory, and confined within its own boundaries, surpasses, forsooth, in numbers, one spread over all the world! We are but of yesterday, and we have filled every place among you — cities, islands, fortresses, towns, market-places, the very camp, tribes, companies, palace, senate, forum, — we have left nothing to you but the temples of your gods. For what wars should we not be fit, not eager, even with unequal forces, we who so willingly yield ourselves to the sword, if in our religion it were not counted better to be slain than to slay? Without arms even, and raising no insurrectionary banner, but simply in enmity to you, we could carry on the contest with you by an ill-willed severance alone. For if such multitudes of men were to break away from you, and betake themselves to some remote corner of the world, why, the very loss of so many citizens, whatever sort they were, would cover the empire with shame; nay, in the very forsaking, vengeance would be inflicted. Why, you would be horror-struck at the solitude in which you would find yourselves, at such an all-prevailing

silence, and that stupor as of a dead world. You would have to seek subjects to govern. You would have more enemies than citizens remaining. For now it is the immense number of Christians which makes your enemies so few, — almost all the inhabitants of your various cities being followers of Christ. Yet you choose to call us enemies of the human race, rather than of human error. Nay, who would deliver you from those secret foes, ever busy both destroying your souls and ruining your health? Who would save you, I mean, from the attacks of those spirits of evil, which without reward or hire we exorcise? This alone would be revenge enough for us, that you were henceforth left free to the possession of unclean spirits. But instead of taking into account what is due to us for the important protection we afford you, and though we are not merely no trouble to you, but in fact necessary to your well-being, you prefer to hold us enemies, as indeed we are, yet not of man, but rather of his error.

Chapter XXXVIII.

Ought not Christians, therefore, to receive not merely a somewhat milder treatment, but to have a place among the law-tolerated societies, seeing they are not chargeable with any such crimes as are commonly dreaded from societies of the illicit class? For, unless I mistake the matter, the prevention of such associations is based on a prudential regard to public order, that the state may not be divided into parties, which would naturally lead to disturbance in the electoral assemblies, the councils, the *curiæ*, the special conventions, even in the public shows by the hostile collisions of rival parties; especially when now, in pursuit of gain, men have begun to consider their violence an article to be bought and sold. But as those in whom all ardour in the pursuit of glory and honour is dead, we have no pressing inducement to take part in your public meetings; nor is there aught more entirely foreign to us than affairs of state. We acknowledge one all-embracing commonwealth — the world. We renounce all your spectacles, as strongly as we renounce the matters originating them, which we know were conceived of superstition, when we give up the very things which are the basis of their representations. Among us nothing is ever said, or seen, or heard, which has anything in common with the madness of the circus, the immodesty of the theatre, the atrocities of the arena, the useless exercises of the wrestling-ground. Why do you take offence at us because we differ from you in regard to your pleasures? If we will not partake of your enjoyments, the loss is ours, if there be loss in the case, not yours. We reject what pleases you. You, on the other hand, have no taste for what is our delight. The Epicureans were allowed by you to decide for themselves one true source of pleasure — I mean equanimity; the Christian, on his part, has many such enjoyments — what harm in that?

Chapter XXXIX.

I shall at once go on, then, to exhibit the peculiarities of the Christian society, that, as I have refuted the evil charged against it, I may point out its positive good. We are a body knit together as such by a common religious profession, by unity of discipline, and by the bond of a common hope. We meet together as an assembly and congregation, that, offering up prayer to God as with united force, we may wrestle with Him in our supplications. This violence God delights in. We pray, too, for the emperors, for their ministers and for all in authority, for the welfare of the world, for the prevalence of peace, for the delay of the final consummation. We assemble to read our sacred writings, if any peculiarity of the times makes either forewarning or reminiscence needful. However it be in that respect, with the sacred words we nourish our faith, we animate our hope, we make our confidence more stedfast; and no less by inculcations of God's precepts we confirm good habits. In the same place also exhortations are made, rebukes and sacred censures are administered. For with a great gravity is the work of judging carried on among us, as befits those who feel assured that they are in the sight of God; and you have the most notable example of judgment to come when any one has sinned so grievously as to require his severance from us in prayer, in the congregation and in all sacred intercourse. The tried men of our elders preside over us, obtaining that honour not by purchase, but by established character. There is no buying and selling of any sort in the things of God. Though we have our treasure-chest, it is not made up of purchase-money, as of a religion that has its price. On the monthly day, if he likes, each puts in a small donation; but only if it be his pleasure, and only if he be able: for there is no compulsion; all is voluntary. These gifts are, as it were, piety's deposit fund. For they are not taken thence and spent on feasts, and drinking-bouts, and eating-houses, but to support and bury poor people, to supply the wants of boys and girls destitute of means and parents, and of old persons confined now to the house; such, too, as have suffered shipwreck; and if there happen to be any in the mines, or banished to the islands, or shut up in the prisons, for nothing but their fidelity to the cause of God's Church, they become the nurslings of their confession. But it is mainly the deeds of a love so noble that lead many to put a brand upon us. *See, they say, how they love one another,*

for themselves are animated by mutual hatred; how they are ready even to die for one another, for they themselves will sooner put to death. And they are wroth with us, too, because we call each other brethren; for no other reason, as I think, than because among themselves names of consanguinity are assumed in mere pretence of affection. But we are your brethren as well, by the law of our common mother nature, though you are hardly men, because brothers so unkind. At the same time, how much more fittingly they are called and counted brothers who have been led to the knowledge of God as their common Father, who have drunk in one spirit of holiness, who from the same womb of a common ignorance have agonized into the same light of truth! But on this very account, perhaps, we are regarded as having less claim to be held true brothers, that no tragedy makes a noise about our brotherhood, or that the family possessions, which generally destroy brotherhood among you, create fraternal bonds among us. One in mind and soul, we do not hesitate to share our earthly goods with one another. All things are common among us but our wives. We give up our community where it is practised alone by others, who not only take possession of the wives of their friends, but most tolerantly also accommodate their friends with theirs, following the example, I believe, of those wise men of ancient times, the Greek Socrates and the Roman Cato, who shared with their friends the wives whom they had married, it seems for the sake of progeny both to themselves and to others; whether in this acting against their partners' wishes, I am not able to say. Why should they have any care over their chastity, when their husbands so readily bestowed it away? O noble example of Attic wisdom, of Roman gravity — the philosopher and the censor playing pimps! What wonder if that great love of Christians towards one another is desecrated by you! For you abuse also our humble feasts, on the ground that they are extravagant as well as infamously wicked. To us, it seems, applies the saying of Diogenes: "The people of Megara feast as though they were going to die on the morrow; they build as though they were never to die!" But one sees more readily the mote in another's eye than the beam in his own. Why, the very air is soured with the eructations of so many tribes, and *curiæ*, and *decuriæ*. The Salii cannot have their feast without going into debt; you must get the accountants to tell you what the tenths of Hercules and the sacrificial banquets cost; the choicest cook is appointed for the Apaturia, the Dionysia, the Attic mysteries; the smoke from the banquet of Serapis will call

out the firemen. Yet about the modest supper-room of the Christians alone a great ado is made. Our feast explains itself by its name. The Greeks call it *agapè*, i.e., affection. Whatever it costs, our outlay in the name of piety is gain, since with the good things of the feast we benefit the needy; not as it is with you, do parasites aspire to the glory of satisfying their licentious propensities, selling themselves for a belly-feast to all disgraceful treatment, — but as it is with God himself, a peculiar respect is shown to the lowly. If the object of our feast be good, in the light of that consider its further regulations. As it is an act of religious service, it permits no vileness or immodesty. The participants, before reclining, taste first of prayer to God. As much is eaten as satisfies the cravings of hunger; as much is drunk as befits the chaste. They say it is enough, as those who remember that even during the night they have to worship God; they talk as those who know that the Lord is one of their auditors. After manual ablution, and the bringing in of lights, each is asked to stand forth and sing, as he can, a hymn to God, either one from the holy Scriptures or one of his own composing, — a proof of the measure of our drinking. As the feast commenced with prayer, so with prayer it is closed. We go from it, not like troops of mischief-doers, nor bands of vagabonds, nor to break out into licentious acts, but to have as much care of our modesty and chastity as if we had been at a school of virtue rather than a banquet. Give the congregation of the Christians its due, and hold it unlawful, if it is like assemblies of the illicit sort: by all means let it be condemned, if any complaint can be validly laid against it, such as lies against secret factions. But who has ever suffered harm from our assemblies? We are in our congregations just what we are when separated from each other; we are as a community what we are individuals; we injure nobody, we trouble nobody. When the upright, when the virtuous meet together, when the pious, when the pure assemble in congregation, you ought not to call that a faction, but a *curia* — [i.e., the court of God.]

Chapter XL.

On the contrary, *they* deserve the name of faction who conspire to bring odium on good men and virtuous, who cry out against innocent blood, offering as the justification of their enmity the baseless plea, that they think the Christians the cause of every public disaster, of every affliction with which the people are visited. If the Tiber rises as high as the city walls, if the Nile does not send its waters up over the fields, if the heavens give no rain, if there is an earthquake, if there is famine or pestilence, straightway the cry is, "Away with the Christians to the lion!" What! shall you give such multitudes to a single beast? Pray, tell me how many calamities befell the world and particular cities before Tiberius reigned — before the coming, that is, of Christ? We read of the islands of Hiera, and Anaphe, and Delos, and Rhodes, and Cos, with many thousands of human beings, having been swallowed up. Plato informs us that a region larger than Asia or Africa was seized by the Atlantic Ocean. An earthquake, too, drank up the Corinthian sea; and the force of the waves cut off a part of Lucania, whence it obtained the name of Sicily. These things surely could not have taken place without the inhabitants suffering by them. But where — I do not say were Christians, those despisers of your gods — but where were your gods themselves in those days, when the flood poured its destroying waters over all the world, or, as Plato thought, merely the level portion of it? For that they are of later date than that calamity, the very cities in which they were born and died, nay, which they founded, bear ample testimony; for the cities could have no existence at this day unless as belonging to postdiluvian times. Palestine had not yet received from Egypt its Jewish swarm (of emigrants), nor had the race from which Christians sprung yet settled down there, when its neighbors Sodom and Gomorrah were consumed by fire from heaven. The country yet smells of that conflagration; and if there are apples there upon the trees, it is only a promise to the eye they give — you but touch them, and they turn to ashes. Nor had Tuscia and Campania to complain of Christians in the days when fire from heaven overwhelmed Vulsinii, and Pompeii was destroyed by fire from its own mountain. No one yet worshipped the true God at Rome, when Hannibal at Cannæ counted the Roman slain by the pecks of Roman rings. Your gods were all objects of adoration, universally acknowledged, when the Senones

closely besieged the very Capitol. And it is in keeping with all this, that if adversity has at any time befallen cities, the temples and the walls have equally shared in the disaster, so that it is clear to demonstration the thing was not the doing of the gods, seeing it also overtook themselves. The truth is, the human race has always deserved ill at God's hand. First of all, as undutiful to Him, because when it knew Him in part, it not only did not seek after Him, but even invented other gods of its own to worship; and further, because, as the result of their willing ignorance of the Teacher of righteousness, the Judge and Avenger of sin, all vices and crimes grew and flourished. But had men sought, they would have come to know the glorious object of their seeking; and knowledge would have produced obedience, and obedience would have found a gracious instead of an angry God. They ought then to see that the very same God is angry with them now as in ancient times, before Christians were so much as spoken of. It was *His* blessings they enjoyed — created before they made any of their deities: and why can they not take it in, that their evils come from the Being whose goodness they have failed to recognize? They suffer at the hands of Him to whom they have been ungrateful. And, for all that is said, if we compare the calamities of former times, they fall on us more lightly now, since God gave Christians to the world; for from that time virtue put some restraint on the world's wickedness, and men began to pray for the averting of God's wrath. In a word, when the summer clouds give no rain, and the season is matter of anxiety, you indeed — full of feasting day by day, and ever eager for the banquet, baths and taverns and brothels always busy — offer up to Jupiter your rain-sacrifices; you enjoin on the people barefoot processions; you seek heaven at the Capitol; you look up to the temple-ceilings for the longed-for clouds — God and heaven not in all your thoughts. We, dried up with fastings, and our passions bound tightly up, holding back as long as possible from all the ordinary enjoyments of life, rolling in sackcloth and ashes, assail heaven with our importunities — touch God's heart — and when we have extorted divine compassion, why, Jupiter gets all the honour!

Chapter XLI.

You, therefore, are the sources of trouble in human affairs; on you lies the blame of public adversities, since you are ever attracting them — you by whom God is despised and images are worshipped. It should surely seem the more natural thing to believe that it is the neglected One who is angry, and not they to whom all homage is paid; or most unjustly they act, if, on account of the Christians, they send trouble on their own devotees, whom they are bound to keep clear of the punishments of Christians. But this, you say, hits your God as well, since He permits His worshippers to suffer on account of those who dishonour Him. But admit first of all His providential arrangements, and you will not make this retort. For He who once for all appointed an eternal judgment at the world's close, does not precipitate the separation, which is essential to judgment, before the end. Meanwhile He deals with all sorts of men alike, so that all together share His favours and reproofs. His will is, that outcasts and elect should have adversities and prosperities in common, that we should have all the same experience of His goodness and severity. Having learned these things from His own lips, we love His goodness, we fear His wrath, while both by you are treated with contempt; and hence the sufferings of life, so far as it is our lot to be overtaken by them, are in our case gracious admonitions, while in yours they are divine punishments. We indeed are not the least put about: for, first, only one thing in this life greatly concerns us, and that is, to get quickly out of it; and next, if any adversity befalls us, it is laid to the door of your transgressions. Nay, though we are likewise involved in troubles because of our close connection with you, we are rather glad of it, because we recognize in it divine foretellings, which, in fact, go to confirm the confidence and faith of our hope. But if all the evils you endure are inflicted on you by the gods you worship out of spite to us, why do you continue to pay homage to beings so ungrateful, and unjust; who, instead of being angry with you, should rather have been aiding and abetting you by persecuting Christians — keeping *you* clear of their sufferings?

Chapter XLII.

But we are called to account as harm-doers on another ground, and are accused of being useless in the affairs of life. How in all the world can that be the case with people who are living among you, eating the same food, wearing the same attire, having the same habits, under the same necessities of existence? We are not Indian Brahmins or Gymnosophists, who dwell in woods and exile themselves from ordinary human life. We do not forget the debt of gratitude we owe to God, our Lord and Creator; we reject no creature of His hands, though certainly we exercise restraint upon ourselves, lest of any gift of His we make an immoderate or sinful use. So we sojourn with you in the world, abjuring neither forum, nor shambles, nor bath, nor booth, nor workshop, nor inn, nor weekly market, nor any other places of commerce. We sail with you, and fight with you, and till the ground with you; and in like manner we unite with you in your traffickings — even in the various arts we make public property of our works for your benefit. How it is we seem useless in your ordinary business, living with you and by you as we do, I am not able to understand. But if I do not frequent your religious ceremonies, I am still on the sacred day a man. I do not at the Saturnalia bathe myself at dawn, that I may not lose both day and night; yet I bathe at a decent and healthful hour, which preserves me both in heat and blood. I can be rigid and pallid like you after ablution when I am dead. I do not recline in public at the feast of Bacchus, after the manner of the beast-fighters at their final banquet. Yet of your resources I partake, *wherever* I may chance to eat. I do not buy a crown for my head. What matters it to you how I use them, if nevertheless the flowers are purchased? I think it more agreeable to have them free and loose, waving all about. Even if they are woven into a crown, we smell the crown with our nostrils: let those look to it who scent the perfume with their hair. We do not go to your spectacles; yet the articles that are sold there, if I need them, I will obtain more readily at their proper places. We certainly buy no frankincense. If the Arabias complain of this, let the Sabæans be well assured that their more precious and costly merchandise is expended as largely in the burying of Christians as in the fumigating of the gods. At any rate, you say, the temple revenues are every day falling off: how few now throw in a contribution! In truth, we are not able to give alms both to your human and

your heavenly mendicants; nor do we think that we are required to give any but to those who ask for it. Let Jupiter then hold out his hand and get, for our compassion spends more in the streets than yours does in the temples. But your other taxes will acknowledge a debt of gratitude to Christians; for in the faithfulness which keeps us from fraud upon a brother, we make conscience of paying all their dues: so that, by ascertaining how much is lost by fraud and falsehood in the census declarations — the calculation may easily be made — it would be seen that the ground of complaint in one department of revenue is compensated by the advantage which others derive.

Chapter XLIII.

I will confess, however, without hesitation, that there are some who in a sense may complain of Christians that they are a sterile race: as, for instance, pimps, and panders, and bath-suppliers; assassins, and poisoners, and sorcerers; soothsayers, too, diviners, and astrologers. But it is a noble fruit of Christians, that they have no fruits for such as these. And yet, whatever loss your interests suffer from the religion we profess, the protection you have from us makes amply up for it. What value do you set on persons, I do not here urge who deliver you from demons, I do not urge who for your sakes present prayers before the throne of the true God, for perhaps you have no belief in that — but from whom you can have nothing to fear?

Chapter XLIV.

Yes, and no one considers what the loss is to the common weal, — a loss as great as it is real, no one estimates the injury entailed upon the state, when, men of virtue as we are, we are put to death in such numbers; when so many of the truly good suffer the last penalty. And here we call your own acts to witness, you who are daily presiding at the trials of prisoners, and passing sentence upon crimes. Well, in your long lists of those accused of many and various atrocities, has any assassin, any cutpurse, any man guilty of sacrilege, or seduction, or stealing bathers' clothes, his name entered as being a Christian too? Or when Christians are brought before you on the mere ground of their name, is there ever found among them an ill-doer of the sort? It is always with your folk the prison is steaming, the mines are sighing, the wild beasts are fed: it is from you the exhibitors of gladiatorial shows always get their herds of criminals to feed up for the occasion. You find no Christian there, except simply as being such; or if one is there as something else, a Christian he is no longer.

Chapter XLV.

We, then, alone are without crime. Is there ought wonderful in that, if it be a very necessity with us? For a necessity indeed it is. Taught of God himself what goodness is, we have both a perfect knowledge of it as revealed to us by a perfect Master; and faithfully we do His will, as enjoined on us by a Judge we dare not despise. But your ideas of virtue you have got from mere human opinion; on human authority, too, its obligation rests: hence your system of practical morality is deficient, both in the fulness and authority requisite to produce a life of real virtue. Man's wisdom to point out what is good, is no greater than his authority to exact the keeping of it; the one is as easily deceived as the other is despised. And so, which is the ampler rule, to say, "Thou shalt not kill," or to teach, "Be not even angry?" Which is more perfect, to forbid adultery, or to restrain from even a single lustful look? Which indicates the higher intelligence, interdicting evil-doing, or evil-speaking? Which is more thorough, not allowing an injury, or not even suffering an injury done to you to be repaid? Though withal you know that these very laws also of yours, which seem to lead to virtue, have been borrowed from the law of God as the ancient model. Of the age of Moses we have already spoken. But what is the real authority of human laws, when it is in man's power both to evade them, by generally managing to hide himself out of sight in his crimes, and to despise them sometimes, if inclination or necessity leads him to offend? Think of these things, too, in the light of the brevity of any punishment you can inflict — never to last longer than till death. On this ground Epicurus makes light of all suffering and pain, maintaining that if it is small, it is contemptible; and if it is great, it is not long-continued. No doubt about it, we, who receive our awards under the judgment of an all-seeing God, and who look forward to eternal punishment from Him for sin, — we alone make real effort to attain a blameless life, under the influence of our ampler knowledge, the impossibility of concealment, and the greatness of the threatened torment, not merely long-enduring but everlasting, fearing Him, whom he too should fear who the fearing judges, — even God, I mean, and not the proconsul.

Chapter XLVI.

We have sufficiently met, as I think, the accusation of the various crimes on the ground of which these fierce demands are made for Christian blood. We have made a full exhibition of our case; and we have shown you how we are able to prove that our statement is correct, from the trustworthiness, I mean, and antiquity of our sacred writings, and from the confession likewise of the powers of spiritual wickedness themselves. Who will venture to undertake our refutation; not with skill of words, but, as we have managed our demonstration, on the basis of reality? But while the truth we hold is made clear to all, unbelief meanwhile, at the very time it is convinced of the worth of Christianity, which has now become well known for its benefits as well as from the intercourse of life, takes up the notion that it is not really a thing divine, but rather a kind of philosophy. These are the very things, it says, the philosophers counsel and profess — innocence, justice, patience, sobriety, chastity. Why, then, are we not permitted an equal liberty and impunity for our doctrines as they have, with whom, in respect of what we teach, we are compared? or why are not they, as so like us, not pressed to the same offices, for declining which our lives are imperilled? For who compels a philosopher to sacrifice or take an oath, or put out useless lamps at midday? Nay, they openly overthrow your gods, and in their writings they attack your superstitions; and you applaud them for it. Many of them even, with your countenance, bark out against your rulers, and are rewarded with statues and salaries, instead of being given to the wild beasts. And very right it should be so. For they are called philosophers, not Christians. This name of philosopher has no power to put demons to the rout. Why are they not able to do that too? since philosophers count demons inferior to gods. Socrates used to say, “If the demon grant permission.” Yet he, too, though in denying the existence of your divinities he had a glimpse of the truth, at his dying ordered a cock to be sacrificed to Æsculapius, I believe in honour of his father, for Apollo pronounced Socrates the wisest of men. Thoughtless Apollo! testifying to the wisdom of the man who denied the existence of his race. In proportion to the enmity the truth awakens, you give offence by faithfully standing by it; but the man who corrupts and makes a mere pretence of it precisely on this ground gains favour with its persecutors. The truth which philosophers, these

mockers and corrupters of it, with hostile ends merely affect to hold, and in doing so deprave, caring for nought but glory, Christians both intensely and intimately long for and maintain in its integrity, as those who have a real concern about their salvation. So that we are like each other neither in our knowledge nor our ways, as you imagine. For what certain information did Thales, the first of natural philosophers, give in reply to the inquiry of Cræsus regarding Deity, the delay for further thought so often proving in vain? There is not a Christian workman but finds out God, and manifests Him, and hence assigns to Him all those attributes which go to constitute a divine being, though Plato affirms that it is far from easy to discover the Maker of the universe; and when He is found, it is difficult to make Him known to all. But if we challenge you to comparison in the virtue of chastity, I turn to a part of the sentence passed by the Athenians against Socrates, who was pronounced a corrupter of youth. The Christian confines himself to the female sex. I have read also how the harlot Phryne kindled in Diogenes the fires of lust, and how a certain Speusippus, of Plato's school, perished in the adulterous act. The Christian husband has nothing to do with any but his own wife. Democritus, in putting out his eyes, because he could not look on women without lusting after them, and was pained if his passion was not satisfied, owns plainly, by the punishment he inflicts, his incontinence. But a Christian with grace-healed eyes is sightless in this matter; he is mentally blind against the assaults of passion. If I maintain our superior modesty of behaviour, there at once occurs to me Diogenes with filth-covered feet trampling on the proud couches of Plato, under the influence of another pride: the Christian does not even play the proud man to the pauper. If sobriety of spirit be the virtue in debate, why, there are Pythagoras at Thurii, and Zeno at Priene, ambitious of the supreme power: the Christian does not aspire to the ædileship. If equanimity be the contention, you have Lycurgus choosing death by self-starvation, because the Lacons had made some emendation of his laws: the Christian, even when he is condemned, gives thanks. If the comparison be made in regard to trustworthiness, Anaxagoras denied the deposit of his enemies: the Christian is noted for his fidelity even among those who are not of his religion. If the matter of sincerity is to be brought to trial, Aristotle basely thrust his friend Hermias from his place: the Christian does no harm even to his foe. With equal baseness does Aristotle play the sycophant to Alexander, instead of

exercising to keep him in the right way, and Plato allows himself to be bought by Dionysius for his belly's sake. Aristippus in the purple, with all his great show of gravity, gives way to extravagance; and Hippias is put to death laying plots against the state: no Christian ever attempted such a thing in behalf of his brethren, even when persecution was scattering them abroad with every atrocity. But it will be said that some of us, too, depart from the rules of our discipline. In that case, however, we count them no longer Christians; but the philosophers who do such things retain still the name and the honour of wisdom. So, then, where is there any likeness between the Christian and the philosopher? between the disciple of Greece and of heaven? between the man whose object is fame, and whose object is life? between the talker and the doer? between the man who builds up and the man who pulls down? between the friend and the foe of error? between one who corrupts the truth, and one who restores and teaches it? between its chief and its custodier?

Chapter XLVII.

Unless I am utterly mistaken, there is nothing so old as the truth; and the already proved antiquity of the divine writings is so far of use to me, that it leads men more easily to take it in that they are the treasure-source whence all later wisdom has been taken. And were it not necessary to keep my work to a moderate size, I might launch forth also into the proof of this. What poet or sophist has not drunk at the fountain of the prophets? Thence, accordingly, the philosophers watered their arid minds, so that it is the things they have from us which bring us into comparison with them. For this reason, I imagine, philosophy was banished by certain states — I mean by the Thebans, by the Spartans also, and the Argives — its disciples sought to imitate our doctrines; and ambitious, as I have said, of glory and eloquence alone, if they fell upon anything in the collection of sacred Scriptures which displeased them, in their own peculiar style of research, they perverted it to serve their purpose: for they had no adequate faith in their divinity to keep them from changing them, nor had they any sufficient understanding of them, either, as being still at the time under veil — even obscure to the Jews themselves, whose peculiar possession they seemed to be. For so, too, if the truth was distinguished by its simplicity, the more on that account the fastidiousness of man, too proud to believe, set to altering it; so that even what they found certain they made uncertain by their admixtures. Finding a simple revelation of God, they proceeded to dispute about Him, not as He had revealed to them, but turned aside to debate about His properties, His nature, His abode. Some assert Him to be incorporeal; others maintain He has a body, — the Platonists teaching the one doctrine, and the Stoics the other. Some think that He is composed of atoms, others of numbers: such are the different views of Epicurus and Pythagoras. One thinks He is made of fire; so it appeared to Heraclitus. The Platonists, again, hold that He administers the affairs of the world; the Epicureans, on the contrary, that He is idle and inactive, and, so to speak, a nobody in human things. Then the Stoics represent Him as placed outside the world, and whirling round this huge mass from without like a potter; while the Platonists place Him within the world, as a pilot is in the ship he steers. So, in like manner, they differ in their views about the world itself, whether it is created or uncreated, whether it is destined to pass away or to remain for ever.

So again it is debated concerning the nature of the soul, which some contend is divine and eternal, while others hold that it is dissoluble. According to each one's fancy, He has introduced either something new, or refashioned the old. Nor need we wonder if the speculations of philosophers have perverted the older Scriptures. Some of their brood, with their opinions, have even adulterated our new-given Christian revelation, and corrupted it into a system of philosophic doctrines, and from the one path have struck off many and inexplicable by-roads. And I have alluded to this, lest any one becoming acquainted with the variety of parties among us, this might seem to him to put us on a level with the philosophers, and he might condemn the truth from the different ways in which it is defended. But we at once put in a plea in bar against these tainters of our purity, asserting that this is the rule of truth which comes down from Christ by transmission through His companions, to whom we shall prove that those devisers of different doctrines are all posterior. Everything opposed to the truth has been got up from the truth itself, the spirits of error carrying on this system of opposition. By them all corruptions of wholesome discipline have been secretly instigated; by them, too, certain fables have been introduced, that, by their resemblance to the truth, they might impair its credibility, or vindicate their own higher claims to faith; so that people might think Christians unworthy of credit because the poets or philosophers are so, or might regard the poets and philosophers as worthier of confidence from their not being followers of Christ. Accordingly, we get ourselves laughed at for proclaiming that God will one day judge the world. For, like us, the poets and philosophers set up a judgment-seat in the realms below. And if we threaten Gehenna, which is a reservoir of secret fire under the earth for purposes of punishment, we have in the same way derision heaped on us. For so, too, they have their Pyriphlegethon, a river of flame in the regions of the dead. And if we speak of Paradise, the place of heavenly bliss appointed to receive the spirits of the saints, severed from the knowledge of this world by that fiery zone as by a sort of enclosure, the Elysian plains have taken possession of their faith. Whence is it, I pray you have all this, so like us, in the poets and philosophers? The reason simply is, that they have been taken from our religion. But if they are taken from our sacred things, as being of earlier date, then ours are the truer, and have higher claims upon belief, since even their imitations find faith among you. If they maintain their

sacred mysteries to have sprung from their own minds, in that case ours will be reflections of what are later than themselves, which by the nature of things is impossible, for never does the shadow precede the body which casts it, or the image the reality.

Chapter XLVIII.

Come now, if some philosopher affirms, as Laberius holds, following an opinion of Pythagoras, that a man may have his origin from a mule, a serpent from a woman, and with skill of speech twists every argument to prove his view, will he not gain acceptance for and work in some the conviction that, on account of this, they should even abstain from eating animal food? May any one have the persuasion that he should so abstain, lest by chance in his beef he eats of some ancestor of his? But if a Christian promises the return of a man from a man, and the very actual Gaius from Gaius, the cry of the people will be to have him stoned; they will not even so much as grant him a hearing. If there is any ground for the moving to and fro of human souls into different bodies, why may they not return into the very substance they have left, seeing this is to be restored, to be that which had been? They are no longer the very things they had been; for they could not be what they were not, without first ceasing to be what they had been. If we were inclined to give all rein upon this point, discussing into what various beasts one and another might probably be changed, we would need at our leisure to take up many points. But this we would do chiefly in our own defence, as setting forth what is greatly worthier of belief, that a man will come back from a man — any given person from any given person, still retaining his humanity; so that the soul, with its qualities unchanged, may be restored to the same condition, thought not to the same outward framework. Assuredly, as the reason why restoration takes place at all is the appointed judgment, every man must needs come forth the very same who had once existed, that he may receive at God's hands a judgment, whether of good desert or the opposite. And therefore the body too will appear; for the soul is not capable of suffering without the solid substance (that is, the flesh; and for this reason, also) that it is not right that souls should have all the wrath of God to bear: they did not sin without the body, within which all was done by them. But how, you say, can a substance which has been dissolved be made to reappear again? Consider thyself, O man, and thou wilt believe in it! Reflect on what you were before you came into existence. Nothing. For if you had been anything, you would have remembered it. You, then, who were nothing before you existed, reduced to nothing also when you cease to be, why may you not come into being again out of nothing, at the will

of the same Creator whose will created you out of nothing at the first? Will it be anything new in your case? You who were not, *were* made; when you cease to be again, you *shall* be made. Explain, if you can, your original creation, and then demand to know how you shall be re-created. Indeed, it will be still easier surely to make you what you were once, when the very same creative power made you without difficulty what you never were before. There will be doubts, perhaps, as to the power of God, of Him who hung in its place this huge body of our world, made out of what had never existed, as from a death of emptiness and inanity, animated by the Spirit who quickens all living things, its very self the unmistakable type of the resurrection, that it might be to you a witness — nay, the exact image of the resurrection. Light, every day extinguished, shines out again; and, with like alternation, darkness succeeds light's outgoing. The defunct stars re-live; the seasons, as soon as they are finished, renew their course; the fruits are brought to maturity, and then are reproduced. The seeds do not spring up with abundant produce, save as they rot and dissolve away; — all things are preserved by perishing, all things are refashioned out of death. Thou, man of nature so exalted, if thou understandest thyself, taught even by the Pythian words, lord of all these things that die and rise, — shalt thou die to perish evermore? Wherever your dissolution shall have taken place, whatever material agent has destroyed you, or swallowed you up, or swept you away, or reduced you to nothingness, it shall again restore you. Even nothingness is His who is Lord of *all*. You ask, Shall we then be always dying, and rising up from death? If so the Lord of all things had appointed, you would have to submit, though unwillingly, to the law of your creation. But, in fact, He has no other purpose than that of which He has informed us. The Reason which made the universe out of diverse elements, so that all things might be composed of opposite substances in unity — of void and solid, of animate and inanimate, of comprehensible and incomprehensible, of light and darkness, of life itself and death — has also disposed time into order, by fixing and distinguishing its mode, according to which this first portion of it, which we inhabit from the beginning of the world, flows down by a temporal course to a close; but the portion which succeeds, and to which we look forward continues forever. When, therefore, the boundary and limit, that millennial interspace, has been passed, when even the outward fashion of the world itself — which has been spread like a veil

over the eternal economy, equally a thing of time — passes away, then the whole human race shall be raised again, to have its dues meted out according as it has merited in the period of good or evil, and thereafter to have these paid out through the immeasurable ages of eternity. Therefore after this there is neither death nor repeated resurrections, but we shall be the same that we are now, and still unchanged — the servants of God, ever with God, clothed upon with the proper substance of eternity; but the profane, and all who are not true worshippers of God, in like manner shall be consigned to the punishment of everlasting fire — that fire which, from its very nature indeed, directly ministers to their incorruptibility. The philosophers are familiar as well as we with the distinction between a common and a secret fire. Thus that which is in common use is far different from that which we see in divine judgments, whether striking as thunderbolts from heaven, or bursting up out of the earth through mountain-tops; for it does not consume what it scorches, but while it burns it repairs. So the mountains continue ever burning; and a person struck by lighting is even now kept safe from any destroying flame. A notable proof this of the fire eternal! a notable example of the endless judgment which still supplies punishment with fuel! The mountains burn, and last. How will it be with the wicked and the enemies of God?

Chapter XLIX.

These are what are called presumptuous speculations in our case alone; in the philosophers and poets they are regarded as sublime speculations and illustrious discoveries. They are men of wisdom, we are fools. They are worthy of all honour, we are folk to have the finger pointed at; nay, besides that, we are even to have punishments inflicted on us. But let things which are the defence of virtue, if you will, have no foundation, and give them duly the name of fancies, yet still they are necessary; let them be absurd if you will, yet they are of use: they make all who believe them better men and women, under the fear of never-ending punishment and the hope of never-ending bliss. It is not, then, wise to brand as false, nor to regard as absurd, things the truth of which it is expedient to presume. On no ground is it right positively to condemn as bad what beyond all doubt is profitable. Thus, in fact, you are guilty of the very presumption of which you accuse us, in condemning what is useful. It is equally out of the question to regard them as nonsensical; at any rate, if they are false and foolish, they hurt nobody. For they are just (in that case) like many other things on which you inflict no penalties — foolish and fabulous things, I mean, which, as quite innocuous, are never charged as crimes or punished. But in a thing of the kind, if this be so indeed, we should be adjudged to ridicule, not to swords, and flames, and crosses, and wild beasts, in which iniquitous cruelty not only the blinded populace exults and insults over us, but in which some of you too glory, not scrupling to gain the popular favour by your injustice. As though all you can do to us did not depend upon our pleasure. It is assuredly a matter of my own inclination, being a Christian. Your condemnation, then, will only reach me in that case, if I wish to be condemned; but when all you can do to me, you can do only at my will, all you can do is dependent on my will, and is not in your power. The joy of the people in our trouble is therefore utterly reasonless. For it is our joy they appropriate to themselves, since we would far rather be condemned than apostatize from God; on the contrary, our haters should be sorry rather than rejoice, as we have obtained the very thing of our own choice.

Chapter L.

In that case, you say, why do you complain of our persecutions? You ought rather to be grateful to us for giving you the sufferings you want. Well, it is quite true that it is our desire to suffer, but it is in the way that the soldier longs for war. No one indeed suffers willingly, since suffering necessarily implies fear and danger. Yet the man who objected to the conflict, both fights with all his strength, and when victorious, he rejoices in the battle, because he reaps from it glory and spoil. It is our battle to be summoned to your tribunals that there, under fear of execution, we may battle for the truth. But the day is won when the object of the struggle is gained. This victory of ours gives us the glory of pleasing God, and the spoil of life eternal. But we are overcome. Yes, when we have obtained our wishes. Therefore we conquer in dying; we go forth victorious at the very time we are subdued. Call us, if you like, *Sarmenticii* and *Semaxii*, because, bound to a half-axle stake, we are burned in a circle-heap of fagots. This is the attitude in which we conquer, it is our victory-robe, it is for us a sort of triumphal car. Naturally enough, therefore, we do not please the vanquished; on account of this, indeed, we are counted a desperate, reckless race. But the very desperation and recklessness you object to in us, among yourselves lift high the standard of virtue in the cause of glory and of fame. Mucius of his own will left his right hand on the altar: what sublimity of mind! Empedocles gave his whole body at Catana to the fires of *Ætna*: what mental resolution! A certain foundress of Carthage gave herself away in second marriage to the funeral pile: what a noble witness of her chastity! Regulus, not wishing that his one life should count for the lives of many enemies, endured these crosses over all his frame: how brave a man — even in captivity a conqueror! Anaxarchus, when he was being beaten to death by a barley-pounder, cried out, “Beat on, beat on at the case of Anaxarchus; no stroke falls on Anaxarchus himself.” O magnanimity of the philosopher, who even in such an end had jokes upon his lips! I omit all reference to those who with their own sword, or with any other milder form of death, have bargained for glory. Nay, see how even torture contests are crowned by you. The Athenian courtesan, having wearied out the executioner, at last bit off her tongue and spat it in the face of the raging tyrant, that she might at the same time spit away her power of speech, nor be longer able to

confess her fellow-conspirators, if even overcome, that might be her inclination. Zeno the Eleatic, when he was asked by Dionysius what good philosophy did, on answering that it gave contempt of death, was all unquailing, given over to the tyrant's scourge, and sealed his opinion even to the death. We all know how the Spartan lash, applied with the utmost cruelty under the very eyes of friends encouraging, confers on those who bear it honor proportionate to the blood which the young men shed. O glory legitimate, because it is human, for whose sake it is counted neither reckless foolhardiness, nor desperate obstinacy, to despise death itself and all sorts of savage treatment; for whose sake you may for your native place, for the empire, for friendship, endure all you are forbidden to do for God! And you cast statues in honour of persons such as these, and you put inscriptions upon images, and cut out epitaphs on tombs, that their names may never perish. In so far you can by your monuments, you yourselves afford a sort of resurrection to the dead. Yet he who expects the true resurrection from God, is insane, if for God he suffers! But go zealously on, good presidents, you will stand higher with the people if you sacrifice the Christians at their wish, kill us, torture us, condemn us, grind us to dust; your injustice is the proof that we are innocent. Therefore God suffers that we thus suffer; for but very lately, in condemning a Christian woman to the *leno* rather than to the *leo* you made confession that a taint on our purity is considered among us something more terrible than any punishment and any death. Nor does your cruelty, however exquisite, avail you; it is rather a temptation to us. The oftener we are mown down by you, the more in number we grow; *the blood of Christians is seed*. Many of your writers exhort to the courageous bearing of pain and death, as Cicero in the *Tusculans*, as Seneca in his *Chances*, as Diogenes, Pyrrhus, Callinicus; and yet their words do not find so many disciples as Christians do, teachers not by words, but by their deeds. That very obstinacy you rail against is the preceptress. For who that contemplates it, is not excited to inquire what is at the bottom of it? who, after inquiry, does not embrace our doctrines? and when he has embraced them, desires not to suffer that he may become partaker of the fulness of God's grace, that he may obtain from God complete forgiveness, by giving in exchange his blood? For that secures the remission of all offences. On this account it is that we return thanks on the very spot for your sentences. As the divine and human are ever opposed to each other,

when we are condemned by you, we are acquitted by the Highest.

Elucidations.

I.

(Arrangement, , *supra*.)

The arrangement I have adopted in editing these Edinburgh Translations of Tertullian is a practical one. It will be found logical and helpful to the student, who is referred to the Prefatory pages of this volume for an Elucidation of the difficulties, with which any arrangement of these treatises is encumbered. For, first, an attempt to place them in chronological order is out of the question; and, second, all efforts to separate precisely the Orthodox from the Montanistic or Montanist works of our author have hitherto defied the acumen of critics. It would be mere empiricism for me to attempt an original classification in the face of questions which even experts have been unable to determine.

If we bear in mind, however, a few guiding facts, we shall see that difficulties are less than might appear, assuming our object to be a practical one. (1.) Only *four* of these essays were written against Orthodoxy; (2.) *five* more are reckoned as wholly uncertain, which amounts to saying that they are not positively heretical. (3.) Again, *five* are colourless, as to Montanism, and hence should be reputed Orthodox. (4.) Of others, written after the influences of Montanism had, more or less, tainted his doctrine, the whole are yet valuable and some are noble defences of the Catholic Faith. (5.) Finally eight or ten of his treatises were written while he was a Catholic, and are precious contributions to the testimony of the Primitive Church.

From these facts, we may readily conclude that the mass of Tertullian's writings is Orthodox. Some of them are to be read with caution; others, again, must be rejected for their heresy; but yet all are most instructive historically, and as defining even by errors "the faith once delivered to the Saints." I propose to note those which require caution as we pass them in review. Those written against the Church are classed by themselves, at the end of the list, and all the rest may be read with confidence. A most interesting inquiry arises in connection with the quotations from Scripture to be found in our author. Did a Latin version exist in his day, or does he translate from the Greek of the New Testament and the LXX? A paradoxical writer (Semler) contends that

Tertullian “never used a Greek ms.” (see Kaye, .) But Tertullian’s rugged Latin betrays everywhere his familiarity with Greek idioms and forms of thought. He wrote, also, in Greek, and there is no reason to doubt that he knew the Greek Scriptures primarily, if he knew any Greek whatever. Possibly we owe to Tertullian the *primordia* of the Old African Latin Versions, some of which seem to have contained the disputed text 1 John v. 7; of which more when we come to the Praxeas. For the present in the absence of definite evidence we must infer that Tertullian usually translated from the LXX, and from the originals of the New Testament. But Mosheim thinks the progress of the Gospel in the West was now facilitated by the existence of Latin Versions. Observe, also, Kaye’s important note, , and his reference to Lardner, *Cred.* xxvii. 19.

II.

(Address to Magistrates, cap. i., .)

The Apology comes first in order, on logical grounds. It is classed with our author’s orthodox works by Neander, and pronounced colourless by Kaye. It is the noblest of his productions in its purpose and spirit, and it falls in with the Primitive System of Apologetics. I have placed next in order to it several treatises, mostly unblemished, which are of the same character; which defend the cause of Christians against Paganism, against Gentile Philosophy, and against Judaism; closing this portion by the two books *Ad Nationes*, which may be regarded as a recapitulation of the author’s arguments, especially those to be found in the Apology. In these successive works, as compared with those of Justin Martyr, we obtain a fair view of the progressive relations of the Church with the Roman Empire and with divers antagonistic systems in the East and West.

III.

(History of Christians, cap. ii., .)

The following Chronological outline borrowed from the Benedictines and from Bishop Kaye, will prove serviceable here.

Tertullian born (*circa*) a.d. 150.

Tertullian converted (*surmise*) 185.

Tertullian married (*say*) 186.

Tertullian ordained presbyter (*circa*) 192.

Tertullian lapsed (*circa*) 200.

Tertullian deceased (extreme surmise) 240.

The Imperial history of his period may be thus arranged:

Birth of Caracalla a.d. 188.

Birth of Geta 189.

Reign of Severus 193.

Defeat of Niger 195.

Caracalla made a *Cæsar* 196.

Capture of Byzantium 196.

Defeat of Albinus 197.

Geta made a *Cæsar* 198.

Caracalla called *Augustus* 198.

Caracalla associated in the Empire 198.

War against the Parthians 198.

Severus returns from the war 203.

Celebration of the Secular Games 204.

Plautianus put to death (*circa*) 205.

Geta called *Augustus* 208.

War in Britain 208.

Wall of Severus 210.

Death of Severus 211.

IV.

(Tiberius, capp. v. and xxiv., p and 35.)

A fair examination of what has been said on this subject, *pro* and *con*, may be found in Kaye's *Tertullian*, p-105. In his abundant candour this author leans to the doubters, but in stating the case he seems to me to fortify the position of Lardner and Mosheim. What the brutal Tiberius may have thought or done with respect to Pilate's report concerning the holy victim of his judicial injustice is of little importance to the believer. Nevertheless, as matter of history it deserves attention. Great stress is to be placed on the fact that Tertullian was probably a jurisconsult, familiar with the Roman archives, and influenced by them in his own acceptance of Divine Truth. It is not supposable that such a man would have hazarded his bold appeal to the

records, in remonstrating with the Senate and in the very faces of the Emperor and his colleagues, had he not known that the evidence was irrefragable.

V.

(The darkness at the Crucifixion, cap. xxi., .)

Kaye disappoints us () in his slight notice of this most interesting subject. Without attempting to discuss the story of Phlegon and other points which afford Gibbon an opportunity for misplaced sneering, such as even a Pilate would have rebuked, while it may be well to recall the exposition of Milman, at the close of Gibbon's fifteenth chapter, I must express my own preference for another view. This will be found candidly summed up and stated, in the Speaker's Commentary, in the concise note on St. Matt. xxvii. 45.

VI.

(Numbers of the Faithful, cap. xxxvii., .)

Kaye, as usual, gives this vexed question a candid survey. Making all allowances, however, I accept the conjecture of some reputable authorities, that there were 2,000,000 of Christians, in the bounds of the Roman Empire at the close of the Second Century. So mightily grew the testimony of Jesus and prevailed. When we reflect that only a century intervened between the times of Tertullian and the conversion of the Roman Emperor, it is not easy to regard our author's language as merely that of fervid genius and of rhetorical hyperbole. He could not have ventured upon exaggeration without courting scorn as well as defeat. What he affirms is probable in the nature of the case. Were it otherwise, then the conditions, which, in a single century rendered it possible for Constantine to effect the greatest revolution in mind and manners that has ever been known among men, would be a miracle compared with which that of his alleged Vision of the Cross sinks into insignificance. To this subject it will be necessary to recur hereafter.

VII.

(Christian usages, cap. xxxix., .)

A candid review of the matters discussed in this chapter will be found in Kaye (p, 209.) The important fact is there clearly stated that "the primitive

Christians scrupulously complied with the decree pronounced by the Apostles at Jerusalem in abstaining from things strangled and from blood” (Acts xv. 20). On this subject consult the references given in the Speaker’s Commentary, *ad locum*. The Greeks, to their honour, still maintain this prohibition, but St. Augustine’s great authority relaxed the Western scruples on this matter, for he regarded it as a decree of temporary obligation, while the Hebrew and Gentile Christians were in peril of misunderstanding and estrangement.

On the important question as to the cessation of miracles Kaye takes a somewhat original position. But see his interesting discussion and that of the late Professor Hey, in Kaye’s *Tertullian*, p-102, 151-161. I do not think writers on these subjects have sufficiently distinguished between *miracles* properly so called, and *providences* vouchsafed in answer to prayer. There was no *miracle* in the case of the Thundering Legion, assuming the story to be true; and I dare to affirm that marked answers to prayer, by *providential* interpositions, *but wholly distinct from miraculous* agencies, have never ceased among those who “ask in the Son’s Name.” Such interpositions are often *preternatural* only; that is, they economize certain powers which, though natural in themselves, lie outside of the System of Nature with which we happen to be familiar. This distinction has been overlooked.

VIII.

(Multitudes, cap. xl., .)

Note the words— “*multitudes* to a single beast.” Can it be possible that Tertullian would use such language to the magistrates, if he knew that such sentences were of rare occurrence? The disposition of our times to *minimize* the persecutions of our Christian forefathers calls upon us to note such references, all the more important because occurring *obiter* and mentioned as notorious. Note also, the closing chapter of this Apology, and reference to the outcries of the populace, in Cap. xxxv. See admirable remarks on the benefits derived by the Church from the sufferings of Christian martyrs, with direct reference to Tertullian, Wordsworth, *Church Hist. to Council of Nicæa*, cap. xxiv., .

IX.

(Christian manners, cap. xlii., .)

A study of the manners of Christians, in the Ante-Nicene Age, as sketched by the unsparing hand of Tertullian, will convince any unprejudiced mind of the mighty power of the Holy Ghost, in framing such characters out of heathen originals. When, under Montanistic influences our severely ascetic author complains of the Church's corruptions, and turns inside-out the whole estate of the faithful, we see all that can be pressed on the other side; but, this very important chapter must be borne in mind, together with the closing sentence of chap. xliv., as evidence that whatever might be said by a rigid disciplinarian, the Church, *as compared with* our day, was still a living embodiment of Philippians iv. 8.

X.

(Paradise, cap. xlvii., .)

See Kaye, . Our author seems not always consistent with himself in his references to the Places of departed spirits. Kaye thinks he identifies Paradise with the Heaven of the Most High, in one place (the *De Exhort. Cast.*, xiii.) where he probably confuses the Apostle's ideas, in Galatians v. 12, and Ephesians v. 5. *Commonly*, however, though he is not consistent with himself, this would be his scheme: —

1. The *Inferi*, or *Hades*, where the soul of Dives was in one continent and that of Lazarus in another, with a gulf between. Our author places "Abraham's bosom" in Hades.

2. *Paradise*. In Hades, but in a superior and more glorious region. This more blessed abode was opened to the souls of the martyrs and other greater saints, at our Lord's descent into the place of the dead. After the General Resurrection and Judgment, there remain:

1. *Gehenna*, for the lost, prepared for the devil and his angels.

2. The *Heaven of Heavens*, the eternal abode of the righteous, in the vision of the Lord and His Eternal Joy.

Tertullian's variations on this subject will force us to recur to it hereafter; but, here it may be noted that the confusions of Latin Christianity received their character in this particular, from the genius of our author. Augustine caught from him a certain indecision about the terms and places connected with the state of the departed which has continued, to this day, to perplex

theologians in the West. Taking advantage of such confusions, the stupendous Roman system of "Purgatory" was fabricated in the middle ages; but the Greeks never accepted it, and it differs fundamentally from what the earlier Latin Fathers, including Tertullian, have given us as speculations.

XI.

(The Leo and the Leno, cap. l., .)

Here we find the alliterative and epigrammatic genius of Tertullian anticipating a similar poetic charm in Augustine. The Christian maid or matron preferred the *Leo* to the *leno*; to be devoured rather than to be debauched. Our author wrests a tribute to the chastity of Christian women from the cruelty of their judges, who recognizing this fact, were accustomed as a refinement of their injustice to give sentence against them, refusing the mercy of a horrible death, by committing them to the ravisher: "damnando Christianam *ad lenonem* potius quam *ad leonem*."

XII.

(The Seed of the Church, cap. l., .)

Kaye has devoted a number of his pages to the elucidation of this subject, not only showing the constancy of the martyrs, but illustrating the fact that Christians, like St. Paul, were forced to "die daily," even when they were not subjected to the fiery trial. He who confessed himself a Christian made himself a social outcast. All manner of outrages and wrongs could be committed against him with impunity. Rich men, who had joined themselves to Christ, were forced to accept "the spoiling of their goods." Brothers denounced brothers, and husbands their wives; "a man's foes were they of his own household." But the Church triumphed through suffering, and "out of weakness was made strong."

Ad Nationes (To the Nations)



Translated by Sydney Thelwall

This Fragment is noted as spurious, by Oehler who attributes it to somebody only moderately acquainted with Tertullian's style and teaching. I do not find it mentioned by Dupin, nor by Routh. This translation is by Thelwall.

Appendix.

A Fragment Concerning the Execrable Gods of the Heathen.

So great blindness has fallen on the Roman race, that they call their enemy Lord, and preach the filcher of blessings as being their very giver, and to him they give thanks. They call those (deities), then, by human names, not by their own, for their own names they know not. That they are dæmons they understand: but they read histories of the old kings, and then, though they see that their character was mortal, they honour them with a deific name.

As for him whom they call Jupiter, and think to be the highest god, when he was born the years (that had elapsed) from the foundation of the world to him were some three thousand. He is born in Greece, from Saturnus and Ops; and, for fear he should be killed by his father (or else, if it is lawful to say so, should be begotten anew), is by the advice of his mother carried down into Crete, and reared in a cave of Ida; is concealed from his father's search) by (the aid of) Cretans — born men! — rattling their arms; sucks a she-goat's dugs; flays her; clothes himself in her hide; and (thus) uses his own nurse's hide, after killing her, to be sure, with his own hand! but he sewed thereon three golden tassels worth the price of an hundred oxen each, as their author Homer relates, if it is fair to believe it. This Jupiter, in adult age, waged war several years with his father; overcame him; made a parricidal raid on his home; violated his virgin sisters; selected one of them in marriage; drave his father by dint of arms. The remaining scenes, moreover, of that act have been recorded. Of other folks' wives, or else of violated virgins, he begat him sons; defiled freeborn boys; oppressed peoples lawlessly with despotic and kingly

sway. The father, whom they erringly suppose to have been the *original* god, was ignorant that this (son of his) was lying concealed in Crete; the son, again, whom they believe the *mightier* god, knows not that the father whom himself had banished is lurking in Italy. If he was in heaven, when would he not see what was doing in Italy? For the Italian land is “not in a corner.” And yet, had he been a god, nothing *ought* to have escaped him. But that he whom the Italians call Saturnus did lurk there, is clearly evidenced on the face of it, from the fact that from his lurking the Hesperian tongue is to this day called Latin, as likewise their author Virgil relates. (Jupiter,) then, is said to have been born on earth, while (Saturnus his father) fears lest he be driven by him from his kingdom, and seeks to kill him as being his own rival, and knows not that he has been stealthily carried off, and is in hiding; and afterwards the son-god pursues his father, immortal seeks to slay immortal (is it credible?), and is disappointed by an interval of sea, and is ignorant of (his quarry’s) flight; and while all this is going on between two gods on earth, heaven is deserted. No one dispensed the rains, no one thundered, no one governed all this mass of world. For they cannot even say that their action and wars took place in heaven; for all this was going on on Mount Olympus in Greece. Well, but heaven is not called Olympus, for heaven is heaven.

These, then, are the actions of theirs, which we will treat of first — nativity, lurking, ignorance, parricide, adulteries, obscenities — things committed not by a god, but by most impure and truculent human beings; beings who, had they been living in these days, would have lain under the impeachment of all laws — laws which are far more just and strict than *their* actions. “He drave his father by dint of arms.” The Falcidian and Sempronian law would bind the parricide in a sack with beasts. “He violated his sisters.” The Papinian law would punish the outrage with all penalties, limb by limb. “He invaded others’ wedlock.” The Julian law would visit its adulterous violator capitally. “He defiled freeborn boys.” The Cornelian law would condemn the crime of transgressing the sexual bond with novel severities, sacrilegiously guilty as it is of a novel union. This being is shown to have had no divinity either, for he was a human being; his father’s flight escaped him. To this human being, of such a character, to so wicked a king, so obscene and so cruel, God’s honour has been assigned by men. Now, to be sure, if *on earth* he were born and grew up through the advancing stages of life’s periods, and

in it committed all these evils, and yet is no more in it, what is thought (of him) but that he is dead? Or else does foolish error think wings were born him in his old age, whence to fly heavenward? Why, even *this* may possibly find credit among men bereft of sense, if indeed they believe, (as they do,) that he turned into a swan, to beget the Castors; an eagle, to contaminate Ganymede; a bull, to violate Europa; gold, to violate Danaë; a horse, to beget Pirithoüs; a goat, to beget Egyppa from a she-goat; a Satyr, to embrace Antiope. Beholding these adulteries, to which sinners are prone, they therefore easily believe that sanctions of misdeed and of every filthiness are borrowed from their feigned god. Do they perceive how void of amendment are the rest of his career's acts which can find credit, which are indeed true, and which, they say, he did without self transformation? Of Semele, he begets Liber; of Latona, Apollo and Diana; of Maia, Mercury; of Alcmena, Hercules. But the rest of his corruptions, which they themselves confess, I am unwilling to record, lest turpitude, once buried, be again called to men's ears. But of these few (offsprings of his) I have made mention; off-springs whom in their error they believe to be themselves, too, gods — born, to wit, of an incestuous father; adulterous births, supposititious births. And the living, eternal God, of sempiternal divinity, prescient of futurity, immeasurable, they have dissipated (into nothing, by associating Him) with crimes so unspeakable.

De Testimonio animae (On the Witness of the Soul)



Translated by Sydney Thelwall

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Chapter I.

If, with the object of convicting the rivals and persecutors of Christian truth, from their own authorities, of the crime of at once being untrue to themselves and doing injustice to us, one is bent on gathering testimonies in its favour from the writings of the philosophers, or the poets, or other masters of this world's learning and wisdom, he has need of a most inquisitive spirit, and a still greater memory to carry out the research. Indeed, some of our people, who still continued their inquisitive labours in ancient literature, and still occupied memory with it, have published works we have in our hands of this very sort; works in which they relate and attest the nature and origin of their traditions, and the grounds on which opinions rest, and from which it may be seen at once that we have embraced nothing new or monstrous — nothing for which we cannot claim the support of ordinary and well-known writings, whether in ejecting error from our creed, or admitting truth into it. But the unbelieving hardness of the human heart leads them to slight even their own teachers, otherwise approved and in high renown, whenever they touch upon arguments which are used in defence of Christianity. Then the poets are fools, when they describe the gods with human passions and stories; then the philosophers are without reason, when they knock at the gates of truth. He will thus far be reckoned a wise and sagacious man who has gone the length of uttering sentiments that are almost Christian; while if, in a mere affectation of judgment and wisdom, he sets himself to reject their ceremonies, or to convicting the world of its sin, he is sure to be branded as a Christian. We will have nothing, then, to do with the literature and the teaching, perverted in its best results, which is believed in its errors rather than its truth. We shall lay no stress on it, if some of their authors have declared that there is one God, and one God only. Nay, let it be granted that there is nothing in heathen writers which a Christian approves, that it may be put out of his power to utter a single word of reproach. For all are not familiar with their teachings; and those who are, have no assurance in regard to their truth. Far less do men assent to our writings, to which no one comes for guidance unless he is already a Christian. I call in a new testimony, yea, one which is better known than all literature, more discussed than all doctrine, more public than all publications, greater than the whole man — I mean all which is man's. Stand

forth, O soul, whether thou art a divine and eternal substance, as most philosophers believe if it be so, thou wilt be the less likely to lie, — or whether thou art the very opposite of divine, because indeed a mortal thing, as Epicurus alone thinks — in that case there will be the less temptation for thee to speak falsely in this case: whether thou art received from heaven, or sprung from earth; whether thou art formed of numbers, or of atoms; whether thine existence begins with that of the body, or thou art put into it at a later stage; from whatever source, and in whatever way, thou makest man a rational being, in the highest degree capable of thought and knowledge, — stand forth and give thy witness. But I call thee not as when, fashioned in schools, trained in libraries, fed in Attic academies and porticoes, thou belchest wisdom. I address thee simple, rude, uncultured and untaught, such as they have thee who have thee only; that very thing of the road, the street, the work-shop, wholly. I want thine inexperience, since in thy small experience no one feels any confidence. I demand of thee the things thou bringest with thee into man, which thou knowest either from thyself, or from thine author, whoever he may be. Thou art not, as I well know, Christian; for a man becomes a Christian, he is not born one. Yet Christians earnestly press thee for a testimony; they press thee, though an alien, to bear witness against thy friends, that they may be put to shame before thee, for hating and mocking us on account of things which convict thee as an accessory.

Chapter II.

We give offence by proclaiming that there is one God, to whom the name of God alone belongs, from whom all things come, and who is Lord of the whole universe. Bear thy testimony, if thou knowest this to be the truth; for openly and with a perfect liberty, such as we do not possess, we hear thee both in private and in public exclaim, “Which may God grant,” and, “If God so will.” By expressions such as these thou declarest that there is one who is distinctively God, and thou confessest that all power belongs to him to whose will, as Sovereign, thou dost look. At the same time, too, thou deniest any others to be truly gods, in calling them by their own names of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Minerva; for thou affirmest Him to be God alone to whom thou givest no other name than God; and though thou sometimes callest these others gods, thou plainly usest the designation as one which does not really belong to them, but is, so to speak, a borrowed one. Nor is the nature of the God we declare unknown to thee: “God is good, God does good,” thou art wont to say; plainly suggesting further, “But man is evil.” In asserting an antithetic proposition, thou, in a sort of indirect and figurative way, reproachest man with his wickedness in departing from a God so good. So, again, as among us, as belonging to the God of benignity and goodness, “Blessing” is a most sacred act in our religion and our life, thou too sayest as readily as a Christian needs, “God bless thee;” and when thou turnest the blessing of God into a curse, in like manner thy very words confess with us that His power over us is absolute and entire. There are some who, though they do not deny the existence of God, hold withal that He is neither Searcher, nor Ruler, nor Judge; treating with especial disdain those of us who go over to Christ out of fear of a coming judgment, as they think, honouring God in freeing Him from the cares of keeping watch, and the trouble of taking note, — not even regarding Him as capable of anger. For if God, they say, gets angry, then He is susceptible of corruption and passion; but that of which passion and corruption can be affirmed may also perish, which God cannot do. But these very persons elsewhere, confessing that the soul is divine, and bestowed on us by God, stumble against a testimony of the soul itself, which affords an answer to these views. For if either divine or God-given, it doubtless knows its giver; and if it knows Him, it undoubtedly fears Him too, and especially as

having been by Him endowed so amply. Has it no fear of Him whose favour it is so desirous to possess, and whose anger it is so anxious to avoid? Whence, then, the soul's natural fear of God, if God cannot be angry? How is there any dread of Him whom nothing offends? What is feared but anger? Whence comes anger, but from observing what is done? What leads to watchful oversight, but judgment in prospect? Whence is judgment, but from power? To whom does supreme authority and power belong, but to God alone? So thou art always ready, O soul, from thine own knowledge, nobody casting scorn upon thee, and no one preventing, to exclaim, "God sees all," and "I commend thee to God," and "May God repay," and "God shall judge between us." How happens this, since thou art not Christian? How is it that, even with the garland of Ceres on the brow, wrapped in the purple cloak of Saturn, wearing the white robe of the goddess Isis, thou invokest God as judge? Standing under the statue of Æsculapius, adorning the brazen image of Juno, arraying the helmet of Minerva with dusky figures, thou never thinkest of appealing to any of these deities. In thine own forum thou appealest to a God who is elsewhere; thou permittest honour to be rendered in thy temples to a foreign god. Oh, striking testimony to truth, which in the very midst of demons obtains a witness for us Christians!

Chapter III.

But when we say that there are demons — as though, in the simple fact that we alone expel them from the men's bodies, we did not also prove their existence — some disciple of Chrysippus begins to curl the lip. Yet thy curses sufficiently attest that there are such beings, and that they are objects of thy strong dislike. As what comes to thee as a fit expression of thy strong hatred of him, thou callest the man a dæmon who annoys thee with his filthiness, or malice, or insolence, or any other vice which we ascribe to evil spirits. In expressing vexation, contempt, or abhorrence, thou hast Satan constantly upon thy lips; the very same we hold to be the angel of evil, the source of error, the corrupter of the whole world, by whom in the beginning man was entrapped into breaking the commandment of God. And (the man) being given over to death on account of his sin, the entire human race, tainted in their descent from him, were made a channel for transmitting his condemnation. Thou seest, then, thy destroyer; and though he is fully known only to Christians, or to whatever sect confesses the Lord, yet, even thou hast some acquaintance with him while yet thou abhorrest him!

Chapter IV.

Even now, as the matter refers to thy opinion on a point the more closely belonging to thee, in so far as it bears on thy personal well-being, we maintain that after life has passed away thou still remainest in existence, and lookest forward to a day of judgment, and according to thy deserts art assigned to misery or bliss, in either way of it for ever; that, to be capable of this, thy former substance must needs return to thee, the matter and the memory of the very same human being: for neither good nor evil couldst thou feel if thou wert not endowed again with that sensitive bodily organization, and there would be no grounds for judgment without the presentation of the very person to whom the sufferings of judgment were due. That Christian view, though much nobler than the Pythagorean, as it does not transfer thee into beasts; though more complete than the Platonic, since it endows thee again with a body; though more worthy of honour than the Epicurean, as it preserves thee from annihilation, — yet, because of the name connected with it, it is held to be nothing but vanity and folly, and, as it is called, a mere presumption. But we are not ashamed of ourselves if our presumption is found to have thy support. Well, in the first place, when thou speakest of one who is dead, thou sayest of him, “Poor man” — poor, surely, not because he has been taken from the good of life, but because he has been given over to punishment and condemnation. But at another time thou speakest of the dead as free from trouble; thou professest to think life a burden, and death a blessing. Thou art wont, too, to speak of the dead as in repose, when, returning to their graves beyond the city gates with food and dainties, thou art wont to present offerings to thyself rather than to them; or when, coming from the graves again, thou art staggering under the effects of wine. But I want thy sober opinion. Thou callest the dead poor when thou speakest thine own thoughts, when thou art at a distance from them. For at their feast, where in a sense they are present and recline along with thee, it would never do to cast reproach upon their lot. Thou canst not but adulate those for whose sake thou art feasting it so sumptuously. Dost thou then speak of him as *poor* who feels not? How happens it that thou cursest, as one capable of suffering from thy curse, the man whose memory comes back on thee with the sting in it of some old injury? It is thine imprecation that “the earth may lie heavy on him,” and

that there may be trouble “to his ashes in the realm of the dead.” In like manner, in thy kindly feeling to him to whom thou art indebted for favours, thou entrest “repose to his bones and ashes,” and thy desire is that among the dead he may “have pleasant rest.” If thou hast no power of suffering after death, if no feeling remains, — if, in a word, severance from the body is the annihilation of thee, what makes thee lie against thyself, as if thou couldst suffer in another state? Nay, why dost thou fear death at all? There is nothing after death to be feared, if there is nothing to be felt. For though it may be said that death is dreadful not for anything it threatens afterwards, but because it deprives us of the good of life; yet, on the other hand, as it puts an end to life’s discomforts, which are far more numerous, death’s terrors are mitigated by a gain that more than outweighs the loss. And there is no occasion to be troubled about a loss of good things, which is amply made up for by so great a blessing as relief from every trouble. There is nothing dreadful in that which delivers from all that is to be dreaded. If thou shrinkest from giving up life because thy experience of it has been sweet, at any rate there is no need to be in any alarm about death if thou hast no knowledge that it is evil. Thy dread of it is the proof that thou art aware of its evil. Thou wouldst never think it evil — thou wouldst have no fear of it at all — if thou wert not sure that after it there is something to make it evil, and so a thing of terror. Let us leave unnoted at this time that natural way of fearing death. It is a poor thing for any one to fear what is inevitable. I take up the other side, and argue on the ground of a joyful hope beyond our term of earthly life; for desire of posthumous fame is with almost every class an inborn thing. I have not time to speak of the Curtii, and the Reguli, or the brave men of Greece, who afford us innumerable cases of death despised for after renown. Who at this day is without the desire that he may be often remembered when he is dead? Who does not give all endeavour to preserve his name by works of literature, or by the simple glory of his virtues, or by the splendour even of his tomb? How is it the nature of the soul to have these posthumous ambitions and with such amazing effort to prepare the things it can only use after decease? It would care nothing about the future, if the future were quite unknown to it. But perhaps thou thinkest thyself surer, after thy exit from the body, of continuing still to feel, than of any future resurrection, which is a doctrine laid at our door as one of our presumptuous suppositions. But it is also the doctrine of the

soul; for if any one inquires about a person lately dead as though he were alive, it occurs at once to say, "He has gone." He is expected to return, then.

Chapter V.

These testimonies of the soul are simple as true, commonplace as simple, universal as commonplace, natural as universal, divine as natural. I don't think they can appear frivolous or feeble to any one, if he reflect on the majesty of nature, from which the soul derives its authority. If you acknowledge the authority of the mistress, you will own it also in the disciple. Well, nature is the mistress here, and her disciple is the soul. But everything the one has taught or the other learned, has come from God — the Teacher of the teacher. And what the soul may know from the teachings of its chief instructor, thou canst judge from that which is within thee. Think of that which enables thee to think; reflect on that which in forebodings is the prophet, the augur in omens, the foreseer of coming events. Is it a wonderful thing, if, being the gift of God to man, it knows how to divine? Is it anything very strange, if it knows the God by whom it was bestowed? Even fallen as it is, the victim of the great adversary's machinations, it does not forget its Creator, His goodness and law, and the final end both of itself and of its foe. Is it singular then, if, divine in its origin, its revelations agree with the knowledge God has given to His own people? But he who does not regard those outbursts of the soul as the teaching of a congenital nature and the secret deposit of an inborn knowledge, will say that the habit and, so to say, the vice of speaking in this way has been acquired and confirmed from the opinions of published books widely spread among men. Unquestionably the soul existed before letters, and speech before books, and ideas before the writing of them, and man himself before the poet and philosopher. Is it then to be believed, that before literature and its publication no utterances of the sort we have pointed out came from the lips of men? Did nobody speak of God and His goodness, nobody of death, nobody of the dead? Speech went a-begging, I suppose; nay, (the subjects being still awanting, without which it cannot even exist at this day, when it is so much more copious, and rich, and wise), it could not exist at all if the things which are now so easily suggested, that cling to us so constantly, that are so very near to us, that are somehow born on our very lips, had no existence in ancient times, before letters had any existence in the world — before there was a Mercury, I think, at all. And whence was it, I pray, that letters themselves came to know, and to disseminate for the use of speech,

what no mind had ever conceived, or tongue put forth, or ear taken in? But, clearly, since the Scriptures of God, whether belonging to Christians or to Jews, into whose olive tree we have been grafted — are much more ancient than any secular literature, (or, let us only say, are of a somewhat earlier date, as we have shown in its proper place when proving their trustworthiness); if the soul have taken these utterances from writings at all, we must believe it has taken them from ours, and not from yours, its instruction coming more naturally from the earlier than the later works. Which latter indeed waited for their own instruction from the former, and though we grant that light has come from you, still it has flowed from the first fountainhead originally; and we claim as entirely ours, all you may have taken from us and handed down. Since it is thus, it matters little whether the soul's knowledge was put into it by God or by His book. Why, then, O man, wilt thou maintain a view so groundless, as that those testimonies of the soul have gone forth from the mere human speculations of your literature, and got hardening of common use?

Chapter VI.

Believe, then, your own books, and as to our Scriptures so much the more believe writings which are divine, but in the witness of the soul itself give like confidence to Nature. Choose the one of these you observe to be the most faithful friend of truth. If your own writings are distrusted, neither God nor Nature lie. And if you would have faith in God and Nature, have faith in the soul; thus you will believe yourself. Certainly you value the soul as giving you your true greatness, — that to which you belong; which is all things to you; without which you can neither live nor die; on whose account you even put God away from you. Since, then, you fear to become a Christian, call the soul before you, and put her to the question. Why does she worship another? why name the name of God? Why does she speak of demons, when she means to denote spirits to be held accursed? Why does she make her protestations towards the heavens, and pronounce her ordinary execrations earthwards? Why does she render service in one place, in another invoke the Avenger? Why does she pass judgments on the dead? What Christian phrases are those she has got, though Christians she neither desires to see nor hear? Why has she either bestowed them on us, or received them from us? Why has she either taught us them, or learned them as our scholar? Regard with suspicion this accordance in words, while there is such difference in practice. It is utter folly — denying a universal nature — to ascribe this exclusively to our language and the Greek, which are regarded among us as so near akin. The soul is not a boon from heaven to Latins and Greeks alone. Man is the one name belonging to every nation upon earth: there is one soul and many tongues, one spirit and various sounds; every country has its own speech, but the subjects of speech are common to all. God is everywhere, and the goodness of God is everywhere; demons are everywhere, and the cursing of them is everywhere; the invocation of divine judgment is everywhere, death is everywhere, and the sense of death is everywhere, and all the world over is found the witness of the soul. There is not a soul of man that does not, from the light that is in itself, proclaim the very things we are not permitted to speak above our breath. Most justly, then, every soul is a culprit as well as a witness: in the measure that it testifies for truth, the guilt of error lies on it; and on the day of judgment it will stand before the courts of God, without a

word to say. Thou proclaimedst God, O soul, but thou didst not seek to know Him: evil spirits were detested by thee, and yet they were the objects of thy adoration; the punishments of hell were foreseen by thee, but no care was taken to avoid them; thou hadst a savour of Christianity, and withal wert the persecutor of Christians.

Elucidations.

I.

(Recognition of the Supreme God, cap. ii., .)

The passage referred to in the note, begins thus in Jowett's rendering: "The Ruler of the Universe has ordered all things with a view to the preservation and perfection of the whole etc." So, in the same book: "Surely God must not be supposed to have a nature which he himself hates." Again: "Let us not, then, deem God inferior to human workmen, who in proportion to their skill finish and perfect their works...or that God, the wisest of beings, who is willing and able to extend his care to all things, etc." Now, it is a sublime plan which our author here takes up, (making only slight reference to the innumerable citations which were behind his apostrophe to the soul if any one should dispute it) to bid the soul stand forth and confess its consciousness of God.

II.

(Dæmons, cap. vi. .)

Those who would pursue the subject of Demonology, which Tertullian opens in this admirable treatise, should follow it up in a writer whom Tertullian greatly influenced, in many particulars, even when he presents a remarkable contrast. The Ninth Book of the *City of God* is devoted to inquiries which throw considerable light on some of the startling sayings of our author as to the heathen systems, and their testimony to the Soul's Consciousness of God and of the great enemy of God and the inferior spirit of Evil.

De Pallio (On the Ascetic Mantle)



Translated by Sydney Thelwall

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Elucidations.

Chapter I.

If, with the object of convicting the rivals and persecutors of Christian truth, from their own authorities, of the crime of at once being untrue to themselves and doing injustice to us, one is bent on gathering testimonies in its favour from the writings of the philosophers, or the poets, or other masters of this world's learning and wisdom, he has need of a most inquisitive spirit, and a still greater memory to carry out the research. Indeed, some of our people, who still continued their inquisitive labours in ancient literature, and still occupied memory with it, have published works we have in our hands of this very sort; works in which they relate and attest the nature and origin of their traditions, and the grounds on which opinions rest, and from which it may be seen at once that we have embraced nothing new or monstrous — nothing for which we cannot claim the support of ordinary and well-known writings, whether in ejecting error from our creed, or admitting truth into it. But the unbelieving hardness of the human heart leads them to slight even their own teachers, otherwise approved and in high renown, whenever they touch upon arguments which are used in defence of Christianity. Then the poets are fools, when they describe the gods with human passions and stories; then the philosophers are without reason, when they knock at the gates of truth. He will thus far be reckoned a wise and sagacious man who has gone the length of uttering sentiments that are almost Christian; while if, in a mere affectation of judgment and wisdom, he sets himself to reject their ceremonies, or to convicting the world of its sin, he is sure to be branded as a Christian. We will have nothing, then, to do with the literature and the teaching, perverted in its best results, which is believed in its errors rather than its truth. We shall lay no stress on it, if some of their authors have declared that there is one God, and one God only. Nay, let it be granted that there is nothing in heathen writers which a Christian approves, that it may be put out of his power to utter a single word of reproach. For all are not familiar with their teachings; and those who are, have no assurance in regard to their truth. Far less do men assent to our writings, to which no one comes for guidance unless he is already a Christian. I call in a new testimony, yea, one which is better known than all literature, more discussed than all doctrine, more public than all publications, greater than the whole man — I mean all which is man's. Stand

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having been by Him endowed so amply. Has it no fear of Him whose favour it is so desirous to possess, and whose anger it is so anxious to avoid? Whence, then, the soul's natural fear of God, if God cannot be angry? How is there any dread of Him whom nothing offends? What is feared but anger? Whence comes anger, but from observing what is done? What leads to watchful oversight, but judgment in prospect? Whence is judgment, but from power? To whom does supreme authority and power belong, but to God alone? So thou art always ready, O soul, from thine own knowledge, nobody casting scorn upon thee, and no one preventing, to exclaim, "God sees all," and "I commend thee to God," and "May God repay," and "God shall judge between us." How happens this, since thou art not Christian? How is it that, even with the garland of Ceres on the brow, wrapped in the purple cloak of Saturn, wearing the white robe of the goddess Isis, thou invokest God as judge? Standing under the statue of Æsculapius, adorning the brazen image of Juno, arraying the helmet of Minerva with dusky figures, thou never thinkest of appealing to any of these deities. In thine own forum thou appealest to a God who is elsewhere; thou permittest honour to be rendered in thy temples to a foreign god. Oh, striking testimony to truth, which in the very midst of demons obtains a witness for us Christians!

Chapter III.

But when we say that there are demons — as though, in the simple fact that we alone expel them from the men's bodies, we did not also prove their existence — some disciple of Chrysippus begins to curl the lip. Yet thy curses sufficiently attest that there are such beings, and that they are objects of thy strong dislike. As what comes to thee as a fit expression of thy strong hatred of him, thou callest the man a dæmon who annoys thee with his filthiness, or malice, or insolence, or any other vice which we ascribe to evil spirits. In expressing vexation, contempt, or abhorrence, thou hast Satan constantly upon thy lips; the very same we hold to be the angel of evil, the source of error, the corrupter of the whole world, by whom in the beginning man was entrapped into breaking the commandment of God. And (the man) being given over to death on account of his sin, the entire human race, tainted in their descent from him, were made a channel for transmitting his condemnation. Thou seest, then, thy destroyer; and though he is fully known only to Christians, or to whatever sect confesses the Lord, yet, even thou hast some acquaintance with him while yet thou abhorrest him!

Chapter IV.

Even now, as the matter refers to thy opinion on a point the more closely belonging to thee, in so far as it bears on thy personal well-being, we maintain that after life has passed away thou still remainest in existence, and lookest forward to a day of judgment, and according to thy deserts art assigned to misery or bliss, in either way of it for ever; that, to be capable of this, thy former substance must needs return to thee, the matter and the memory of the very same human being: for neither good nor evil couldst thou feel if thou wert not endowed again with that sensitive bodily organization, and there would be no grounds for judgment without the presentation of the very person to whom the sufferings of judgment were due. That Christian view, though much nobler than the Pythagorean, as it does not transfer thee into beasts; though more complete than the Platonic, since it endows thee again with a body; though more worthy of honour than the Epicurean, as it preserves thee from annihilation, — yet, because of the name connected with it, it is held to be nothing but vanity and folly, and, as it is called, a mere presumption. But we are not ashamed of ourselves if our presumption is found to have thy support. Well, in the first place, when thou speakest of one who is dead, thou sayest of him, “Poor man” — poor, surely, not because he has been taken from the good of life, but because he has been given over to punishment and condemnation. But at another time thou speakest of the dead as free from trouble; thou professest to think life a burden, and death a blessing. Thou art wont, too, to speak of the dead as in repose, when, returning to their graves beyond the city gates with food and dainties, thou art wont to present offerings to thyself rather than to them; or when, coming from the graves again, thou art staggering under the effects of wine. But I want thy sober opinion. Thou callest the dead poor when thou speakest thine own thoughts, when thou art at a distance from them. For at their feast, where in a sense they are present and recline along with thee, it would never do to cast reproach upon their lot. Thou canst not but adulate those for whose sake thou art feasting it so sumptuously. Dost thou then speak of him as *poor* who feels not? How happens it that thou cursest, as one capable of suffering from thy curse, the man whose memory comes back on thee with the sting in it of some old injury? It is thine imprecation that “the earth may lie heavy on him,” and

that there may be trouble “to his ashes in the realm of the dead.” In like manner, in thy kindly feeling to him to whom thou art indebted for favours, thou entrest “repose to his bones and ashes,” and thy desire is that among the dead he may “have pleasant rest.” If thou hast no power of suffering after death, if no feeling remains, — if, in a word, severance from the body is the annihilation of thee, what makes thee lie against thyself, as if thou couldst suffer in another state? Nay, why dost thou fear death at all? There is nothing after death to be feared, if there is nothing to be felt. For though it may be said that death is dreadful not for anything it threatens afterwards, but because it deprives us of the good of life; yet, on the other hand, as it puts an end to life’s discomforts, which are far more numerous, death’s terrors are mitigated by a gain that more than outweighs the loss. And there is no occasion to be troubled about a loss of good things, which is amply made up for by so great a blessing as relief from every trouble. There is nothing dreadful in that which delivers from all that is to be dreaded. If thou shrinkest from giving up life because thy experience of it has been sweet, at any rate there is no need to be in any alarm about death if thou hast no knowledge that it is evil. Thy dread of it is the proof that thou art aware of its evil. Thou wouldst never think it evil — thou wouldst have no fear of it at all — if thou wert not sure that after it there is something to make it evil, and so a thing of terror. Let us leave unnoted at this time that natural way of fearing death. It is a poor thing for any one to fear what is inevitable. I take up the other side, and argue on the ground of a joyful hope beyond our term of earthly life; for desire of posthumous fame is with almost every class an inborn thing. I have not time to speak of the Curtii, and the Reguli, or the brave men of Greece, who afford us innumerable cases of death despised for after renown. Who at this day is without the desire that he may be often remembered when he is dead? Who does not give all endeavour to preserve his name by works of literature, or by the simple glory of his virtues, or by the splendour even of his tomb? How is it the nature of the soul to have these posthumous ambitions and with such amazing effort to prepare the things it can only use after decease? It would care nothing about the future, if the future were quite unknown to it. But perhaps thou thinkest thyself surer, after thy exit from the body, of continuing still to feel, than of any future resurrection, which is a doctrine laid at our door as one of our presumptuous suppositions. But it is also the doctrine of the

soul; for if any one inquires about a person lately dead as though he were alive, it occurs at once to say, "He has gone." He is expected to return, then.

Chapter V.

These testimonies of the soul are simple as true, commonplace as simple, universal as commonplace, natural as universal, divine as natural. I don't think they can appear frivolous or feeble to any one, if he reflect on the majesty of nature, from which the soul derives its authority. If you acknowledge the authority of the mistress, you will own it also in the disciple. Well, nature is the mistress here, and her disciple is the soul. But everything the one has taught or the other learned, has come from God — the Teacher of the teacher. And what the soul may know from the teachings of its chief instructor, thou canst judge from that which is within thee. Think of that which enables thee to think; reflect on that which in forebodings is the prophet, the augur in omens, the foreseer of coming events. Is it a wonderful thing, if, being the gift of God to man, it knows how to divine? Is it anything very strange, if it knows the God by whom it was bestowed? Even fallen as it is, the victim of the great adversary's machinations, it does not forget its Creator, His goodness and law, and the final end both of itself and of its foe. Is it singular then, if, divine in its origin, its revelations agree with the knowledge God has given to His own people? But he who does not regard those outbursts of the soul as the teaching of a congenital nature and the secret deposit of an inborn knowledge, will say that the habit and, so to say, the vice of speaking in this way has been acquired and confirmed from the opinions of published books widely spread among men. Unquestionably the soul existed before letters, and speech before books, and ideas before the writing of them, and man himself before the poet and philosopher. Is it then to be believed, that before literature and its publication no utterances of the sort we have pointed out came from the lips of men? Did nobody speak of God and His goodness, nobody of death, nobody of the dead? Speech went a-begging, I suppose; nay, (the subjects being still awanting, without which it cannot even exist at this day, when it is so much more copious, and rich, and wise), it could not exist at all if the things which are now so easily suggested, that cling to us so constantly, that are so very near to us, that are somehow born on our very lips, had no existence in ancient times, before letters had any existence in the world — before there was a Mercury, I think, at all. And whence was it, I pray, that letters themselves came to know, and to disseminate for the use of speech,

what no mind had ever conceived, or tongue put forth, or ear taken in? But, clearly, since the Scriptures of God, whether belonging to Christians or to Jews, into whose olive tree we have been grafted — are much more ancient than any secular literature, (or, let us only say, are of a somewhat earlier date, as we have shown in its proper place when proving their trustworthiness); if the soul have taken these utterances from writings at all, we must believe it has taken them from ours, and not from yours, its instruction coming more naturally from the earlier than the later works. Which latter indeed waited for their own instruction from the former, and though we grant that light has come from you, still it has flowed from the first fountainhead originally; and we claim as entirely ours, all you may have taken from us and handed down. Since it is thus, it matters little whether the soul's knowledge was put into it by God or by His book. Why, then, O man, wilt thou maintain a view so groundless, as that those testimonies of the soul have gone forth from the mere human speculations of your literature, and got hardening of common use?

Chapter VI.

Believe, then, your own books, and as to our Scriptures so much the more believe writings which are divine, but in the witness of the soul itself give like confidence to Nature. Choose the one of these you observe to be the most faithful friend of truth. If your own writings are distrusted, neither God nor Nature lie. And if you would have faith in God and Nature, have faith in the soul; thus you will believe yourself. Certainly you value the soul as giving you your true greatness, — that to which you belong; which is all things to you; without which you can neither live nor die; on whose account you even put God away from you. Since, then, you fear to become a Christian, call the soul before you, and put her to the question. Why does she worship another? why name the name of God? Why does she speak of demons, when she means to denote spirits to be held accursed? Why does she make her protestations towards the heavens, and pronounce her ordinary execrations earthwards? Why does she render service in one place, in another invoke the Avenger? Why does she pass judgments on the dead? What Christian phrases are those she has got, though Christians she neither desires to see nor hear? Why has she either bestowed them on us, or received them from us? Why has she either taught us them, or learned them as our scholar? Regard with suspicion this accordance in words, while there is such difference in practice. It is utter folly — denying a universal nature — to ascribe this exclusively to our language and the Greek, which are regarded among us as so near akin. The soul is not a boon from heaven to Latins and Greeks alone. Man is the one name belonging to every nation upon earth: there is one soul and many tongues, one spirit and various sounds; every country has its own speech, but the subjects of speech are common to all. God is everywhere, and the goodness of God is everywhere; demons are everywhere, and the cursing of them is everywhere; the invocation of divine judgment is everywhere, death is everywhere, and the sense of death is everywhere, and all the world over is found the witness of the soul. There is not a soul of man that does not, from the light that is in itself, proclaim the very things we are not permitted to speak above our breath. Most justly, then, every soul is a culprit as well as a witness: in the measure that it testifies for truth, the guilt of error lies on it; and on the day of judgment it will stand before the courts of God, without a

word to say. Thou proclaimedst God, O soul, but thou didst not seek to know Him: evil spirits were detested by thee, and yet they were the objects of thy adoration; the punishments of hell were foreseen by thee, but no care was taken to avoid them; thou hadst a savour of Christianity, and withal wert the persecutor of Christians.

Elucidations.

I.

(Recognition of the Supreme God, cap. ii., .)

The passage referred to in the note, begins thus in Jowett's rendering: "The Ruler of the Universe has ordered all things with a view to the preservation and perfection of the whole etc." So, in the same book: "Surely God must not be supposed to have a nature which he himself hates." Again: "Let us not, then, deem God inferior to human workmen, who in proportion to their skill finish and perfect their works...or that God, the wisest of beings, who is willing and able to extend his care to all things, etc." Now, it is a sublime plan which our author here takes up, (making only slight reference to the innumerable citations which were behind his apostrophe to the soul if any one should dispute it) to bid the soul stand forth and confess its consciousness of God.

II.

(Dæmons, cap. vi. .)

Those who would pursue the subject of Demonology, which Tertullian opens in this admirable treatise, should follow it up in a writer whom Tertullian greatly influenced, in many particulars, even when he presents a remarkable contrast. The Ninth Book of the *City of God* is devoted to inquiries which throw considerable light on some of the startling sayings of our author as to the heathen systems, and their testimony to the Soul's Consciousness of God and of the great enemy of God and the inferior spirit of Evil.

Adversus Hermogenem (Against Hermogenes)



Translated by Peter Holmes

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Chapter I. — The Opinions of Hermogenes, by the Prescriptive Rule of Antiquity Shown to Be Heretical. Not Derived from Christianity, But from Heathen Philosophy. Some of the Tenets Mentioned.

We are accustomed, for the purpose of shortening argument, to lay down the rule against heretics of the *lateness* of their date. For in *as far as* by our rule, priority is given to the truth, which also foretold that there would be heresies, in *so far* must all later opinions be prejudged as heresies, being such as were, by the more ancient rule of truth, predicted as (one day) to happen. Now, the doctrine of Hermogenes has this taint of novelty. He is, in short, a man *living* in the world at the present time; by his very nature a heretic, and turbulent withal, who mistakes loquacity for eloquence, and supposes impudence to be firmness, and judges it to be the duty of a good conscience to speak ill of individuals. Moreover, he despises God's law in his painting, maintaining repeated marriages, alleges the law of God in defence of lust, *and yet* despises it in respect of his art. He falsifies by a twofold process — with his cautery and his pen. He is a thorough adulterer, both doctrinally and carnally, since he is rank indeed with the contagion of your marriage-hacks, and has also failed in cleaving to the rule of faith as much as the apostle's own Hermogenes. However, never mind the man, when it is his doctrine which I question. He does not appear to acknowledge any other Christ as Lord, though he holds Him in a different way; but by this difference in his faith he really makes Him another being, — nay, he takes from Him everything which is God, since he will not have it that He made all things of nothing. For, turning away from Christians to the philosophers, from the Church to the Academy and the Porch, he learned there from the Stoics how to place Matter (on the same level) with the Lord, just as if it too had existed ever both unborn and unmade, having no beginning at all nor end, out of which, according to him, the Lord afterwards created all things.

Chapter II. — Hermogenes, After a Perverse Induction from Mere Heretical Assumptions, Concludes that God Created All Things Out of Pre-Existing Matter.

Our very bad painter has coloured this his primary shade absolutely without any light, with such arguments as these: He begins with laying down the premiss, that the Lord made all things either out of Himself, or out of nothing, or out of something; in order that, after he has shown that it was impossible for Him to have made them either out of Himself or out of nothing, he might thence affirm the residuary proposition that He made them out of something, and therefore that that something was Matter. He could not have made all things, he says, of Himself; because whatever things the Lord made of Himself would have been parts of Himself; but He is not dissoluble into parts, because, being the Lord, He is indivisible, and unchangeable, and always the same. Besides, if He had made anything out of Himself, it would have been something of Himself. Everything, however, both which was made and which He made must be accounted imperfect, because it was made of a part, and He made it of a part; or if, again, it was a whole which He made, who is a whole Himself, He must in that case have been at once both a whole, and yet not a whole; because it behoved Him to be a whole, that He might produce Himself, and yet not a whole, that He might be produced out of Himself. But this is a most difficult position. For if He were in existence, He could not be made, for He was in existence already; if, however, he were not in existence He could not make, because He was a nonentity. He *maintains*, moreover, that He who always exists, does not *come into* existence, but exists for ever and ever. He accordingly concludes that He made nothing out of Himself, since He never passed into such a condition as made it possible for Him to make anything out of Himself. In like manner, he contends that He could not have made all things out of nothing — thus: He defines the Lord as a being who is good, nay, very good, who must will to make things as good and excellent as He is Himself; indeed it were impossible for Him either to will or to make anything which was not good, nay, very good itself. Therefore all things ought to have been made good and excellent by Him, after His own condition. Experience shows, however, that things which are even evil were made by Him: not, of course, of His own will and pleasure; because, if it had been of His own will

and pleasure, He would be sure to have made nothing unfitting or unworthy of Himself. That, therefore, which He made not of His own will must be understood to have been made from the fault of something, and that is from Matter, without a doubt.

Chapter III. — An Argument of Hermogenes. The Answer: While God is a Title Eternally Applicable to the Divine Being, Lord and Father are Only Relative Appellations, Not Eternally Applicable. An Inconsistency in the Argument of Hermogenes Pointed Out.

He adds also another point: that as God was always God, there was never a time when God was not also Lord. But it was in no way possible for Him to be regarded as always Lord, in the same manner as He had been always God, if there had not been always, in the previous eternity, a something of which He could be regarded as evermore the Lord. So he concludes that God always had Matter co-existent with Himself as the Lord thereof. Now, this tissue of his I shall at once hasten to pull abroad. I have been willing to set it out in form to this length, for the information of those who are unacquainted with the subject, that they may know that his other arguments likewise need only be understood to be refuted. We affirm, then, that the name of *God* always existed with Himself and in Himself — but not eternally so the *Lord*. Because the condition of the one is not the same as that of the other. God is the designation of the substance itself, that is, of the Divinity; but Lord is (the name) not of substance, but of power. I *maintain* that the substance existed always with its own name, which is God; *the title* Lord was afterwards added, as the indication indeed of something accruing. For from the moment when those things began to exist, over which the power of a Lord was to act, *God*, by the accession of that power, both became Lord and received the name thereof. Because God is in like manner a Father, and He is also a Judge; but He has not always been Father and Judge, merely on the ground of His having always been God. For He could not have been the Father previous to the Son, nor a Judge previous to sin. There was, however, a time when neither sin existed with Him, nor the Son; the former of which was to constitute the Lord a Judge, and the latter a Father. In this way He was not Lord previous to those things of which He was to be the Lord. But He was only to become Lord at some future time: just as He became the Father by the Son, and a Judge by sin, so also did He become Lord by means of those things which He had made, in order that they might serve Him. Do I seem to you to be weaving

arguments, Hermogenes? How neatly does Scripture lend us its aid, when it applies the two titles to Him with a distinction, and reveals them each at its proper time! For (the title) *God*, indeed, which always belonged to Him, it names at the very first: “In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth;” and as long as He continued making, one after the other, those things of which He was to be the Lord, it merely mentions God. “And *God* said,” “and *God* made,” “and *God* saw;” but nowhere do we yet find the *Lord*. But when He completed the whole creation, and especially man himself, who was destined to understand His sovereignty in a way of special propriety, He then is designated Lord. Then also *the Scripture* added the name *Lord*: “And the Lord God, *Deus Dominus*, took the man, whom He had formed;” “And the Lord God commanded Adam.” Thenceforth He, who was previously God only, is the *Lord*, from the time of His having something of which He might be the Lord. For to Himself He was always God, but to all things was He only then God, when He became also Lord. Therefore, in *as far as* (Hermogenes) shall suppose that Matter was eternal, on the ground that the Lord was eternal, in *so far* will it be evident that nothing existed, because it is plain that the Lord *as such* did not always exist. Now I mean also, on my own part, to add a remark for the sake of ignorant persons, of whom Hermogenes is an extreme instance, and actually to retort against him his own arguments. For when he denies that Matter was born or made, I find that, even on these terms, the title *Lord* is unsuitable to God in respect of Matter, because it must have been free, when by not having a beginning it had not an author. The fact of its past existence it owed to no one, so that it could be a subject to no one. Therefore ever since God exercised His power over it, by creating (all things) out of Matter, although it had all along experienced God as its Lord, yet Matter does, after all, demonstrate that God did not exist in the relation of Lord to it, although all the while He was really so.

Chapter IV. — Hermogenes Gives Divine Attributes to Matter, and So Makes Two Gods.

At this point, then, I shall begin to treat of Matter, how that, (according to Hermogenes,) God compares it with Himself as equally unborn, equally unmade, equally eternal, set forth as being without a beginning, without an end. For what other estimate of God is there than eternity? What other condition has eternity than to have ever existed, and to exist yet for evermore by virtue of its privilege of having neither beginning nor end? Now, since this is the property of God, it will belong to God alone, whose property it is — of course on this ground, that if it can be ascribed to any other being, it will no longer be the property of God, but will belong, along with Him, to that being also to which it is ascribed. For “although there be that are called gods” in name, “whether in heaven or in earth, yet to us there is but one God the Father, of whom are all things;” whence the greater reason why, in our view, that which is the property of God ought to be regarded as pertaining to God alone, and why (as I have already said) that should cease to be such a property, when it is shared by another being. Now, since He is God, it must necessarily be a unique mark of this quality, that it be confined to One. Else, what will be unique and singular, if that is not which has nothing equal to it? What will be principal, if that is not which is above all things, before all things, and from which all things proceed? By possessing these He is God alone, and by His sole possession of them He is One. If another also shared in the possession, there would then be as many gods as there were possessors of these attributes of God. Hermogenes, therefore, introduces two gods: he introduces Matter as God’s equal. God, however, must be One, because that is God which is supreme; but nothing else can be supreme than that which is unique; and that cannot possibly be unique which has anything equal to it; and Matter will be equal with God when it is held to be eternal.

Chapter V. — Hermogenes Coquets with His Own Argument, as If Rather Afraid of It. After Investing Matter with Divine Qualities, He Tries to Make It Somehow Inferior to God.

But God is God, and Matter is Matter. As if a mere difference in their names prevented equality, when an identity of condition is claimed for them! Grant that their nature is different; assume, too, that their form is not identical, — what matters it so long as their absolute state have but one mode? God is unborn; is not Matter also unborn? God ever exists; is not Matter, too, ever existent? Both are without beginning; both are without end; both are the authors of the universe — both He who created it, and the Matter of which He made it. For it is impossible that Matter should not be regarded as the author of all things, when the universe is composed of it. What answer will he give? Will he say that Matter is not then comparable with God as soon as it has something belonging to God; since, by not having total (divinity), it cannot correspond to the whole extent of the comparison? But what more has he reserved for God, that he should not seem to have accorded to Matter the full amount of the Deity? He says in reply, that even though this is the prerogative of Matter, both the authority and the substance of God must remain intact, by virtue of which He is regarded as the sole and prime Author, as well as the Lord of all things. Truth, however, maintains the unity of God in such a way as to insist that whatever belongs to God Himself belongs to Him alone. For so will it belong to Himself if it belong to Him alone; and therefore it will be impossible that another god should be admitted, when it is permitted to no other being to possess anything of God. Well, then, you say, we ourselves at that rate possess nothing of God. But indeed we do, and shall continue to do — only it is from Him that we receive it, and not from ourselves. For we shall be even gods, if we, shall deserve to be among those of whom He declared, “I have said, Ye are gods,” and, “God standeth in the congregation of the gods.” But this comes of His own grace, not from any property in us, because it is He alone who can make gods. The property of Matter, however, he makes to be that which it has in common with God. Otherwise, if it received from God the property which belongs to God, — I mean its attribute of eternity — one might then even suppose that it both possesses an attribute in common with

God, and yet at the same time is not God. But what inconsistency is it for him to allow that there is a conjoint possession of an attribute with God, and also to wish that what he does not refuse to Matter should be, after all, the exclusive privilege of God!

Chapter VI. — The Shifts to Which Hermogenes is Reduced, Who Deifies Matter, and Yet is Unwilling to Hold Him Equal with the Divine Creator.

He declares that God's attribute is still safe to Him, of being the only God, and the First, and the Author of all things, and the Lord of all things, and being incomparable to any — qualities which he straightway ascribes to Matter also. He is God, to be sure. God shall also attest the same; but He has also sworn sometimes by Himself, that there is no other God like Him. Hermogenes, however, will make Him a liar. For Matter will be such a God as He — being unmade, unborn, without beginning, and without end. God will say, "I am the first!" Yet how is He the first, when Matter is co-eternal with Him? Between co-eternals and contemporaries there is no sequence of rank. Is then, Matter also the first? "I," says the Lord, "have stretched out the heavens alone." But indeed He was not alone, when that likewise stretched them out, of which He made the expanse. When he asserts the position that Matter was *eternal*, without any encroachment on the condition of God, let him see to it that we do not in ridicule turn the tables on him, that God similarly was eternal without any encroachment on the condition of Matter — the condition of Both being still common to Them. The position, therefore, remains unimpugned both in the case of Matter, that it did itself exist, only along with God; and that God existed alone, but with Matter. It also was first with God, as God, too, was first with it; it, however, is not comparable with God, as God, too, is not to be compared with it; with God also it was the Author (of all things), and with God their Sovereign. In this way *he* proposes that God *has something, and yet not the whole, of Matter*. For Him, accordingly, Hermogenes has reserved nothing which he had not equally conferred on Matter, so that it is not Matter which is compared with God, but rather God who is compared with Matter. Now, inasmuch as those qualities which we claim as peculiar to God — to have always existed, without a beginning, without an end, and to have been the First, and Alone, and the Author of all things — are also compatible to Matter, I want to know what property Matter possesses different and alien from God, and hereby special to itself, by reason of which it is incapable of being compared with God? That Being, in which occur all the properties of God, is sufficiently predetermined without any

further comparison.

Chapter VII. — Hermogenes Held to His Theory in Order that Its Absurdity May Be Exposed on His Own Principles.

When he contends that matter is less than God, and inferior to Him, and therefore diverse from Him, and for the same reason not a fit subject of comparison with Him, who is a greater and superior Being, I meet him with this prescription, that what is eternal and unborn is incapable of any diminution and inferiority, because it is simply this which makes even God to be as great as He is, inferior and subject to none — nay, greater and higher than all. For, just as all things which are born, or which come to an end, and are therefore not eternal, do, by reason of their exposure at once to an end and a beginning, admit of qualities which are repugnant to God — I mean diminution and inferiority, because they are born and made — so likewise God, for this very reason, is unsusceptible of these accidents, because He is absolutely unborn, and also unmade. And yet such also is the condition of Matter. Therefore, of the two Beings which are eternal, as being unborn and unmade — God and Matter — by reason of the identical mode of their common condition (both of them equally possessing that which admits neither of diminution nor subjection — that is, the attribute of eternity), we affirm that neither of them is less or greater than the other, neither of them is inferior or superior to the other; but that they both stand on a par in greatness, on a par in sublimity, *and* on the same level of that complete and perfect felicity of which eternity is reckoned to consist. Now we must not resemble the heathen in our opinions; for they, when constrained to acknowledge God, insist on having other deities below Him. The Divinity, however, has no degrees, because it is unique; and if it shall be found in Matter — as being equally unborn and unmade and eternal — it must be resident in both alike, because in no case can it be inferior to itself. In what way, then, will Hermogenes have the courage to draw distinctions; and thus to subject matter to God, an eternal to the Eternal, an unborn to the Unborn, an author to the Author? seeing that it dares to say, I also am the first; I too am before all things; and I am that from which all things proceed; equal we have been, together we have been — both alike without beginning, without end; both alike without an Author, without a God. What God, then, is He who subjects me to a contemporaneous, co-

eternal power? If it be He who is called God, then I myself, too, have my own (divine) name. Either I am God, or He is Matter, because we both are that which neither of us is. Do you suppose, therefore, that he has not made Matter equal with God, although, forsooth, he pretends it to be inferior to Him?

Chapter VIII. — On His Own Principles, Hermogenes Makes Matter, on the Whole, Superior to God.

Nay more, he even prefers Matter to God, and rather subjects God to it, when he will have it that God made all things out of Matter. For if He drew His resources from it for the creation of the world, Matter is already found to be the superior, inasmuch as it furnished Him with the means of effecting His works; and God is thereby clearly subjected to Matter, of which the substance was indispensable to Him. For there is no one but requires that which he makes use of; no one but is subject to the thing which he requires, for the very purpose of being able to make use of it. So, again, there is no one who, from using what belongs to another, is not inferior to him of whose property he makes use; and there is no one who imparts of his own for another's use, who is not in this respect superior to him to whose use he lends his property. On this principle, Matter itself, no doubt, was not in want of God, but rather lent itself to God, who was in want of it — rich and abundant and liberal as it was — to one who was, I suppose, too small, and too weak, and too unskilful, to form what He willed out of nothing. A grand service, verily, did it confer on God in giving Him means at the present time whereby He might be known to be God, and be called Almighty — only that He is no longer Almighty, since He is not powerful enough for this, to produce all things out of nothing. To be sure, Matter bestowed somewhat on itself also — even to get its own self acknowledged with God as God's co-equal, nay more, as His helper; only there is this drawback, that Hermogenes is the only man that has found out this fact, besides the philosophers — those patriarchs of all heresy. For the prophets knew nothing about it, nor the apostles thus far, nor, I suppose, even Christ.

Chapter IX. — Sundry Inevitable But Intolerable Conclusions from the Principles of Hermogenes.

He cannot say that it was as its Lord that God employed Matter for His creative works, for He could not have been the Lord of a substance which was co-equal with Himself. Well, but perhaps it was a title derived from the will of another, which he enjoyed — a precarious holding, and not a lordship, and *that* to such a degree, that although Matter was evil, He yet endured to make use of an evil substance, owing, of course, to the restraint of His own limited power, which made Him impotent to create out of nothing, not in consequence of His power; for if, as God, He had at all possessed power over Matter which He knew to be evil, He would first have converted it into good — as its Lord and the good God — that so He might have a good thing to make use of, instead of a bad one. But being undoubtedly good, only not the Lord withal, He, by using such power as He possessed, showed the necessity He was under of yielding to the condition of Matter, which He would have amended if He had been its Lord. Now this is the answer which must be given to Hermogenes when he maintains that it was by virtue of His Lordship that God used Matter — even of His non-possession of any right to it, on the ground, of course, of His not having Himself made it. Evil then, on your terms, must proceed from *God* Himself, since He is — I will not say the Author of evil, because He did not form it, but — the permitter thereof, as having dominion over it. If indeed Matter shall prove not even to belong to God at all, as being evil, it follows, that when He made use of what belonged to another, He used it either on a precarious title because He was in need of it, or else by violent possession because He was stronger than it. For by three methods is the property of others obtained, — by right, by permission, by violence; in other words, by lordship, by a title derived from the will of another, by force. Now, as lordship is out of the question, Hermogenes must choose which (of the other methods) is suitable to God. Did He, then, make all things out of Matter, by permission, or by force? But, in truth, would not God have more wisely determined that nothing at all should be created, than that it should be created by the mere sufferance of another, or by violence, and that, too, with a substance which was evil?

Chapter X. — To What Straits Hermogenes Absurdly Reduces the Divine Being. He Does Nothing Short of Making Him the Author of Evil.

Even if Matter had been the perfection of good, would it not have been equally indecorous in Him to have thought of the property of another, however good, (to effect His purpose by the help of it)? It was, therefore, absurd enough for Him, in the interest of His own glory, to have created the world in such a way as to betray His own obligation to a substance which belonged to another — and that even not good. Was He then, asks (Hermogenes), to make all things out of nothing, that so evil things themselves might be attributed to His will? Great, in all conscience, must be the blindness of our heretics which leaves them to argue in such a way that they either insist on the belief of another God supremely good, on the ground of their thinking the Creator to be the author of evil, or else they set up Matter with the Creator, in order that they may derive evil from Matter, not from the Creator. And yet there is absolutely no god at all that is free from such a doubtful plight, so as to be able to avoid the appearance even of being the author of evil, whosoever he is that — I will not say, indeed, has made, but still — has permitted evil to be made by some author or other, and from some source or other. Hermogenes, therefore, ought to be told at once, although we postpone to another place our distinction concerning the mode of evil, that even he has effected no result by this device of his. For observe how God is found to be, if not the Author of, yet at any rate the conniver at, evil, inasmuch as He, with all His extreme goodness, endured evil in Matter before He created the world, although, as being good, and the enemy of evil, He ought to have corrected it. For He either was able to correct it, but was unwilling; or else was willing, but being a weak God, was not able. If He was able and yet unwilling, He was Himself evil, as having favoured evil; and thus He now opens Himself to the charge of evil, because even if He did not create it yet still, since it would not be existing if He had been against its existence, He must Himself have then caused it to exist, when He refused to will its non-existence. And what is more shameful than this? When He willed that to be which He was Himself unwilling to create, He acted in fact against His very self, inasmuch as He was both willing that that should exist which He was

unwilling to make, and unwilling to make that which He was willing should exist. As if what He willed was good, and at the same time what he refused to be the Maker of was evil. What He judged to be evil by not creating it, He also proclaimed to be good by permitting it to exist. By bearing with evil as a good instead of rather extirpating it, He proved Himself to be the promoter thereof; criminally, if through His own will — disgracefully, if through necessity. God must either be the servant of evil or the friend thereof, since He held converse with evil in Matter — nay, more, effected His works out of the evil thereof.

Chapter XI. — Hermogenes Makes Great Efforts to Remove Evil from God to Matter. How He Fails to Do This Consistently with His Own Argument.

But, after all, by what proofs does Hermogenes persuade us that Matter is evil? For it will be impossible for him not to call that evil to which he imputes evil. Now we lay down this principle, that what is eternal cannot possibly admit of diminution and subjection, so as to be considered inferior to another co-eternal Being. So that we now affirm that evil is not even compatible with it, since it is incapable of subjection, from the fact that it cannot in any wise be subject to any, because it is eternal. But inasmuch as, on other grounds, it is evident what is eternal as God is the highest good, whereby also He alone is good — as being eternal, and therefore good — as being God, how can evil be inherent in Matter, which (since it is eternal) must needs be believed to be the highest good? Else if that which is eternal prove to be also capable of evil, this (evil) will be able to be also believed of God to His prejudice; so that it is without adequate reason that he has been so anxious to remove evil from God; since evil must be compatible with an eternal Being, even by being made compatible with Matter, *as Hermogenes makes it*. But, as the argument now stands, since what is eternal can be deemed evil, the evil must prove to be invincible and insuperable, as being eternal; and in that case it will be in vain that we labour “to put away evil from the midst of us;” in that case, moreover, God vainly gives us such a command and precept; nay more, in vain has God appointed any judgment at all, when He means, indeed, to inflict punishment with injustice. But if, on the other hand, there is to be an end of evil, when the chief thereof, the devil, shall “go away into the fire which God hath prepared for him and his angels” — having been first “cast into the bottomless pit;” when likewise “the manifestation of the children of God” shall have “delivered the creature” from evil, which had been “made subject to vanity;” when the cattle restored in the innocence and integrity of their nature shall be at peace with the beasts of the field, when also little children shall play with serpents; when the Father shall have put beneath the feet of His Son His enemies, as being the workers of evil, — if in this way an *end* is compatible with evil, it must follow of necessity that a *beginning* is also compatible with it; and Matter will turn out to have a beginning, by virtue of its having also an

end. For whatever things are set to the account of evil, have a compatibility with the condition of evil.

Chapter XII. — The Mode of Controversy Changed. The Premisses of Hermogenes Accepted, in Order to Show into What Confusion They Lead Him.

Come now, let us suppose Matter to be evil, nay, very evil, by *nature* of course, just as we believe God to be good, even very good, in like manner by *nature*. Now nature must be regarded as sure and fixed, just as persistently fixed in evil in the case of Matter, as immoveable and unchangeable in good in the case of God. Because, as is evident, if nature admits of change from evil to good in Matter, it can be changed from good to evil in God. Here some man will say, Then will “children not be raised up to Abraham from the stones?” Will “generations of vipers not bring forth the fruit of repentance?” And “children of wrath” fail to become sons of peace, if nature be unchangeable? Your reference to such examples as these, my friend, is a thoughtless one. For things which owe their existence to birth such as stones and vipers and human beings — are not apposite to the case of Matter, which is unborn; since their nature, by possessing a beginning, may have also a termination. But bear in mind that Matter has once for all been determined to be eternal, as being unmade, unborn, and therefore supposably of an unchangeable and incorruptible nature; and this from the very opinion of Hermogenes himself, which he alleges against us when he denies that God was able to make (anything) of Himself, on the ground that what is eternal is incapable of change, because it would lose — so the opinion runs — what it once was, in becoming by the change that which it was not, if it were not eternal. But as for the Lord, who is also eternal, (he maintained) that He could not be anything else than what He always is. Well, then, I will adopt this definite opinion of his, and by means thereof refute him. I blame Matter with a like censure, because out of it, evil though it be — nay, very evil — good things have been created, nay, “very good” ones: “And God saw that they were good, and God blessed them” — because, of course, of their very great goodness; certainly not because they were evil, or very evil. Change is therefore admissible in Matter; and this being the case, it has lost its condition of eternity; in short, its beauty is decayed in death. Eternity, however, cannot be lost, because it cannot be eternity, except by reason of its immunity from loss. For the same reason also it is incapable of change, inasmuch as, since it

is eternity, it can by no means be changed.

Chapter XIII. — Another Ground of Hermogenes that Matter Has Some Good in It. Its Absurdity.

Here the question will arise How creatures were made good out of it, which were formed without any change at all? How occurs the seed of what is good, nay, very good, in that which is evil, nay, very evil? Surely a good tree does not produce evil fruit, since there is no God who is not good; nor does an evil tree yield good fruit, since there is not Matter except what is very evil. Or if we were to grant him that there is some germ of good *in it*, then there will be no longer a uniform nature (pervading it), that is to say, one which is evil throughout; but instead thereof (we now encounter) a double nature, partly good and partly evil; and again the question will arise, whether, in a subject which is good and evil, there could possibly have been found a harmony for light and darkness, for sweet and bitter? So again, if qualities so utterly diverse as good and evil have been able to unite together, and have imparted to Matter a double nature, productive of both kinds of fruit, then no longer will absolutely good things be imputable to God, just as evil things are not ascribed to Him, but both qualities will appertain to Matter, since they are derived from the property of Matter. At this rate, we shall owe to God neither gratitude for good things, nor grudge for evil ones, because He has produced no work of His own proper character. From which circumstance will arise the clear proof that He has been subservient to Matter.

Chapter XIV. — Tertullian Pushes His Opponent into a Dilemma.

Now, if it be also argued, that although Matter may have afforded Him the opportunity, it was still His own will which led Him to the creation of good creatures, as having detected what was good in matter — although this, too, be a discreditable supposition — yet, at any rate, when He produces evil likewise out of the same (Matter), He is a servant to Matter, since, of course, it is not of His own accord that He produces this too, having nothing else that He can do than to effect creation out of an evil *stock* — unwillingly, no doubt, as being good; of necessity, too, as being unwilling; and as an act of servitude, because from necessity. Which, then, is the worthier thought, that He created evil things of necessity, or of His own accord? Because it was indeed of necessity that He created them, if out of Matter; of His own accord, if out of nothing. For you are now labouring in vain when you try to avoid making God the Author of evil things; because, since He made all things of Matter, they will have to be ascribed to Himself, who made them, just because He made them. Plainly the interest of the question, whence He made all things, identifies itself with (the question), whether He made all things out of nothing; and it matters not whence He made all things, so that He made all things thence, whence most glory accrued to Him. Now, more glory accrued to Him from a creation of His own will than from one of necessity; in other words, from a creation out of nothing, than from one out of Matter. It is more worthy to believe that God is free, even as the Author of evil, than that He is a slave. Power, whatever it be, is more suited to Him than infirmity. If we thus even admit that matter had nothing good in it, but that the Lord produced whatever good He did produce of His own power, then some other questions will with equal reason arise. First, since there was no good at all in Matter, *it is clear* that good was not made of Matter, on the express ground indeed that Matter did not possess it. Next, if *good* was not *made* of Matter, it must then have been made of God; if not of God, then it must have been made of nothing. — For this is the alternative, on Hermogenes' own showing.

Chapter XV. — The Truth, that God Made All Things from Nothing, Rescued from the Opponent's Flounderings.

Now, if good was neither produced out of matter, since it was not in it, evil as it was, nor out of God, since, according to the position of Hermogenes, nothing could have been produced out of god, it will be found that good was created out of nothing, inasmuch as it was formed of none — neither of Matter nor of God. And if good was formed out of nothing, why not evil too? Nay, if anything was formed out of nothing, why not all things? Unless indeed it be that the divine might was insufficient for the production of *all* things, though it produced a something out of nothing. Or else if good proceeded from evil matter, since it issued neither from nothing nor from God, it will follow that it must have proceeded from the conversion of Matter contrary to that unchangeable attribute which has been claimed for *it*, as an eternal being. Thus, in regard to the source whence good derived its existence, Hermogenes will now have to deny the possibility of such. But still it is necessary that (good) should proceed from some one of those sources from which he has denied the very possibility of its having been derived. Now if evil be denied to be of nothing for the purpose of denying it to be the work of God, from whose will there would be too much appearance of its being derived, and be alleged to proceed from Matter, that it may be the property of that very thing of whose substance it is assumed to be made, even here also, as I have said, God will have to be regarded as the Author of evil; because, whereas it had been His duty to produce all good things out of Matter, or rather good things simply, by His identical attribute of power and will, He did yet *not only* not produce all good things, but even (some) evil things — of course, either willing that the evil should exist if He was able to cause their non-existence, or not being strong enough to effect that all things should be good, if being desirous of that result, He failed in the accomplishment thereof; since there can be no difference whether it were by weakness or by will, that the Lord proved to be the Author of evil. Else what was the reason that, after creating good things, as if Himself good, He should have also produced evil things, as if He failed in His goodness, since He did not confine Himself to the production of things which were simply consistent with Himself? What

necessity was there, after the production of His proper work, for His troubling Himself about Matter also by producing evil likewise, in order to secure His being alone acknowledged as good from His good, and at the same time to prevent Matter being regarded as evil from (created) evil? Good would have flourished much better if evil had not blown upon it. For Hermogenes himself explodes the arguments of sundry persons who contend that evil things were necessary to impart lustre to the good, which must be understood from their contrasts. This, therefore, was not the ground for the production of evil; but if some other reason must be sought for the introduction thereof, why could it not have been introduced even from nothing, since the very same reason would exculpate the Lord from the reproach of being thought the author of evil, which now excuses *the existence of* evil things, when He produces them out of Matter? And if there is this excuse, then the question is completely shut up in a corner, where they are unwilling to find it, who, without examining into the reason itself of evil, or distinguishing how they should either attribute it to God or separate it from God, do in fact expose God to many most unworthy calumnies.

Chapter XVI. — A Series of Dilemmas. They Show that Hermogenes Cannot Escape from the Orthodox Conclusion.

On the very threshold, then, of this doctrine, which I shall probably have to treat of elsewhere, I distinctly lay it down as my position, that both good and evil must be ascribed either to God, who made them out of Matter; or to Matter itself, out of which He made them; or both one and the other to both of them together, because they are bound together — both He who created, and that out of which He created; or (lastly) one to One and the other to the Other, because after Matter and God there is not a third. Now if both should prove to belong *to God*, God evidently will be the author of evil; but God, as being good, cannot be the author of evil. Again, if both are ascribed *to Matter*, Matter will evidently be the very mother of good, but inasmuch as Matter is wholly evil, it cannot be the mother of good. But if both one and the other should be thought to belong to Both together, then in this case also Matter will be comparable with God; and both will be equal, being on equal terms allied to evil as well as to good. Matter, however, ought not to be compared with God, in order that it may not make two gods. If, (lastly,) one be ascribed to One, and the other to the Other — that is to say, let the good be God's, and the evil belong to Matter — then, on the one hand, evil must not be ascribed to God, nor, on the other hand, good to Matter. And God, moreover, by making both good things and evil things out of Matter, creates *them* along with it. This being the case, I cannot tell how Hermogenes is to escape from my conclusion; for he supposes that God cannot be the author of evil, in what way soever He created evil out of Matter, whether it was of His own will, or of necessity, or from the reason (of the case). If, however, He is the author of evil, who was the actual Creator, Matter being simply associated *with Him* by reason of its furnishing Him with substance, you now do away with the cause of *your* introducing Matter. For it is not the less *true*, that it is by means of Matter that God shows Himself the author of evil, although Matter has been assumed *by you* expressly to prevent God's seeming to be the author of evil. Matter being therefore excluded, since the cause of it is excluded, it remains that God without doubt, must have made all things out of nothing. Whether evil things were amongst them we shall see, when it shall be made clear what

are evil things, and whether those things are evil which you at present deem to be so. For it is more worthy of God that He produced even these of His own will, by producing them out of nothing, than from the predetermination of another, (which must have been the case) if He had produced them out of Matter. It is liberty, not necessity, which suits the character of God. I would much rather that He should have even willed to create evil of Himself, than that He should have lacked ability to hinder its creation.

Chapter XVII. — The Truth of God's Work in Creation.

You Cannot Depart in the Least from It, Without Landing Yourself in an Absurdity.

This rule is required by the nature of the One-only God, who is One-only in no other way than as the sole God; and in no other way sole, than as having nothing else (co-existent) with Him. So also He will be first, because all things are after Him; and all things are after Him, because all things are by Him; and all things are by Him, because they are of nothing: so that reason coincides with the Scripture, which says: "Who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been His counsellor? or with whom took He counsel? or who hath shown to Him the way of wisdom and knowledge? Who hath first given to Him, and it shall be recompensed to him again?" Surely none! Because there was present with Him no power, no material, no nature which belonged to any other than Himself. But if it was with some (portion of Matter) that He effected His creation, He must have received from that (Matter) itself both the design and the treatment of its order as being "the way of wisdom and knowledge." For He had to operate conformably with the quality of the thing, and according to the nature of Matter, not according to His own will in consequence of which He must have made even evil things suitably to the nature not of Himself, but of Matter.

Chapter XVIII. — An Eulogy on the Wisdom and Word of God, by Which God Made All Things of Nothing.

If any material was necessary to God in the creation of the world, as Hermogenes supposed, God had a far nobler and more suitable one in His own wisdom — one which was not to be gauged by the writings of philosophers, but to be learnt from the words or prophets. This alone, indeed, knew the mind of the Lord. For “who knoweth the things of God, and the things in God, but the Spirit, which is in Him?” Now His wisdom is that Spirit. This was His counsellor, the very way of His wisdom and knowledge. Of this He made all things, making them through It, and making them with It. “When He prepared the heavens,” so says (the Scripture), “I was present with Him; and when He strengthened above the winds the lofty clouds, and when He secured the fountains which are under the heaven, I was present, compacting these things along with Him. I was He in whom He took delight; moreover, I daily rejoiced in His presence: for He rejoiced when He had finished the world, and amongst the sons of men did He show forth His pleasure.” Now, who would not rather approve of this as the fountain and origin of all things — of this as, in very deed, the Matter of all Matter, not liable to any end, not diverse in condition, not restless in motion, not ungraceful in form, but natural, and proper, and duly proportioned, and beautiful, such truly as even God might well have required, who requires His own and not another’s? Indeed, as soon as He perceived It to be necessary for His creation of the world, He immediately creates It, and generates It in Himself. “The Lord,” says the Scripture, “possessed me, the beginning of His ways for the creation of His works. Before the worlds He founded me; before He made the earth, before the mountains were settled in their places; moreover, before the hills He generated me, and prior to the depths was I begotten.” Let Hermogenes then confess that the very Wisdom of God is declared to be born and created, for the especial reason that we should not suppose that there is any other being than God alone who is unbegotten and uncreated. For if that, which from its being inherent in the Lord was of Him and in Him, was yet not without a beginning, — I mean His wisdom, which was then born and created, when in the thought of God It began to assume motion for the arrangement of His creative works, — how much more

impossible is it that anything should have been without a beginning which was extrinsic to the Lord! But if this same Wisdom is the Word of God, in the capacity of Wisdom, and (as being He) without whom nothing was made, just as also (nothing) was set in order without Wisdom, how can it be that anything, except the Father, should be older, and on this account indeed nobler, than the Son of God, the only-begotten and first-begotten Word? Not to say that what is unbegotten is stronger than that which is born, and what is not made more powerful than that which is made. Because that which did not require a Maker to give it existence, will be much more elevated in rank than that which had an author to bring it into being. On this principle, then, if evil is indeed unbegotten, whilst the Son of God is begotten (“for,” says God, “my heart hath emitted my most excellent Word”), I am not quite sure that evil may not be introduced by good, the stronger by the weak, in the same way as the unbegotten is by the begotten. Therefore on this ground Hermogenes puts Matter even before God, by putting it before the Son. Because the Son is the Word, and “the Word is God,” and “I and my Father are one.” But after all, perhaps, the Son will patiently enough submit to having that preferred before Him which (by Hermogenes), is made equal to the Father!

Chapter XIX. — An Appeal to the History of Creation. True Meaning of the Term Beginning, Which the Heretic Curiously Wrests to an Absurd Sense.

But I shall appeal to the original document of Moses, by help of which they on the other side vainly endeavour to prop up their conjectures, with the view, of course, of appearing to have the support of that authority which is indispensable in such an inquiry. They have found their opportunity, as is usual with heretics, in wresting the plain meaning of certain words. For instance the very *beginning*, when God made the heaven and the earth, they will construe as if it meant something substantial and embodied, to be regarded as Matter. We, however, insist on the proper signification of every word, *and say* that *principium* means beginning, — being a term which is suitable to represent things which begin to exist. For nothing which has come into being is without a beginning, nor can this its commencement be at any other moment than when it begins to have existence. Thus *principium* or beginning, is simply a term of inception, not the name of a substance. Now, inasmuch as the heaven and the earth are the principal works of God, and since, by His making them first, He constituted them in an especial manner the beginning of His creation, before all things else, with good reason does the Scripture preface (its record of creation) with the words, “In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth;” just as it would have said, “At last God made the heaven and the earth,” if God had created these after all the rest. Now, if the beginning is a substance, the end must also be material. No doubt, a substantial thing may be the beginning of some other thing which may be formed out of it; thus the clay is the beginning of the vessel, and the seed is the beginning of the plant. But when we employ the word beginning in this sense of *origin*, and not in that of *order*, we do not omit to mention also the name of that particular thing which we regard as the origin of the other. On the other hand, if we were to make such a statement as this, for example, “In the beginning the potter made a basin or a water-jug,” the word beginning will not here indicate a material substance (for I have not mentioned the clay, which is the beginning *in this sense*, but only the *order* of the work, meaning that the potter made the basin and the jug first, before anything else — intending afterwards to make the rest. It is, then, to the order of the works that

the word beginning has reference, not to the origin of their substances. I might also explain this word *beginning* in another way, which would not, however, be inapposite. The Greek term for beginning, which is ἀρχή, admits the sense not only of priority of order, but of power as well; whence princes and magistrates are called ἀρχοντες. Therefore in this sense too, *beginning* may be taken for princely authority and power. It was, indeed, in His transcendent authority and power, that God made the heaven and the earth.

Chapter XX. — Meaning of the Phrase — In the Beginning. Tertullian Connects It with the Wisdom of God, and Elicits from It the Truth that the Creation Was Not Out of Pre-Existent Matter.

But in proof that the Greek word means nothing else than beginning, and that *beginning* admits of no other sense than the *initial* one, we have that (Being) even acknowledging such a beginning, who says: “The Lord possessed me, the beginning of His ways for the creation of His works.” For since all things were made by the Wisdom of God, it follows that, when God made both the heaven and the earth *in principio* — *that is to say, in the beginning* — He made them in His Wisdom. If, indeed, beginning had a *material* signification, the Scripture would not have informed us that God made so and so *in principio*, at the beginning, but rather *ex principio*, of the beginning; for He would not have created *in*, but *of*, matter. When Wisdom, however, was referred to, it was quite right to say, in the beginning. For it was in Wisdom that He made all things at first, because by meditating and arranging His plans therein, He had in fact already done (the work of creation); and if He had even intended to create out of matter, He would yet have effected His creation when He previously meditated on it and arranged it in His Wisdom, since it was in fact the beginning of His ways: this meditation and arrangement being the primal operation of Wisdom, opening as it does the way to the works by the act of meditation and thought. This authority of Scripture I claim for myself even from this circumstance, that whilst it shows me the God who created, and the works He created, it does not in like manner reveal to me the source from which He created. For since in every operation there are three principal things, He who makes, and that which is made, and that of which it is made, there must be three names mentioned in a correct narrative of the operation — the person of the maker the sort of thing which is made, *and* the material of which it is formed. If the material is not mentioned, while the work and the maker of the work are both mentioned, it is manifest that He made the work out of nothing. For if He had had anything to operate upon, it would have been mentioned as well as (the other two particulars). In conclusion, I will apply the Gospel as a supplementary testimony to the Old Testament. Now in this there is all the greater reason why there should be

shown the material (if there were any) out of which God made all things, inasmuch as it is therein plainly revealed by whom He made all things. “In the beginning was the Word” — that is, the same beginning, of course, in which God made the heaven and the earth— “and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by Him, and without Him nothing was made.” Now, since we have here clearly told us who the Maker was, that is, God, and what He made, even all things, and through whom He made them, even His Word, would not the order of the narrative have required that the source out of which all things were made by God through the Word should likewise be declared, if they had been in fact made out of anything? What, therefore, did not exist, the Scripture was unable to mention; and by not mentioning it, it has given us a clear proof that there was no such thing: for if there had been, the Scripture would have mentioned it.

Chapter XXI. — A Retort of Heresy Answered. That Scripture Should in So Many Words Tell Us that the World Was Made of Nothing is Superfluous.

But, you will say to me, if you determine that all things were made of nothing, on the ground that it is not told us that anything was made out of pre-existent Matter, take care that it be not contended on the opposite side, that on the same ground all things were made out of Matter, because it is not likewise expressly said that anything was made out of nothing. Some arguments may, of course, be thus retorted easily enough; but it does not follow that they are on that account fairly admissible, where there is a diversity in the cause. For I maintain that, even if the Scripture has not expressly declared that all things were made out of nothing — just as it abstains (from saying that they were formed) out of Matter — there was no such pressing need for expressly indicating the creation of all things out of nothing, as there was of their creation out of Matter, if that had been their origin. Because, in the case of what is made out of nothing, the very fact of its not being indicated that it was made of any particular thing shows that it was made of nothing; and there is no danger of its being supposed that it was made of anything, when there is no indication at all of what it was made of. In the case, however, of that which is made out of something, unless the very fact be plainly declared, that it was made out of something, there will be danger, until it is shown of what it was made, first of its appearing to be made of nothing, because it is not said of what it was made; and then, should it be of such a nature as to have the appearance of having certainly been made of something, there will be a similar risk of its seeming to have been made of a far different material from the proper one, so long as there is an absence of statement of what it was made of. Then, if God had been unable to make all things of nothing, the Scripture could not possibly have added that He had made all things of nothing: (there could have been no room for such a statement,) but it must by all means have informed us that He had made all things out of Matter, since Matter must have been the source; because the one case was quite to be understood, if it were not actually stated, whereas the other case would be left in doubt unless it were stated.

Chapter XXII. — This Conclusion Confirmed by the Usage of Holy Scripture in Its History of the Creation. Hermogenes in Danger of the Woe Pronounced Against Adding to Scripture.

And to such a degree has the Holy Ghost made this the rule of His Scripture, that whenever anything is made out of anything, He mentions both the thing that is made and the thing of which it is made. "Let the earth," says He, "bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit-tree yielding fruit after its kind, whose seed is in itself, after its kind. And it was so. And the earth brought forth grass, and herb yielding seed after its kind, and the tree yielding fruit, whose seed was in itself, after its kind." And again: "And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creatures that have life, and fowl that may fly above the earth through the firmament of heaven. And it was so. And God created great whales, and every living creature that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly, after their kind." Again afterwards: "And God said, Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle, and creeping thing, and beasts of the earth after their kind." If therefore God, when producing other things out of things which had been already made, indicates them by the prophet, and tells us what He has produced from such and such a source (although we might ourselves suppose them to be derived from some source or other, short of nothing; since there had already been created certain things, from which they might easily seem to have been made); if the Holy Ghost took upon Himself so great a concern for our instruction, that we might know from what everything was produced, would He not in like manner have kept us well informed about both the heaven and the earth, by indicating to us what it was that He made them of, if their original consisted of any material substance, so that the more He seemed to have made them of nothing, the less in fact was there as yet made, from which He could appear to have made them? Therefore, just as He shows us the original out of which He drew such things as were derived from a given source, so also with regard to those things of which He does not point out whence He produced them, He confirms (by that silence our assertion) that they were produced out of nothing. "In the beginning," then, "God made the heaven and the earth." I revere the fulness of His Scripture, in which He

manifests to me both the Creator and the creation. In the gospel, moreover, I discover a Minister and Witness of the Creator, even His Word. But whether all things were made out of any underlying Matter, I have as yet failed anywhere to find. Where such a statement is written, Hermogenes' shop must tell us. If it is nowhere written, then let it fear the *woe* which impends on all who add to or take away from *the written* word.

Chapter XXIII. — Hermogenes Pursued to Another Passage of Scripture. The Absurdity of His Interpretation Exposed.

But he draws an argument from the following words, where it is written: “And the earth was without form, and void.” For he resolves the word *earth* into Matter, because that which is made out of it is the earth. And to the word *was* he gives the same direction, as if it pointed to what had always existed unbegotten and unmade. It was *without form*, moreover, *and* void, because he will have Matter to have existed shapeless and confused, and without the finish of a maker’s hand. Now these opinions of his I will refute singly; but first I wish to say to him, by way of general answer: We are of opinion that Matter is pointed at in these terms. But yet does the Scripture intimate that, because Matter was in existence before all, anything of *like* condition was even formed out of it? Nothing of the kind. Matter might have had existence, if it so pleased — or rather if Hermogenes so pleased. It might, I say, have existed, and yet God might not have made anything out of it, either as it was unsuitable to Him to have required the aid of anything, or at least because He is not shown to have made anything out of Matter. Its existence must therefore be without a cause, you will say. Oh, no! certainly not without cause. For even if the world were not made out of it, yet a heresy has been hatched there from; and a specially impudent one too, because it is not Matter which has produced the heresy, but the heresy has rather made Matter itself.

Chapter XXIV. — Earth Does Not Mean Matter as Hermogenes Would Have It.

I now return to the several points by means of which he thought that Matter was signified. And first I will inquire about the terms. For we read only of one of them, *Earth*; the other, namely *Matter*, we do not meet with. I ask, then, since Matter is not mentioned in Scripture, how the term earth can be applied to it, which marks a substance of another kind? There is all the greater need why mention should also have been made of Matter, if this has acquired the further sense of Earth, in order that I may be sure that Earth is one and the same name as Matter, and so not claim the designation for merely one substance, as the proper name thereof, and by which it is better known; or else be unable (if I should feel the inclination), to apply it to some particular species of Matter, instead, indeed, of making it the common term of all Matter. For when a proper name does not exist for that thing to which a common term is ascribed, the less apparent is the object to which it may be ascribed, *the more* capable will it be of being applied to any other object whatever. Therefore, even supposing that Hermogenes could show us the *name* Matter, he is bound to prove to us further, that the same object has the *surname* Earth, in order that he may claim for it both designations alike.

Chapter XXV. — The Assumption that There are Two Earths Mentioned in the History of the Creation, Refuted.

He accordingly maintains that there are two earths set before us in the passage in question: one, which God made in the beginning; the other being the Matter of which God made the world, and concerning which it is said, “And the earth was without form, and void.” Of course, if I were to ask, to which of the two earths the name *earth* is best suited, I shall be told that the earth which was made derived the appellation from that of which it was made, on the ground that it is more likely that the offspring should get its name from the original, than the original from the offspring. This being the case, another question presents itself to us, whether it is right and proper that this earth which God made should have derived its name from that out of which He made it? For I find from Hermogenes and the rest of the *Materialist* heretics, that while the one earth was indeed “without form, and void,” this one of ours obtained from God in an equal degree both form, and beauty, and symmetry; and therefore that the earth which was created was a different thing from that out of which it was created. Now, having become a different thing, it could not possibly have shared with the other in its name, after it had declined from its condition. If *earth* was the proper name of the (original) Matter, this world of ours, which is not Matter, because it has become another thing, is unfit to bear the name of earth, seeing that that name belongs to something else, and is a stranger to its nature. But (you will tell me) Matter which has undergone creation, that is, our earth, had with its original a community of name no less than of kind. By no means. For although the pitcher is formed out of the clay, I shall no longer call it clay, but a pitcher; so likewise, although *electrum* is compounded of gold and silver, I shall yet not call it either gold or silver, but *electrum*. When there is a departure from the nature of any thing, there is likewise a relinquishment of its name — with a propriety which is alike demanded by the designation and the condition. How great a change indeed from the condition of that earth, which is Matter, has come over this earth of ours, is plain even from the fact that the latter has received this testimony to its goodness in Genesis, “And God saw that it was good;” while the former, according to Hermogenes, is regarded as the origin and cause of all evils.

Lastly, if the one is Earth because the other is, why also is the one not Matter as the other is? Indeed, by this rule both the heaven and all creatures ought to have had the names of *Earth* and *Matter*, since they all consist of Matter. I have said enough touching the designation Earth, by which he will have it that Matter is understood. This, as everybody knows, is the name of one of the elements; for so we are taught by nature first, and afterwards by Scripture, except it be that credence must be given to that Silenus who talked so confidently in the presence of king Midas of another world, according to the account of Theopompus. But the same author informs us that there are also several gods.

Chapter XXVI. — The Method Observed in the History of the Creation, in Reply to the Perverse Interpretation of Hermogenes.

We, however, have but one God, and but one earth too, which in the beginning God made. The Scripture, which at its very outset proposes to run through the order thereof tells us as its first information that it was created; it next proceeds to set forth what sort of earth it was. In like manner with respect to the heaven, it informs us first of its creation—“In the beginning God made the heaven:” it then goes on to introduce its arrangement; how that God both separated “the water which was below the firmament from that which was above the firmament,” and called the firmament heaven, — the very thing He had created in the beginning. Similarly it (afterwards) treats of man: “And God created man, in the image of God made He him.” It next reveals how He made him: “And (the Lord) God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul.” Now this is undoubtedly the correct and fitting mode for the narrative. First comes a prefatory statement, then follow the details in full; first the subject is named, then it is described. How absurd is the other view of the account, when even before he had premised any mention of his subject, *i.e.* Matter, without even giving us its name, he all on a sudden promulged its form and condition, describing to us its quality before mentioning its existence, — pointing out the figure of the thing formed, *but* concealing its name! But how much more credible is our opinion, which holds that Scripture has only subjoined the arrangement of the subject after it has first duly described its formation and mentioned its name! Indeed, how full and complete is the meaning of these words: “In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth; but the earth was without form, and void,” — the very same earth, no doubt, which God made, and of which the Scripture had been speaking at that very moment. For that very “*but*” is inserted into the narrative like a clasp, (in its function) of a conjunctive particle, to connect *the two sentences indissolubly* together: “But *the earth.*” This word carries back the mind to that earth of which mention had just been made, and binds the sense thereunto. Take away this “but,” and the tie is loosened; so much so that the passage, “But the earth was without form, and void,” may then seem to have

been meant for any other earth.

Chapter XXVII. — Some Hair-Splitting Use of Words in Which His Opponent Had Indulged.

But you next praise your eyebrows, and toss back your head, and beckon with your finger, in characteristic disdain, and say: There is the *was*, looking as if it pointed to an eternal existence, — making its subject, of course, unbegotten and unmade, and on that account worthy of being supposed to be Matter. Well now, for my own part, I shall resort to no affected protestation, but simply reply that “*was*” may be predicated of everything — even of a thing which has been created, which was born, which once was not, and which is not *your* Matter. For of everything which has being, from whatever source it has it, whether it has it by a beginning or without a beginning, the word “*was*” will be predicated from the very fact that it exists. To whatever thing the first tense of the verb is applicable for *definition*, to the same will be suitable the later form of the verb, when it has to descend to *relation*. “*Est*” (it is) forms the essential part of a definition, “*erat*” (it was) of a relation. Such are the trifles and subtleties of heretics, who wrest and bring into question the simple meaning of the commonest words. A grand question it is, to be sure, whether “the earth *was*,” which was made! The real point of discussion is, whether “being without form, and void,” is a state which is more suitable to that which was created, or to that of which it was created, so that the predicate (*was*) may appertain to the same thing to which the subject (*that which was*) also belongs.

Chapter XXVIII. — A Curious Inconsistency in Hermogenes Exposed. Certain Expressions in The History of Creation Vindicated in The True Sense.

But we shall show not only that this condition agreed with this earth of ours, but that it did not agree with that other (insisted on by Hermogenes). For, inasmuch as pure Matter was thus subsistent with God, without the interposition indeed of any element at all (because as yet there existed nothing but itself and God), it could not of course have been invisible. Because, although *Hermogenes* contends that darkness was inherent in the substance of Matter, a position which we shall have to meet in its proper place, yet darkness is visible even to a human being (for the very fact that there is the darkness is an evident one), much more is it so to God. If indeed it had been invisible, its quality would not have been by any means discoverable. How, then, did Hermogenes find out that that substance was “without form,” and confused and disordered, which, as being invisible, was not palpable to his senses? If this mystery was revealed to him by God, he ought to give us his proof. I want to know also, whether (the substance in question) could have been described as “void.” That certainly is “void” which is imperfect. Equally certain is it, that nothing can be imperfect but that which is made; it is imperfect when it is not fully made. Certainly, you admit. Matter, therefore, which was not made at all, could not have been imperfect; and what was not imperfect was not “void.” Having no beginning, because it was not made, it was also unsusceptible of any void-condition. For this void-condition is an accident of beginning. The earth, on the contrary, which was made, was deservedly called “void.” For as soon as it was made, it had the condition of being imperfect, previous to its completion.

Chapter XXIX. — The Gradual Development of Cosmical Order Out of Chaos in the Creation, Beautifully Stated.

God, indeed, consummated all His works in a due order; at first He paled them out, as it were, in their unformed elements, and then He arranged them in their finished beauty. For He did not all at once inundate light with the splendour of the sun, nor all at once temper darkness with the moon's assuaging ray. The heaven He did not all at once bedeck with constellations and stars, nor did He at once fill the seas with their teeming monsters. The earth itself He did not endow with its varied fruitfulness all at once; but at first He bestowed upon it being, and then He filled it, that it might not be made in vain. For thus says Isaiah: "He created it not in vain; He formed it to be inhabited." Therefore after it was made, and while awaiting its perfect state, it was "without form, and void:" "void" indeed, from the very fact that it was without form (as being not yet perfect to the sight, and at the same time unfurnished as yet with its other qualities); and "without form," because it was still covered with waters, as if with the rampart of its fecundating moisture, by which is produced our flesh, in a form allied with its own. For to this purport does David say: "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; the world, and all that dwell therein: He hath founded it upon the seas, and on the streams hath He established it." It was when the waters were withdrawn into their hollow abysses that the dry land became conspicuous, which was hitherto covered with its watery envelope. Then it forthwith becomes "visible," God saying, "Let the water be gathered together into one mass, and let the dry land appear." "*Appear*," says He, not "*be made*." It had been already made, only in its invisible condition it was then waiting to appear. "Dry," because it was about to become such by its severance from the moisture, but yet "land." "And God called the dry land *Earth*," not Matter. And so, when it afterwards attains its perfection, it ceases to be accounted void, when God declares, "Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed after its kind, and according to its likeness, and the fruit-tree yielding fruit, whose seed is in itself, after its kind." Again: "Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle, and creeping things, and beasts of the earth, after their kind." Thus the divine Scripture accomplished its full order.

For to that, which it had at first described as “without form (invisible) and void,” it gave both visibility and completion. Now no other Matter was “without form (invisible) and void.” Henceforth, then, Matter will have to be visible and complete. So that I must see Matter, since it has become visible. I must likewise recognize it as a completed thing, so as to be able to gather from it the herb bearing seed, and the tree yielding fruit, and that living creatures, made out of it, may minister to my need. Matter, however, is nowhere, but the Earth is here, confessed to my view. I see it, I enjoy it, ever since it ceased to be “without form (invisible), and void.” Concerning it most certainly did Isaiah speak when he said, “Thus saith the Lord that created the heavens, He was the God that formed the earth, and made it.” The same earth for certain did He form, which He also made. Now how did He form it? Of course by saying, “Let the dry land appear.” Why does He command it to appear, if it were not previously invisible? *His purpose was also, that He might thus prevent His having made it in vain, by rendering it visible, and so fit for use.* And thus, throughout, proofs arise to us that this earth which we inhabit is the very same which was both created and formed by God, and that none other was “Without form, and void,” than that which had been created and formed. It therefore follows that the sentence, “Now the earth was without form, and void,” applies to that same earth which God mentioned separately along with the heaven.

Chapter XXX. — Another Passage in the Sacred History of the Creation, Released from the Mishandling of Hermogenes.

The following words will in like manner apparently corroborate the conjecture of Hermogenes, “And darkness was upon the face of the deep, and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the water;” as if these blended substances, presented us with arguments for his massive pile of Matter. *Now, so* discriminating an enumeration of certain and distinct elements (as we have in this passage), which severally designates “darkness,” “the deep,” “the Spirit of God,” “the waters,” forbids the inference that anything confused or (from such confusion) uncertain is meant. Still more, when He ascribed to them their own places, “darkness *on the face of* the deep,” “the Spirit *upon the face of* the waters,” He repudiated all confusion in the substances; and by demonstrating their separate position, He demonstrated also their distinction. Most absurd, indeed, would it be that Matter, which is introduced to our view as “without form,” should have its “formless” condition maintained by so many words indicative of form, without any intimation of what that confused body is, which must of course be supposed to be unique, since it is without form. For that which is without form is uniform; but even that which is without form, when it is blended together from various component parts, must necessarily have one outward appearance; and it has not any appearance, until it has the one appearance (which comes) from many parts *combined*. Now Matter either had those specific parts within itself, from the words indicative of which it had to be understood — I mean “darkness,” and “the deep,” and “the Spirit,” and “the waters” — or it had them not. If it had them, how is it introduced as being “without form?” If it had them not, how does it become known?

Chapter XXXI. — A Further Vindication of the Scripture Narrative of the Creation, Against a Futile View of Hermogenes.

But this circumstance, too, will be caught at, that Scripture meant to indicate of the heaven only, and this earth of yours, that God made it in the beginning, while nothing of the kind *is said* of the above-mentioned specific parts; and therefore that these, which are not described as having been made, appertain to unformed Matter. To this point also we must give an answer. Holy Scripture would be sufficiently explicit, if it had declared that the heaven and the earth, as the very highest works of creation, were made by God, possessing of course their own special appurtenances, which might be understood to be implied in these highest works themselves. Now the appurtenances of the heaven and the earth, made then in the beginning, were the darkness and the deep, and the spirit, and the waters. For the depth and the darkness underlay the earth. Since the deep was under the earth, and the darkness was over the deep, undoubtedly both the darkness and the deep were under the earth. Below the heaven, too, lay the spirit and the waters. For since the waters were over the earth, which they covered, whilst the spirit was over the waters, both the spirit and the waters were alike over the earth. Now that which is over the earth, is of course under the heaven. And even as the earth brooded over the deep and the darkness, so also did the heaven brood over the spirit and the waters, and embrace them. Nor, indeed, is there any novelty in mentioning only that which contains, as pertaining to the whole, and understanding that which is contained as included in it, in its character of a portion. Suppose now I should say the city built a theatre and a circus, but the stage was of such and such a kind, and the statues were on the canal, and the obelisk was reared above them all, would it follow that, because I did not distinctly state that these specific things were made by the city, they were therefore not made by it along with the circus and the theatre? Did I not, indeed, refrain from specially mentioning the formation of these particular things because they were implied in the things which I had already said were made, and might be understood to be inherent in the things in which they were contained? But this example may be an idle one as being derived from a human circumstance; I will take another, which has the authority of Scripture itself. It says that “God made

man of the dust of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul.” Now, although it here mentions the nostrils, it does not say that they were made by God; so again it speaks of skin and bones, and flesh and eyes, and sweat and blood, in subsequent passages, and yet it never intimated that they had been created by God. What will Hermogenes have to answer? That the human limbs must belong to Matter, because they are not specially mentioned as objects of creation? Or are they included in the formation of man? In like manner, the deep and the darkness, and the spirit and the waters, were *as* members of the heaven and the earth. For in the bodies the limbs were made, in the bodies the limbs too were mentioned. No element but what is a member of that element in which it is contained. But all elements are contained in the heaven and the earth.

Chapter XXXII. — The Account of the Creation in Genesis a General One, Corroborated, However, by Many Other Passages of the Old Testament, Which Give Account of Specific Creations. Further Cavillings Confuted.

This is the answer I should give in defence of the Scripture before us, for seeming here to set forth the formation of the heaven and the earth, as if (they were) the sole bodies *made*. It could not but know that there were those who would at once in the bodies understand their several members also, and therefore it employed this concise mode of speech. But, at the same time, it foresaw that there would be stupid and crafty men, who, after paltering with the virtual meaning, would require for the several members a word descriptive of their formation too. It is therefore because of such persons, that *Scripture* in other passages teaches us of the creation of the individual parts. You have Wisdom saying, “But before the depths was I brought forth,” in order that you may believe that the depths were also “brought forth” — that is, created — just as we create sons also, though we “bring them forth.” It matters not whether the depth was made or born, so that a beginning be accorded to it, which *however* would not be, if it were subjoined to matter. Of darkness, indeed, the Lord Himself by Isaiah says, “I formed the light, and I created darkness.” Of the wind also Amos says, “He that strengtheneth the thunder, and createth the wind, and declareth His Christ unto men;” thus showing that that wind was created which was reckoned with the formation of the earth, which was wafted over the waters, balancing and refreshing and animating all things: not (as some suppose) meaning God Himself by *the spirit*, on the ground that “God is a Spirit,” because the waters would not be able to bear up their Lord; but He speaks of that spirit of which the winds consist, as He says by Isaiah, “Because my spirit went forth from me, and I made every blast.” In like manner the same Wisdom says of the waters, “Also when He made the fountains strong, things which are under the sky, I was fashioning them along with Him.” Now, when we prove that these particular things were created by God, although they are only mentioned in Genesis, without any intimation of their having been made, we shall perhaps receive from the other side the reply, that these were made, it is true, but out of Matter, since the very statement of

Moses, “And darkness was on the face of the deep, and the spirit of God moved on the face of the waters,” refers to Matter, as indeed do all those other Scriptures here and there, which demonstrate that the separate parts were made out of Matter. It must follow, then, that as earth consisted of earth, so also depth consisted of depth, and darkness of darkness, and the wind and waters of wind and waters. And, as we said above, Matter could not have been without form, since it had specific parts, which were formed out of it — although as separate things — unless, indeed, they were not separate, but were the very same with those out of which they came. For it is really impossible that those specific things, which are set forth under the same names, should have been diverse; because in that case the operation of God might seem to be useless, if it made things which existed already; since that alone would be a creation, when things came into being, which had not been (previously) made. Therefore, to conclude, either Moses then pointed to Matter when he wrote *the words*: “And darkness was on the face of the deep, and the spirit of God moved on the face of the waters;” or else, inasmuch as these specific parts of creation *are afterwards shown in other passages to have been made* by God, they ought to have been with equal explicitness shown to have been made out of the Matter which, *according to you*, Moses had previously mentioned; or else, *finally*, if Moses pointed to those specific parts, and not to Matter, I want to know where Matter has been pointed out *at all*.

Chapter XXXIII. — Statement of the True Doctrine Concerning Matter. Its Relation to God's Creation of the World.

But although Hermogenes finds it amongst his own colourable pretences (for it was not in his power to discover it in the Scriptures of God), it is enough for us, both that it is certain that all things were made by God, and that there is no certainty whatever that they were made out of Matter. And even if Matter had *previously* existed, we must have believed that it had been really made by God, since we maintained (no less) when we held the rule of faith to be, that nothing except God was uncreated. Up to this point there is room for controversy, until Matter is brought to the test of the Scriptures, and fails to make good its case. The conclusion of the whole is this: I find that there was nothing made, except out of nothing; because that which I find was made, I know did not *once* exist. Whatever was made out of something, has its origin in something made: for instance, out of the ground was made the grass, and the fruit, and the cattle, and the form of man himself; so from the waters were produced the animals which swim and fly. The original fabrics out of which such creatures were produced I may call their *materials*, but then even these were created by God.

Chapter XXXIV. — A Presumption that All Things Were Created by God Out of Nothing Afforded by the Ultimate Reduction of All Things to Nothing. Scriptures Proving This Reduction Vindicated from Hermogenes' Charge of Being Merely Figurative.

Besides, the belief that everything was made from nothing will be impressed upon us by that ultimate dispensation of God which will bring back all things to nothing. For "the very heaven shall be rolled together as a scroll;" nay, it shall come to nothing along with the earth itself, with which it was made in the beginning. "Heaven and earth shall pass away," says He. "The first heaven and the first earth passed away," "and there was found no place for them," because, of course, that which comes to an end loses locality. In like manner David says, "The heavens, the works of Thine hands, shall themselves perish. For even as a vesture shall He change them, and they shall be changed." Now to be changed is to fall from that primitive state which they lose whilst undergoing the change. "And the stars too shall fall from heaven, even as a fig-tree casteth her green figs when she is shaken of a mighty wind." "The mountains shall melt like wax at the presence of the Lord;" that is, "when He riseth to shake terribly the earth." "But I will dry up the pools;" and "they shall seek water, and they shall find none." Even "the sea shall be no more." Now if any person should go so far as to suppose that all these passages ought to be spiritually interpreted, he will yet be unable to deprive them of the true accomplishment of those issues which must come to pass just as they have been written. For all figures of speech necessarily arise out of real things, not out of chimerical ones; because nothing is capable of imparting anything of its own for a similitude, except it actually be that very thing which it imparts in the similitude. I return therefore to the principle which defines that all things which have come from nothing shall return at last to nothing. For God would not have made any perishable thing out of what was eternal, that is to say, out of Matter; neither out of greater things would He have created inferior ones, to whose character it would be more agreeable to produce greater things out of inferior ones, — in other words, what is eternal out of what is perishable. This is the promise He makes even to our flesh, and it has been His will to deposit within us this pledge of His own virtue and power, in order that we may

believe that He has actually awakened the universe out of nothing, as if it had been steeped in death, in the sense, of course, of its previous non-existence for the purpose of its coming into existence.

Chapter XXXV. — Contradictory Propositions Advanced by Hermogenes Respecting Matter and Its Qualities.

As regards all other points touching Matter, although there is no necessity why we should treat of them (for our first point was the manifest proof of its existence), we must for all that pursue our discussion just as if it did exist, in order that its non-existence may be the more apparent, when these other points concerning it prove inconsistent with each other, and in order at the same time that Hermogenes may acknowledge his own contradictory positions. Matter, says he, at first sight seems to us to be incorporeal; but when examined by *the light of* right reason, it is found to be neither corporeal nor incorporeal. What is this right reason of yours, which declares nothing right, that is, nothing certain? For, if I mistake not, everything must of necessity be either corporeal or incorporeal (although I may for the moment allow that there is a certain incorporeality in even substantial things, although their very substance is the body of particular things); at all events, after the corporeal and the incorporeal there is no third *state*. But if it be contended that there is a third state discovered by this right reason of Hermogenes, which makes Matter neither corporeal nor incorporeal, (I ask,) Where is it? what sort of thing is it? what is it called? what is its description? what is it understood to be? This only has his reason declared, that Matter is neither corporeal nor incorporeal.

Chapter XXXVI. — Other Absurd Theories Respecting Matter and Its Incidents Exposed in an Ironical Strain. Motion in Matter. Hermogenes' Conceits Respecting It.

But see what a contradiction he next advances (or perhaps some *other* reason occurs to him), when he declares that Matter partly corporeal and partly incorporeal. Then must Matter be considered (to embrace) both conditions, in order that it may not have either? For it will be corporeal, and incorporeal in spite of the declaration of that antithesis, which is plainly above giving any reason for its opinion, just as that “other reason” also was. Now, by the corporeal part of Matter, he means that of which bodies are created; but by the incorporeal part of *Matter*, he means its uncreated motion. If, says he, *Matter* were simply a body, there would appear to be in it nothing incorporeal, that is, (no) motion; if, on the other hand, it had been wholly incorporeal no body could be formed out of it. What a peculiarly right reason have we here! Only if you make your sketches as right as you make your reason, Hermogenes, no painter would be more stupid than yourself. For who is going to allow you to reckon *motion* as a moiety of *Matter*, seeing that it is not a substantial thing, because it is not corporeal, but an accident (if indeed it be even that) of a substance and a body? Just as action is, and impulsion, just as a slip is, or a fall, so is motion. When anything moves even of itself, its motion is the result of impulse; but certainly it is no part of its substance in your sense, when you make motion the incorporeal part of matter. All things, indeed, have motion — either of themselves as animals, or of others as inanimate things; but yet we should not say that either a man or a stone was both corporeal and incorporeal because they had both a body and motion: *we should say* rather that all things have one form of simple corporeality, which is the essential quality of substance. If any incorporeal *incidents* accrue to them, as actions, or passions, or functions, or desires, we do not reckon these parts as of the things. How then does he contrive to assign an *integral* portion of Matter to *motion*, which does not pertain to substance, but to a certain condition of substance? Is not this incontrovertible? Suppose you had taken it into your head to represent matter as immoveable, would then the immobility seem to you to be a moiety of its form? *Certainly not*. Neither, in like manner, could motion. But I shall be at liberty to speak of motion elsewhere.

Chapter XXXVII. — Ironical Dilemmas Respecting Matter, and Sundry Moral Qualities Fancifully Attributed to It.

I see now that you are coming back again to that reason, which has been in the habit of declaring to you nothing in the way of certainty. For just as you introduce to our notice Matter as being neither corporeal nor incorporeal, so you allege of it that it is neither good nor evil; and you say, whilst arguing further on it in the same strain: "If it were good, seeing that it had ever been so, it would not require the arrangement of itself by God; if it were naturally evil, it would not have admitted of a change for the better, nor would God have ever applied to such a nature any attempt at arrangement of it, for His labour would have been in vain." Such are your words, which it would have been well if you had remembered in other passages also, so as to have avoided any contradiction of them. As, however, we have already treated to some extent of this ambiguity of good and evil touching Matter, I will now reply to the only proposition and argument of yours which we have before us. I shall not stop to repeat my opinion, that it was your bounden duty to have said for certain that Matter was either good or bad, or in some third condition; but (I must observe) that you have not here even kept to the statement which you chose to make before. Indeed, you retract what you declared — that Matter is neither good nor evil; because you imply that it is evil when you say, "If it were good, it would not require to be set in order by God;" so again, when you add, "If it were naturally evil, it would not admit of any change for the better," you seem to intimate that it is good. And so you attribute to it a close relation to good and evil, although you declared it neither good nor evil. With a view, however, to refute the argument whereby you thought you were going to clinch your proposition, I here contend: If Matter had always been good, why should it not have *still* wanted a change for the better? Does that which is good never desire, never wish, never feel able to advance, so as to change its good for a better? And in like manner, if *Matter* had been by nature evil, why might it not have been changed by God as the more powerful Being, as able to convert the nature of stones into children of Abraham? Surely by such means you not only compare the Lord with Matter, but you even put Him below it, since you affirm that the nature of Matter could not possibly be brought under

control by Him, and trained to something better. But although you are here disinclined to allow that Matter is by nature evil, yet in another passage you will deny having made such an admission.

Chapter XXXIII. — Other Speculations of Hermogenes, About Matter and Some of Its Adjuncts, Shown to Be Absurd. For Instance, Its Alleged Infinity.

My observations touching the *site* of Matter, as also concerning its *mode* have one and the same object in view — to meet and refute your perverse positions. You put Matter below God, and thus, of course, you assign a place to it below God. Therefore Matter is local. Now, if it is local, it is within locality; if within locality, it is bounded by the place within which it is; if it is bounded, it has an outline, which (painter as you are in your special vocation) you know is the boundary to every object susceptible of outline. Matter, therefore, cannot be infinite, which, since it is in space, is bounded by space; and being thus determinable by space, it is susceptible of an outline. You, however, make it infinite, when you say: “It is on this account infinite, because it is always existent.” And if any of your disciples should choose to meet us by declaring your meaning to be that Matter is infinite in time, not in its corporeal mass, still what follows will show that (you mean) corporeal infinity *to be an* attribute of Matter, *that it is in respect of bulk immense and* uncircumscribed. “Wherefore,” say you, “it is not fabricated as a whole, but *in* its parts.” In bulk, therefore, is it infinite, not in time. And you contradict yourself when you make *Matter* infinite in bulk, and at the same time ascribe place to it, including it within space and local outline. But yet at the same time I cannot tell why God should not have entirely formed it, unless it be because He was either impotent or envious. I want therefore to know the moiety of that which was not wholly formed (by God), in order that I may understand what kind of thing the entirety was. It was only right that God should have made it known as a model of antiquity, to set off the glory of His work.

Chapter XL. — Shapeless Matter an Incongruous Origin for God's Beautiful Cosmos. Hermogenes Does Not Mend His Argument by Supposing that Only a Portion of Matter Was Used in the Creation.

You say that Matter was reformed for the better — from a worse condition, of course; and *thus* you would make the better a copy of the worse. Everything was in confusion, but now it is reduced to order; and would you also say, that out of order, disorder is produced? No one thing is the exact mirror of another thing; that is to say, it is not its co-equal. Nobody ever found himself in a barber's looking-glass look like an ass instead of a man; unless it be he who supposes that unformed and shapeless Matter answers to Matter which is now arranged and beautified in the fabric of the world. What is there now that is without form in the world, what was there once that was formed in Matter, that the world is the mirror of Matter? Since the world is known among the Greeks by a term denoting *ornament*, how can it present the image of unadorned Matter, in such a way that you can say the whole is known by its parts? To that whole will certainly belong even the *portion* which has not yet become formed; and you have already declared that the whole *of Matter* was not used as material *in the creation*. It follows, then, that this rude, and confused, and unarranged portion cannot be recognized in the polished, and distinct and well-arranged *parts of creation*, which indeed can hardly with propriety be called parts of Matter, since they have quitted its condition, by being separated from it in the transformation they have undergone.

Chapter XLI. — Sundry Quotations from Hermogenes. Now Uncertain and Vague are His Speculations Respecting Motion in Matter, and the Material Qualities of Good and Evil.

I come back to the point of *motion*, that I may show how slippery you are at every step. Motion in Matter was disordered, and confused, and turbulent. This is why you apply to it the comparison of a boiler of hot water surging over. Now how is it, that in another passage another sort of motion is affirmed by you? For when you want to represent Matter as neither good nor evil, you say: "Matter, which is the substratum (of creation) possessing as it does motion in an equable impulse, tends in no very great degree either to good or to evil." Now if it had this equable impulse, it could not be turbulent, nor be like the boiling water of the caldron; it would rather be even and regular, oscillating indeed of its own accord between good and evil, but yet not prone or tending to either side. It would swing, as the phrase is, in a just and exact balance. Now this is not unrest; this is not turbulence or inconstancy; but rather the regularity, and evenness, and exactitude of a motion, inclining to neither side. If it oscillated this way and that way, and inclined rather to one particular side, it would plainly in that case merit the reproach of unevenness, and inequality, and turbulence. Moreover, although the motion of *Matter* was not prone either to good or to evil, it would still, of course, oscillate between good and evil; so that from this circumstance too it is obvious that Matter is contained within certain limits, because its motion, while prone to neither good nor evil, since it had no natural bent either way, oscillated from either between both, and therefore was contained within the limits of the two. But you, in fact, place both good and evil in a local habitation, when you assert that motion in Matter inclined to neither of them. For Matter which was local, when inclining neither hither nor thither, inclined not to the places in which good and evil were. But when you assign locality to good and evil, you make them corporeal by making them local, since those things which have local space must needs first have bodily substance. In fact, incorporeal things could not have any locality of their own except in a body, when they have access to a body. But when Matter inclined not to good and evil, it was as corporeal or local *essences* that it did not incline to them. You err, therefore, when you will

have it that good and evil are substances. For you make substances of the things to which you assign locality; but you assign locality when you keep motion in Matter poised equally distant from both sides.

Chapter XLII. — Further Exposure of Inconsistencies in the Opinions of Hermogenes Respecting the Divine Qualities of Matter.

You have thrown out all your views loosely and at random, in order that it might not be apparent, by too close a proximity, how contrary they are to one another. I, however, mean to gather them together and compare them. You allege that motion in Matter is without regularity, and you go on to say that Matter aims at a shapeless condition, and then, in another passage, that it desires to be set in order by God. Does that, then, which affects to be without form, want to be put into shape? Or does that which wants to be put into shape, affect to be without form? You are unwilling that God should seem to be equal to Matter; and then again you say that it has a common condition with God. “For it is impossible,” you say, “if it has nothing in common with God, that it can be set in order by Him.” But if it had anything in common with God, it did not want to be set in order, being, forsooth, a part of the Deity through a community of condition; or else even God was susceptible of being set in order by Matter, by His having Himself something in common with it. And now you herein subject God to necessity, since there was in Matter something on account of which He gave it form. You make it, however, a common attribute of both of them, that they set themselves in motion by themselves, and that they are ever in motion. What less do you ascribe to Matter than to God? There will be found all through a fellowship of divinity in this freedom and perpetuity of motion.

Only in God motion is regular, in Matter irregular. In both, however, there is equally the attribute of Deity — both alike having free and eternal motion. At the same time, you assign more to Matter, to which belonged the privilege of thus moving itself in a way not allowed to God.

Chapter XLIII. — Other Discrepancies Exposed and Refuted Respecting the Evil in Matter Being Changed to Good.

On the subject of motion I would make this further remark. Following the *simile* of the boiling caldron, you say that motion in Matter, before it was regulated, was confused, restless, incomprehensible by reason of excess in the commotion. Then again you go on to say, “But it waited for the regulation of God, and kept its irregular motion incomprehensible, owing to the tardiness of its irregular motion.” Just before you ascribe commotion, here tardiness, to motion. Now observe how many slips you make respecting the nature of Matter. In a former passage you say, “If Matter were naturally evil, it would not have admitted of a change for the better; nor would God have ever applied to it any attempt at arrangement, for His labour would have been in vain.” You therefore concluded your two opinions, that Matter was not by nature evil, and that its nature was incapable of being changed by God; and then, forgetting them, you afterwards drew this inference: “But when it received adjustment from God, and was reduced to order, it relinquished its nature.” Now, inasmuch as it was transformed to good, it was of course transformed from evil; and if by God’s setting it in order it relinquished the nature of evil, it follows that its nature came to an end; now its nature was evil before the adjustment, but after the transformation it might have relinquished that nature.

Chapter XLIV. — Curious Views Respecting God's Method of Working with Matter Exposed. Discrepancies in the Heretic's Opinion About God's Local Relation to Matter.

But it remains that I should show also how you make God work. You are plainly enough at variance with the philosophers; but neither are you in accord with the prophets. The Stoics maintain that God pervaded Matter, just as honey the honeycomb. You, however, affirm that it is not by pervading Matter that God makes the world, but simply by appearing, and approaching it, just as beauty affects a thing by simply appearing, and a loadstone by approaching it. Now what similarity is there in God forming the world, and beauty wounding a soul, or a magnet attracting iron? For even if God appeared to Matter, He yet did not wound it, as beauty does the soul; if, again, He approached it, He yet did not cohere to it, as the magnet does to the iron. Suppose, however, that your examples are suitable ones. Then, of course, it was by appearing and approaching to Matter that God made the world, and He made it when He appeared and when He approached to it. Therefore, since He had not made it before then, He had neither appeared nor approached to it. Now, by whom can it be believed that God had not appeared to Matter — of the same nature as it even was owing to its eternity? Or that He had been at a distance from it — even He whom we believe to be existent everywhere, and everywhere apparent; whose praises all things chant, even inanimate things and things incorporeal, according to (the prophet) Daniel? How immense the place, where God kept Himself so far aloof from Matter as to have neither appeared nor approached to it before the creation of the world! I suppose He journeyed to it from a long distance, as soon as He wished to appear and approach to it.

Chapter XLV. — Conclusion. Contrast Between the Statements of Hermogenes and the Testimony of Holy Scripture Respecting the Creation. Creation Out of Nothing, Not Out of Matter.

But it is not thus that the prophets and the apostles have told us that the world was made by God merely appearing and approaching Matter. They did not even mention any Matter, but (said) that Wisdom was first set up, the beginning of His ways, for His works. Then that the Word was produced, “through whom all things were made, and without whom nothing was made.” Indeed, “by the Word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all their hosts by the breath of His mouth.” He is the Lord’s right hand, indeed His two hands, by which He worked and constructed *the universe*. “For,” says He, “the heavens are the works of Thine hands,” wherewith “He hath meted out the heaven, and the earth with a span.” Do not be willing so to cover God with flattery, as to contend that He produced by His mere appearance and simple approach so many vast substances, instead of rather forming them by His own energies. For this is proved by Jeremiah when he says, “God hath made the earth by His power, He hath established the world by His wisdom, and hath stretched out the heaven by His understanding.” These are the energies by the stress of which He made this universe. His glory is greater if He laboured. At length on the seventh day He rested from His works. Both one and the other were after His manner. If, on the contrary, He made this world simply by appearing and approaching it, did He, on the completion of His work, cease to appear and approach it any more. Nay rather, God began to appear more conspicuously and to be everywhere accessible from the time when the world was made. You see, therefore, how all things consist by the operation of that God who “made the earth by His power, who established the world by His wisdom, and stretched out the heaven by His understanding;” not appearing merely, nor approaching, but applying the almighty efforts of His mind, His wisdom, His power, His understanding, His word, His Spirit, His might. Now these things were not necessary to Him, if He had been perfect by simply appearing and approaching. They are, however, His “invisible things,” which, according to the apostle, “are from the creation of the world clearly seen by the things that are made;” *they are no parts* of a nondescript Matter, but they

are the sensible evidences of Himself. “For who hath known the mind of the Lord,” of which (the apostle) exclaims: “O the depth of the riches both of His wisdom and knowledge! how unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out!” Now what clearer truth do these words indicate, than that all things were made out of nothing? They are incapable of being found out or investigated, except by God alone. Otherwise, if they were traceable or discoverable in Matter, they would be capable of investigation. Therefore, in *as* far as it has become evident that Matter had no prior existence (even from this circumstance, that it is impossible for it to have had such an existence as is assigned to it), in *so* far is it proved that all things were made by God out of nothing. It must be admitted, however, that Hermogenes, by describing for Matter a condition like his own — irregular, confused, turbulent, of a doubtful and precipate and fervid impulse — has displayed a specimen of his own art, and painted his own portrait.

Adversus Valentinianus (Against the Valentinians)



Translated by Peter Holmes

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Chapter XXXIX. — Their Diversity of Sentiment Affects the Very Central Doctrine of Christianity, Even the Person and Character of the Lord Jesus. This Diversity Vitiates Every Gnostic School.

Chapter I. — Introductory. Tertullian Compares the Heresy to the Old Eleusinian Mysteries. Both Systems Alike in Preferring Concealment of Error and Sin to Proclamation of Truth and Virtue.

The Valentinians, who are no doubt a very large body of heretics — comprising as they do so many apostates from the truth, who have a propensity for fables, and no discipline to deter them (therefrom) care for nothing so much as to obscure what they preach, if indeed they (can be said to) preach who obscure *their* doctrine. *The officiousness with which they guard their doctrine* is an officiousness which betrays their guilt. Their disgrace is proclaimed in the very earnestness with which they maintain their religious system. Now, in the case of those Eleusinian mysteries, which are the very heresy of Athenian superstition, it is their secrecy that is their disgrace. Accordingly, they previously beset all access to their body with tormenting conditions; *and* they require a long initiation before they enrol (their members), even instruction during five years for their perfect disciples, in order that they may mould their opinions by this suspension of full knowledge, and apparently raise the dignity of their mysteries in proportion to the craving for them which they have previously created. Then follows the duty of silence. Carefully is that guarded, which is so long in finding. All the divinity, however, lies in their secret recesses: there are revealed *at last* all the aspirations of the fully initiated, the entire mystery of the sealed tongue, the symbol of virility. But this allegorical representation, under the pretext of nature's reverend name, obscures a real sacrilege by help of an arbitrary symbol, and by *empty* images obviates the reproach of falsehood! In like manner, the heretics who are now the object of our remarks, the Valentinians, have formed Eleusinian dissipations of their own, consecrated by a profound silence, having nothing of the heavenly in them but their mystery. By the help of the sacred names and titles and arguments of true religion, they have fabricated the vainest and foulest figment for men's pliant liking, out of the affluent suggestions of Holy Scripture, since from its many springs many *errors* may well emanate. If you propose to them inquiries sincere and honest, they answer you with stern look and contracted brow, and say, "The subject is profound." If you try them with subtle questions, with the ambiguities of their

double tongue, they affirm a community of faith (with yourself). If you intimate to them that you understand *their* opinions, *they insist on knowing nothing themselves*. If you come to a close engagement with them they destroy your own fond hope of a victory over them by a self-immolation. Not even to their own disciples do they commit a secret before they have made sure of them. They have the knack of persuading men before instructing them; although truth persuades by teaching, but does not teach by first persuading.

Chapter II. — These Heretics Brand the Christians as Simple Persons. The Charge Accepted, and Simplicity Eulogized Out of the Scriptures.

For this reason we are branded by them as simple, and as being merely so, without being wise also; as if indeed wisdom were compelled to be wanting in simplicity, whereas the Lord unites them both: “Be ye therefore wise as serpents, and simple as doves.” Now if we, on our parts, be accounted foolish because we are simple, does it then follow that they are not simple because they are wise? Most perverse, however, are they who are not simple, even as they are most foolish who are not wise. And yet, (if I must choose) I should prefer taking the *latter* condition for the lesser fault; since it is perhaps better to have a wisdom which falls short in quantity, than that which is bad in quality — better to be in error than to mislead. Besides, the face of the Lord is patiently waited for by those who “seek Him in simplicity of heart,” as says the very Wisdom — not of Valentinus, but — of Solomon. Then, again, infants have borne by their blood a testimony to Christ. (Would you say) that it was children who shouted “Crucify Him”? They were neither children nor infants; in other words, they were not simple. The apostle, too, bids us to “become children again” towards God, “to be as children in malice” by our simplicity, yet as being also “wise in our practical faculties.” At the same time, with respect to the order of development in Wisdom, I have admitted that it flows from simplicity. In brief, “the dove” has usually served to figure Christ; “the serpent,” to tempt Him. The one even from the first has been the harbinger of divine peace; the other from the beginning has been the despoiler of the divine image. Accordingly, simplicity alone will be more easily able to know and to declare God, *whereas* wisdom alone will rather do Him violence, and betray Him.

Chapter III. — The Folly of This Heresy. It Dissects and Mutilates the Deity. Contrasted with the Simple Wisdom of True Religion. To Expose the Absurdities of the Valentinian System is to Destroy It.

Let, then, the serpent hide himself as much as he is able, and let him wrest all his wisdom in the labyrinths of his obscurities; let him dwell deep down in the ground; let him worm himself into secret holes; let him unroll his length through his sinuous joints; let him tortuously crawl, though not all at once, beast as he is that skulks the light. Of our dove, however, how simple is the very home! — always in high and open places, and facing the light! As the symbol of the Holy Spirit, it loves the (radiant) East, that figure of Christ. Nothing causes truth a blush, except only being hidden, because no man will be ashamed to give ear thereto. *No man will be ashamed* to recognise Him as God whom nature has already commended to him, whom he already perceives in all His works, — Him indeed who is simply, for this reason, imperfectly known; because man has not thought of Him as only one, because he has named Him in a plurality (of gods), and adored Him in other *forms*. Yet, to induce oneself to turn from this multitude of deities to another crowd, to remove from a familiar authority to an unknown one, to wrench oneself from what is manifest to what is hidden, is to offend faith on the very threshold. Now, even suppose that you are initiated into the entire fable, will it not occur to you that you have heard something very like it from your fond nurse when you were a baby, amongst the lullabies she sang to you about the towers of Lamia, and the horns of the sun? Let, however, any man approach the subject from a knowledge of the faith which he has otherwise learned, as soon as he finds so many names of Æons, so many marriages, so many offsprings, so many exits, so many issues, felicities *and* infelicities of a dispersed and mutilated Deity, will that man hesitate at once to pronounce that these are “the fables and endless genealogies” which the inspired apostle by anticipation condemned, whilst these seeds of heresy were even then shooting forth? Deservedly, therefore, must they be regarded as wanting in simplicity, and as merely prudent, who produce such fables not without difficulty, and defend them only indirectly, who at the same time do not thoroughly instruct those whom they teach. This, of course, shows their astuteness, if their lessons are

disgraceful; their unkindness, if they are honourable. As for us, however, who are the simple folk, we know all about it. In short, this is the very first weapon with which we are armed for our encounter; it unmask and brings to view the whole of their depraved system. And in this we have the first augury of our victory; because even merely to point out that which is concealed with so great an outlay of artifice, is to destroy it.

Chapter IV. — The Heresy Traceable to Valentinus, an Able But Restless Man. Many Schismatical Leaders of the School Mentioned. Only One of Them Shows Respect to the Man Whose Name Designates the Entire School.

We know, I say, most fully their actual origin, and we are quite aware why we call them Valentinians, although they affect to disavow their name. They have departed, it is true, from their founder, yet is their origin by no means destroyed; and even if it chance to be changed, the very change bears testimony to the fact. Valentinus had expected to become a bishop, because he was an able man both in genius and eloquence. Being indignant, however, that another obtained the dignity by reason of a claim which confessorship had given him, he broke with the church of the true faith. Just like those (restless) spirits which, when roused by ambition, are usually inflamed with the desire of revenge, he applied himself with all his might to exterminate the truth; and finding the clue of a certain old opinion, he marked out a path for himself with the subtlety of a serpent. Ptolemæus afterwards entered on the same path, by distinguishing the names and the numbers of the Æons into personal substances, which, however, he kept apart from God. Valentinus had included these in the very essence of the Deity, as senses and affections of motion. Sundry bypaths were then struck off therefrom, by Heracleon and Secundus and the magician Marcus. Theotimus worked hard about “the images of the law.” Valentinus, however, was as yet nowhere, and still the Valentinians derive their name from Valentinus. Axionicus at Antioch is the only man who at the present time does honour to the memory of Valentinus, by keeping his rules to the full. But this heresy is permitted to fashion itself into as many various shapes as a courtesan, who usually changes and adjusts her dress every day. And why not? When they review that spiritual seed of theirs in every man after this fashion, whenever they have hit upon any novelty, they forthwith call their presumption a revelation, their own perverse ingenuity a spiritual gift; but (they deny all) unity, *admitting only* diversity. And thus we clearly see that, setting aside their customary dissimulation, most of them are in a divided state, being ready to say (and that sincerely) of certain points of their belief, “This is not so;” and, “I take this in a different sense;” and, “I do not admit that.” By this variety, indeed, innovation is stamped on the very face

of their rules; besides which, it wears all the colourable features of ignorant conceits.

Chapter V. — Many Eminent Christian Writers Have Carefully and Fully Refuted the Heresy. These the Author Makes His Own Guides.

My own path, however, lies along the original tenets of their chief teachers, not with the self-appointed leaders of their promiscuous followers. Nor shall we hear it said of us from any quarter, that we have of our own mind fashioned our own materials, since these have been already produced, both in respect of the opinions and their refutations, in carefully written volumes, by so many eminently holy and excellent men, not only those who have lived before us, but those also who were contemporary with the heresiarchs themselves: for instance Justin, philosopher and martyr; Miltiades, the sophist of the churches; Irenæus, that very exact inquirer into all doctrines; our own Proculus, the model of chaste old age and Christian eloquence. All these it would be my desire closely to follow in every work of faith, even as in this particular one. Now if there are no heresies at all but what those who refute them are supposed to have fabricated, then the apostle who predicted them must have been guilty of falsehood. If, however, there are heresies, they can be no other than those which are the subject of discussion. No writer can be supposed to have so much time on his hands as to fabricate materials which are already in his possession.

Chapter VI. — Although Writing in Latin He Proposes to Retain the Greek Names of the Valentinian Emanations of Deity. Not to Discuss the Heresy But Only to Expose It. This with the Raillery Which Its Absurdity Merits.

In order then, that no one may be blinded by so many outlandish names, collected together, and adjusted at pleasure, and of doubtful import, I mean in this little work, wherein we merely undertake to propound this (heretical) mystery, to explain in what manner we are to use them. Now the rendering of some of these *names* from the Greek so as to produce an equally obvious sense of the word, is by no means an easy process: in the case of some others, the genders are not suitable; while others, again, are more familiarly known in their Greek form. For the most part, therefore, we shall use the Greek names; their meanings will be seen on the margins of the pages. Nor will the Greek be unaccompanied with the Latin *equivalents*; only these will be marked in lines above, for the purpose of explaining the personal names, rendered necessary by the ambiguities of such of them as admit some different meaning. But although I must postpone all discussion, and be content at present with the mere exposition (of the heresy), still, wherever any scandalous feature shall seem to require a castigation, it must be attacked by all means, if only with a passing thrust. Let the reader regard it as the skirmish before the battle. It will be my drift to show how to wound rather than to inflict deep gashes. If in any instance mirth be excited, this will be quite as much as the subject deserves. There are many things which deserve refutation in such a way as to have no gravity expended on them. Vain and silly topics are met with especial fitness by laughter. Even the truth may indulge in ridicule, because it is jubilant; it may play with its enemies, because it is fearless. Only we must take care that its laughter be not unseemly, and so itself be laughed at; but wherever its mirth is decent, there it is a duty *to indulge it*. And so at last I enter on my task.

Chapter VII. — The First Eight Emanations, or Æons, Called the Ogdoad, are the Fountain of All the Others. Their Names and Descent Recorded.

Beginning with Ennius, the Roman poet, he simply spoke of “the spacious saloons of heaven,” — either on account of their elevated site, or because in Homer he had read about Jupiter banqueting therein. As for *our* heretics, however, it is marvellous what storeys upon storeys and what heights upon heights, they have hung up, raised *and* spread out as a dwelling for each several god of theirs. Even our Creator has had arranged for Him the saloons of Ennius in the fashion of private rooms, with chamber piled upon chamber, and assigned to each god by just as many staircases as there were heresies. The universe, *in fact*, has been turned into “rooms to let.” Such storeys of the heavens you would imagine to be detached tenements in some happy isle of the blessed, I know not where. There the god even of the Valentinians has his dwelling in the attics. They call him indeed, as to his essence, Αἰὼν τέλειος (*Perfect Æon*), but in respect of his personality, Προαρχή (*Before the Beginning*), Ἡ Ἀρχή (*The Beginning*), and sometimes Bythos (*Depth*), a name which is most unfit for one who dwells in the heights above! They describe him as unbegotten, immense, infinite, invisible, and eternal; as if, when they described him to be such as we know that he ought to be, they straightway prove him to be a being who may be said to have had such an existence even before all things else. I indeed insist upon it that he is such a being; and there is nothing which I detect in beings of this sort more obvious, than that they who are said to have been before all things — things, too, not their own — are found to be behind all things. Let it, however, be granted that this Bythos of theirs existed in the infinite ages of the past in the greatest and profoundest repose, in the extreme rest of a placid and, if I may use the expression, stupid divinity, such as Epicurus has enjoined upon us. And yet, although they would have him be alone, they assign to him a second person in himself and with himself, Ennoea (*Thought*), which they also call both Charis (*Grace*) and Sige (*Silence*). Other things, as it happened, conduced in this most agreeable repose to remind him of the need of by and by producing out of himself the beginning of all things. This he deposits in lieu of seed in the genital region, as it were, of the womb of his Sige. Instantaneous conception

is the result: Sige becomes pregnant, and is delivered, of course in silence; and her offspring is Nus (Mind), very like his father and his equal in every respect. In short, he alone is capable of comprehending the measureless and incomprehensible greatness of his father. Accordingly he is even called the Father himself, and the Beginning of all things, and, with great propriety, Monogenes (*The Only-begotten*). And yet not with absolute propriety, since he is not born alone. For along with him a female also proceeded, whose name was Veritas (*Truth*). But how much more suitably might Monogenes be called Protogenes (*First begotten*), since he was begotten first! Thus Bythos and Sige, Nus and Veritas, are alleged to be the first fourfold team of the Valentinian set (of gods) the parent stock and origin of them all. For immediately when Nus received the function of a procreation of his own, he too produces out of himself Sermo (*the Word*) and Vita (*the Life*). If this latter existed not previously, of course she existed not in Bythos. And a pretty absurdity would it be, if *Life* existed not in God! However, this offspring also produces fruit, having for its mission the initiation of the universe and the formation of the entire Pleroma: it procreates Homo (*Man*) and Ecclesia (*the Church*). Thus you have an Ogdoad, a double Tetra, out of the conjunctions of males and females — the cells (so to speak) of the primordial Æons, the fraternal nuptials of the Valentinian gods, the simple originals of heretical sanctity and majesty, a rabble — shall I say of criminals or of deities? — at any rate, the fountain of all ulterior fecundity.

Chapter VIII. — The Names and Descent of Other Æons; First Half a Score, Then Two More, and Ultimately a Dozen Besides. These Thirty Constitute the Pleroma. But Why Be So Capricious as to Stop at Thirty?

For, behold, when the second Tetrad — Sermo and Vita, Homo and Ecclesia — had borne fruit to the Father's glory, having an intense desire of themselves to present to the Father something similar of their own, they bring other issue into being — conjugal of course, as the others were — by the union of the twofold nature. On the one hand, Sermo and Vita pour out at a birth a half-score of Æons; on the other hand, Homo and Ecclesia produce a couple more, so furnishing an equipoise to their parents, since this pair with the other ten make up just as many as they did themselves procreate. I now give the names of the half-score whom I have mentioned: Bythios (*Profound*) and Mixis (*Mixture*), Ageratos (*Never old*) and Henosis (*Union*), Autophyes (*Essential nature*) and Hedone (*Pleasure*), Acinetos (*Immoveable*) and Syncrasis (*Commixture*), Monogenes (*Only-begotten*) and Macaria (*Happiness*). On the other hand, these will make up the number twelve (to which I have also referred): Paracletus (*Comforter*) and Pistis (*Faith*), Patricas (*Paternal*) and Elpis (*Hope*), Metricos (*Maternal*) and Agape (*Love*), Ainos (*Praise*) and Synesis (*Intelligence*), Ecclesiasticus (*Son of Ecclesia*) and Macariotes (*Blessedness*), Theletus (*Perfect*) and Sophia (*Wisdom*). I cannot help here quoting from a like example what may serve to show the import of these names. In the schools of Carthage there was once a certain Latin rhetorician, an excessively cool fellow, whose name was Phosphorus. He was personating a man of valour, and wound up with saying, "I come to you, excellent citizens, from battle, with victory for myself, with happiness for you, full of honour, covered with glory, the favourite of fortune, the greatest of men, decked with triumph." And forthwith his scholars begin to shout for the school of Phosphorus, φεῦ (*ah!*). Are you a believer in Fortunata, and Hedone, and Acinetus, and Theletus? Then shout out your φεῦ for the school of Ptolemy. This must be that mystery of the Pleroma, the fulness of the thirty-fold divinity. Let us see what special attributes belong to these numbers — four, and eight, and twelve. Meanwhile with the number thirty all fecundity ceases.

The generating force and power and desire of the Æons is spent. As if there were not still left some strong rennet for curdling numbers. As if no other names were to be got out of the page's hall! For why are there not sets of fifty and of a hundred procreated? Why, too, are there no comrades and boon companions named *for* them?

Chapter IX. — Other Capricious Features in the System. The Æons Unequal in Attributes. The Superiority of Nus; The Vagaries of Sophia Restrained by Horos. Grand Titles Borne by This Last Power.

But, further, there is an “acceptance of persons,” inasmuch as Nus alone among them all enjoys the knowledge of the immeasurable Father, joyous and exulting, while they of course pine in sorrow. To be sure, Nus, so far as in him lay, both wished and tried to impart to the others also all that he had learnt about the greatness and incomprehensibility of the Father; but his mother, Sige, interposed — she who (you must know) imposes silence even on her own beloved heretics; although they affirm that this is done at the will of the Father, who will have all to be inflamed with a longing after himself. Thus, while they are tormenting themselves with these internal desires, while they are burning with the secret longing to know the Father, the crime is almost accomplished. For of the twelve Æons which Homo and Ecclesia had produced, the youngest by birth (never mind the solecism, since Sophia (Wisdom) is her name), unable to restrain herself, breaks away without the society of her husband Theletus, in quest of the Father and contracts that kind of sin which had indeed arisen amongst the others who were conversant with Nus but had flowed on to this *Æon*, that is, to Sophia; as is usual with maladies which, after arising in one part of the body, spread abroad their infection to some other limb. The fact is, under a pretence of love to the Father, she was overcome with a desire to rival Nus, who alone rejoiced in the knowledge of the Father. But when Sophia, straining after impossible aims, was disappointed of her hope, she is both overcome with difficulty, and racked with affection. *Thus* she was all but swallowed up by reason of the charm and toil (of her research), and dissolved into the remnant of *his* substance; nor would there have been any other alternative for her than perdition, if she had not by good luck fallen in with Horus (*Limit*). He too had considerable power. He is the foundation of the great universe, and, externally, the guardian thereof. To him they give the additional names of Crux (*Cross*), and Lytrotes (*Redeemer*), and Carpistes (*Emancipator*). When Sophia was thus rescued from danger, and tardily persuaded, she relinquished further research after the Father, found repose, and laid aside all her excitement, *or*

Enthymesis (*Desire*,) along with the passion which had come over her.

Chapter X. — Another Account of the Strange Aberrations of Sophia, and the Restraining Services of Horus. Sophia Was Not Herself, After All, Ejected from the Pleroma, But Only Her Enthymesis.

But some dreamers have given another account of the aberration and recovery of Sophia. After her vain endeavours, and the disappointment of her hope, she was, I suppose, disfigured with paleness and emaciation, and that neglect of her beauty which was natural to one who was deploring the denial of the Father, — an affliction which was no less painful than his loss. Then, in the midst of all this sorrow, she by herself alone, without any conjugal help, conceived and bare a female offspring. Does this excite your surprise? Well, even the hen has the power of being able to bring forth by her own energy. They say, too, that among vultures there are only females, which become parents alone. At any rate, she was another without aid from a male, and she began at last to be afraid that her end was even at hand. She was all in doubt about the treatment of her case, and took pains at self-concealment. Remedies *could* nowhere *be* found. *For where, then, should we have tragedies and comedies, from* which to borrow the process of exposing what has been born without connubial modesty? While the thing is in this evil plight, she raises her eyes, and turns them to the Father. Having, however, striven in vain, as her strength was failing her, she falls to praying. Her entire kindred also supplicates in her behalf, and especially Nus. Why not? What was the cause of so vast an evil? Yet not a single casualty befell Sophia without its effect. All her sorrows operate. Inasmuch as all that conflict of hers contributes to the origin of Matter. *Her* ignorance, *her* fear, *her* distress, become substances. Hereupon the Father by and by, being moved, produces in his own image, with a view to these *circumstances* the Horos whom we have mentioned above; (and this he does) by means of Monogenes Nus, a male-female (Æon), because there is this variation of statement about the Father's sex. They also go on to tell us that Horos is likewise called Metagogius, that is, “a conductor about,” as well as Horothetes (*Setter of Limits*). By his assistance they declare that Sophia was checked in her illicit courses, and purified from all evils, and henceforth strengthened (in virtue), and restored to the conjugal state: (they add) that she indeed remained within the bounds of the Pleroma, but that her

Enthymesis, with the accruing Passion, was banished by Horos, and crucified and cast out from the Pleroma, — even as they say, *Malum foras!* (Evil, avaunt!) Still, that was a spiritual essence, as being the natural impulse of an Æon, although without form or shape, inasmuch as it had apprehended nothing, and therefore was pronounced to be an infirm and feminine fruit.

Chapter XI. — The Profane Account Given of the Origin of Christ and the Holy Ghost Sternly Rebuked. An Absurdity Respecting the Attainment of the Knowledge of God Ably Exposed.

Accordingly, after the banishment of the Enthymesis, and the return of her mother Sophia to her husband, the (illustrious) Monogenes, the Nus, released indeed from all care and concern of the Father, in order that he might consolidate all things, and defend and at last fix the Pleroma, and so prevent any concussion of the kind again, once more emits a new couple (blasphemously named). I should suppose the coupling of two males to be a very shameful thing, or else the one must be a female, and so the male is discredited by the female. One divinity is assigned in the case of all these, to procure a complete adjustment among the Æons. Even from this fellowship in a common duty two schools actually arise, two chairs, and, to some extent, the inauguration of a division in the doctrine of Valentinus. It was the function of Christ to instruct the Æons in the nature of their conjugal relations (you see what the whole thing was, of course!), and how to form some guess about the unbegotten, and to give them the capacity of generating within themselves the knowledge of the Father; it being impossible to catch the idea of him, or comprehend him, or, in short, even to enjoy any perception of him, either by the eye or the ear, except through Monogenes (the Only-begotten). Well, I will even grant them what they allege about knowing the Father, so that they do not refuse us (the attainment of) the same. I would rather point out what is perverse in their doctrine, how they were taught that the incomprehensible part of the Father was the cause of their own perpetuity, whilst that which might be comprehended of him was the reason of their generation and formation. Now by these several positions the tenet, I suppose, is insinuated, that it is expedient for God not to be apprehended, on the very ground that the incomprehensibility of His character is the cause of perpetuity; whereas what in Him is comprehensible is productive, not of perpetuity, but rather of conditions which lack perpetuity — namely, nativity and formation. The Son, indeed, they made capable of comprehending the Father. The manner in which He is comprehended, the recently produced Christ fully taught them. To the Holy Spirit, however, belonged the special gifts, whereby they, having been

all set on a complete par in respect of their earnestness to learn, should be enabled to offer up their thanksgiving, and be introduced to a true tranquillity.

Chapter XII. — The Strange Jumble of the Pleroma. The Frantic Delight of the Members Thereof. Their Joint Contribution of Parts Set Forth with Humorous Irony.

Thus they are all on the self-same footing in respect of form and knowledge, all of them having become what each of them severally is; none being a different being, because they are all what the others are. They are all turned into Nuses, into Homos, into Theletuses; and so in the case of the females, into Siges, into Zoes, into Ecclesias, into Fortunatas, so that Ovid would have blotted out his own *Metamorphoses* if he had only known our larger one in the present day. Straightway they were reformed and thoroughly established, and being composed to rest from the truth, they celebrate the Father in a chorus of praise in the exuberance of their joy. *The Father* himself also revelled in the glad feeling; of course, because his children and grandchildren sang so well. And why should he not revel in absolute delight? Was not the Pleroma freed (from all danger)? What ship's captain fails to rejoice even with indecent frolic? Every day we observe the uproarious ebullitions of sailors' joys. Therefore, as sailors always exult over the reckoning they pay in common, so do these Æons enjoy a similar pleasure, one as they now all are in form, and, as I may add, in feeling too. With the concurrence of even their new brethren and masters, they contribute into one common stock the best and most beautiful thing with which they are severally adorned. Vainly, as I suppose. For if they were all one by reason by the above-mentioned thorough equalization, there was no room for the process of a common reckoning, which for the most part consists of a pleasing variety. They all contributed the one good thing, which they all were. There would be, in all probability, a formal procedure in the mode or in the form of the very equalization in question. Accordingly, out of the donation which they contributed to the honour and glory of the Father, they jointly fashion the most beautiful constellation of the Pleroma, and its perfect fruit, Jesus. Him they also surname Soter (*Saviour*) and Christ, and Sermo (*Word*) after his ancestors; and lastly Omnia (*All Things*), as formed from a universally culled nosegay, like the jay of Æsop, the Pandora of Hesiod, the bowl of Accius, the honey-cake of Nestor, the miscellany of Ptolemy. How much nearer the mark, if these idle title-mongers had called him Pancarpian, after certain Athenian customs. By

way of adding external honour also to their wonderful puppet, they produce for him a bodyguard of angels of like nature. If this be their mutual condition, it may be all right; if, however, they are consubstantial with Soter (for I have discovered how doubtfully the case is stated), where will be his eminence when surrounded by attendants who are co-equal with himself?

Chapter XIII. — First Part of the Subject, Touching the Constitution of the Pleroma, Briefly Recapitulated. Transition to the Other Part, Which is Like a Play Outside the Curtain.

In this series, then, is contained the first emanation of Æons, who are alike born, and are married, and produce offspring: there are the most dangerous fortunes of Sophia in her ardent longing for the Father, the most seasonable help of Horos, the expiation of her Enthymesis and accruing Passion, the instruction of Christ and the Holy Spirit, their tutelar reform of the Æons, the piebald ornamentation of Soter, the consubstantial retinue of the angels. All that remains, according to you, is the fall of the curtain and the clapping of hands. What remains in my opinion, however, is, that you should hear and take heed. At all events, these things are said to have been played out within the company of the Pleroma, the first scene of the tragedy. The rest of the play, however, is beyond the curtain — I mean outside of the Pleroma. And yet if it be such within the bosom of the Father, within the embrace of the guardian Horos, what must it be outside, in free space, where God did not exist?

Chapter XIV. — The Adventures of Achamoth Outside the Pleroma. The Mission of Christ in Pursuit of Her. Her Longing for Christ. Horos' Hostility to Her. Her Continued Suffering.

For Enthymesis, or rather Achamoth — because by this inexplicable name alone must she be henceforth designated — when in company with the vicious Passion, her inseparable companion, she was expelled to places devoid of that light which is the substance of the Pleroma, even to the void and empty region of Epicurus, she becomes wretched also because of the place of her banishment. She is indeed without either form or feature, even an untimely and abortive production. Whilst she is in this plight, Christ descends from the heights, conducted by Horos, in order to impart form to the abortion, out of his own energies, the form of substance only, but not of knowledge also. Still she is left with some property. She has restored to her the odour of immortality, in order that she might, under its influence, be overcome with the desire of better things than belonged to her present plight. Having accomplished His merciful mission, not without the assistance of the Holy Spirit, Christ returns to the Pleroma. It is usual out of an abundance of things for names to be also forthcoming. Enthymesis came from action; whence Achamoth came is still a question; Sophia emanates from the Father, the Holy Spirit from an angel. She entertains a regret for Christ immediately after she had discovered her desertion by him. Therefore she hurried forth herself, in quest of the light of Him Whom she did not at all discover, as He operated in an invisible manner; for how else would she make search for His light, which was as unknown to her as He was Himself? Try, however, she did, and perhaps would have found Him, had not the self-same Horos, who had met her mother so opportunely, fallen in with the daughter quite as unseasonably, so as to exclaim at her *Iao!* just as we hear the cry “*Porro Quirites*” (“Out of the way, Romans!”), or else *Fidem Cæsaris!*” (“By the faith of Cæsar!”), whence (as they will have it) the name *Iao* comes to be found is the Scriptures. Being thus hindered from proceeding further, and being unable to surmount the Cross, that is to say, Horos, because she had not yet practised herself in the part of Catullus’ *Laureolus*, and given over, as it were, to that passion of hers in a manifold and complicated mesh, she began to be afflicted

with every impulse thereof, with sorrow, — because she had not accomplished her enterprise, with fear, — lest she should lose her life, even as she had lost the light, with consternation, *and* then with ignorance. But not as her mother (did she suffer this), for *she* was an Æon. Hers, however, was a worse suffering, considering her condition; for another tide of emotion still overwhelmed her, even of conversion to the Christ, by Whom she had been restored to life, and had been directed to this very conversion.

Chapter XV. — Strange Account of the Origin of Matter, from the Various Affections of Achamoth. The Waters from Her Tears; Light from Her Smile.

Well, now, the Pythagoreans may learn, the Stoics may know, Plato himself (may discover), whence Matter, which they will have to be unborn, derived both its origin and substance for all this pile of the world — (a mystery) which not even the renowned Mercurius Trismegistus, master (as he was) of all physical philosophy, thought out. You have just heard of “Conversion,” one element in the “Passion” (we have so often mentioned). Out of this the whole life of the world, and even that of the Demiurge himself, our God, is said to have had its being. Again, you have heard of “sorrow” and “fear.” From these all other created things took their beginning. For from her tears flowed the entire mass of waters. From this circumstance one may form an idea of the calamity which she encountered, so vast were the kinds of the tears wherewith she overflowed. She had salt tear-drops, she had bitter, and sweet, and warm, and cold, and bituminous, and ferruginous, and sulphurous, and even poisonous, so that the Nonacris exuded therefrom which killed Alexander; and the river of the Lyncestæ flowed from the same source, which produces drunkenness; and the Salmacis was derived from the same source, which renders men effeminate. The rains of heaven Achamoth whimpered forth, and we on our part are anxiously employed in saving up in our cisterns the very wails and tears of another. In like manner, from the “consternation” and “alarm” (of which we have also heard), bodily elements were derived. And yet amidst so many circumstances of solitude, in this vast prospect of destitution, she occasionally smiled at the recollection of the sight of Christ, and from this smile of joy light flashed forth. How great was this beneficence of Providence, which induced her to smile, and all that we might not linger for ever in the dark! Nor need you feel astonished how from her joy so splendid an element could have beamed upon the world, when from her sadness even so necessary a provision flowed forth for man. O illuminating smile! O irrigating tear! And yet it might now have acted as some alleviation amidst the horror of her situation; for she might have shaken off all the obscurity thereof as often as she had a mind to smile, even not to be obliged to turn suppliant to those who had deserted her.

Chapter XVI. — Achamoth Purified from All Impurities of Her Passion by the Paraclete, Acting Through Soter, Who Out of the Above-Mentioned Impurities Arranges Matter, Separating Its Evil from the Better Qualities.

She, too, resorts to prayers, after the manner of her mother. But Christ, Who now felt a dislike to quit the Pleroma, appoints the Paraclete as his deputy. To her, therefore, he despatches Soter, (who must be the same as Jesus, to whom the Father imparted the supreme power over the whole body of the Æons, by subjecting them all to him, so that “by him,” as the apostle says, “all things were created”), with a retinue and cortege of contemporary angels, and (as one may suppose) with the dozen fascies. Hereupon Achamoth, being quite struck with the pomp of his approach, immediately covered herself with a veil, moved at first with a dutiful feeling of veneration and modesty; but afterwards she surveys him calmly, and his prolific equipage. With such energies as she had derived from the contemplation, she meets him with the salutation, *Κόρυε, χαῖρε* (“Hail, Lord”)! Upon this, I suppose, he receives her, confirms and conforms her in knowledge, as well as cleanses her from all the outrages of Passion, without, however, utterly severing them, with an indiscriminateness like that which had happened in the casualties which befell her mother. For such vices as had become inveterate and confirmed by practice he throws together; and when he had consolidated them in one mass, he fixes them in a separate body, so as to compose the corporeal condition of Matter, extracting out of her inherent, incorporeal passion such an aptitude of nature as might qualify it to attain to a reciprocity of bodily substances, which should emulate one another, so that a twofold condition of the substances might be arranged; *one* full of evil through its faults, *the other susceptible of passion from conversion*. *This will prove* to be Matter, which has set us in battle array against Hermogenes, and all others who presume to teach that God made all things out of Matter, not out of nothing.

Chapter XVII. — Achamoth in Love with the Angels. A Protest Against the Lascivious Features of Valentinianism. Achamoth Becomes the Mother of Three Natures.

Then Achamoth, delivered at length from all her evils, wonderful to tell goes on and bears fruit with greater results. For warmed with the joy of so great an escape from her unhappy condition, and at the same time heated with the actual contemplation of the angelic luminaries (one is ashamed) *to use such language, (but there is no other way of expressing one's meaning)*, she during the emotion somehow became personally inflamed with desire towards them, and at once grew pregnant with a spiritual conception, at the very image of which the violence of her joyous transport, and the delight of her prurient excitement had imbibed and impressed upon her. She at length gave birth to an offspring, and then there arose a leash of natures, from a triad of causes, — one material, arising from her passion; another animal, arising from her conversion; the third spiritual, which had its origin in her imagination.

Chapter XVIII. — Blasphemous Opinion Concerning the Origin of the Demiurge, Supposed to Be the Creator of the Universe.

Having become a better proficient in practical conduct by the authority which, we may well suppose, accrued to her from her three children, she determined to impart form to each of the natures. The spiritual one however, she was unable to touch, inasmuch as she was herself spiritual. For a participation in the same nature has, to a very great extent, disqualified like and consubstantial beings from having superior power over one another. Therefore she applies herself solely to the animal nature, adducing the instructions of Soter (for her guidance). And first of all (she does) what cannot be described and read, and heard of, without an intense horror at the blasphemy thereof: she produces this God of ours, the God of all except of the heretics, the Father and Creator and King of all things, which are inferior to him. For from him do they proceed. If, however, they proceed from him, and not rather from Achamoth, or if only secretly from her, without his perceiving her, he was impelled to all that he did, even like a puppet which is moved from the outside. In fact, it was owing to this very ambiguity about the personal agency in the works which were done, that they coined for him the mixed name of (*Motherly Father*), whilst his other appellations were distinctly assigned according to the conditions and positions of his works: so that they call him *Father* in relation to the animal substances to which they give the place of honour on his right hand; whereas, in respect of the material substances which they banish to his left hand, they name him *Demiurgus*; whilst *his title King* designates his authority over both classes, *nay* over the universe.

Chapter XIX. — Palpable Absurdities and Contradictions in the System Respecting Achamoth and the Demiurge.

And yet there is not any agreement between the propriety of the names and that of the works, from which all the names are suggested; since all of them ought to have borne the name of her by whom the things were done, unless after all it turn out that they were not made by her. For, although they say that Achamoth devised these forms in honour of the Æons, they yet transfer this *work* to Soter as its author, when they say that he operated through her, so far as to give her the very image of the invisible and unknown Father — that is, the image which was unknown and invisible to the Demiurge; whilst he formed this same Demiurge in imitation of Nus the son *of Propator*; and whilst the archangels, who were the work of the Demiurge, resembled the other Æons. Now, when I hear of such images of the three, I ask, do you not wish me to laugh at these pictures of their most extravagant painter? At the female Achamoth, a picture of the Father? At the Demiurge, ignorant of his mother, much more so of his father? At the picture of Nus, ignorant of his father too, and the ministering angels, facsimiles of their lords? This is painting a mule from an ass, and sketching Ptolemy from Valentinus.

Chapter XX — The Demiurge Works Away at Creation, as the Drudge of His Mother Achamoth, in Ignorance All the While of the Nature of His Occupation.

The Demiurge therefore, placed as he was without the limits of the Pleroma in the ignominious solitude of his eternal exile, founded a new empire — this world (of ours) — by clearing away the confusion and distinguishing the difference between the two substances which severally constituted it, the animal and the material. Out of incorporeal (elements) he constructs bodies, heavy, light, erect and stooping, celestial and terrene. He then completes the sevenfold stages of heaven itself, with his own throne above all. Whence he had the additional name of Sabbatum from the hebdomadal nature of his abode; his mother Achamoth, too, had the title Ogdoada, after the precedent of the primeval Ogdoad. These heavens, however, they consider to be intelligent, and sometimes they make angels of them, as indeed they do of the Demiurge himself; as also (they call) Paradise the fourth archangel, because they fix it above the third heaven, of the power of which Adam partook, when he sojourned there amidst its fleecy clouds and shrubs. Ptolemy remembered perfectly well the prattle of his boyhood, that apples grew in the sea, and fishes on the tree; after the same fashion, he assumed that nut-trees flourished in the skies. The Demiurge does his work in ignorance, and therefore perhaps he is unaware that trees ought to be planted only on the ground. His mother, of course, knew all about it: how is it, then, that she did not suggest the fact, since she was actually executing her own operation? But whilst building up so vast an edifice for her son by means of those works, which proclaim him at once to be father, god and, king before the conceits of the Valentinians, why she refused to let them be known to even him, is a question which I shall ask afterwards.

Chapter XXI. — The Vanity as Well as Ignorance of the Demiurge. Absurd Results from So Imperfect a Condition.

Meanwhile you must believe that Sophia has the surnames of earth and of Mother— “Mother-Earth,” of course — and (what may excite your laughter still more heartily) even Holy Spirit. In this way they have conferred all honour on that female, I suppose even a beard, not to say other things. Besides, the Demiurge had so little mastery over things, on the score, you must know, of his inability to approach spiritual essences, (constituted as he was) of animal elements, that, imagining himself to be the only being, he uttered this soliloquy: “I am God, and beside me there is none else.” But for all that, he at least was aware that he had not himself existed before. He understood, therefore, that he had been created, and that there must be a creator of a creature of some sort or other. How happens it, then, that he seemed to himself to be the only being, notwithstanding his uncertainty, and although he had, at any rate, some suspicion of the existence of some creator?

Chapter XXII. — Origin of the Devil, in the Criminal Excess of the Sorrow of Achamoth. The Devil, Called Also Munditenens, Actually Wiser Than the Demiurge, Although His Work.

The odium felt amongst them against the devil is the more excusable, even because the peculiarly sordid character of his origin justifies it. For he is supposed by them to have had his origin in that criminal excess of her sorrow, from which they also derive the birth of the angels, and demons, and all the wicked spirits. Yet they affirm that the devil is the work of the Demiurge, and they call him Munditenens (*Ruler of the World*), and maintain that, as he is of a spiritual nature, he has a better knowledge of the things above than the Demiurge, an animal being. He deserves from them the pre-eminence which all heresies provide him with.

Chapter XXIII. — The Relative Positions of the Pleroma. The Region of Achamoth, and the Creation of the Demiurge. The Addition of Fire to the Various Elements and Bodies of Nature.

Their most eminent powers, moreover, they confine within the following limits, as in a citadel. In the most elevated of all summits presides the tricenary Pleroma, Horos marking off its boundary line. Beneath it, Achamoth occupies the intermediate space for her abode, treading down her son. For under her comes the Demiurge in his own Hebdomad, or rather the Devil, *sojourning* in this world in common with ourselves, formed, as has been said above, of the same elements and the same body, out of the most profitable calamities of Sophia; inasmuch as, (if it had not been for these,) our spirit would have had no space for inhaling and ejecting air — that delicate vest of all corporeal creatures, that revealer of all colours, that instrument of the seasons — if the sadness of Sophia had not filtered it, just as her fear did the animal existence, and her conversion the Demiurge himself. Into all these elements and bodies fire was fanned. Now, since they have not as yet explained to us the original sensation of this in Sophia, I will on my own responsibility conjecture that its spark was struck out of the delicate emotions of her (feverish grief). For you may be quite sure that, amidst all her vexations, she must have had a good deal of fever.

Chapter XXIV. — The Formation of Man by the Demiurge. Human Flesh Not Made of the Ground, But of a Nondescript Philosophic Substance.

Such being their conceits respecting God, or, if you like, the gods, of what sort are their figments concerning man? For, after he had made the world, the Demiurge turns his hands to man, and chooses for him as his substance not any portion of “the dry land,” as they say, of which alone we have any knowledge (although it was, at that time, not yet dried by the waters becoming separated from the earthy residuum, and only afterwards became dry), but of the invisible substance of that matter, which philosophy indeed dreams of, from its fluid and fusible composition, the origin of which I am unable to imagine, because it exists nowhere. Now, since fluidity and fusibility are qualities of liquid matter, and since everything liquid flowed from Sophia’s tears, we must, as a necessary conclusion, believe that muddy earth is constituted of Sophia’s eye-rheums and viscid discharges, which are just as much the dregs of tears as mud is the sediment of waters. Thus does the Demiurge mould man as a potter does his clay, and animates him with his own breath. Made after his image and likeness, he will therefore be both material and animal. A fourfold being! For in respect of his “image,” he must be deemed clayey, that is to say, material, although the Demiurge is not composed of matter; but as to his “likeness,” he is animal, for such, too, is the Demiurge. You have two (of his constituent elements). Moreover, a coating of flesh was, as they allege, afterwards placed over the clayey substratum, and it is this tunic of skin which is susceptible of sensation.

Chapter XXV. — An Extravagant Way of Accounting for the Communication of the Spiritual Nature to Man. It Was Furtively Managed by Achamoth, Through the Unconscious Agency of Her Son.

In Achamoth, moreover, there was inherent a certain property of a spiritual germ, of her mother Sophia's substance; and Achamoth herself had carefully severed off (the same quality), and implanted it in her son the Demiurge, although he was actually unconscious of it. It is for you to imagine the industry of this clandestine arrangement. For to this end had she deposited and concealed (this germ), that, whenever the Demiurge came to impart life to Adam by his inbreathing, he might at the same time draw off from the vital principle the spiritual seed, and, as by a pipe, inject it into the clayey nature; in order that, being then fecundated in the material body as in a womb, and having fully grown there, it might be found fit for one day receiving the perfect Word. When, therefore, the Demiurge commits to Adam the transmission of his own vital principle, the spiritual man lay hid, *although* inserted by his breath, and at the same time introduced into the body, because the Demiurge knew no more about his mother's seed than about herself. To this seed they give the name of Ecclesia (*the Church*), the mirror of the church above, and the perfection of man; tracing this *perfection* from Achamoth, just as they do the animal nature from the Demiurge, the clayey material of the body (they derive) from the primordial substance, the flesh from Matter. So that you have a new Geryon here, only a fourfold (rather than a threefold) monster.

Chapter XXVI. — The Three Several Natures — The Material, the Animal, and the Spiritual, and Their Several Destinations. The Strange Valentinian Opinion About the Structure of Soter's Nature.

In like manner they assign to each of them a separate end. To the material, that is to say the carnal (nature), which they also call “the left-handed,” they assign undoubted destruction; to the animal (nature), which they also call “the right-handed,” a doubtful issue, inasmuch as it oscillates between the material and the spiritual, and is sure to fall at last on the side to which it has mainly gravitated. As regards the spiritual, however, (they say) that it enters into the formation of the animal, in order that it may be educated in company with it and be disciplined by repeated intercourse with it. For the animal (nature) was in want of training even by the senses: for this purpose, accordingly, was the whole structure of the world provided; for this purpose also did Soter (*the Saviour*) present Himself in the world — even for the salvation of the animal (nature). By yet another arrangement they will have it that He, in some prodigious way, clothed Himself with the primary portions of those substances, the whole of which He was going to restore to salvation; in such wise that He assumed the spiritual nature from Achamoth, whilst He derived the animal (being), Christ, afterwards from the Demiurge; His corporal substance, however, which was constructed of an animal nature (only with wonderful and indescribable skill), He wore for a dispensational purpose, in order that He might, in spite of His own unwillingness, be capable of meeting persons, and of being seen and touched by them, and even of dying. But there was nothing material assumed by Him, inasmuch as *that* was incapable of salvation. As if He could possibly have been more required by any others than by those who were in want of salvation! And all this, in order that by severing the condition of our flesh from Christ they may also deprive it of the hope of salvation!

Chapter XXVII. — The Christ of the Demiurge, Sent into the World by the Virgin. Not of Her. He Found in Her, Not a Mother, But Only a Passage or Channel. Jesus Descended Upon Christ, at His Baptism, Like a Dove; But, Being Incapable of Suffering, He Left Christ to Die on the Cross Alone.

I now adduce (what they say) concerning Christ, upon whom some of them engraft Jesus with so much licence, that they foist into Him a spiritual seed together with an animal *inflatu*s. Indeed, I will not undertake to describe these incongruous crammings, which they have contrived in relation both to their men and their gods. Even the Demiurge has a Christ of His own — His natural Son. An animal, in short, produced by Himself, proclaimed by the prophets — His position being one which must be decided by prepositions; in other words, He was produced *by means of* a virgin, rather than *of* a virgin! On the ground that, having descended into the virgin rather in the manner of a passage through her than of a birth by her, He came into existence *through* her, not *of* her — not experiencing a mother in her, but nothing more than a way. Upon this same Christ, therefore (so they say), Jesus descended in the sacrament of baptism, in the likeness of a dove. Moreover, there was even in Christ accruing from Achamoth the condiment of a spiritual seed, in order of course to prevent the corruption of all the other stuffing. For after the precedent of the principal Tetrad, they guard him with four substances — the spiritual one of Achamoth, the animal one of the Demiurge, the corporeal one, which cannot be described, and that of Soter, or, in other phrase, the columbine. As for Soter (*Jesus*), he remained in Christ to the last, impassible, incapable of injury, incapable of apprehension. By and by, when it came to a question of capture, he departed from him during the examination before Pilate. In like manner, his mother's seed did not admit of being injured, being equally exempt from all manner of outrage, and being undiscovered even by the Demiurge himself. The animal and carnal Christ, however, does suffer after the fashion of the superior Christ, who, for the purpose of producing Achamoth, had been stretched upon the cross, that is, Horos, in a substantial though not a cognizable form. In this manner do they reduce all things to mere images — Christians themselves being indeed nothing but imaginary beings!

Chapter XXVIII. — The Demiurge Cured of His Ignorance by the Saviour's Advent, from Whom He Hears of the Great Future in Store for Himself.

Meanwhile the Demiurge, being still ignorant of everything, although he will actually have to make some announcement himself by the prophets, but is quite incapable of even this part of his duty (because they divide authority over the prophets between Achamoth, the Seed, and the Demiurge), no sooner heard of the advent of Soter (*Saviour*) than he runs to him with haste and joy, with all his might, like the centurion in the Gospel. And being enlightened by him on all points, he learns from him also of his own prospect how that he is to succeed to his mother's place. Being thenceforth free from all care, he carries on the administration of this world, mainly under the plea of protecting the church, for as long a time as may be necessary and proper.

Chapter XXIX. — The Three Natures Again Adverted to. They are All Exemplified Amongst Men. For Instance, by Cain, and Abel, and Seth.

I will now collect from different sources, by way of conclusion, what they affirm concerning the dispensation of the whole human race. Having at first stated their views as to *man's* threefold nature — which was, however, united in one in the case of Adam — they then proceed after him to divide it (into three) with their especial characteristics, finding opportunity for such distinction in the posterity of Adam himself, in which occurs a threefold division as to moral differences. Cain and Abel, and Seth, who were in a certain sense the sources of the human race, become the fountain-heads of just as many qualities of nature and essential character. The material nature, which had become reprobate for salvation, they assign to Cain; the animal nature, which was poised between divergent hopes, they find in Abel; the spiritual, preordained for certain salvation, they store up in Seth. In this way also they make a twofold distinction among souls, as to their property of good and evil — according to the material condition derived from Cain, or the animal from Abel. Men's spiritual state they derive over and above the other conditions, from Seth adventitiously, not in the way of nature, but of grace, in such wise that Achamoth infuses it among superior beings like rain into good souls, that is, those who are enrolled in the animal class. Whereas the material class — in other words, those which are bad souls — they say, never receive the blessings of salvation; for that nature they have pronounced to be incapable of any change or reform in its natural condition. This grain, then, of spiritual seed is modest and very small when cast from her hand, but under her instruction increases and advances into full conviction, as we have already said; and the souls, on this very account, so much excelled all others, that the Demiurge, even then in his ignorance, held them in great esteem. For it was from their list that he had been accustomed to select men for kings and for priests; and these even now, if they have once attained to a full and complete knowledge of these foolish conceits of theirs, since they are already naturalized in the fraternal bond of the spiritual state, will obtain a sure salvation, nay, one which is on all accounts their due.

Chapter XXX. — The Lax and Dangerous Views of This Sect Respecting Good Works. That These are Unnecessary to the Spiritual Man.

For this reason it is that they neither regard works as necessary for themselves, nor do they observe any of the calls of duty, eluding even the necessity of martyrdom on any pretence which may suit their pleasure. For this rule, (they say), is enjoined upon the animal seed, in order that the salvation, which we do not possess by any privilege of our state, we may work out by right of our conduct. Upon us, who are of an imperfect nature, is imprinted the mark of this (animal) seed, because we are reckoned *as sprung* from the loves of Theletus, and consequently as an abortion, just as their mother was. But *woe* to us indeed, should we in any point transgress the yoke of discipline, should we grow dull in the works of holiness and justice, should we desire to make our confession anywhere else, I know not where, and not before the powers of this world at the tribunals of the chief magistrates! As for them, however, they may prove their nobility by the dissoluteness of their life and their diligence in sin, since Achamoth fawns on them as her own; for she, too, found sin no unprofitable pursuit. Now it is held amongst them, that, for the purpose of honouring the celestial marriages, it is necessary to contemplate and celebrate the mystery always by cleaving to a companion, that, is to a woman; otherwise (they account any man) degenerate, and a bastard to the truth, who spends his life in the world without loving a woman or uniting himself to her. Then what is to become of the eunuchs whom we see amongst them?

Chapter XXXI. — At the Last Day Great Changes Take Place Amongst the Æons as Well as Among Men. How Achamoth and the Demiurge are Affected Then. Irony on the Subject.

It remains that we say something about the end of the world, and the dispensing of reward. As soon as Achamoth has completed the full harvest of her seed, and has then proceeded to gather it into her garner, or, after it has been taken to the mill and ground to flour, has hidden it in the kneading-trough with yeast until the whole be leavened, then shall the end speedily come. Then, to begin with, Achamoth herself removes from the middle region, from the second stage to the highest, since she is restored to the Pleroma: she is immediately received by that paragon of perfection Soter, as her spouse of course, and they two afterwards consummate new nuptials. This must be the spouse of the Scripture, the Pleroma of espousals (for you might suppose that the Julian laws were interposing, since there are these migrations from place to place). In like manner, the Demiurge, too, will then change the scene of his abode from the celestial Hebdomad to the higher regions, to his mother's now vacant saloon — by this time knowing her, without however seeing her. (A happy coincidence!) For if he had caught a glance of her, he would have preferred never to have known her.

Chapter XXXII. — Indignant Irony Exposing the Valentinian Fable About the Judicial Treatment of Mankind at the Last Judgment. The Immorality of the Doctrine.

As for the human race, its end will be to the following effect: — To all which bear the earthy and material mark there accrues an entire destruction, because “all flesh is grass,” and amongst these is the soul of mortal man, except when it has found salvation by faith. The souls of just men, that is to say, our souls, will be conveyed to the Demiurge in the abodes of the middle region. We are duly thankful; we shall be content to be classed with our god, in whom lies our own origin. Into the palace of the Pleroma nothing of the animal nature is admitted — nothing but the spiritual swarm of Valentinus. There, then, the first process is the despoiling of men themselves, that is, men within the Pleroma. Now this despoiling consists of the putting off of the souls in which they appear to be clothed, which they will give back to their Demiurge as they had obtained them from him. They will then become wholly intellectual spirits — impalpable, invisible — and in this state will be readmitted invisibly to the Pleroma — stealthily, if the case admits of the idea. What then? They will be dispersed amongst the angels, the attendants on Soter. As sons, do you suppose? Not at all. As servants, then? No, not even so. Well, as phantoms? Would that it were nothing more! Then in what capacity, if you are ashamed to tell us? In the capacity of brides. Then will they end their Sabine rapes with the sanction of wedlock. This will be the guerdon of the spiritual, this the recompense of their faith! Such fables have their use. Although but a Marcus or a Gaius, full-grown in this flesh of ours, with a beard and such like proofs (of virility,) it may be a stern husband, a father, a grandfather, a great-grandfather (never mind what, in fact, if only a male), you may perhaps in the bridal-chamber of the Pleroma — I have already said so tacitly — even become the parent by an angel of some Æon of high numerical rank. For the right celebration of these nuptials, instead of the torch and veil, I suppose that secret fire is then to burst forth, which, after devastating the whole existence of things, will itself also be reduced to nothing at last, after everything has been reduced to ashes; and so their fable too will be ended. But I, too, am no doubt a rash man, in having exposed so great a mystery in so derisive a way: I

ought to be afraid that Achamoth, who did not choose to make herself known even to her own son, would turn mad, that Theletus would be enraged, that Fortune would be irritated. But I am yet a liege-man of the Demiurge. I have to return after death to the place where there is no more giving in marriage, where I have to be clothed upon rather than to be despoiled, — where, even if I am despoiled of my sex, I am classed with angels — not a male angel, nor a female one. There will be no one to do aught against me, nor will they then find any male energy in me.

Chapter XXXIII. — These Remaining Chapters an Appendix to the Main Work. In This Chapter Tertullian Notices a Difference Among Sundry Followers of Ptolemy, a Disciple of Valentinus.

I shall now at last produce, by way of *finale*, after so long a story, those points which, not to interrupt the course of it, and by the interruption distract the reader's attention, I have preferred reserving to this place. They have been variously advanced by those who have improved on the doctrines of Ptolemy. For there have been in his school "disciples above their master," who have attributed to their Bythus two wives — Cogitatio (*Thought*) and Voluntas (*Will*). For Cogitatio alone was not sufficient wherewith to produce any offspring, although from the two wives procreation was most easy to him. The former bore him Monogenes (*Only-Begotten*) and Veritas (*Truth*). Veritas was a female after the likeness of Cogitatio; Monogenes a male bearing a resemblance to Voluntas. For it is the strength of Voluntas which procures the masculine nature, inasmuch as she affords efficiency to Cogitatio.

Chapter XXXIV. — Other Varying Opinions Among the Valentinians Respecting the Deity, Characteristic Raillery.

Others of purer mind, mindful of the honour of the Deity, have, for the purpose of freeing him from the discredit of even single wedlock, preferred assigning no sex whatever to Bythus; and therefore very likely they talk of “this deity” in the neuter gender rather than “this god.” Others again, on the other hand, speak of him as both masculine and feminine, so that the worthy chronicler Fenestella must not suppose that an hermaphrodite was only to be found among the good people of Luna.

Chapter XXXV. — Yet More Discrepancies. Just Now the Sex of Bythus Was an Object of Dispute; Now His Rank Comes in Question. Absurd Substitutes for Bythus Criticised by Tertullian.

There are some who do not claim the first place for Bythus, but only a lower one. They put their Ogdoad in the foremost rank; itself, however, derived from a Tetrad, but under different names. For they put Pro-arche (*Before the Beginning*) first, Anennœtos (*Inconceivable*) second, Arrhetos (*Indescribable*) third, Aoratos (*Invisible*) fourth. Then after Pro-arche they say Arche (*Beginning*) came forth and occupied the first and the fifth place; from Anennœtos came Acataleptos (*Incomprehensible*) in the second and the sixth place; from Arrhetos came Anonomastos (*Nameless*) in the third and the seventh place; from Aoratos came Agennetos (*Unbegotten*) in the fourth and the eighth place. Now by what method he arranges this, that each of these Æons should be born in two places, and that, too, at such intervals, I prefer to be ignorant of than to be informed. For what can be right in a system which is propounded with such absurd particulars?

Chapter XXXVI. — Less Reprehensible Theories in the Heresy. Bad is the Best of Valentinianism.

How much more sensible are they who, rejecting all this tiresome nonsense, have refused to believe that any one Æon has descended from another by steps like these, which are really neither more nor less *Gemonian*; but that on a given signal the eight-fold emanation, of which we have heard, issued all at once from the Father and His Ennœa (*Thought*), — that it is, in fact, from His mere motion that they gain their designations. When, as they say, He thought of producing offspring, He on that account gained the name of Father. After producing, because the issue which He produced was true, He received the name of *Truth*. When He wanted Himself to be manifested, He on that account was announced as *Man*. Those, moreover, whom He preconceived in His thought when He produced them, were then designated *the Church*. As man, He uttered His *Word*; and so this *Word* is His first-begotten Son, and to the Word was added *Life*. And by this process the first Ogdoad was completed. However, the whole of this tiresome story is utterly poor and weak.

Chapter XXXVII. — Other Turgid and Ridiculous Theories About the Origin of the Æons and Creation, Stated and Condemned.

Now listen to some other buffooneries of a master who is a great swell among them, and who has pronounced his *dicta* with an even priestly authority. They run thus: There comes, says he, before all things Pro-arche, the inconceivable, and indescribable, and nameless, which I for my own part call Monotes (*Solitude*). With this was associated another power, to which also I give the name of Henotes (*Unity*). Now, inasmuch as Monotes and Henotes — that is to say, Solitude and Union — were only one being, they produced, and yet not in the way of production, the intellectual, innascible, invisible beginning of all things, which human language has called Monad (*Solitude*). This has inherent in itself a consubstantial force, which it calls Unity. These powers, accordingly, Solitude or Solitariness, *and* Unity, or Union, propagated all the other emanations of Æons. Wonderful distinction, to be sure! Whatever change Union and Unity may undergo, Solitariness and Solitude is profoundly supreme. Whatever designation you give the power, it is one and the same.

Chapter XXXVIII. — Diversity in the Opinions of Secundus, as Compared with the General Doctrine of Valentinus.

Secundus is a trifle more human, as he is briefer: he divides the Ogdoad into a pair of Tetrads, a right hand one and a left hand one, *one* light and *the other* darkness. Only he is unwilling to derive the power which apostatized and fell away from any one of the Æons, but from the fruits which issued from their substance.

Chapter XXXIX. — Their Diversity of Sentiment Affects the Very Central Doctrine of Christianity, Even the Person and Character of the Lord Jesus. This Diversity Vitiates Every Gnostic School.

Now, concerning even the Lord Jesus, into how great a diversity of opinion are they divided! One party form Him of the blossoms of all the Æons. Another party will have it that He is made up only of those ten whom *the Word* and *the Life* produced; from which circumstance the titles of the Word and the Life were suitably transferred to Him. Others, again, that He rather sprang from the twelve, the offspring of *Man* and *the Church*, and therefore, they say, He was designated “Son of man.” Others, moreover, maintain that He was formed by *Christ* and *the Holy Spirit*, *who have to provide for the establishment of the universe*, and that He inherits by right His Father’s appellation. Some there are who have imagined that another origin must be found for the title “Son of man;” for they have had the presumption to call the Father Himself *Man*, by reason of the profound mystery of this title: so that what can you hope for more ample concerning faith in that God, with whom you are now yourself on a par? Such conceits are constantly cropping out amongst them, from the redundance of their mother’s seed. And so it happens that the doctrines which have grown up amongst the Valentinians have already extended their rank growth to the woods of the Gnostics.

Ad Scapulam (To Scapula, Proconsul of Africa)



Translated by Sydney Thelwall

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Chapter I.

We are not in any great perturbation or alarm about the persecutions we suffer from the ignorance of men; for we have attached ourselves to this sect, fully accepting the terms of its covenant, so that, as men whose very lives are not their own, we engage in these conflicts, our desire being to obtain God's promised rewards, and our dread lest the woes with which He threatens an unchristian life should overtake us. Hence we shrink not from the grapple with your utmost rage, coming even forth of our own accord to the contest; and condemnation gives us more pleasure than acquittal. We have sent, therefore, this tract to you in no alarm about ourselves, but in much concern for you and for all our enemies, to say nothing of our friends. For our religion commands us to love even our enemies, and to pray for those who persecute us, aiming at a perfection all its own, and seeking in its disciples something of a higher type than the commonplace goodness of the world. For all love those who love them; it is peculiar to Christians alone to love those that hate them. Therefore mourning over your ignorance, and compassionating human error, and looking on to that future of which every day shows threatening signs, necessity is laid on us to come forth in this way also, that we may set before you the truths you will not listen to openly.

Chapter II.

We are worshippers of one God, of whose existence and character Nature teaches all men; at whose lightnings and thunders you tremble, whose benefits minister to your happiness. You think that others, too, are gods, whom we know to be devils. However, it is a fundamental human right, a privilege of nature, that every man should worship according to his own convictions: one man's religion neither harms nor helps another man. It is assuredly no part of religion to compel religion — to which free-will and not force should lead us — the sacrificial victims even being required of a willing mind. You will render no real service to your gods by compelling us to sacrifice. For they can have no desire of offerings from the unwilling, unless they are animated by a spirit of contention, which is a thing altogether undivine. Accordingly the true God bestows His blessings alike on wicked men and on His own elect; upon which account He has appointed an eternal judgment, when both thankful and unthankful will have to stand before His bar. Yet you have never detected us — sacrilegious wretches though you reckon us to be — in any theft, far less in any sacrilege. But the robbers of your temples, all of them swear by your gods, and worship them; they are not Christians, and yet it is they who are found guilty of sacrilegious deeds. We have not time to unfold in how many other ways your gods are mocked and despised by their own votaries. So, too, treason is falsely laid to our charge, though no one has ever been able to find followers of Albinus, or Niger, or Cassius, among Christians; while the very men who had sworn by the genii of the emperors, who had offered and vowed sacrifices for their safety, who had often pronounced condemnation on Christ's disciples, are till this day found traitors to the imperial throne. A Christian is enemy to none, least of all to the Emperor of Rome, whom he knows to be appointed by his God, and so cannot but love and honour; and whose well-being moreover, he must needs desire, with that of the empire over which he reigns so long as the world shall stand — for so long as that shall Rome continue. To the emperor, therefore, we render such reverential homage as is lawful for us and good for him; regarding him as the human being next to God who from God has received all his power, and is less than God alone. And this will be according to his own desires. For thus — as less only than the true God — he is greater than all besides. Thus he is greater than

the very gods themselves, even they, too, being subject to him. We therefore sacrifice for the emperor's safety, but to our God and his, and after the manner God has enjoined, in simple prayer. For God, Creator of the universe, has no need of odours or of blood. These things are the food of devils. But we not only reject those wicked spirits: we overcome them; we daily hold them up to contempt; we exorcise them from their victims, as multitudes can testify. So all the more we pray for the imperial well-being, as those who seek it at the hands of Him who is able to bestow it. And one would think it must be abundantly clear to you that the religious system under whose rules we act is one inculcating a divine patience; since, though our numbers are so great — constituting all but the majority in every city — we conduct ourselves so quietly and modestly; I might perhaps say, known rather as individuals than as organized communities, and remarkable only for the reformation of our former vices. For far be it from us to take it ill that we have laid on us the very things we wish, or in any way plot the vengeance at our own hands, which we expect to come from God.

Chapter III.

However, as we have already remarked, it cannot but distress us that no state shall bear unpunished the guilt of shedding Christian blood; as you see, indeed, in what took place during the presidency of Hilarian, for when there had been some agitation about places of sepulture for our dead, and the cry arose, “No *areæ* — no burial-grounds for the Christians,” it came that their own *areæ*, their threshing-floors, were a-wanting, for they gathered in no harvests. As to the rains of the bygone year, it is abundantly plain of what they were intended to remind men — of the deluge, no doubt, which in ancient times overtook human unbelief and wickedness; and as to the fires which lately hung all night over the walls of Carthage, they who saw them know what they threatened; and what the preceding thunders pealed, *they* who were hardened by them can tell. All these things are signs of God’s impending wrath, which we must needs publish and proclaim in every possible way; and in the meanwhile we must pray it may be only local. Sure are *they* to experience it one day in its universal and final form, who interpret otherwise these samples of it. That sun, too, in the metropolis of Utica, with light all but extinguished, was a portent which could not have occurred from an ordinary eclipse, situated as the lord of day was in his height and house. You have the astrologers, consult them about it. We can point you also to the deaths of some provincial rulers, who in their last hours had painful memories of their sin in persecuting the followers of Christ. Vigellius Saturninus, who first here used the sword against us, lost his eyesight. Claudius Lucius Herminianus in Cappadocia, enraged that his wife had become a Christian, had treated the Christians with great cruelty: well, left alone in his palace, suffering under a contagious malady, he boiled out in living worms, and was heard exclaiming, “Let nobody know of it, lest the Christians rejoice, and Christian wives take encouragement.” Afterwards he came to see his error in having tempted so many from their stedfastness by the tortures he inflicted, and died almost a Christian himself. In that doom which overtook Byzantium, Cæcilius Capella could not help crying out, “Christians, rejoice!” Yes, and the persecutors who seem to themselves to have acted with impunity shall not escape the day of judgment. For you we sincerely wish it may prove to have been a warning only, that, immediately after you had condemned Mavilus of Adrumetum to

the wild beasts, you were overtaken by those troubles, and that even now for the same reason you are called to a blood-reckoning. But do not forget the future.

Chapter IV.

We who are without fear ourselves are not seeking to frighten you, but we would save all men if possible by warning them not to fight with God. You may perform the duties of your charge, and yet remember the claims of humanity; if on no other ground than that you are liable to punishment yourself, (you ought to do so). For is not your commission simply to condemn those who confess their guilt, and to give over to the torture those who deny? You see, then, how you trespass yourselves against your instructions to wring from the confessing a denial. It is, in fact, an acknowledgment of our innocence that you refuse to condemn us at once when we confess. In doing your utmost to extirpate us, if that is your object, it is innocence you assail. But how many rulers, men more resolute and more cruel than you are, have contrived to get quit of such causes altogether, — as Cincius Severus, who himself suggested the remedy at Thysdriis, pointing out how the Christians should answer that they might secure an acquittal; as Vespronius Candidus, who dismissed from his bar a Christian, on the ground that to satisfy his fellow-citizens would break the peace of the community; as Asper, who, in the case of a man who gave up his faith under slight infliction of the torture, did not compel the offering of sacrifice, having owned before, among the advocates and assessors of court, that he was annoyed at having had to meddle with such a case. Pudens, too, at once dismissed a Christian who was brought before him, perceiving from the indictment that it was a case of vexatious accusation; tearing the document in pieces, he refused so much as to hear him without the presence of his accuser, as not being consistent with the imperial commands. All this might be officially brought under your notice, and by the very advocates, who are themselves also under obligations to us, although in court they give their voice as it suits them. The clerk of one of them who was liable to be thrown upon the ground by an evil spirit, was set free from his affliction; as was also the relative of another, and the little boy of a third. How many men of rank (to say nothing of common people) have been delivered from devils, and healed of diseases! Even Severus himself, the father of Antonine, was graciously mindful of the Christians; for he sought out the Christian Proculus, surnamed Torpacion, the steward of Euhodias, and in gratitude for his having once cured him by anointing, he kept him in his

palace till the day of his death. Antonine, too, brought up as he was on Christian milk, was intimately acquainted with this man. Both women and men of highest rank, whom Severus knew well to be Christians, were not merely permitted by him to remain uninjured; but he even bore distinguished testimony in their favour, and gave them publicly back to us from the hands of a raging populace. Marcus Aurelius also, in his expedition to Germany, by the prayers his Christian soldiers offered to God, got rain in that well-known thirst. When, indeed, have not droughts been put away by our kneelings and our fastings? At times like these, moreover, the people crying to “the God of gods, the alone Omnipotent,” under the name of Jupiter, have borne witness to our God. Then we never deny the deposit placed in our hands; we never pollute the marriage bed; we deal faithfully with our wards; we give aid to the needy; we render to none evil for evil. As for those who falsely pretend to belong to us, and whom we, too, repudiate, let them answer for themselves. In a word, who has complaint to make against us on other grounds? To what else does the Christian devote himself, save the affairs of his own community, which during all the long period of its existence no one has ever proved guilty of the incest or the cruelty charged against it? It is for freedom from crime so singular, for a probity so great, for righteousness, for purity, for faithfulness, for truth, for the living God, that we are consigned to the flames; for this is a punishment you are not wont to inflict either on the sacrilegious, or on undoubted public enemies, or on the treason-tainted, of whom you have so many. Nay, even now our people are enduring persecution from the governors of Legio and Mauritania; but it is only with the sword, as from the first it was ordained that we should suffer. But the greater our conflicts, the greater our rewards.

Chapter V.

Your cruelty is our glory. Only see you to it, that in having such things as these to endure, we do not feel ourselves constrained to rush forth to the combat, if only to prove that we have no dread of them, but on the contrary, even invite their infliction. When Arrius Antoninus was driving things hard in Asia, the whole Christians of the province, in one united band, presented themselves before his judgment-seat; on which, ordering a few to be led forth to execution, he said to the rest, "O miserable men, if you wish to die, you have precipices or halters." If we should take it into our heads to do the same thing here, what will you make of so many thousands, of such a multitude of men and women, persons of every sex and every age and every rank, when they present themselves before you? How many fires, how many swords will be required? What will be the anguish of Carthage itself, which you will have to decimate, as each one recognises there his relatives and companions, as he sees there it may be men of your own order, and noble ladies, and all the leading persons of the city, and either kinsmen or friends of those of your own circle? Spare thyself, if not us poor Christians! Spare Carthage, if not thyself! Spare the province, which the indication of your purpose has subjected to the threats and extortions at once of the soldiers and of private enemies.

We have no master but God. He is before you, and cannot be hidden from you, but to Him you can do no injury. But those whom you regard as masters are only men, and one day they themselves must die. Yet still this community will be undying, for be assured that just in the time of its seeming overthrow it is built up into greater power. For all who witness the noble patience of its martyrs, as struck with misgivings, are inflamed with desire to examine into the matter in question; and as soon as they come to know the truth, they straightway enrol themselves its disciples.

Elucidations.

I.

(Scapula, cap. i., .)

Scapula was Proconsul of Carthage, and though its date is conjectural (a.d. 217), this work gives valuable *indices* of its time and circumstances. It was composed after the death of Severus, to whom there is an allusion in chapter iv., after the destruction of Byzantium (a.d. 196), to which there is a reference in chapter iii.; and Dr. Allix suggests, after the dark day of Utica (a.d. 210) which he supposes to be referred to in the same chapter. Cincius Severus, who is mentioned in chapter iv., was put to death by Severus, a.d. 198.

II.

(Caractacus, cap. ii., note 2, .)

Mr. Lewin (*St. Paul*, ii. 397), building on the fascinating theory of Archdeacon Williams, thinks St. Paul's Claudia (*Qu. Gladys?*) may very well have been the daughter of Caradoc, with whose noble character we are made acquainted by Tacitus. (*Annals* xii. 36.) And Archdeacon Williams gives us very strong reason to believe he was a Christian. He may very well have lived to behold the Coliseum completed. What more natural then, in view of the cruelty against Christians there exercised, for the expressions with which he is credited? In this case his words contain an eloquent ambiguity, which Christians would appreciate, and which may have been in our author's mind when he says— "*quousque sæculum stabit.*" To those who looked for the Second Advent, daily, this did not mean what the heathen might suppose.

Bede's version of the speech (See Du Cange, II., 407.,) is this: "*Quandiu stabit Colyseus — stabit et Roma: Quando cadet Colyseus — cadet et Roma: Quando cadet Roma — cadet et mundus.*"

De Spectaculis (On the Games)



Translated by Sydney Thelwall

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Chapter XXX.

Chapter I.

Ye Servants of God, about to draw near to God, that you may make solemn consecration of yourselves to Him, seek well to understand the condition of faith, the reasons of the Truth, the laws of Christian Discipline, which forbid among other sins of the world, the pleasures of the public shows. Ye who have testified and confessed that you have done so already, review the subject, that there may be no sinning whether through real or wilful ignorance. For such is the power of earthly pleasures, that, to retain the opportunity of still partaking of them, it contrives to prolong a willing ignorance, and bribes knowledge into playing a dishonest part. To both things, perhaps, some among you are allured by the views of the heathens who in this matter are wont to press us with arguments, such as these: (1) That the exquisite enjoyments of ear and eye we have in things external are not in the least opposed to religion in the mind and conscience; and (2) That surely no offence is offered to God, in any human enjoyment, by any of our pleasures, which it is not sinful to partake of in its own time and place, with all due honour and reverence secured to Him. But this is precisely what we are ready to prove: That these things are not consistent with true religion and true obedience to the true God. There are some who imagine that Christians, a sort of people ever ready to die, are trained into the abstinence they practise, with no other object than that of making it less difficult to despise life, the fastenings to it being severed as it were. *They* regard it as an art of *quenching all desire for that which, so far as they are concerned, they have emptied of all that is desirable*; and so it is thought to be rather a thing of human planning and foresight, than clearly laid down by divine command. It were a grievous thing, forsooth, for Christians, while continuing in the enjoyment of pleasures so great, to die for God! It is not as they say; though, if it were, even Christian obstinacy might well give all submission to a plan so suitable, to a rule so excellent.

Chapter II.

Then, again, every one is ready with the argument that all things, as we teach, were created by God, and given to man for his use, and that they must be good, as coming all from so good a source; but that among them are found the various constituent elements of the public shows, such as the horse, the lion, bodily strength, and musical voice. It cannot, then, be thought that what exists by God's own creative will is either foreign or hostile to Him; and if it is not opposed to Him, it cannot be regarded as injurious to His worshippers, as certainly it is not foreign to them. Beyond all doubt, too, the very buildings connected with the places of public amusement, composed as they are of rocks, stones, marbles, pillars, are things of God, who has given these various things for the earth's embellishment; nay, the very scenes are enacted under God's own heaven. How skilful a pleader seems human wisdom to herself, especially if she has the fear of losing any of her delights — any of the sweet enjoyments of worldly existence! In fact, you will find not a few whom the imperilling of their pleasures rather than their life holds back from us. For even the weakling has no strong dread of death *as a debt* he knows is due by him; while the wise man does not look with contempt on pleasure, regarding it as a precious gift — in fact, the one blessedness of life, whether to philosopher or fool. Now nobody denies what nobody is ignorant of — for Nature herself is teacher of it — that God is the Maker of the universe, and that it is good, and that it is man's by free gift of its Maker. But having no intimate acquaintance with the Highest, knowing Him only by natural revelation, and not as His "friends" — afar off, and not as those who have been brought nigh to Him — men cannot but be in ignorance alike of what He enjoins and what He forbids in regard to the administration of His world. They must be ignorant, too, of the hostile power which works against Him, and perverts to wrong uses the things His hand has formed; for you cannot know either the will or the adversary of a God you do not know. We must not, then, consider merely by whom all things were made, but by whom they have been perverted. We shall find out for what use they were made at first, when we find for what they were not. There is a vast difference between the corrupted state and that of primal purity, just because there is a vast difference between the Creator and the corrupter. Why, all sorts of evils, which as

indubitably evils even the heathens prohibit, and against which they guard themselves, come from the works of God. Take, for instance, murder, whether committed by iron, by poison, or by magical enchantments. Iron and herbs and demons are all equally creatures of God. Has the Creator, withal, provided these things for man's destruction? Nay, He puts His interdict on every sort of man-killing by that one summary precept, "Thou shalt not kill." Moreover, who but God, the Maker of the world, put in its gold, brass, silver, ivory, wood, and all the other materials used in the manufacture of idols? Yet has He done this that men may set up a worship in opposition to Himself? On the contrary idolatry in His eyes is the crowning sin. What is there offensive to God which is not God's? But in offending Him, it ceases to be His; and in ceasing to be His, it is in His eyes an offending thing. Man himself, guilty as he is of every iniquity, is not only a work of God — he is His image, and yet both in soul and body he has severed himself from his Maker. For we did not get eyes to minister to lust, and the tongue for speaking evil with, and ears to be the receptacle of evil speech, and the throat to serve the vice of gluttony, and the belly to be gluttony's ally, and the genitals for unchaste excesses, and hands for deeds of violence, and the feet for an erring life; or was the soul placed in the body that it might become a thought-manufactory of snares, and fraud, and injustice? I think not; for if God, as the righteous ex-actor of innocence, hates everything like malignity — if He hates utterly such plotting of evil, it is clear beyond a doubt, that, of all things that have come from His hand, He has made none to lead to works which He condemns, even though these same works may be carried on by things of His making; for, in fact, it is the one ground of condemnation, that the creature misuses the creation. We, therefore, who in our knowledge of the Lord have obtained some knowledge also of His foe — who, in our discovery of the Creator, have at the same time laid hands upon the great corrupter, ought neither to wonder nor to doubt that, as the prowess of the corrupting and God-opposing angel overthrew in the beginning the virtue of man, the work and image of God, the possessor of the world, so he has entirely changed man's nature — created, like his own, for perfect sinlessness — into his own state of wicked enmity against his Maker, that in the very thing whose gift to man, but not to him, had grieved him, he might make man guilty in God's eyes, and set up his own supremacy.

Chapter III.

Fortified by this knowledge against heathen views, let us rather turn to the unworthy reasonings of our own people; for the faith of some, either too simple or too scrupulous, demands direct authority from Scripture for giving up the shows, and holds out that the matter is a doubtful one, because such abstinence is not clearly and in words imposed upon God's servants. Well, we never find it expressed with the same precision, "Thou shalt not enter circus or theatre, thou shalt not look on combat or show;" as it is plainly laid down, "Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not worship an idol; thou shalt not commit adultery or fraud." But we find that that first word of David bears on this very sort of thing: "Blessed," he says, "is the man who has not gone into the assembly of the impious, nor stood in the way of sinners, nor sat in the seat of scorners." Though he seems to have predicted beforehand of that just man, that he took no part in the meetings and deliberations of the Jews, taking counsel about the slaying of our Lord, yet divine Scripture has ever far-reaching applications: after the immediate sense has been exhausted, in all directions it fortifies the practice of the religious life, so that here also you have an utterance which is not far from a plain interdicting of the shows. If he called those few Jews an assembly of the wicked, how much more will he so designate so vast a gathering of heathens! Are the heathens less impious, less sinners, less enemies of Christ, than the Jews were then? And see, too, how other things agree. For at the shows they also stand in the way. For they call the spaces between the seats going round the amphitheatre, and the passages which separate the people running down, ways. The place in the curve where the matrons sit is called a chair. Therefore, on the contrary, it holds, unblessed is he who has entered any council of wicked men, and has stood in any way of sinners, and has sat in any chair of scorners. We may understand a thing as spoken generally, even when it requires a certain special interpretation to be given to it. For some things spoken with a special reference contain in them general truth. When God admonishes the Israelites of their duty, or sharply reproves them, He has surely a reference to all men; when He threatens destruction to Egypt and Ethiopia, He surely pre-condemns every sinning nation, whatever. If, reasoning from *species* to *genus*, every nation that sins against them is an Egypt and Ethiopia; so also, reasoning from *genus* to

species, with reference to the origin of shows, every show is an assembly of the wicked.

Chapter IV.

Lest any one think that we are dealing in mere argumentative subtleties, I shall turn to that highest authority of our “seal” itself. When entering the water, we make profession of the Christian faith in the words of its rule; we bear public testimony that we have renounced the devil, his pomp, and his angels. Well, is it not in connection with idolatry, above all, that you have the devil with his pomp and his angels? from which, to speak briefly — for I do not wish to dilate — you have every unclean and wicked spirit. If, therefore, it shall be made plain that the entire apparatus of the shows is based upon idolatry, beyond all doubt that will carry with it the conclusion that our renunciatory testimony in the laver of baptism has reference to the shows, which, through their idolatry, have been given over to the devil, and his pomp, and his angels. We shall set forth, then, their several origins, in what nursing-places they have grown to manhood; next the titles of some of them, by what names they are called; then their apparatus, with what superstitions they are observed; (then their places, to what patrons they are dedicated;) then the arts which minister to them, to what authors they are traced. If any of these shall be found to have had no connection with an idol-god, it will be held as free at once from the taint of idolatry, and as not coming within the range of our baptismal abjuration.

Chapter V.

In the matter of their origins, as these are somewhat obscure and but little known to many among us, our investigations must go back to a remote antiquity, and our authorities be none other than books of heathen literature. Various authors are extant who have published works on the subject. The origin of the games as given by them is this. Timæus tells us that immigrants from Asia, under the leadership of Tyrrhenus, who, in a contest about his native kingdom, had succumbed to his brother, settled down in Etruria. Well, among other superstitious observances under the name of religion, they set up in their new home public shows. The Romans, at their own request, obtain from them skilled performers — the proper seasons — the name too, for it is said they are called *Ludi*, from *Lydi*. And though Varro derives the name of *Ludi* from *Ludus*, that is, from play, as they called the Luperci also *Ludii*, because they ran about making sport; still that sporting of young men belongs, in his view, to festal days and temples, and objects of religious veneration. However, it is of little consequence the origin of the name, when it is certain that the thing springs from idolatry. The Liberalia, under the general designation of *Ludi*, clearly declared the glory of Father Bacchus; for to Bacchus these festivities were first consecrated by grateful peasants, in return for the boon he conferred on them, as they say, making known the pleasures of wine. Then the Consualia were called *Ludi*, and at first were in honour of Neptune, for Neptune has the name of Consus also. Thereafter Romulus dedicated the Equiria to Mars, though they claim the Consualia too for Romulus, on the ground that he consecrated them to Consus, the god, as they will have it, of counsel; of the counsel, forsooth, in which he planned the rape of the Sabine virgins for wives to his soldiers. An excellent counsel truly; and still I suppose reckoned just and righteous by the Romans themselves, I may not say by God. This goes also to taint the origin: you cannot surely hold that to be good which has sprung from sin, from shamelessness, from violence, from hatred, from a fratricidal founder, from a son of Mars. Even now, at the first turning-post in the circus, there is a subterranean altar to this same Consus, with an inscription to this effect: “Consus, great in counsel, Mars, in battle mighty tutelar deities.” The priests of the state sacrifice at it on the nones of July; the priest of Romulus and the Vestals on the twelfth before the

Kalends of September. In addition to this, Romulus instituted games in honor of Jupiter Feretrius on the Tarpeian Hill, according to the statement Piso has handed down to us, called both Tarpeian and Capitoline. After him Numa Pompilius instituted games to Mars and Robigo (for they have also invented a goddess of rust); then Tullus Hostilius; then Ancus Martius; and various others in succession did the like. As to the idols in whose honour these games were established, ample information is to be found in the pages of Suetonius Tranquillus. But we need say no more to prove the accusation of idolatrous origin.

Chapter VI.

To the testimony of antiquity is added that of later games instituted in their turn, and betraying their origin from the titles which they bear even at the present day, in which it is imprinted as on their very face, for what idol and for what religious object games, whether of the one kind or the other, were designed. You have festivals bearing the name of *the great Mother* and Apollo of Ceres too, and Neptune, and Jupiter Latiaris, and Flora, all celebrated for a common end; the others have their religious origin in the birthdays and solemnities of kings, in public successes in municipal holidays. There are also testamentary exhibitions, in which funeral honours are rendered to the memories of private persons; and this according to an institution of ancient times. For from the first the “Ludi” were regarded as of two sons, sacred and funereal, that is in honour of the heathen deities and of the dead. But in the matter of idolatry, it makes no difference with us under what name or title it is practised, while it has to do with the wicked spirits whom we abjure. If it is lawful to offer homage to the dead, it will be just as lawful to offer it to their gods: you have the same origin in both cases; there is the same idolatry; there is on our part the same solemn renunciation of all idolatry.

Chapter VII.

The two kinds of public games, then, have one origin; and they have common names, as owning the same parentage. So, too, as they are equally tainted with the sin of idolatry, their foundress, they must needs be like each other in their pomp. But the more ambitious preliminary display of the circus games to which the name procession specially belongs, is in itself the proof to whom the whole thing appertains, in the many images the long line of statues, the chariots of all sorts, the thrones, the crowns, the dresses. What high religious rites besides, what sacrifices precede, come between, and follow. How many guilds, how many priesthoods, how many offices are set astir, is known to the inhabitants of the great city in which the demon convention has its headquarters. If these things are done in humbler style in the provinces, in accordance with their inferior means, still all circus games must be counted as belonging to that from which they are derived; the fountain from which they spring defiles them. The tiny streamlet from its very spring-head, the little twig from its very budding, contains in it the essential nature of its origin. It may be grand or mean, no matter, any circus procession whatever is offensive to God. Though there be few images to grace it, there is idolatry in one; though there be no more than a single sacred car, it is a chariot of Jupiter: anything of idolatry whatever, whether meanly arrayed or modestly rich and gorgeous, taints it in its origin.

Chapter VIII.

To follow out my plan in regard to places: the circus is chiefly consecrated to the Sun, whose temple stands in the middle of it, and whose image shines forth from its temple summit; for they have not thought it proper to pay sacred honours underneath a roof to an object they have itself in open space. Those who assert that the first spectacle was exhibited by Circe, and in honour of the Sun her father, as they will have it, maintain also the name of circus was derived from her. Plainly, then, the enchantress did this in the name of the parties whose priestess she was — I mean the demons and spirits of evil. What an aggregation of idolatries you see, accordingly, in the decoration of the place! Every ornament of the circus is a temple by itself. The eggs are regarded as sacred to the Castors, by men who are not ashamed to profess faith in their production from the egg of a swan, which was no other than Jupiter himself. The Dolphins vomit forth in honour of Neptune. Images of Sessia, so called as the goddess of sowing; of Messia, so called as the goddess of reaping; of Tutulina, so called as the fruit-protecting deity — load the pillars. In front of these you have three altars to these three gods — Great, Mighty, Victorious. They reckon these of Samo-Thrace. The huge Obelisk, as Hermeteles affirms, is set up in public to the Sun; its inscription, like its origin, belongs to Egyptian superstition. Cheerless were the demon-gathering without their *Mater Magna*; and so she presides there over the Euripus. Consus, as we have mentioned, lies hidden under ground at the Murcian Goals. These two sprang from an idol. For they will have it that Murcia is the goddess of love; and to her, at that spot, they have consecrated a temple. See, Christian, how many impure names have taken possession of the circus! You have nothing to do with a sacred place which is tenanted by such multitudes of diabolic spirits. And speaking of places, this is the suitable occasion for some remarks in anticipation of a point that some will raise. What, then, you say; shall I be in danger of pollution if I go to the circus when the games are not being celebrated? There is no law forbidding the mere places to us. For not only the places for show-gatherings, but even the temples, may be entered without any peril of his religion by the servant of God, if he has only some honest reason for it, unconnected with their proper business and official duties. Why, even the streets and the market-place, and the baths, and the

taverns, and our very dwelling-places, are not altogether free from idols. Satan and his angels have filled the whole world. It is not by merely being in the world, however, that we lapse from God, but by touching and tainting ourselves with the world's sins. I shall break with my Maker, that is, by going to the Capitol or the temple of Serapis to sacrifice or adore, as I shall also do by going as a spectator to the circus and the theatre. The places in themselves do not contaminate, but what is done in them; from this even the places themselves, we maintain, become defiled. The polluted things pollute us. It is on this account that we set before you to whom places of the kind are dedicated, that we may prove the things which are done in them to belong to the idol-patrons to whom the very places are sacred.

Chapter IX.

Now as to the kind of performances peculiar to the circus exhibitions. In former days equestrianism was practised in a simple way on horseback, and certainly its ordinary use had nothing sinful in it; but when it was dragged into the games, it passed from the service of God into the employment of demons. Accordingly this kind of circus performances is regarded as sacred to Castor and Pollux, to whom, Stesichorus tells us, horses were given by Mercury. And Neptune, too, is an equestrian deity, by the Greeks called Hippius. In regard to the team, they have consecrated the chariot and four to the sun; the chariot and pair to the moon. But, as the poet has it, "Erichthonius first dared to yoke four horses to the chariot, and to ride upon its wheels with victorious swiftness." Erichthonius, the son of Vulcan and Minerva, fruit of unworthy passion upon earth, is a demon-monster, nay, the devil himself, and no mere snake. But if Trochilus the Argive is maker of the first chariot, he dedicated that work of his to Juno. If Romulus first exhibited the four-horse chariot at Rome, he too, I think, has a place given him among idols, at least if he and Quirinus are the same. But as chariots had such inventors, the charioteers were naturally dressed, too, in the colours of idolatry; for at first these were only two, namely white and red, — the former sacred to the winter with its glistening snows, the latter sacred to the summer with its ruddy sun: but afterwards, in the progress of luxury as well as of superstition, red was dedicated by some to Mars, and white by others to the Zephyrs, while green was given to Mother Earth, or spring, and azure to the sky and sea, or autumn. But as idolatry of every kind is condemned by God, that form of it surely shares the condemnation which is offered to the elements of nature.

Chapter X.

Let us pass on now to theatrical exhibitions, which we have already shown have a common origin with the circus, and bear like idolatrous designations — even as from the first they have borne the name of “Ludi,” and equally minister to idols. They resemble each other also in their pomp, having the same procession to the scene of their display from temples and altars, and that mournful profusion of incense and blood, with music of pipes and trumpets, all under the direction of the soothsayer and the undertaker, those two foul masters of funeral rites and sacrifices. So as we went on from the origin of the “Ludi” to the circus games, we shall now direct our course thence to those of the theatre, beginning with the place of exhibition. At first the theatre was properly a temple of Venus; and, to speak briefly, it was owing to this that stage performances were allowed to escape censure, and got a footing in the world. For oftentimes the censors, in the interests of morality, put down above all the rising theatres, foreseeing, as they did, that there was great danger of their leading to a general profligacy; so that already, from this accordance of their own people with us, there is a witness to the heathen, and in the anticipatory judgment of human knowledge even a confirmation of our views. Accordingly Pompey the Great, less only than his theatre, when he had erected that citadel of all impurities, fearing some time or other censorian condemnation of his memory, superposed on it a temple of Venus; and summoning by public proclamation the people to its consecration, he called it not a theatre, but a temple, “under which,” said he, “we have placed tiers of seats for viewing the shows.” So he threw a veil over a structure on which condemnation had been often passed, and which is ever to be held in reprobation, by pretending that it was a sacred place; and by means of superstition he blinded the eyes of a virtuous discipline. But Venus and Bacchus are close allies. These two evil spirits are in sworn confederacy with each other, as the patrons of drunkenness and lust. So the theatre of Venus is as well the house of Bacchus: for they properly gave the name of Liberalia also to other theatrical amusements — which besides being consecrated to Bacchus (as were the Dionysia of the Greeks), were instituted by him; and, without doubt, the performances of the theatre have the common patronage of these two deities. That immodesty of gesture and attire which so specially and

peculiarly characterizes the stage are consecrated to them — the one deity wanton by her sex, the other by his drapery; while its services of voice, and song, and lute, and pipe, belong to Apollos, and Muses, and Minervas, and Mercuries. You will hate, O Christian, the things whose authors must be the objects of your utter detestation. So we would now make a remark about the arts of the theatre, about the things also whose authors in the names we execrate. We know that the names of the dead are nothing, as are their images; but we know well enough, too, who, when images are set up, under these names carry on their wicked work, and exult in the homage rendered to them, and pretend to be divine — none other than spirits accursed, than devils. We see, therefore, that the arts also are consecrated to the service of the beings who dwell in the names of their founders; and that things cannot be held free from the taint of idolatry whose inventors have got a place among the gods for their discoveries. Nay, as regards the arts, we ought to have gone further back, and barred all further argument by the position that the demons, predetermining in their own interests from the first, among other evils of idolatry, the pollutions of the public shows, with the object of drawing man away from his Lord and binding him to their own service, carried out their purpose by bestowing on him the artistic gifts which the shows require. For none but themselves would have made provision and preparation for the objects they had in view; nor would they have given the arts to the world by any but those in whose names, and images, and histories they set up for their own ends the artifice of consecration.

Chapter XI.

In fulfilment of our plan, let us now go on to consider the combats. Their origin is akin to that of the games (*ludi*). Hence they are kept as either sacred or funereal, as they have been instituted in honour of the idol-gods of the nations or of the dead. Thus, too, they are called Olympian in honour of Jupiter, known at Rome as the Capitoline; Nemean, in honour of Hercules; Isthmian, in honour of Neptune; the rest *mortuarii*, as belonging to the dead. What wonder, then, if idolatry pollutes the combat-parade with profane crowns, with sacerdotal chiefs, with attendants belonging to the various colleges, last of all with the blood of its sacrifices? To add a completing word about the “place” — in the common place for the college of the arts sacred to the Muses, and Apollo, and Minerva, and also for that of the arts dedicated to Mars, they with contest and sound of trumpet emulate the circus in the arena, which is a real temple — I mean of the god whose festivals it celebrates. The gymnastic arts also originated with their Castors, and Herculesees, and Mercuries.

Chapter XII.

It remains for us to examine the “spectacle” most noted of all, and in highest favour. It is called a dutiful service (*munus*), from its being an office, for it bears the name of “*officium*” as well as “*munus*.” The ancients thought that in this solemnity they rendered offices to the dead; at a later period, with a cruelty more refined, they somewhat modified its character. For formerly, in the belief that the souls of the departed were appeased by human blood, they were in the habit of buying captives or slaves of wicked disposition, and immolating them in their funeral obsequies. Afterwards they thought good to throw the veil of pleasure over their iniquity. Those, therefore, whom they had provided for the combat, and then trained in arms as best they could, only that they might learn to die, they, on the funeral day, killed at the places of sepulture. They alleviated death by murders. Such is the origin of the “*Munus*.” But by degrees their refinement came up to their cruelty; for these human wild beasts could not find pleasure exquisite enough, save in the spectacle of men torn to pieces by wild beasts. Offerings to propitiate the dead then were regarded as belonging to the class of funeral sacrifices; and these are idolatry: for idolatry, in fact, is a sort of homage to the departed; the one as well as the other is a service to dead men. Moreover, demons have abode in the images of the dead. To refer also to the matter of names, though this sort of exhibition has passed from honours of the dead to honours of the living, I mean, to quæstorships and magistracies — to priestly offices of different kinds; yet, since idolatry still cleaves to the dignity’s name, whatever is done in its name partakes of its impurity. The same remark will apply to the procession of the “*Munus*,” as we look at that in the pomp which is connected with these honours themselves; for the purple robes, the fasces, the fillets, the crowns, the proclamations too, and edicts, the sacred feasts of the day before, are not without the pomp of the devil, without invitation of demons. What need, then, of dwelling on the place of horrors, which is too much even for the tongue of the perjurer? For the amphitheatre is consecrated to names more numerous and more dire than is the Capitol itself, temple of all demons as it is. There are as many unclean spirits there as it holds men. To conclude with a single remark about the arts which have a place in it, we know that its two sorts of amusement have for their patrons Mars and Diana.

Chapter XIII.

We have, I think, faithfully carried out our plan of showing in how many different ways the sin of idolatry clings to the shows, in respect of their origins, their titles, their equipments, their places of celebration, their arts; and we may hold it as a thing beyond all doubt, that for us who have twice renounced all idols, they are utterly unsuitable. “Not that an idol is anything,” as the apostle says, but that the homage they render is to demons, who are the real occupants of these consecrated images, whether of dead men or (as they think) of gods. On this account, therefore, because they have a common source — for their dead and their deities are one — we abstain from both idolatries. Nor do we dislike the temples less than the monuments: we have nothing to do with either altar, we adore neither image; we do not offer sacrifices to the gods, and we make no funeral oblations to the departed; nay, we do not partake of what is offered either in the one case or the other, for we cannot partake of God’s feast and the feast of devils. If, then, we keep throat and belly free from such defilements, how much more do we withhold our nobler parts, our ears and eyes, from the idolatrous and funereal enjoyments, which are not passed through the body, but are digested in the very spirit and soul, whose purity, much more than that of our bodily organs, God has a right to claim from us.

Chapter XIV.

Having sufficiently established the charge of idolatry, which alone ought to be reason enough for our giving up the shows, let us now *ex abundanti* look at the subject in another way, for the sake of those especially who keep themselves comfortable in the thought that the abstinence we urge is not in so many words enjoined, as if in the condemnation of the lusts of the world there was not involved a sufficient declaration against all these amusements. For as there is a lust of money, or rank, or eating, or impure enjoyment, or glory, so there is also a lust of pleasure. But the show is just a sort of pleasure. I think, then, that under the general designation of lusts, pleasures are included; in like manner, under the general idea of pleasures, you have as a specific class the “shows.” But we have spoken already of how it is with the places of exhibition, that they are not polluting in themselves, but owing to the things that are done in them from which they imbibe impurity, and then spirt it again on others.

Chapter XV.

Having done enough, then, as we have said, in regard to that principal argument, that there is in them all the taint of idolatry — having sufficiently dealt with that, let us now contrast the other characteristics of the show with the things of God. God has enjoined us to deal calmly, gently, quietly, and peacefully with the Holy Spirit, because these things are alone in keeping with the goodness of His nature, with His tenderness and sensitiveness, and not to vex Him with rage, ill-nature, anger, or grief. Well, how shall this be made to accord with the shows? For the show always leads to spiritual agitation, since where there is pleasure, there is keenness of feeling giving pleasure its zest; and where there is keenness of feeling, there is rivalry giving in turn its zest to that. Then, too, where you have rivalry, you have rage, bitterness, wrath and grief, with all bad things which flow from them — the whole entirely out of keeping with the religion of Christ. For even suppose one should enjoy the shows in a moderate way, as befits his rank, age or nature, still he is not undisturbed in mind, without some unuttered movings of the inner man. No one partakes of pleasures such as these without their strong excitements; no one comes under their excitements without their natural lapses. These lapses, again, create passionate desire. If there is no desire, there is no pleasure, and he is chargeable with trifling who goes where nothing is gotten; in my view, even that is foreign to us. Moreover, a man pronounces his own condemnation in the very act of taking his place among those with whom, by his disinclination to be like them, he confesses he has no sympathy. It is not enough that we do no such things ourselves, unless we break all connection also with those who do. “If thou sawest a thief,” says the Scripture, “thou consentedst with him.” Would that we did not even inhabit the same world with these wicked men! But though that wish cannot be realized, yet even now we are separate from them in what is of the world; for the world is God’s, but the worldly is the devil’s.

Chapter XVI.

Since, then, all passionate excitement is forbidden us, we are debarred from every kind of spectacle, and especially from the circus, where such excitement presides as in its proper element. See the people coming to it already under strong emotion, already tumultuous, already passion-blind, already agitated about their bets. The prætor is too slow for them: their eyes are ever rolling as though along with the lots in his urn; then they hang all eager on the signal; there is the united shout of a common madness. Observe how “out of themselves” they are by their foolish speeches. “He has thrown it!” they exclaim; and they announce each one to his neighbour what all have seen. I have clearest evidence of their blindness; they do not see what is really thrown. They think it a “signal cloth,” but it is the likeness of the devil cast headlong from on high. And the result accordingly is, that they fly into rages, and passions, and discords, and all that they who are consecrated to peace ought never to indulge in. Then there are curses and reproaches, with no cause of hatred; there are cries of applause, with nothing to merit them. What are the partakers in all this — not their own masters — to obtain of it for themselves? unless, it may be, that which makes them not their own: they are saddened by another’s sorrow, they are gladdened by another’s joy. Whatever they desire on the one hand, or detest on the other, is entirely foreign to themselves. So love with them is a useless thing, and hatred is unjust. Or is a causeless love perhaps more legitimate than a causeless hatred? God certainly forbids us to hate even with a reason for our hating; for He commands us to love our enemies. God forbids us to curse, though there be some ground for doing so, in commanding that those who curse us we are to bless. But what is more merciless than the circus, where people do not spare even their rulers and fellow-citizens? If any of its madnesses are becoming elsewhere in the saints of God, they will be seemly in the circus too; but if they are nowhere right, so neither are they there.

Chapter XVII.

Are we not, in like manner, enjoined to put away from us all immodesty? On this ground, again, we are excluded from the theatre, which is immodesty's own peculiar abode, where nothing is in repute but what elsewhere is disreputable. So the best path to the highest favour of its god is the vileness which the Atellan gesticulates, which the buffoon in woman's clothes exhibits, destroying all natural modesty, so that they blush more readily at home than at the play, which finally is done from his childhood on the person of the pantomime, that he may become an actor. The very harlots, too, victims of the public lust, are brought upon the stage, their misery increased as being there in the presence of their own sex, from whom alone they are wont to hide themselves: they are paraded publicly before every age and every rank — their abode, their gains, their praises, are set forth, and that even in the hearing of those who should not hear such things. I say nothing about other matters, which it were good to hide away in their own darkness and their own gloomy caves, lest they should stain the light of day. Let the Senate, let all ranks, blush for very shame! Why, even these miserable women, who by their own gestures destroy their modesty, dreading the light of day, and the people's gaze, know something of shame at least once a year. But if we ought to abominate all that is immodest, on what ground is it right to hear what we must not speak? For all licentiousness of speech, nay, every idle word, is condemned by God. Why, in the same way, is it right to look on what it is disgraceful to do? How is it that the things which defile a man in going out of his mouth, are not regarded as doing so when they go in at his eyes and ears — when eyes and ears are the immediate attendants on the spirit — and that can never be pure whose servants-in-waiting are impure? You have the theatre forbidden, then, in the forbidding of immodesty. If, again, we despise the teaching of secular literature as being foolishness in God's eyes, our duty is plain enough in regard to those spectacles, which from this source derive the tragic or comic play. If tragedies and comedies are the bloody and wanton, the impious and licentious inventors of crimes and lusts, it is not good even that there should be any calling to remembrance the atrocious or the vile. What you reject in deed, you are not to bid welcome to in word.

Chapter XVIII.

But if you argue that the racecourse is mentioned in Scripture, I grant it at once. But you will not refuse to admit that the things which are done there are not for you to look upon: the blows, and kicks, and cuffs, and all the recklessness of hand, and everything like that disfiguration of the human countenance, which is nothing less than the disfiguration of God's own image. You will never give your approval to those foolish racing and throwing feats, and yet more foolish leapings; you will never find pleasure in injurious or useless exhibitions of strength; certainly you will not regard with approval those efforts after an artificial body which aim at surpassing the Creator's work; and you will have the very opposite of complacency in the athletes Greece, in the inactivity of peace, feeds up. And the wrestler's art is a devil's thing. The devil wrestled with, and crushed to death, the first human beings. Its very attitude has power in it of the serpent kind, firm to hold — tortures to clasp — slippery to glide away. You have no need of crowns; why do you strive to get pleasures from crowns?

Chapter XIX.

We shall now see how the Scriptures condemn the amphitheatre. If we can maintain that it is right to indulge in the cruel, and the impious, and the fierce, let us go there. If we are what we are said to be, let us regale ourselves there with human blood. It is good, no doubt, to have the guilty punished. Who but the criminal himself will deny that? And yet the innocent can find no pleasure in another's sufferings: he rather mourns that a brother has sinned so heinously as to need a punishment so dreadful. But who is my guarantee that it is always the guilty who are adjudged to the wild beasts, or to some other doom, and that the guiltless never suffer from the revenge of the judge, or the weakness of the defence, or the pressure of the rack? How much better, then, is it for me to remain ignorant of the punishment inflicted on the wicked, lest I am obliged to know also of the good coming to untimely ends — if I may speak of goodness in the case at all! At any rate, gladiators not chargeable with crime are offered in sale for the games, that they may become the victims of the public pleasure. Even in the case of those who are judicially condemned to the amphitheatre, what a monstrous thing it is, that, in undergoing their punishment, they, from some less serious delinquency, advance to the criminality of manslaughter! But I mean these remarks for heathen. As to Christians, I shall not insult them by adding another word as to the aversion with which they should regard this sort of exhibition; though no one is more able than myself to set forth fully the whole subject, unless it be one who is still in the habit of going to the shows. I would rather withal be incomplete than set memory a-working.

Chapter XX.

How vain, then — nay, how desperate — is the reasoning of persons, who, just because they decline to lose a pleasure, hold out that we cannot point to the specific words or the very place where this abstinence is mentioned, and where the servants of God are directly forbidden to have anything to do with such assemblies! I heard lately a novel defence of himself by a certain play-lover. “The sun,” said he, “nay, God Himself, looks down from heaven on the show, and no pollution is contracted.” Yes, and the sun, too, pours down his rays into the common sewer without being defiled. As for God, would that all crimes were hid from His eye, that we might all escape judgment! But He looks on robberies too; He looks on falsehoods, adulteries, frauds, idolatries, and these same shows; and precisely on that account we will not look on them, lest the All-seeing see us. You are putting on the same level, O man, the criminal and the judge; the criminal who is a criminal because he is seen, and the Judge who is a Judge because He sees. Are we set, then, on playing the madman outside the circus boundaries? Outside the gates of the theatre are we bent on lewdness, outside the course on arrogance, and outside the amphitheatre on cruelty, because outside the porticoes, the tiers and the curtains, too, God has eyes? Never and nowhere is that free from blame which God ever condemns; never and nowhere is it right to do what you may not do at all times and in all places. It is the freedom of the truth from change of opinion and varying judgments which constitutes its perfection, and gives it its claims to full mastery, unchanging reverence, and faithful obedience. That which is really good or really evil cannot be ought else. But in all things the truth of God is immutable.

Chapter XXI.

The heathen, who have not a full revelation of the truth, for they are not taught of God, hold a thing evil and good as it suits self-will and passion, making that which is good in one place evil in another, and that which is evil in one place in another good. So it strangely happens, that the same man who can scarcely in public lift up his tunic, even when necessity of nature presses him, takes it off in the circus, as if bent on exposing himself before everybody; the father who carefully protects and guards his virgin daughter's ears from every polluting word, takes her to the theatre himself, exposing her to all its vile words and attitudes; he, again, who in the streets lays hands on or covers with reproaches the brawling pugilist, in the arena gives all encouragement to combats of a much more serious kind; and he who looks with horror on the corpse of one who has died under the common law of nature, in the amphitheatre gazes down with most patient eyes on bodies all mangled and torn and smeared with their own blood; nay, the very man who comes to the show, because he thinks murderers ought to suffer for their crime, drives the unwilling gladiator to the murderous deed with rods and scourges; and one who demands the lion for every manslayer of deeper dye, will have the staff for the savage swordsman, and rewards him with the cap of liberty. Yes and he must have the poor victim back again, that he may get a sight of his face — with zest inspecting near at hand the man whom he wished torn in pieces at safe distance from him: so much the more cruel he if that was not his wish.

Chapter XXII.

What wonder is there in it? Such inconsistencies as these are just such as we might expect from men, who confuse and change the nature of good and evil in their inconstancy of feeling and fickleness in judgment. Why, the authors and managers of the spectacles, in that very respect with reference to which they highly laud the charioteers, and actors, and wrestlers, and those most loving gladiators, to whom men prostitute their souls, women too their bodies, slight and trample on them, though for their sakes they are guilty of the deeds they reprobate; nay, they doom them to ignominy and the loss of their rights as citizens, excluding them from the Curia, and the rostra, from senatorial and equestrian rank, and from all other honours as well as certain distinctions. What perversity! They have pleasure in those whom yet they punish; they put all slights on those to whom, at the same time, they award their approbation; they magnify the art and brand the artist. What an outrageous thing it is, to blacken a man on account of the very things which make him meritorious in their eyes! Nay, what a confession that the things are evil, when their authors, even in highest favour, are not without a mark of disgrace upon them!

Chapter XXIII.

Seeing, then, man's own reflections, even in spite of the sweetness of pleasure, lead him to think that people such as these should be condemned to a hapless lot of infamy, losing all the advantages connected with the possession of the dignities of life, how much more does the divine righteousness inflict punishment on those who give themselves to these arts! Will God have any pleasure in the charioteer who disquiets so many souls, rouses up so many furious passions, and creates so many various moods, either crowned like a priest or wearing the colours of a pimp, decked out by the devil that he may be whirled away in his chariot, as though with the object of taking off Elijah? Will He be pleased with him who applies the razor to himself, and completely changes his features; who, with no respect for his face, is not content with making it as like as possible to Saturn and Isis and Bacchus, but gives it quietly over to contumelious blows, as if in mockery of our Lord? The devil, forsooth, makes it part, too, of his teaching, that the cheek is to be meekly offered to the smiter. In the same way, with their high shoes, he has made the tragic actors taller, because "none can add a cubit to his stature." His desire is to make Christ a liar. And in regard to the wearing of masks, I ask is that according to the mind of God, who forbids the making of every likeness, and especially then the likeness of man who is His own image? The Author of truth hates all the false; He regards as adultery all that is unreal. Condemning, therefore, as He does hypocrisy in every form, He never will approve any putting on of voice, or sex, or age; He never will approve pretended loves, and wraths, and groans, and tears. Then, too, as in His law it is declared that the man is cursed who attires himself in female garments, what must be His judgment of the pantomime, who is even brought up to play the woman! And will the boxer go unpunished? I suppose he received these cæstus-scars, and the thick skin of his fists, and these growths upon his ears, at his creation! God, too, gave him eyes for no other end than that they might be knocked out in fighting! I say nothing of him who, to save himself, thrusts another in the lion's way, that he may not be too little of a murderer when he puts to death that very same man on the arena.

Chapter XXIV.

In how many other ways shall we yet further show that nothing which is peculiar to the shows has God's approval, or without that approval is becoming in God's servants? If we have succeeded in making it plain that they were instituted entirely for the devil's sake, and have been got up entirely with the devil's things (for all that is not God's, or is not pleasing in His eyes, belongs to His wicked rival), this simply means that in them you have that pomp of the devil which in the "seal" of our faith we abjure. We should have no connection with the things which we abjure, whether in deed or word, whether by looking on them or looking forward to them; but do we not abjure and rescind that baptismal pledge, when we cease to bear its testimony? Does it then remain for us to apply to the heathen themselves. Let them tell us, then, whether it is right in Christians to frequent the show. Why, the rejection of these amusements is the chief sign to them that a man has adopted the Christian faith. If any one, then, puts away the faith's distinctive badge, he is plainly guilty of denying it. What hope can you possibly retain in regard to a man who does that? When you go over to the enemy's camp, you throw down your arms, desert the standards and the oath of allegiance to your chief: you cast in your lot for life or death with your new friends.

Chapter XXV.

Seated where there is nothing of God, will one be thinking of his Maker? Will there be peace in his soul when there is eager strife there for a charioteer? Wrought up into a frenzied excitement, will he learn to be modest? Nay, in the whole thing he will meet with no greater temptation than that gay attiring of the men and women. The very intermingling of emotions, the very agreements and disagreements with each other in the bestowment of their favours, where you have such close communion, blow up the sparks of passion. And then there is scarce any other object in going to the show, but to see and to be seen. When a tragic actor is declaiming, will one be giving thought to prophetic appeals? Amid the measures of the effeminate player, will he call up to himself a psalm? And when the athletes are hard at struggle, will he be ready to proclaim that there must be no striking again? And with his eye fixed on the bites of bears, and the sponge-nets of the net-fighters, can he be moved by compassion? May God avert from His people any such passionate eagerness after a cruel enjoyment! For how monstrous it is to go from God's church to the devil's — from the sky to the sty, as they say; to raise your hands to God, and then to weary them in the applause of an actor; out of the mouth, from which you uttered Amen over the Holy Thing, to give witness in a gladiator's favour; to cry "forever" to any one else but God and Christ!

Chapter XXVI.

Why may not those who go into the temptations of the show become accessible also to evil spirits? We have the case of the woman — the Lord Himself is witness — who went to the theatre, and came back possessed. In the outcasting, accordingly, when the unclean creature was upbraided with having dared to attack a believer, he firmly replied, “And in truth I did it most righteously, for I found her in my domain.” Another case, too, is well known, in which a woman had been hearing a tragedian, and on the very night she saw in her sleep a linen cloth — the actor’s name being mentioned at the same time with strong disapproval — and five days after that woman was no more. How many other undoubted proofs we have had in the case of persons who, by keeping company with the devil in the shows, have fallen from the Lord! For no one can serve two masters. What fellowship has light with darkness, life with death?

Chapter XXVII.

We ought to detest these heathen meetings and assemblies, if on no other account than that there God's name is blasphemed — that there the cry "To the lions!" is daily raised against us — that from thence persecuting decrees are wont to emanate, and temptations are sent forth. What will you do if you are caught in that heaving tide of impious judgments? Not that there any harm is likely to come to you from men: nobody knows that you are a Christian; but think how it fares with you in heaven. For at the very time the devil is working havoc in the church, do you doubt that the angels are looking down from above, and marking every man, who speaks and who listens to the blaspheming word, who lends his tongue and who lends his ears to the service of Satan against God? Shall you not then shun those tiers where the enemies of Christ assemble, that seat of all that is pestilential, and the very super incumbent atmosphere all impure with wicked cries? Grant that you have there things that are pleasant, things both agreeable and innocent in themselves; even some things that are excellent. Nobody dilutes poison with gall and hellebore: the accursed thing is put into condiments well seasoned and of sweetest taste. So, too, the devil puts into the deadly draught which he prepares, things of God most pleasant and most acceptable. Everything there, then, that is either brave, noble, loud-sounding, melodious, or exquisite in taste, hold it but as the honey drop of a poisoned cake; nor make so much of your taste for its pleasures, as of the danger you run from its attractions.

Chapter XXVIII.

With such dainties as these let the devil's guests be feasted. The places and the times, the inviter too, are theirs. Our banquets, our nuptial joys, are yet to come. We cannot sit down in fellowship with them, as neither can they with us. Things in this matter go by their turns. Now they have gladness and we are troubled. "The world," says Jesus, "shall rejoice; ye shall be sorrowful." Let us mourn, then, while the heathen are merry, that in the day of their sorrow we may rejoice; lest, sharing now in their gladness, we share then also in their grief. Thou art too dainty, Christian, if thou wouldst have pleasure in this life as well as in the next; nay, a fool thou art, if thou thinkest this life's pleasures to be really pleasures. The philosophers, for instance, give the name of pleasure to quietness and repose; in that they have their bliss; in that they find entertainment: they even glory in it. You long for the goal, and the stage, and the dust, and the place of combat! I would have you answer me this question: Can we not live without pleasure, who cannot but with pleasure die? For what is our wish but the apostle's, to leave the world, and be taken up into the fellowship of our Lord? You have your joys where you have your longings.

Chapter XXIX.

Even as things are, if your thought is to spend this period of existence in enjoyments, how are you so ungrateful as to reckon insufficient, as not thankfully to recognize the many and exquisite pleasures God has bestowed upon you? For what more delightful than to have God the Father and our Lord at peace with us, than revelation of the truth than confession of our errors, than pardon of the innumerable sins of our past life? What greater pleasure than distaste of pleasure itself, contempt of all that the world can give, true liberty, a pure conscience, a contented life, and freedom from all fear of death? What nobler than to tread under foot the gods of the nations — to exorcise evil spirits — to perform cures — to seek divine revealings — to live to God? These are the pleasures, these the spectacles that befit Christian men — holy, everlasting, free. Count of these as your circus games, fix your eyes on the courses of the world, the gliding seasons, reckon up the periods of time, long for the goal of the final consummation, defend the societies of the churches, be startled at God's signal, be roused up at the angel's trump, glory in the palms of martyrdom. If the literature of the stage delight you, we have literature in abundance of our own — plenty of verses, sentences, songs, proverbs; and these not fabulous, but true; not tricks of art, but plain realities. Would you have also fightings and wrestlings? Well, of these there is no lacking, and they are not of slight account. Behold unchastity overcome by chastity, perfidy slain by faithfulness, cruelty stricken by compassion, impudence thrown into the shade by modesty: these are the contests we have among us, and in these *we* win our crowns. Would you have something of blood too? You have Christ's.

Chapter XXX.

But what a spectacle is that fast-approaching advent of our Lord, now owned by all, now highly exalted, now a triumphant One! What that exultation of the angelic hosts! What the glory of the rising saints! What the kingdom of the just thereafter! What the city New Jerusalem! Yes, and there are other sights: that last day of judgment, with its everlasting issues; that day unlooked for by the nations, the theme of their derision, when the world hoary with age, and all its many products, shall be consumed in one great flame! How vast a spectacle then bursts upon the eye! What there excites my admiration? what my derision? Which sight gives me joy? which rouses me to exultation? — as I see so many illustrious monarchs, whose reception into the heavens was publicly announced, groaning now in the lowest darkness with great Jove himself, and those, too, who bore witness of their exultation; governors of provinces, too, who persecuted the Christian name, in fires more fierce than those with which in the days of their pride they raged against the followers of Christ. What world's wise men besides, the very philosophers, in fact, who taught their followers that God had no concern in ought that is sublunary, and were wont to assure them that either they had no souls, or that they would never return to the bodies which at death they had left, now covered with shame before the poor deluded ones, as one fire consumes them! Poets also, trembling not before the judgment-seat of Rhadamanthus or Minos, but of the unexpected Christ! I shall have a better opportunity then of hearing the tragedians, louder-voiced in their own calamity; of viewing the play-actors, much more “dissolute” in the dissolving flame; of looking upon the charioteer, all glowing in his chariot of fire; of beholding the wrestlers, not in their gymnasia, but tossing in the fiery billows; unless even then I shall not care to attend to such ministers of sin, in my eager wish rather to fix a gaze insatiable on those whose fury vented itself against the Lord. “This,” I shall say, “this is that carpenter's or hireling's son, that Sabbath-breaker, that Samaritan and devil-possession! This is He whom you purchased from Judas! This is He whom you struck with reed and fist, whom you contemptuously spat upon, to whom you gave gall and vinegar to drink! This is He whom His disciples secretly stole away, that it might be said He had risen again, or the gardener abstracted, that his lettuces might come to no harm from the crowds of

visitants!” What quæstor or priest in his munificence will bestow on you the favour of seeing and exulting in such things as these? And yet even now we in a measure have them by faith in the picturings of imagination. But what are the things which eye has not seen, ear has not heard, and which have not so much as dimly dawned upon the human heart? Whatever they are, they are nobler, I believe, than circus, and both theatres, and every race-course.

De Idololatria (On Idolatry)



Translated by Sydney Thelwall

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Elucidations.

Chapter I. — Wide Scope of the Word Idolatry.

The principal crime of the human race, the highest guilt charged upon the world, the whole procuring cause of judgment, is idolatry. For, although each single fault retains its own proper feature, although it is destined to judgment under its own proper name also, yet it is marked off under the *general* account of idolatry. Set aside names, examine works, the idolater is likewise a murderer. Do you inquire whom he has slain? If it contributes ought to the aggravation of the indictment, no stranger nor personal enemy, but his own self. By what snares? Those of his error. By what weapon? The offence done to God. By how many blows? As many as are his idolatries. He who affirms that the idolater *perishes not*, will affirm that the idolater has not committed murder. Further, you may recognize in the same crime *adultery* and *fornication*; for he who serves false gods is doubtless an *adulterer* of truth, because all falsehood is adultery. So, too, he is sunk in fornication. For who that is a fellow-worker with unclean spirits, does not stalk in general pollution and fornication? And thus it is that the Holy Scriptures use the designation of fornication in their upbraiding of idolatry. The essence of *fraud*, I take it, is, that any should seize what is another's, or refuse to another his due; and, of course, fraud done toward *man* is a name of greatest crime. Well, but idolatry does fraud to God, by refusing to Him, and conferring on others, His honours; so that to fraud it also conjoins *contumely*. But if fraud, just as much as fornication and adultery, entails death, then, in these cases, equally with the former, idolatry stands unacquitted of the impeachment of murder. After such crimes, so pernicious, so devouring of salvation, all other crimes also, after some manner, and separately disposed in order, find their own essence represented in idolatry. In it also are the *concupiscences* of the world. For what solemnity of idolatry is without the circumstance of dress and ornament? In it are *lasciviousnesses* and *drunkennesses*; since it is, for the most part, for the sake of food, and stomach, and appetite, that these solemnities are frequented. In it is *unrighteousness*. For what more unrighteous than it, which knows not the Father of righteousness? In it also is *vanity*, since its whole system is vain. In it is *mendacity*, for its whole substance is false. Thus it comes to pass, that in idolatry all crimes are detected, and in all crimes idolatry. Even otherwise, since all faults savour of opposition to God, and

there is nothing which savours of opposition to God which is not assigned to demons and unclean spirits, whose property idols are; doubtless, whoever commits a fault is chargeable with idolatry, for he does that which pertains to the proprietors of idols.

Chapter II. — Idolatry in Its More Limited Sense. Its Copiousness.

But let the universal names of crimes withdraw to the specialities of their own works; let idolatry remain in that which it is itself. Sufficient to itself is a name so inimical to God, a substance of crime so copious, which reaches forth so many branches, diffuses so many veins, that from this *name*, for the greatest part, is drawn the material of all the modes in which the expansiveness of idolatry has to be foreguarded against by us, since in manifold wise it subverts the servants of God; and this not only when unperceived, but also when cloaked over. Most men simply regard idolatry as to be interpreted in these senses alone, viz.: if one burn incense, or immolate a *victim*, or give a sacrificial banquet, or be bound to some sacred functions or priesthoods; just as if one were to regard adultery as to be accounted in kisses, and in embraces, and in actual fleshly contact; or murder as to be reckoned only in the shedding forth of blood, and in the actual taking away of life. But how far wider an extent the Lord assigns to those crimes we are sure: when He defines adultery *to consist* even in concupiscence, “if one shall have cast an eye lustfully on,” and stirred his soul with immodest commotion; when He judges murder *to consist* even in a word of curse or of reproach, and in every impulse of anger, and in the neglect of charity toward a brother just as John teaches, that he who hates his brother is a murderer. Else, both the devil’s ingenuity in malice, and God the Lord’s in the Discipline by which He fortifies us against the devil’s depths, would have but limited scope, if we were judged only in such faults as even the heathen nations have decreed punishable. How will our “righteousness abound above that of the Scribes and Pharisees,” as the Lord has prescribed, unless we shall have seen through the abundance of that adversary quality, that is, of *unrighteousness*? But if the head of unrighteousness is idolatry, the first point is, that we be fore-fortified against the abundance of idolatry, while we recognise it not only in its palpable manifestations.

Chapter III. — Idolatry: Origin and Meaning of the Name.

Idol in ancient times there was none. Before the artificers of this monstrosity had bubbled into being, temples stood solitary and shrines empty, just as to the present day in some places traces of the ancient practice remain permanently. Yet idolatry used to be practised, not under that name, but in that function; for even at this day it can be practised outside a temple, and without an idol. But when the devil introduced into the world artificers of statues and of images, and of every kind of likenesses, that former rude business of human disaster attained from idols both a name and a development. Thenceforward every art which in any way produces an idol instantly became a fount of idolatry. For it makes no difference whether a moulder cast, or a carver grave, or an embroiderer weave *the* idol; *because neither is it a question of material, whether an idol* be formed of gypsum, or of colors, or of stone, or of bronze, or of silver, or of thread. For since even without an idol idolatry is committed, when the idol is there it makes no difference of what kind it be, of what material, or what shape; lest any should think *that* only to be held an idol which is consecrated in human shape. To establish this point, the interpretation of the word is requisite. *Eidos*, in Greek, signifies *form*; *eidolon*, derived diminutively from that, by an equivalent process in our language, makes *formling*. Every *form* or *formling*, therefore, claims to be called an *idol*. Hence *idolatry* is “all attendance and service about every idol.” Hence also, every artificer of an idol is guilty of one and the same crime, unless, the People which consecrated for itself the likeness of a calf, and not of a man, fell short of incurring the guilt of idolatry.

Chapter IV. — Idols Not to Be Made, Much Less Worshipped. Idols and Idol-Makers in the Same Category.

God prohibits an idol as much to be *made* as to be *worshipped*. In so far as the *making* what may be worshipped is the prior act, so far is the prohibition to *make* (if the worship is unlawful) the prior prohibition. For this cause — the eradicating, namely, of the material of idolatry — the divine law proclaims, “Thou shalt make no idol;” and by conjoining, “Nor a similitude of the things which are in the heaven, and which are in the earth, and which are in the sea,” has interdicted the servants of God from acts of that kind all the universe over. Enoch had preceded, predicting that “the demons, and the spirits of the angelic apostates, would turn into idolatry all the elements, all the garniture of the universe, all things contained in the heaven, in the sea, in the earth, that they might be consecrated as God, in opposition to God.” All things, therefore, does human error worship, except the Founder of all Himself. The images of those things are idols; the consecration of the images is idolatry. Whatever guilt idolatry incurs, must necessarily be imputed to every artificer of every idol. In short, the same Enoch fore-condemns in general menace both idol-worshippers and idol-makers together. And again: “I swear to you, sinners, that against the day of perdition of blood repentance is being prepared. Ye who serve stones, and ye who make images of gold, and silver, and wood, and stones and clay, and serve phantoms, and demons, and spirits in fanes, and all errors not according to knowledge, shall find no help from them.” But Isaiah says, “Ye are witnesses whether there is a God except Me.” “And they who mould and carve out at that time were not: all vain! who do that which liketh them, which shall not profit them!” And that whole ensuing discourse sets a ban as well on the artificers as the worshippers: the close of which is, “Learn that their heart is ashes and earth, and that none can free his own soul.” In which sentence David equally includes the makers too. “Such,” says he, “let them become who make them.” And why should I, a man of limited memory, suggest anything further? Why recall anything more from the Scriptures? As if either the voice of the Holy Spirit were not sufficient; or else any further deliberation were needful, whether the Lord cursed and condemned by priority the *artificers* of those things, of which He curses and

condemns the *worshippers!*

Chapter V. — Sundry Objections or Excuses Dealt with.

We will certainly take more pains in answering the excuses of artificers of this kind, who ought never to be admitted into the house of God, if any have a knowledge of that Discipline. To begin with, that speech, wont to be cast in our teeth, “I have nothing else whereby to live,” may be more severely retorted, “You have, then, whereby to live? If by your own laws, what have you to do with God?” Then, as to the argument they have the hardihood to bring even from the Scriptures, “that the apostle has said, ‘As each has been found, so let him persevere.’” We may all, therefore, persevere in *sins*, as the result of *that* interpretation! for there is not any one of us who has not been found as a *sinner*, since no other cause was the source of Christ’s descent than that of setting *sinners* free. Again, they say the same apostle has left a precept, according to his own example, “That each one work with his own hands for a living.” If this precept is maintained in respect to *all* hands, I believe even the bath-thieves live by their hands, and robbers themselves gain the means to live by their hands; forgers, again, execute their evil handwritings, not of course with their feet, but hands; actors, however, achieve a livelihood not with hands alone, but with their entire limbs. Let the Church, therefore, stand open to *all* who are supported by their hands and by their own work; if there is no exception of arts which the Discipline of God receives not. But some one says, in opposition to our proposition of “similitude being interdicted,” “Why, then, did Moses in the desert make a likeness of a serpent out of bronze?” The figures, which used to be laid as a groundwork for some secret future dispensation, not with a view to the repeal of the law, but as a type of their own final cause, stand in a class by themselves. Otherwise, if we should interpret these things as the adversaries of the law do, do we, too, as the Marcionites do, ascribe inconsistency to the Almighty, whom *they* in this manner destroy as being mutable, while in one place He forbids, in another commands? But if any feigns ignorance of the fact that that effigy of the serpent of bronze, after the manner of one uphung, denoted the shape of the Lord’s cross, which was to free us from serpents — that is, from the devil’s angels — while, through itself, it hanged up the devil slain; or whatever other exposition of that figure has been revealed to worthier men no matter, provided we remember the apostle affirms that all things happened at that

time to the People *figuratively*. It is enough that the same God, as by law He forbade the making of similitude, did, by the extraordinary precept in the case of the serpent, interdict similitude. If you reverence the same God, you have His law, “Thou shalt make no similitude.” If you look back, too, to the precept enjoining the subsequently made similitude, do you, too, imitate Moses: make not any likeness in opposition to the law, unless to *you*, too, God have bidden it.

Chapter VI. — Idolatry Condemned by Baptism. To Make an Idol Is, in Fact, to Worship It.

If no law of God had prohibited idols to be made by us; if no voice of the Holy Spirit uttered general menace no less against the makers than the worshippers of idols; from our sacrament itself we would draw our interpretation that arts of that kind are opposed to the faith. For how have we *renounced* the devil and his angels, if we *make* them? What divorce have we declared from them, I say not *with* whom, but *dependent on* whom, we live? What discord have we entered into with those to whom we are under obligation for the sake of our maintenance? Can you have denied with the tongue what with the hand you confess? unmake by word what by deed you make? preach one God, you who make so many? preach the true God, you who make false ones? “I *make*,” says one, “but I *worship* not;” as if there were some cause for which he dare not *worship*, besides that for which he ought not also to *make*, — the offence done to God, namely, in either case. Nay, you who *make*, that they may be able to be worshipped, *do* worship; and you worship, not with the spirit of some worthless perfume, but with your own; nor at the expense of a beast’s soul, but of your own. To them you immolate your ingenuity; to them you make your sweat a libation; to them you kindle the torch of your forethought. More are you to them than a priest, since it is by *your* means they *have* a priest; *your* diligence is *their* divinity. Do you affirm that you *worship* not what you *make*? Ah! but *they* affirm not so, to whom you slay this fatter, more precious and greater victim, your salvation.

Chapter VII. — Grief of the Faithful at the Admission of Idol-Makers into the Church; Nay, Even into the Ministry.

A whole day the zeal of faith will direct its pleadings to this quarter: bewailing that a Christian should come from idols into the Church; should come from an adversary workshop into the house of God; should raise to God the Father hands which are the mothers of idols; should pray to God with the hands which, out of doors, are prayed to in opposition to God; should apply to the Lord's body those hands which confer bodies on demons. Nor is this sufficient. Grant that it be a small matter, if from other hands they receive what they contaminate; but even those very hands deliver to others what they have contaminated. Idol-artificers are chosen even into the ecclesiastical order. Oh wickedness! Once did the Jews lay brands on Christ; these mangle His body daily. Oh hands to be cut off! Now let the saying, "If thy hand make thee do evil, amputate it," see to it whether it were uttered by way of similitude *merely*. What hands more to be amputated than those in which scandal is done to the Lord's body?

Chapter VIII. — Other Arts Made Subservient to Idolatry. Lawful Means of Gaining a Livelihood Abundant.

There are also other species of very many arts which, although they extend not to the *making* of idols, yet, with the same criminality, *furnish the adjuncts* without which idols have no power. For it matters not whether you erect or equip: if you have embellished his temple, altar, or niche; if you have pressed out gold-leaf, or have wrought his insignia, or even his house: work of that kind, which confers not *shape*, but *authority*, is more important. If the necessity of maintenance is urged so much, the arts have other species withal to afford means of livelihood, without outstepping the path of discipline, that is, without the confiction of an idol. The plasterer knows both how to mend roofs, and lay on stuccoes, and polish a cistern, and trace ogives, and draw in relief on party-walls many other ornaments beside likenesses. The painter, too, the marble mason, the bronze-worker, and every graver whatever, knows expansions of his own art, of course much easier of execution. For how much more easily does he who delineates a statue overlay a sideboard! How much sooner does he who carves a Mars out of a lime-tree, fasten together a chest! No art but is either mother or kinswoman of some neighbour art: nothing is independent of its neighbour. The veins of the arts are many as are the concupiscences of men. “But there is difference in wages and the rewards of handicraft;” therefore there is difference, too, in the labour required. Smaller wages are compensated by more frequent earning. How many are the party-walls which require statues? How many the temples and shrines which are built for idols? But houses, and official residences, and baths, and tenements, how many are they? Shoe- and slipper-gilding is daily work; not so the gilding of Mercury and Serapis. Let that suffice for the gain of handicrafts. Luxury and ostentation have more votaries than all superstition. Ostentation will require dishes and cups more easily than superstition. Luxury deals in wreaths, also, more than ceremony. When, therefore, we urge men generally to such kinds of handicrafts as do not come in contact with an idol indeed and with the things which are appropriate to an idol; since, moreover, the things which are common to idols are often common to men too; of this also we ought to beware that nothing be, with our knowledge, demanded by any

person from our idols' service. For if we shall have made that concession, and shall not have had recourse to the remedies so often used, I think we are not free of the contagion of idolatry, we whose (not unwitting) hands are found busied in the tendence, or in the honour and service, of demons.

Elucidations.

I.

(The Second Commandment, .)

Tertullian's teaching agrees with that of Clement of Alexandria and with all the Primitive Fathers. But compare the Trent Catechism, (chapter ii., quest. 17.)— “Nor let any one suppose that this commandment prohibits the arts of painting, modelling or sculpture, *for*, in the Scriptures we are informed that God himself commanded images of cherubim, and *also of* the brazen serpent, *to be made, etc.*” *So far, the comparison* is important, because while our author limits any inference from this instance as an *exception*, this Catechism turns it into a *rule*: and so far, we are only looking at the matter with reference to Art. But, the Catechism, (quest. xxiii. xxiv.), goes on to teach that images of the Saints, *etc.* ought to be made and honoured “as a holy practice.” It affirms, also, that it is a practice which has been *attended with the greatest advantage* to the faithful: *which admits of a doubt, especially when the honour* thus mentioned is everywhere turned into *worship*, precisely like that offered to the Brazen Serpent, when the People “burned incense to it,” and often much more. But even this is not my point; for that Catechism, with what verity need not be argued, affirms, also, that this doctrine “*derives confirmation from the monuments of the Apostolic age, the general Councils of the Church, and the writings of so many most holy and learned Fathers, who are of one accord upon the subject.*” Doubtless they are “of one accord,” but all the other way.

II.

(Military service, cap. xix., .)

This chapter must prepare us for a much more sweeping condemnation of the military profession in the *De Spectaculis* and the *De Corona*; but Neander's judgment seems to me very just. The *Corona*, itself, is rather Montanistic than Montanist, in the opinion of some critics, among whom Gibbon is not to count for much, for the reasons given by Kaye (), and others hardly less obvious. Surely, if this ascetic opinion and some similar instances were enough to mark a man as a heretic, what are we to say of the thousand

crotchets maintained by good Christians, in our day?

III.

(Passive idolatry, cap. xxii., p, 75.)

Neander's opinion as to the freedom of *De Idololatria from Montanistic taint, is mildly questioned by Bp. Kaye*, chiefly on the ground of the agreement of this chapter with the extravagances of the *Scorpiace*. He thinks "the utmost pitch" of such extravagance is reached in the positions here taken. But Neander's judgment seems to me preferable. Lapsers usually give tokens of the bent of their minds, and unconsciously betray their inclinations before they themselves see whither they are tending. Thus they become victims of their own plausible self-deceptions.

IV.

(Tacit consents and reservations, cap. xxiii., .)

It cannot be doubted that apart from the specific case which Tertullian is here maintaining, his appeal to conscience is maintained by reason, by the Morals of the Fathers and by Holy Scripture. Now compare with this the Morality which has been made dogmatic, among Latins, by the elevation of Liguori to the dignities of a "Saint" and a "Doctor of the Church." Even Cardinal Newman cannot accept it without *reservations*, so thoroughly does it commit the soul to fraud and hypocrisy. See Liguori, *Opp. Tom. II.*, p-44, and Meyrick, *Moral Theology of the Church of Rome, London, 1855. Republished*, with an Introduction, by the Editor of this Series, Baltimore, 1857. Also Newman, *Apologia, et seqq.*

De cultu Feminarum (On Women's Dress)



Translated by Sydney Thelwall

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BOOK I.

Chapter 1

Introduction.

Modesty in Apparel Becoming to Women, in Memory of the Introduction of Sin into the World Through a Woman.

If there dwelt upon earth a faith as great as is the reward of faith which is expected in the heavens, no one of you at all, best beloved sisters, from the time that she had first “known the Lord,” and learned (the truth) concerning her own (that is, woman’s) condition, would have desired too gladsome (not to say too ostentatious) a style of dress; so as not rather to go about in humble garb, and rather to affect meanness of appearance, walking about as Eve mourning and repentant, in order that by every garb of penitence she might the more fully expiate that which she derives from Eve, — the ignominy, I mean, of the first sin, and the odium (attaching to her as the cause) of human perdition. “In pains and in anxieties dost thou bear (children), woman; and toward thine husband (is) thy inclination, and he lords it over thee.” And do you not know that you are (each) an Eve? The sentence of God on this sex of yours lives in this age: the guilt must of necessity live too. *You* are the devil’s gateway: *you* are the unsealer of that (forbidden) tree: *you* are the first deserter of the divine law: *you* are she who persuaded him whom the devil was not valiant enough to attack. *You* destroyed so easily God’s image, man. On account of *your* desert — that is, death — even the Son of God had to die. And do you think about adorning yourself over and above your tunics of skins? Come, now; if from the beginning of the world the Milesians sheared sheep, and the Serians spun trees, and the Tyrians dyed, and the Phrygians embroidered with the needle, and the Babylonians with the loom, and pearls gleamed, and onyx-stones flashed; if gold itself also had already issued, with the cupidity (which accompanies it), from the ground; if the mirror, too, already had licence to lie so largely, Eve, expelled from paradise, (Eve) already dead, would also have coveted *these* things, I imagine! No more, then, ought she *now* to crave, or be acquainted with (if she desires to live again), what, when she *was* living, she had neither had nor known. Accordingly these things are all the baggage of woman in her condemned and dead state, instituted as if to swell the pomp of her funeral.

Chapter 2

The Origin of Female Ornamentation, Traced Back to the Angels Who Had Fallen.

For they, withal, who instituted them are assigned, under condemnation, to the penalty of death, — those angels, to wit, who rushed from heaven on the daughters of men; so that this ignominy also attaches to woman. For when to an age much more ignorant (than ours) they had disclosed certain well-concealed material substances, and several not well-revealed scientific arts — if it is true that they had laid bare the operations of metallurgy, and had divulged the natural properties of herbs, and had promulgated the powers of enchantments, and had traced out every curious art, even to the interpretation of the stars — they conferred properly and as it were peculiarly upon women that instrumental mean of womanly ostentation, the radiances of jewels wherewith necklaces are variegated, and the circlets of gold wherewith the arms are compressed, and the medicaments of orchil with which wools are coloured, and that black powder itself wherewith the eyelids and eyelashes are made prominent. What is the quality of these things may be declared meantime, even at this point, from the quality and condition of their teachers: in that sinners could never have either shown or supplied anything conducive to integrity, unlawful lovers anything conducive to chastity, renegade spirits anything conducive to the fear of God. If (these things) are to be called *teachings*, ill masters must of necessity have taught ill; if as *wages of lust*, there is nothing base of which the wages are honourable. But why was it of so much importance to show these things as well as to confer them? Was it that women, without material causes of splendour, and without ingenious contrivances of grace, could not please *men*, who, while still unadorned, and uncouth and — so to say — crude and rude, had moved (the mind of) *angels*? or was it that the lovers would appear sordid and — through gratuitous use — contumelious, if they had conferred no (compensating) gift on the women who had been enticed into connubial connection with them? But these questions admit of no calculation. Women who possessed angels (as husbands) could desire nothing more; they had, forsooth, made a grand match! Assuredly they who, of course, did sometimes think whence they had fallen, and, after the heated impulses of their lusts, looked up toward heaven,

thus requited that very excellence of women, natural beauty, as (having proved) a cause of evil, in order that their good fortune might profit them nothing; but that, being turned from simplicity and sincerity, they, together with (the angels) themselves, might become offensive to God. Sure they were that all ostentation, and ambition, and love of pleasing by carnal means, was *displeasing* to God. And these are the angels whom we are destined to judge: these are the angels whom in baptism we renounce: these, of course, are the reasons why they have deserved to be judged by man. What business, then, have their *things* with their *judges*? What commerce have they who are to condemn with them who are to be condemned? The same, I take it, as Christ has with Belial. With what consistency do we mount that (future) judgment-seat to pronounce sentence against those whose gifts we (now) seek after? For you too, (women as you are,) have the self-same angelic nature promised as your reward, the self-same sex as men: the self-same advancement to the dignity of judging, does (the Lord) promise you. Unless, then, we begin even here to *pre-judge*, by pre-condemning their *things*, which we are hereafter to condemn in *themselves*, *they* will rather judge and condemn *us*.

Chapter 3

Concerning the Genuineness of “The Prophecy of Enoch.”

I am aware that the Scripture of Enoch, which has assigned this order (of action) to angels, is not received by some, because it is not admitted into the Jewish canon either. I suppose they did not think that, having been published before the deluge, it could have safely survived that world-wide calamity, the abolisher of all things. If that is the reason (for rejecting it), let them recall to their memory that Noah, the survivor of the deluge, was the great-grandson of Enoch himself; and he, of course, had heard and remembered, from domestic renown and hereditary tradition, concerning his own great-grandfather’s “grace in the sight of God,” and concerning all his preachings; since Enoch had given no other charge to Methuselah than that he should hand on the knowledge of them to his posterity. Noah therefore, no doubt, might have succeeded in the trusteeship of (his) preaching; or, had the case been otherwise, he would not have been silent alike concerning the disposition (of things) made by God, his Preserver, and concerning the particular glory of his own house.

If (Noah) had not had this (conservative power) by so short a route, there would (still) be this (consideration) to warrant our assertion of (the genuineness of) this Scripture: he could equally have *renewed* it, under the Spirit’s inspiration, after it *had* been destroyed by the violence of the deluge, as, after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonian storming of it, every document of the Jewish literature is generally agreed to have been restored through Ezra.

But since Enoch in the same Scripture has preached likewise concerning the Lord, nothing at all must be rejected *by* us which pertains *to* us; and we read that “every Scripture suitable for edification is divinely inspired.” By the *Jews* it may now seem to have been rejected for that (very) reason, just like all the other (portions) nearly which tell of Christ. Nor, of course, is this fact wonderful, that they did not receive some Scriptures which spake of Him whom even in person, speaking in their presence, they were not to receive. To these considerations is added the fact that Enoch possesses a testimony in the Apostle Jude.

Chapter 4

Waiving the Question of the Authors, Tertullian Proposes to Consider the Things on Their Own Merits.

Grant now that no mark of pre-condemnation has been branded on womanly pomp by the (fact of the) fate of its authors; let nothing be imputed to those angels besides their repudiation of heaven and (their) carnal marriage: let us examine the qualities of the things themselves, in order that we may detect the purposes also for which they are eagerly desired.

Female habit carries with it a twofold idea — dress and ornament. By “dress” we mean what they call “womanly gracing;” by “ornament,” what it is suitable should be called “womanly *disgracing*.” The former is accounted (to consist) in gold, and silver, and gems, and garments; the latter in care of the hair, and of the skin, and of those parts of the body which attract the eye. Against the one we lay the charge of ambition, against the other of prostitution; so that even from this early stage (of our discussion) you may look forward and see what, out of (all) these, is suitable, handmaid of God, to *your* discipline, inasmuch as you are assessed on different principles (from other women), — those, namely, of humility and chastity.

Chapter 5

Gold and Silver Not Superior in Origin or in Utility to Other Metals.

Gold and silver, the principal material causes of worldly splendour, must necessarily be identical (in nature) with that out of which they have their being: (they must be) earth, that is; (which earth itself is) plainly more glorious (than they), inasmuch as it is only after it has been tearfully wrought by penal labour in the deadly laboratories of accursed mines, and there left its name of “earth” in the fire behind it, that, as a fugitive from the mine, it passes from torments to ornaments, from punishments to embellishments, from ignominies to honours. But iron, and brass, and other the vilest material substances, enjoy a parity of condition (with silver and gold), both as to earthly origin and metallurgic operation; in order that, in the estimation of nature, the substance of gold and of silver may be judged not a whit more noble (than theirs). But if it is from the quality of *utility* that gold and silver derive their glory, why, iron and brass excel them; whose usefulness is so disposed (by the Creator), that they not only discharge functions of their own more numerous and more necessary to human affairs, but do also none the less serve the turn of gold and silver, by dint of their own powers, in the service of juster causes. For not only are rings made of iron, but the memory of antiquity still preserves (the fame of) certain vessels for eating and drinking made out of brass. Let the insane plenteousness of gold and silver look to it, if it serves to make utensils even for foul purposes. At all events, neither is the field tilled by means of gold, nor the ship fastened together by the strength of silver. No mattock plunges a golden edge into the ground; no nail drives a silver point into planks. I leave unnoticed the fact that the needs of our whole life are dependent upon iron and brass; whereas those rich materials themselves, requiring both to be dug up out of mines, and needing a forging process in every use (to which they are put), are helpless without the laborious vigour of iron and brass. Already, therefore, we must judge whence it is that so high dignity accrues to gold and silver, since they get precedence over material substances which are not only cousin-german to them in point of origin, but more powerful in point of usefulness.

Chapter 6

Of Precious Stones and Pearls.

But, in the next place, what am I to interpret those jewels to be which vie with gold in haughtiness, except little pebbles and stones and paltry particles of the self-same earth; but yet not necessary either for laying down foundations, or rearing party-walls, or supporting pediments, or giving density to roofs? The only edifice which they know how to rear is this silly pride of women: because they require slow rubbing that they may shine, and artful underlaying that they may show to advantage, and careful piercing that they may hang; and (because they) render to gold a mutual assistance in meretricious allurements. But whatever it is that ambition fishes up from the British or the Indian sea, it is a kind of conch not more pleasing in *savour* than — I do not say the oyster and the sea-snail, but — even the giant muscle. For let me add that I know conchs (which are) sweet fruits of the sea. But if that (foreign) conch suffers from some internal pustule, that ought to be regarded rather as its defect than as its glory; and although it be called “pearl,” still something else must be understood than some hard, round excrescence of the fish. Some say, too, that gems are culled from the foreheads of *dragons*, just as in the brains of fishes there is a certain stony substance. This also was wanting to the Christian woman, that she may add a grace to herself from the serpent! Is it thus that she will set her heel on the devil’s head,” while she heaps ornaments (taken) from his head on her own neck, or on her very head?

Chapter 7

Rarity the Only Cause Which Makes Such Things Valuable.

It is only from their rarity and outlandishness that all these things possess their grace; in short, within their own native limits they are not held of so high worth. Abundance is always contumelious toward itself. There are some barbarians with whom, because gold is indigenous and plentiful, it is customary to keep (the criminals) in their convict establishments chained with gold, and to lade the wicked with riches — the more guilty, the more wealthy. At last there has really been found a way to prevent even gold from being loved! We have also seen at Rome the nobility of gems blushing in the presence of our matrons at the contemptuous usage of the Parthians and Medes, and the rest of their own fellow-countrymen, only that (*their* gems) are not generally worn with a view to ostentation. Emeralds lurk in their belts; and the sword (that hangs) below their bosom alone is witness to the cylindrical stones that decorate its hilt; and the massive single pearls on their boots are fain to get lifted out of the mud! In short, they carry nothing so richly gemmed as that which ought *not* to be gemmed if it is (either) not conspicuous, or else is conspicuous only that it may be shown to be also neglected.

Chapter 8

The Same Rule Holds with Regard to Colours. God's Creatures Generally Not to Be Used, Except for the Purposes to Which He Has Appointed Them.

Similarly, too, do even the servants of those barbarians cause the glory to fade from the colours of our garments (by wearing the like); nay, even their party-walls use slightly, to supply the place of painting, the Tyrian and the violet-coloured and the grand royal hangings, which you laboriously undo and metamorphose. Purple with them is more paltry than red ochre; (and justly,) for what legitimate honour can garments derive from adulteration with illegitimate colours? That which He Himself has not produced is not pleasing to God, unless He was *unable* to order sheep to be born with purple and sky-blue fleeces! If He was *able*, then plainly He was *unwilling*: what God willed not, of course ought not to be fashioned. Those things, then, are not the best by *nature* which are not from God, the *Author* of nature. Thus they are understood to be from *the devil*, from the *corrupter* of nature: for there is no other whose they can be, if they are not God's; because what are not God's must necessarily be His rival's. But, beside the devil and his angels, other rival of God there is none. Again, if the *material substances* are of God, it does not immediately follow that such ways of *enjoying* them among men (are so too). It is matter for inquiry not only whence come conchs, but what sphere of embellishment is assigned them, and where it is that they exhibit their beauty. For all those profane pleasures of worldly shows — as we have already published a volume of their own about them — (ay, and) even idolatry itself, derive their material causes from the creatures of God. Yet a Christian ought not to attach himself to the frenzies of the racecourse, or the atrocities of the arena, or the turpitudes of the stage, simply because God has given to man the horse, and the panther, and the power of speech: just as a Christian cannot commit idolatry with impunity either, because the incense, and the wine, and the fire which feeds (thereon), and the animals which are made the victims, are God's workmanship; since even the material thing which is adored is God's (creature). Thus then, too, with regard to their active use, does the *origin* of the material substances, which descends from God, *excuse* (that use) as foreign to God, as guilty forsooth of worldly glory!

Chapter 9

God's Distribution Must Regulate Our Desires, Otherwise We Become the Prey of Ambition and Its Attendant Evils.

For, as some particular things distributed by God over certain individual lands, and some one particular tract of sea, are mutually foreign one to the other, they are reciprocally either neglected or desired: (desired) among foreigners, as being rarities; neglected (rightly), if anywhere, among their own compatriots, because in *them* there is no such fervid longing for a glory which, among its own home-folk, is frigid. But, however, the rareness and outlandishness which arise out of that distribution of possessions which God has ordered as He willed, ever finding favour in the eyes of strangers, excites, from the simple fact of *not* having what God has made native to other places, the concupiscence of *having* it. Hence is educed another vice — that of *immoderate* having; because although, perhaps, *having* may be permissible, still a limit is bound (to be observed). This (second vice) will be ambition; and hence, too, its name is to be interpreted, in that from concupiscence *ambient* in the mind it is born, with a view to the desire of glory, — a grand desire, forsooth, which (as we have said) is recommended neither by nature nor by truth, but by a vicious passion of the mind, — (namely,) concupiscence. And there are other vices connected with ambition and glory. Thus they have withal enhanced the *cost* of things, in order that (thereby) they might add fuel to themselves also; for concupiscence becomes proportionably greater as it has set a higher value upon the thing which it has eagerly desired. From the smallest caskets is produced an ample patrimony. On a single thread is suspended a million of sesterces. One delicate neck carries about it forests and islands. The slender lobes of the ears exhaust a fortune; and the left hand, with its every finger, sports with a several money-bag. Such is the strength of ambition — (equal) to bearing on one small body, and that a woman's, the product of so copious wealth.

BOOK II.

Chapter 1

Introduction.

Modesty to Be Observed Not Only in Its Essence, But in Its Accessories.

Handmaids of the living God, my fellow-servants and sisters, the right which I enjoy with you — I, the most meanest in that right of fellow-servantship and brotherhood — emboldens me to address to you a discourse, not, of course, of affection, but paving the way for affection in the cause of your salvation. That salvation — and not (the salvation) of women only, but likewise of men — consists in the exhibition principally of modesty. For since, by the introduction into an appropriation (in) us of the Holy Spirit, we are all “the temple of God,” Modesty is the sacristan and priestess of that temple, who is to suffer nothing unclean or profane to be introduced (into it), for fear that the God who inhabits it should be offended, and quite forsake the polluted abode. But on the present occasion we (are to speak) not about modesty, for the enjoining and exacting of which the divine precepts which press (upon us) on every side are sufficient; but about the matters which pertain to it, that is, the manner in which it behoves you to walk. For most women (which very thing I trust God may permit me, with a view, of course, to my own personal censure, to censure in all), either from simple ignorance or else from dissimulation, have the hardihood so to walk as if modesty consisted only in the (bare) integrity of the flesh, and in turning away from (actual) fornication; and there were no need for anything extrinsic to boot — in the matter (I mean) of the arrangement of dress and ornament, the studied graces of form and brilliance: — wearing in their gait the self-same appearance as the women of the nations, from whom the sense of *true* modesty is absent, because in those who know not God, the Guardian and Master of truth, there is *nothing* true. For if any modesty can be believed (to exist) in Gentiles, it is plain that it must be imperfect and undisciplined to such a degree that, although it be actively tenacious of itself in the *mind* up to a certain point, it yet allows itself to relax into licentious extravagances of attire; just in accordance with Gentile perversity, in craving after that of which it carefully shuns the effect. How many a one, in short, is there who does not earnestly desire even to look pleasing to strangers? who does not on that very account take care to have herself painted out, and denies that she has (ever)

been an object of (carnal) appetite? And yet, granting that even this is a practice familiar to Gentile modesty — (namely,) not actually to *commit* the sin, but still to be *willing* to do so; or even not to be *willing*, yet still not *quite* to refuse — what wonder? for all things which are not God's are perverse. Let those women therefore look to it, who, by not holding fast the *whole* good, easily mingle with evil even what they do hold fast. Necessary it is that *you* turn aside from them, as in all other things, so also in your gait; since you ought to be “perfect, as (is) your Father who is in the heavens.”

Chapter 2

Perfect Modesty Will Abstain from Whatever Tends to Sin, as Well as from Sin Itself. Difference Between Trust and Presumption. If Secure Ourselves, We Must Not Put Temptation in the Way of Others. We Must Love Our Neighbour as Ourselves.

You must know that in the eye of perfect, that is, Christian, modesty, (carnal) desire of one's self (on the part of others) is not only not to be desired, but even execrated, by you: first, because the study of making personal grace (which we know to be naturally the inviter of lust) a mean of pleasing does not spring from a sound conscience: why therefore excite toward yourself that evil (passion)? why invite (that) to which you profess yourself a stranger? secondly, because we ought not to open a way to temptations, which, by their instancy, sometimes achieve (a wickedness) which God expels from them who are His; (or,) at all events, put the spirit into a thorough tumult by (presenting) a stumbling-block (to it). We ought indeed to walk so holily, and with so entire substantiality of faith, as to be confident and secure in regard of our own conscience, *desiring* that that (gift) may abide in us to the end, yet not *presuming* (that it will). For he who presumes feels less apprehension; he who feels less apprehension takes less precaution; he who takes less precaution runs more risk. Fear is the foundation of salvation; presumption is an impediment to fear. More useful, then, is it to apprehend that we may possibly fail, than to presume that we cannot; for apprehending will lead us to fear, fearing to caution, and caution to salvation. On the other hand, if we presume, there will be neither fear nor caution to save us. He who acts securely, and not at the same time warily, possesses no safe and firm security; whereas he who is wary will be truly able to be secure. For His own servants, may the Lord by His mercy take care that to *them* it may be lawful even to *presume* on His goodness! But why are we a (source of) danger to our neighbour? why do we import concupiscence into our neighbour? which concupiscence, if God, in "amplifying the law," do not dissociate in (the way of) penalty from the actual commission of fornication, I know not whether He allows impunity to him who has been the cause of perdition to some other. For that other, as soon as he has felt concupiscence after your beauty, and has mentally already committed (the deed) which his concupiscence pointed to,

perishes; and you have been made the sword which destroys him: so that, albeit you be free from the (actual) crime, you are not free from the odium (attaching to it); as, when a robbery has been committed on some man's estate, the (actual) crime indeed will not be laid to the owner's charge, while yet the domain is branded with ignominy, (and) the owner himself aspersed with the infamy. Are we to paint ourselves out that our neighbours may perish? Where, then, is (the command), "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself?" "Care not merely about your own (things), but (about your) neighbour's?" No enunciation of the Holy Spirit ought to be (confined) to the subject immediately in hand merely, and not applied and carried out with a view to *every* occasion to which its application is useful. Since, therefore, both our own interest and that of others is implicated in the studious pursuit of most perilous (outward) comeliness, it is time for you to know that not merely must the pageantry of fictitious and elaborate beauty be rejected by you; but that of even natural grace must be obliterated by concealment and negligence, as equally dangerous to the glances of (the beholder's) eyes. For, albeit comeliness is not to be *censured*, as being a bodily happiness, as being an additional outlay of the divine plastic art, as being a kind of goodly garment of the soul; yet it is to be *feared*, just on account of the injuriousness and violence of suitors: which (injuriousness and violence) even the father of the faith, Abraham, greatly feared in regard of his own wife's grace; and Isaac, by falsely representing Rebecca as his sister, purchased safety by insult!

Chapter 3

Grant that Beauty Be Not to Be Feared: Still It is to Be Shunned as Unnecessary and Vainglorious.

Let it now be granted that excellence of form be not to be feared, as neither troublesome to its possessors, nor destructive to its desirers, nor perilous to its compartners; let it be thought (to be) not exposed to temptations, not surrounded by stumbling-blocks: it is enough that to angels of God it is not necessary. For, where modesty is, there beauty is idle; because properly the use and fruit of beauty is voluptuousness, unless any one thinks that there is some other harvest for bodily grace to reap. Are women who think that, in furnishing to their *neighbour* that which is demanded of beauty, they are furnishing it to *themselves* also, to augment that (beauty) when (naturally) given them, and to strive after it when not (thus) given? Some one will say, "Why, then, if voluptuousness be shut out and chastity let in, may (we) not enjoy the praise of beauty alone, and glory in a bodily good?" Let whoever finds pleasure in "glorying in the flesh" see to that. To us in the first place, there is no studious pursuit of "glory," because "glory" is the essence of *exaltation*. Now *exaltation* is incongruous for professors of *humility* according to God's precepts. Secondly, if *all* "glory" is "vain" and insensate, how much more (glory) *in the flesh*, especially to *us*? For even if "glorying" is (allowable), we ought to wish our sphere of pleasing to lie in the graces of the Spirit, not in the flesh; because we are "suitors" of things spiritual. In those things wherein our sphere of labour lies, let our joy lie. From the sources whence we hope for salvation, let us cull our "glory." Plainly, a Christian *will* "glory" even in the *flesh*; but (it will be) when it has endured laceration for Christ's sake, in order that the spirit may be crowned in it, not in order that it may draw the eyes and sighs of youths after it. Thus (a thing) which, from whatever point you look at it, is in *your* case superfluous, you may justly disdain if you have it not, and neglect if you have. Let a holy woman, if naturally beautiful, give none so great occasion (for carnal appetite). Certainly, if even she be so, she ought not to set off (her beauty), but even to obscure it.

Chapter 4

Concerning the Plea of “Pleasing the Husband.”

As if I were speaking to Gentiles, addressing you with a Gentile precept, and (one which is) common to all, (I would say,) “You are bound to please your husbands only.” But you will please *them* in proportion as you take no care to please *others*. Be ye without carefulness, blessed (sisters): no wife is “ugly” to her own husband. She “pleased” him enough when she was selected (by him as his wife); whether commended by form or by character. Let none of you think that, if she abstain from the care of her person, she will incur the hatred and aversion of husbands. Every husband is the exactor of *chastity*; but *beauty*, a believing (husband) does not require, because we are not captivated by the same graces which the Gentiles think (to be) graces: an *unbelieving* one, on the other hand, even regards with suspicion, just from that infamous opinion of us which the Gentiles have. For whom, then, is it that you cherish your beauty? If for a believer, he does not exact it: if for an *unbeliever*, he does not believe in it unless it be artless. Why are you eager to please either one who is suspicious, or else one who desires it not?

Chapter 5

Some Refinements in Dress and Personal Appearance Lawful, Some Unlawful. Pigments Come Under the Latter Head.

These suggestions are not made to you, of course, to be developed into an entire crudity and wildness of appearance; nor are we seeking to persuade you of the good of squalor and slovenliness; but of the limit and norm and just measure of cultivation of the person. There must be no overstepping of that line to which simple and sufficient refinements limit their desires — that line which is pleasing to God. For they who rub their skin with medicaments, stain their cheeks with rouge, make their eyes prominent with antimony, sin against Him. To them, I suppose, the plastic skill of God is displeasing! In their own persons, I suppose, they convict, they censure, the Artificer of all things! For censure they do when they amend, when they add to, (His work;) taking these their additions, of course, from the adversary artificer. That adversary artificer is the devil. For who would show the way to change the *body*, but he who by wickedness transfigured man's *spirit*? He it is, undoubtedly, who adapted ingenious devices of this kind; that in your persons it may be apparent that you, in a certain sense, do violence to God. Whatever is *born* is the work of God. Whatever, then, is *plastered on (that)*, is *the devil's work*. To superinduce on a divine work Satan's ingenuities, how criminal is it! Our servants borrow nothing from our personal enemies: soldiers eagerly desire nothing from the foes of their own general; for, to demand for (your own) use anything from the adversary of Him in whose hand you are, is a transgression. Shall a Christian be assisted in anything by that evil one? (If he do,) I know not whether this name (of "Christian") will continue (to belong) to him; for he will be *his* in whose lore he eagerly desires to be instructed. But how alien from *your* schoolings and professions are (these things)! How unworthy the Christian name, to wear a fictitious face, (you,) on whom simplicity in every form is enjoined! — to lie in your appearance, (you,) to whom (lying) with the tongue is not lawful! — to seek after what is another's, (you,) to whom is delivered (the precept of) abstinence from what is another's! — to practise adultery in your mien, (you,) who make modesty your study! Think, blessed (sisters), how will you keep God's precepts if you shall not keep in your own persons His lineaments?

Chapter 6

Of Dyeing the Hair.

I see some (women) turn (the colour of) their hair with saffron. They are ashamed even of their own nation, (ashamed) that their procreation did not assign them to Germany and to Gaul: thus, as it is, they transfer their *hair* (thither)! Ill, ay, *most* ill, do they augur for themselves with their flame-coloured head, and think that graceful which (in fact) they are polluting! Nay, moreover, the force of the cosmetics burns ruin into the hair; and the constant application of even any *undrugged* moisture, lays up a store of harm for the head; while the sun's warmth, too, so desirable for imparting to the hair at once growth and dryness, is hurtful. What "grace" is compatible with "injury?" What "beauty" with "impurities?" Shall a Christian woman heap saffron on her head, as upon an altar? For, whatever is wont to be burned to the honour of the unclean spirit, that — unless it is applied for honest, and necessary, and salutary uses, for which God's creature was provided — may seem to be a sacrifice. But, however, God saith, "Which of you can make a white hair black, or out of a black a white?" And so they refute the Lord! "Behold!" say they, "instead of white or black, we make it *yellow*, — more winning in grace." And yet such as repent of having lived to old age do *attempt* to change it even from white to black! O temerity! The age which is the object of our wishes and prayers blushes (for itself)! a theft is effected! youth, wherein we have sinned, is sighed after! the opportunity of sobriety is spoiled! Far from Wisdom's daughters be folly so great! The more old age tries to conceal itself, the more will it be detected. Here is a veritable eternity, in the (perennial) youth of your head! Here we have an "incorruptibility" to "put on," with a view to the new house of the Lord which the divine monarchy promises! Well do you speed toward the Lord; well do you hasten to be quit of this most iniquitous world, to whom it is unsightly to approach (your own) end!

Chapter 7

Of Elaborate Dressing of the Hair in Other Ways, and Its Bearing Upon Salvation.

What service, again, does all the labour spent in *arranging* the hair render to salvation? Why is no rest allowed to your hair, which must now be bound, now loosed, now cultivated, now thinned out? Some are anxious to force their hair into curls, some to let it hang loose and flying; not with good simplicity: beside which, you affix I know not what enormities of subtle and textile perukes; now, after the manner of a helmet of undressed hide, as it were a sheath for the head and a covering for the crown; now, a mass (drawn) backward toward the neck. The wonder is, that there is no (open) contending against the Lord's prescripts! It has been pronounced that no one can add to his own stature. *You*, however, *do* add to your *weight* some kind of rolls, or shield-bosses, to be piled upon your necks! If you feel no shame at the enormity, feel some at the pollution; for fear you may be fitting on a holy and Christian head the slough of some one else's head, unclean perchance, guilty perchance and destined to hell. Nay, rather banish quite away from your "free" head all this slavery of ornamentation. In vain do you labour to seem adorned: in vain do you call in the aid of all the most skilful manufacturers of false hair. God bids you "be veiled." I believe (He does so) for fear the heads of some should be seen! And oh that in "that day" of Christian exultation, I, most miserable (as I am), may elevate my head, even though below (the level of) your heels! I shall (then) see whether you will rise with (your) ceruse and rouge and saffron, and in all that parade of headgear: whether it will be women thus tricked out whom the angels carry up to meet Christ in the air! If these (decorations) are *now* good, and of God, they will *then* also present themselves to the rising bodies, and will recognise their several places. But nothing can rise except flesh and spirit sole and pure. Whatever, therefore, does not rise in (the form of) spirit and flesh is condemned, because it is not of God. From things which are condemned abstain, even at the present day. At the present day let God see you such as He will see you *then*.

Chapter 8

Men Not Excluded from These Remarks on Personal Adornment.

Of course, now, I, a man, as being envious of women, am banishing them quite from their own (domains). Are there, in our case too, some things which, in respect of the sobriety we are to maintain on account of the fear due to God, are disallowed? If it is true, (as it is,) that in men, for the sake of women (just as in women for the sake of men), there is implanted, by a defect of nature, the will to please; and if this sex of ours acknowledges to itself deceptive trickeries of form peculiarly its own, — (such as) to cut the beard too sharply; to pluck it out here and there; to shave round about (the mouth); to arrange the hair, and disguise its hoariness by dyes; to remove all the incipient down all over the body; to fix (each particular hair) in its place with (some) womanly pigment; to smooth all the rest of the body by the aid of some rough powder or other: then, further, to take every opportunity for consulting the mirror; to gaze anxiously into it: — while yet, when (once) the knowledge of God has put an end to all wish to please by means of voluptuous attraction, all these things are rejected as frivolous, as hostile to modesty. For where God is, there modesty is; there is sobriety her assistant and ally. How, then, shall we practise modesty without her instrumental mean, that is, without sobriety? How, moreover, shall we bring sobriety to bear on the discharge of (the functions of) modesty, unless seriousness in appearance and in countenance, and in the general aspect of the entire man, mark our carriage?

Chapter 9

Excess in Dress, as Well as in Personal Culture, to Be Shunned. Arguments Drawn from I Cor. VII.

Wherefore, with regard to clothing also, and all the remaining lumber of your self-elaboration, the like pruning off and retrenchment of too redundant splendour must be the object of your care. For what boots it to exhibit in your *face* temperance and unaffectedness, and a simplicity altogether worthy of the divine discipline, but to invest all the *other* parts of the body with the luxurious absurdities of pomps and delicacies? How intimate is the connection which these pomps have with the business of voluptuousness, and how they interfere with modesty, is easily discernible from the fact that it is by the allied aid of dress that they prostitute the grace of personal comeliness: so plain is it that if (the pomps) be wanting, they render (that grace) bootless and thankless, as if it were disarmed and wrecked. On the other hand, if natural beauty fails, the supporting aid of outward embellishment supplies a grace, as it were, from its own inherent power. Those times of life, in fact, which are at last blest with quiet and withdrawn into the harbour of modesty, the splendour and dignity of dress lure away (from that rest and that harbour), and *disquiet* seriousness by seductions of appetite, which compensate for the chill of age by the provocative charms of apparel. First, then, blessed (sisters), (take heed) that you admit not to your use meretricious and prostitutionary garbs and garments: and, in the next place, if there are any of you whom the exigencies of riches, or birth, or past dignities, compel to appear in public so gorgeously arrayed as not to appear to have attained wisdom, take heed to temper an evil of this kind; lest, under the pretext of necessity, you give the rein without stint to the indulgence of licence. For how will you be able to fulfil (the requirements of) humility, which our (school) profess, if you do not keep within bounds the enjoyment of your riches and elegancies, which tend so much to “glory?” Now it has ever been the wont of glory to *exalt*, not to *humble*. “Why, shall we not use what is our own?” Who prohibits your using it? Yet (it must be) in accordance with the apostle, who warns us “to use this world as if we abuse it not; for the fashion of this world is passing away.” And “they who buy are so to act as if they possessed not.” Why so? Because he had laid down the premiss, saying, “The time is wound up.” If, then he

shows plainly that even wives themselves are so to be had as if they be *not* had, on account of the straits of the times, what would be his sentiments about these vain appliances of theirs? Why, are there not many, withal, who so *do*, and seal themselves up to eunuchhood for the sake of the kingdom of God, spontaneously relinquishing a pleasure so honourable, and (as we know) permitted? Are there not some who prohibit to themselves (the use of) the very “creature of God,” abstaining from wine and animal food, the enjoyments of which border upon no peril or solicitude; but they sacrifice to God the humility of their soul even in the chastened use of food? Sufficiently, therefore, have you, too, used your riches and your delicacies; sufficiently have you cut down the fruits of your dowries, before (receiving) the knowledge of saving disciplines. We are they “upon whom the ends of the ages have met, having ended their course.” We have been predestined by God, before the world was, (to arise) in the extreme end of the times. And so we are trained by God for the purpose of chastising, and (so to say) emasculating, the world. We are the circumcision — spiritual and carnal — of all things; for both in the spirit and in the flesh we circumcise worldly principles.

Chapter 10

Tertullian Refers Again to the Question of the Origin of All These Ornaments and Embellishments.

It was God, no doubt, who showed the way to dye wools with the juices of herbs and the humours of conchs! It had escaped Him, when He was bidding the universe to come into being, to issue a command for (the production of) purple and scarlet sheep! It was God, too, who devised by careful thought the manufactures of those very garments which, light and thin (in themselves), were to be heavy in price alone; God who produced such grand implements of gold for confining or parting the hair; God who introduced (the fashion of) finely-cut wounds for the ears, and set so high a value upon the tormenting of His own work and the tortures of innocent infancy, learning to suffer with its earliest breath, in order that from those scars of the body — born for the steel! — should hang I know not what (precious) grains, which, as we may plainly see, the Parthians insert, in place of studs, upon their very shoes! And yet even the gold itself, the “glory” of which carries you away, serves a certain race (so Gentile literature tells us) for chains! So true is it that it is not intrinsic worth, but rarity, which constitutes the goodness (of these things): the excessive labour, moreover, of working them with arts introduced by the means of the sinful angels, who were the revealers withal of the material substances themselves, joined with their rarity, excited their costliness, and hence a lust on the part of women to possess (that) costliness. But, if the self-same angels who disclosed both the material substances of this kind and their charms — of gold, I mean, and lustrous stones — and taught men how to work them, and by and by instructed them, among their other (instructions), in (the virtues of) eyelid-powder and the dyeings of fleeces, have been condemned by God, as Enoch tells us, how shall we please God while we joy in the *things* of those (angels) who, on these accounts, have provoked the *anger* and the *vengeance* of God?

Now, granting that God did foresee these things; that God permitted them; that Esaias finds fault with no garment of purple, represses no coil, reprobates no crescent-shaped neck ornaments; still let *us* not, as the Gentiles do, flatter ourselves with thinking that God is merely a Creator, not likewise a Downlooker on His own creatures. For how far more usefully and cautiously

shall we act, if we hazard the presumption that all these things were indeed provided at the beginning and placed in the world by God, in order that there should now be means of putting to the proof the discipline of His servants, in order that the licence of *using* should be the means whereby the experimental trials of *continence* should be conducted? Do not wise heads of families purposely offer and permit some things to their servants in order to try whether and how they will use the things thus permitted; whether (they will do so) with honesty, or with moderation? But how far more praiseworthy (the servant) who abstains entirely; who has a wholesome fear even of his lord's indulgence! Thus, therefore, the apostle too: "All things," says he, "are lawful, but not all are expedient." How much more easily will he fear what is *unlawful* who has a reverent dread of what is *lawful*?

Chapter 11

Christian Women, Further, Have Not the Same Causes for Appearing in Public, and Hence for Dressing in Fine Array as Gentiles. On the Contrary, Their Appearance Should Always Distinguish Them from Such.

Moreover, what causes have you for appearing in public in excessive grandeur, removed as you are from the occasions which call for such exhibitions? For you neither make the circuit of the temples, nor demand (to be present at) public shows, nor have any acquaintance with the holy days of the Gentiles. Now it is for the sake of all these public gatherings, and of much seeing and being seen, that all pomps (of dress) are exhibited before the public eye; either for the purpose of transacting the trade of voluptuousness, or else of inflating “glory.” *You*, however, have no cause of appearing in public, except such as is serious. Either some brother who is sick is visited, or else the sacrifice is offered, or else the word of God is dispensed. Whichever of these you like to name is a business of sobriety and sanctity, requiring no extraordinary attire, with (studious) arrangement and (wanton) negligence. And if the requirements of Gentile friendships and of kindly offices call you, why not go forth clad in your own armour; (and) all the more, in that (you have to go) to such as are strangers to the faith? so that between the handmaids of God and of the devil there may be a difference; so that you may be an example to them, and they may be edified in you; so that (as the apostle says) “God may be magnified in your body.” But magnified He is in the *body* through modesty: of course, too, through attire suitable to modesty. Well, but it is urged by some, “Let not the Name be blasphemed in us, if we make any derogatory change from our old style and dress.” Let us, then, not abolish our old vices! let us maintain the same character, if we must maintain the same appearance (as before); and then truly the nations will not blaspheme! A grand blasphemy is that by which it is said, “Ever since she became a Christian, she walks in poorer garb!” Will you fear to appear poorer, from the time that you have been made more wealthy; and *fouler*, from the time when you have been made more clean? Is it according to the decree of Gentiles, or according to the decree of God, that it becomes Christians to walk?

Chapter 12

Such Outward Adornments Meretricious, and Therefore Unsuitable to Modest Women.

Let us only wish that we may be no cause for just blasphemy! But how much more provocative of blasphemy is it that you, who are called modesty's priestesses, should appear in public decked and painted out after the manner of the *immodest*? Else, (if you so do,) what inferiority would the poor unhappy victims of the public lusts have (beneath you)? whom, albeit some laws were (formerly) wont to restrain them from (the use of) matrimonial and matronly decorations, now, at all events, the daily increasing depravity of the age has raised so nearly to an equality with all the most honourable women, that the difficulty is to distinguish them. And yet, even the Scriptures suggest (to us the reflection), that meretricious attractivenesses of form are invariably conjoined with and appropriate to bodily prostitution. That powerful state which presides over the seven mountains and very many waters, has merited from the Lord the appellation of a prostitute. But what kind of garb is the instrumental mean of her comparison with that appellation? She sits, to be sure, "in purple, and scarlet, and gold, and precious stone." How accursed are the things without (the aid of) which an accursed prostitute could not have been described! It was the fact that Thamar "had painted out and adorned herself" that led Judah to regard her as a harlot, and thus, because she was hidden beneath her "veil," — the quality of her garb belying her as if she had been a harlot, — he judged (her to be one), and addressed and bargained with (her as such). Whence we gather an additional confirmation of the lesson, that provision must be made in every way against all immodest associations and suspicions. For why is the integrity of a chaste mind defiled by its neighbour's suspicion? Why is a thing from which I am averse hoped for in me? Why does not my garb pre-announce my character, to prevent my spirit from being wounded by shamelessness through (the channel of) my ears? Grant that it be lawful to assume the appearance of a modest woman: to assume that of an *immodest* is, at all events, *not* lawful.

Chapter 13

It is Not Enough that God Know Us to Be Chaste: We Must Seem So Before Men. Especially in These Times of Persecution We Must Inure Our Bodies to the Hardships Which They May Not Improbably Be Called to Suffer.

Perhaps some (woman) will say: “To me it is not necessary to be approved by men; for I do not require the testimony of men: God is the inspector of the heart.” (That) we all know; provided, however, we remember what the same (God) has said through the apostle: “Let your probity appear before men.” For what purpose, except that malice may have no access at all to you, or that you may be an example and testimony to the evil? Else, what is (that): “Let your works shine?” Why, moreover, does the Lord call us the light of the world; why has He compared us to a city built upon a mountain; if we do not shine in (the midst of) darkness, and stand eminent amid them who are sunk down? If you hide your lamp beneath a bushel, you must necessarily be left quite in darkness, and be run against by many. The things which make us luminaries of the world are these — our good works. What is *good*, moreover, provided it be true and full, loves not darkness: it joys in being seen, and exults over the very pointings which are made at it. To Christian modesty it is not enough to *be* so, but to *seem* so too. For so great ought its plenitude to be, that it may flow out from the mind to the garb, and burst out from the conscience to the outward appearance; so that even from the outside it may gaze, as it were, upon its own furniture, — (a furniture) such as to be suited to retain faith as its inmate perpetually. For such delicacies as tend by their softness and effeminacy to unman the manliness of faith are to be discarded. Otherwise, I know not whether the wrist that has been wont to be surrounded with the palmleaf-like bracelet will endure till it grow into the numb hardness of its own chain! I know not whether the leg that has rejoiced in the anklet will suffer itself to be squeezed into the gyve! I fear the neck, beset with pearl and emerald nooses, will give no room to the broadsword! Wherefore, blessed (sisters), let us meditate on hardships, and we shall not feel them; let us abandon luxuries, and we shall not regret them. Let us stand ready to endure every violence, having nothing which we may fear to leave behind. It is these things which are the bonds which retard our hope. Let us cast away earthly ornaments if we desire heavenly. Love not gold; in which

(one substance) are branded all the sins of the people of Israel. You ought to *hate* what ruined your fathers; what was adored by them who were forsaking God. Even *then* (we find) gold is food for the fire. But Christians always, and now more than ever, pass their times not in gold but in iron: the stoles of martyrdom are (now) preparing: the angels who are to carry us are (now) being awaited! Do you go forth (to meet them) already arrayed in the cosmetics and ornaments of prophets and apostles; drawing your whiteness from simplicity, your ruddy hue from modesty; painting your eyes with bashfulness, and your mouth with silence; implanting in your ears the words of God; fitting on your necks the yoke of Christ. Submit your head to your husbands, and you will be enough adorned. Busy your hands with spinning; keep your feet at home; and you will “please” better than (by arraying yourselves) in gold. Clothe yourselves with the silk of uprightness, the fine linen of holiness, the purple of modesty. Thus painted, you will have God as your Lover!

Elucidation.

(The Prophecy of Enoch)

Dr. Davidson is the author of a useful article on “Apocalyptic Literature,” from which we extract all that is requisite to inform the reader of the *freshest* opinion as seen from his well-known point of view. He notes Archbishop Lawrence’s translation into English, and that it has been rendered back again into German by Dillman (1853), as before, less accurately, by Hoffmann. Ewald, Lücke, Koestlin, and Hilgenfeld are referred to, and an article of his own in Kitto’s *Cyclopædia*. We owe its re-appearance, after long neglect, to Archbishop Lawrence (1838), and its preservation to the Abyssinians. It was rescued by Bruce, the explorer, in an Æthiopic version; and the first detailed announcement of its discovery was made by De Sacy, 1800. Davidson ascribes its authorship to pre-Messianic times, but thinks it has been interpolated by a Jewish Christian. Tertullian’s negative testimony points the other way: he evidently relies upon its “Christology” as genuine; and, if interpolated in his day, he could hardly have been deceived.

Its five parts are: I. The rape of women by fallen angels, and the giants that were begotten of them. The visions of Enoch begun. II. The visions continued, with views of the Messiah’s kingdom. III. The physical and astronomical mysteries treated of. IV. Man’s mystery revealed in dreams from the beginning to the end of the Messianic kingdom. V. The warnings of Enoch to his own family and to mankind, with appendices, which complete the book. The article in Smith’s *Dictionary of the Bible* is accessible, and need only be referred to as well worth perusal; and, as it abounds in references to the entire literature of criticism respecting it, it is truly valuable. It seems to have been written by Westcott.

The fact that St. Jude refers to Enoch’s prophesyings no more proves that this book is other than apocryphal than St. Paul’s reference to Jannes and Jambres makes Scripture of the Targum. The apostle Jude does, indeed, authenticate that particular saying by inspiration of God, and doubtless it was traditional among the Jews. St. Jerome’s references to this quotation may be found textually in Lardner. Although the book is referred to frequently in the *Patrologia*, Tertullian only, of the Fathers, pays it the respect due to Scripture.

Adversus Marcionem (Against Marcion)



Translated by Peter Holmes

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INTRODUCTORY NOTES.

DEDICATION.

To the Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Chester.

My Dear Lord,

I am gratified to have your permission to dedicate this volume to your Lordship. It is the fruit of some two years' leisure labour. Every man's occupation spares to him some λείψανα χρόνου; and thirty years ago you taught me, at Oxford, how to husband these opportunities in the pleasant studies of Biblical and Theological Science. For that and many other kindnesses I cannot cease to be thankful to you.

But, besides this private motive, I have in your Lordship's own past course an additional incentive for resorting to you on this occasion. You, until lately, presided over the theological studies of our great University; and you have given great encouragement to patristic literature by your excellent edition of the Apostolic Fathers. To whom could I more becomingly present this humble effort to make more generally known the great merits of perhaps the greatest work of the first of the Latin Fathers than to yourself?

I remain, with much respect,

My dear Lord,

Very faithfully yours,

Peter Holmes.

Mannamead, Plymouth,

March, 1868.

PREFACE BY THE TRANSLATOR.

The reader has, in this volume a translation (attempted for the first time in English) of the largest of the extant works of the earliest Latin Fathers. The most important of Tertullian's writings have always been highly valued in the church, although, as was natural from their varied character, for different reasons. Thus his two best-known treatises, *The Apology* and *The Prescription against Heretics*, have divided between them for more than sixteen centuries the admiration of all intelligent readers, — the one for its masterly defence of the Christian religion against its heathen persecutors, and the other for its lucid vindication of the church's rule of faith against its heretical assailants. The present work has equal claims on the reader's appreciation, in respect of those qualities of vigorous thought, close reasoning, terse expression, and earnest purpose, enlivened by sparkling wit and impassioned eloquence, which have always secured for Tertullian, in spite of many drawbacks, the esteem which is given to a great and favourite author. If these books against Marcion have received, as indeed it must be allowed they have, less attention from the general reader than their intrinsic merit deserves, the neglect is mainly due to the fact that the interesting character of their contents is concealed by the usual title-page, which points only to a heresy supposed to be extinct and inapplicable, whether in the materials of its defence or confutation, to any modern circumstances. But many treatises of great authors, which have outlived their literal occasion, retain a value from their collateral arguments, which is not inferior to that effected by their primary subject. Such is the case with the work before us. If Marcionism is in the letter obsolete, there is its spirit still left in the church, which in more ways than one develops its ancient characteristics. What these were, the reader will soon discover in this volume; but reference may be made even here, in passing, to that prominent aim of the heresy which gave Tertullian his opportunity of proving the essential coherence of the Old and the New Testaments, and of exhibiting both his great knowledge of the details of Holy Scripture, and his fine intelligence of the progressive nature of God's revelation as a whole. This constitutes the charm of the present volume, which might almost be designated a *Treatise on the Connection between the Jewish and the Christian Scriptures*. *How interesting this subject is to earnest men of the present age, is*

proved by the frequent treatment of it in our religious literature. In order to assist the reader to a more efficient use of this volume, in reference to its copiousness of Scripture illustration, a full *Index of Scriptural Passages has been drawn up. Another satisfactory result will, it is believed, accompany the reading of this volume, in the evidence which it affords of the venerable catholicity of that system of biblical and dogmatic truth which constitutes the belief of what is called the “orthodox” Christian of the present day. Orthodoxy has been impugned of late, as if it had suffered much deterioration in its transmission to us; and an advanced school of thinkers has demanded its reform by a manipulation which they have called “free handling.” To such readers, then, as prize the deposit of the Christian creed which they have received, in the light of St. Jude’s description, as “the faith once for all delivered to the saints,” it cannot but prove satisfactory to be able to trace in Tertullian, writing more than sixteen centuries ago, the outlines of their own cherished convictions — held by one who cannot be charged with too great an obsequiousness to traditional authority, and who at the same time possessed honesty, earnestness, and intelligence enough to make him an unexceptionable witness to facts of such a kind. The translator would only add, that he has, in compliance with the wise canon laid down by the editors of this series, endeavoured always to present to the reader the meaning of the author in readable English, keeping as near as idiomatic rules allowed to the sense and even style of the original. Amidst the many well-known difficulties of Tertullian’s writings (and his *Anti-Marcion* is not exempt from any of these difficulties,) the translator cannot hope that he has accomplished his labour without mistakes, for which he would beg the reader’s indulgence. He has, however, endeavoured to obviate the inconvenience of faulty translation by quoting in foot-notes all words, phrases, and passages which appeared to him difficult. He has also added such notes as seemed necessary to illustrate the author’s argument, or to explain any obscure allusions. The translation has been made always from Oehler’s edition, with the aid of his scholarly *Index Verborum*. Use has also been made of Semler’s edition, and the *variorum* reprint of the Abbé Migne, the chief result of which recension has been to convince the translator of the great superiority and general excellence of Oehler’s edition. When he had completed two-thirds of his work, he happened to meet with the French translation of Tertullian by Mon^r. Denain, in*

Genoude's series, *Les Pères de l'Eglise*, published some twenty-five years ago. This version, which runs in fluent language always, is very unequal in its relation to the original: sometimes it has the brevity of an abridgment, sometimes the fulness of a paraphrase. Often does it miss the author's point, and never does it keep his style. The Abbé Migne correctly describes it: "Elegans potius quam fidissimus interpres, qui Africanæ loquelæ asperitatem splendenti ornavit sermone, egregiaque interdum et ad vivum expressa interpretatione recreavit."

BOOK I

*Wherein Is Described The God Of Marcion. He Is Shown To Be Utterly
Wanting In All The Attributes Of The True God.*

Chap. I. — Preface. Reason For A New Work. Pontus Lends Its Rough Character To The Heretic Marcion, A Native. His Heresy Characterized In A Brief Invective.

Whatever in times past we have wrought in opposition to Marcion, is from the present moment no longer to be accounted of. It is a new work which we are undertaking in lieu of the old one. My original tract, as too hurriedly composed, I had subsequently superseded by a fuller treatise. This latter I lost, before it was completely published, by the fraud of a person who was then a brother, but became afterwards an apostate. He, as it happened, had transcribed a portion of it, full of mistakes, and then published it. The necessity thus arose for an amended work; and the occasion of the new edition induced me to make a considerable addition to the treatise. This present text, therefore, of my work — which is the third as superseding the second, but henceforward to be considered the first instead of the third — renders a preface necessary to this issue of the tract itself that no reader may be perplexed, if he should by chance fall in with the various forms of it which are scattered about.

The Euxine Sea, as it is called, is self-contradictory in its nature, and deceptive in its name. As you would not account it hospitable from its situation, so is it severed from our more civilised waters by a certain stigma which attaches to its barbarous character. The fiercest nations inhabit it, if indeed it can be called habitation, when life is passed in wagons. They have no fixed abode; their life has no germ of civilisation; they indulge their libidinous desires without restraint, and for the most part naked. Moreover, when they gratify secret lust, they hang up their quivers on their car-yokes, to warn off the curious and rash observer. Thus without a blush do they prostitute their weapons of war. The dead bodies of their parents they cut up with their sheep, and devour at their feasts. They who have not died so as to become food for others, are thought to have died an accursed death. Their women are not by their sex softened to modesty. They uncover the breast, from which they suspend their battle-axes, and prefer warfare to marriage. In their climate, too, there is the same rude nature. The day-time is never clear, the sun never cheerful; the sky is uniformly cloudy; the whole year is wintry; the only wind that blows is the angry North. Waters melt only by fires; their rivers flow not by reason of the ice; their mountains are covered with heaps of

snow. All things are torpid, all stiff with cold. Nothing there has the glow of life, but that ferocity which has given to scenic plays their stories of the sacrifices of the Taurians, and the loves of the Colchians, and the torments of the Caucasus. Nothing, however, in Pontus is so barbarous and sad as the fact that Marcion was born there, fouler than any Scythian, more roving than the wagon-life of the Sarmatian, more inhuman than the Massagete, more audacious than an Amazon, darker than the cloud, (of Pontus) colder than its winter, more brittle than its ice, more deceitful than the Ister, more craggy than Caucasus. Nay more, the true Prometheus, Almighty God, is mangled by Marcion's blasphemies. Marcion is more savage than even the beasts of that barbarous region. For what beaver was ever a greater emasculator than he who has abolished the nuptial bond? What Pontic mouse ever had such gnawing powers as he who has gnawed the Gospels to pieces? Verily, O Euxine, thou hast produced a monster more credible to philosophers than to Christians. For the cynic Diogenes used to go about, lantern in hand, at mid-day to find a man; whereas Marcion has quenched the light of his faith, and so lost the God whom he had found. His disciples will not deny that his first faith he held along with ourselves; a letter of his own proves this; so that for the future a heretic may from his case be designated as one who, forsaking that which was prior, afterwards chose out for himself that which was not in times past. For in as far as what was delivered in times past and from the beginning will be held as truth, in so far will that be accounted heresy which is brought in later. But another brief treatise will maintain this position against heretics, who ought to be refuted even without a consideration of their doctrines, on the ground that they are heretical by reason of the novelty of their opinions. Now, so far as any controversy is to be admitted, I will for the time (lest our compendious principle of novelty, being called in on all occasions to our aid, should be imputed to want of confidence) begin with setting forth our adversary's rule of belief, that it may escape no one what our main contention is to be.

Chap. II. — Marcion, Aided By Cerdon, Teaches A Duality Of Gods; How He Constructed This Heresy Of An Evil And A Good God.

The heretic of Pontus introduces two Gods, like the twin Symplegades of his own shipwreck: One whom it was impossible to deny, i.e. our Creator; and one whom he will never be able to prove, i.e. his own god. The unhappy man gained the first idea of his conceit from the simple passage of our Lord's saying, which has reference to human beings and not divine ones, wherein He disposes of those examples of a good tree and a corrupt one; how that "the good tree bringeth not forth corrupt fruit, neither the corrupt tree good fruit." Which means, that an honest mind and good faith cannot produce evil deeds, any more than an evil disposition can produce good deeds. Now (like many other persons now-a-days, especially those who have an heretical proclivity), while morbidly brooding over the question of the origin of evil, his perception became blunted by the very irregularity of his researches; and when he found the Creator declaring, "I am He that createth evil," inasmuch as he had already concluded from other arguments, which are satisfactory to every perverted mind, that God is the author of evil, so he now applied to the Creator the figure of the corrupt tree bringing forth evil fruit, that is, moral evil, and then presumed that there ought to be another god, after the analogy of the good tree producing its good fruit. Accordingly, finding in Christ a different disposition, as it were — one of a simple and pure benevolence — differing from the Creator, he readily argued that in his Christ had been revealed a new and strange divinity; and then with a little leaven he leavened the whole lump of the faith, flavouring it with the acidity of his own heresy.

He had, moreover, in one Cerdon an abettor of this blasphemy, — a circumstance which made them the more readily think that they saw most clearly their two gods, blind though they were; for, in truth, they had not seen the one God with soundness of faith. To men of diseased vision even one lamp looks like many. One of his gods, therefore, whom he was obliged to acknowledge, he destroyed by defaming his attributes in the matter of evil; the other, whom he laboured so hard to devise, he constructed, laying his foundation in the principle of good. In what articles he arranged these natures, we show by our own refutations of them.

Chap. III. — The Unity Of God. He Is The Supreme Being, And There Cannot Be A Second Supreme.

The principal, and indeed the whole, contention lies in the point of number: whether two Gods may be admitted, by poetic licence (if they must be), or pictorial fancy, or by the third process, as we must now add, of heretical pravity. But the Christian verity has distinctly declared this principle, “God is not, if He is not one;” because we more properly believe that that has no existence which is not as it ought to be. In order, however, that you may know that God is one, ask what God is, and you will find Him to be not otherwise than one. So far as a human being can form a definition of God, I adduce one which the conscience of all men will also acknowledge, — that God is the great Supreme existing in eternity, unbegotten, unmade without beginning, without end. For such a condition as this must needs be ascribed to that eternity which makes God to be the great Supreme, because for such a purpose as this is this very attribute in God; and so on as to the other qualities: so that God is the great Supreme in form and in reason, and in might and in power. Now, since all are agreed on. this point (because nobody will deny that God is in some sense the great Supreme, except the man who shall be able to pronounce the opposite opinion, that God is but some inferior being, in order that he may deny God by robbing Him of an attribute of God), what must be the condition of the great Supreme Himself? Surely it must be that nothing is equal to Him, i.e. that there is no other great supreme; because, if there were, He would have an equal; and if He had an equal, He would be no longer the great Supreme, now that the condition and (so to say) our law, which permits nothing to be equal to the great Supreme, is subverted. That Being, then, which is the great Supreme, must needs be unique, by having no equal, and so not ceasing to be the great Supreme. Therefore He will not otherwise exist than by the condition whereby He has His being; that is, by His absolute uniqueness. Since, then, God is the great Supreme, our Christian verity has rightly declared, “God is not, if He is not one.” Not as if we doubted His being God, by saying, He is not, if He is not one; but because we define Him, in whose being we thoroughly believe, to be that without which He is not God; that is to say, the great Supreme. But then` the great Supreme must needs be unique. This Unique Being, therefore, will be God — not otherwise

God than as the great Supreme; and not otherwise the great Supreme than as having no equal; and not otherwise having no equal than as being Unique. Whatever other god, then, you may introduce, you will at least be unable to maintain his divinity under any other guise, than by ascribing to him too the property of Godhead — both eternity and supremacy over all. How, therefore, can two great Supremes co-exist, when this is the attribute of the Supreme Being, to have no equal, — an attribute which belongs to One alone, and can by no means exist in two?

Chap. IV. — Defence Of The Divine Unity Against Objection. No Analogy Between Human Powers And God's Sovereignty. The Objection Otherwise Untenable, For Why Stop At Two Gods?

But some one may contend that two great Supremes may exist, distinct and separate in their own departments; and may even adduce, as an example, the kingdoms of the world, which, though they are so many in number, are yet supreme in their several regions. Such a man will suppose that human circumstances are always comparable with divine ones. Now, if this mode of reasoning be at all tolerable, what is to prevent our introducing, I will not say a third god or a fourth, but as many as there are kings of the earth? Now it is God that is in question, whose main property it is to admit of no comparison with Himself. Nature itself, therefore, if not an Isaiah, or rather God speaking by Isaiah, will deprecatingly ask, "To whom will ye liken me?" Human circumstances may perhaps be compared with divine ones, but they may not be with God. God is one thing, and what belongs to God is another thing. Once more: you who apply the example of a king, as a great supreme, take care that you can use it properly. For although a king is supreme on his throne next to God, he is still inferior to God; and when he is compared with God, he will be dislodged from that great supremacy which is transferred to God. Now, this being the case, how will you employ in a comparison with God an object as your example, which fails in all the purposes which belong to a comparison? Why, when supreme power among kings cannot evidently be multifarious, but only unique and singular, is an exception made in the case of Him (of all others) who is King of kings, and (from the exceeding greatness of His power, and the subjection of all other ranks to Him) the very summit, as it were, of dominion? But even in the case of rulers of that other form of government, where they one by one preside in a union of authority, if with their petty prerogatives of royalty, so to say, they be brought on all points into such a comparison with one another as shall make it clear which of them is superior in the essential features and powers of royalty, it must needs follow that the supreme majesty will redound to one alone, — all the others being gradually, by the issue of the comparison, removed and excluded from the supreme authority. Thus, although, when spread out in several hands, supreme

authority seems to be multifarious, yet in its own powers, nature, and condition, it is unique. It follows, then, that if two gods are compared, as two kings and two supreme authorities, the concentration of authority must necessarily, according to the meaning of the comparison, be conceded to one of the two; because it is clear from his own superiority that he is the supreme, his rival being now vanquished, and proved to be not the greater, however great. Now, from this failure of his rival, the other is unique in power, possessing a certain solitude, as it were, in his singular pre-eminence. The inevitable conclusion at which we arrive, then, on this point is this: either we must deny that God is the great Supreme, which no wise man will allow himself to do; or say that God has no one else with whom to share His power.

Chap. V. — The Dual Principle Falls To The Ground; Plurality Of Gods, Of Whatever Number, More Consistent. Absurdity And Injury To Piety Resulting From Marcion's Duality.

But on what principle did Marcion confine his supreme powers to two? I would first ask, If there be two, why not more? Because if number be compatible with the substance of Deity, the richer you make it in number the better. Valentinus was more consistent and more liberal; for he, having once imagined two deities, Bythos and Sige, poured forth a swarm of divine essences, a brood of no less than thirty AEgons, like the sow of AEneas. Now, whatever principle refuses to admit several supreme begins, the same must reject even two, for there is plurality in the very lowest number after one. After unity, number commences. So, again, the same principle which could admit two could admit more. After two, multitude begins, now that one is exceeded. In short, we feel that reason herself expressly forbids the belief in more gods than one, because the self-same rule lays down one God and not two, which declares that God must be a Being to which, as the great Supreme, nothing is equal; and that Being to which nothing is equal must, moreover, be unique. But further, what can be the use or advantage in supposing two supreme beings, two co-ordinate powers? What numerical difference could there be when two equals differ not from one? For that thing which is the same in two is one. Even if there were several equals, all would be just as much one, because, as equals, they would not differ one from another. So, if of two beings neither differs from the other, since both of them are on the supposition supreme, both being gods, neither of them is more excellent than the other; and so, having no pre-eminence, their numerical distinction has no reason in it. Number, moreover, in the Deity ought to be consistent with the highest reason, or else His worship would be brought into doubt. For consider now, if, when I saw two Gods before me (who, being both Supreme Beings, were equal to each other), I were to worship them both, what should I be doing? I should be much afraid that the abundance of my homage would be deemed superstition rather than piety. Because, as both of them are so equal and are both included in either of the two, I might serve them both acceptably in only one; and by this very means I should attest their equality and unity,

provided that I worshipped them mutually the one in the other, because in the one both are present to me. If I were to worship one of the two, I should be equally conscious of seeming to pour contempt on the uselessness of a numerical distinction, which was superfluous, because it indicated no difference; in other words, I should think it the safer course to worship neither of these two Gods than one of them with some scruple of conscience, or both of them to none effect.

Chap. VI. — Marcion Untrue To His Theory. He Pretends That His Gods Are Equal, But He Really Makes Them Diverse. Then, Allowing Their Divinity, Denies This Diversity.

Thus far our discussion seems to imply that Marcion makes his two gods equal. For while we have been maintaining that God ought to be believed as the one only great Supreme Being, excluding from Him every possibility of equality, we have treated of these topics on the assumption of two equal Gods; but nevertheless, by teaching that no equals can exist according to the law of the Supreme Being, we have sufficiently affirmed the impossibility that two equals should exist. For the rest, however, we know full well that Marcion makes his gods unequal: one judicial, harsh, mighty in war; the other mild, placid, and simply good and excellent. Let us with similar care consider also this aspect of the question, whether diversity (in the Godhead) can at any rate contain two, since equality therein failed to do so. Here again the same rule about the great Supreme will protect us, inasmuch as it settles the entire condition of the Godhead. Now, challenging, and in a certain sense arresting the meaning of our adversary, who does not deny that the Creator is God, I most fairly object against him that he has no room for any diversity in his gods, because, having once confessed that they are on a par, he cannot now pronounce them different; not indeed that human beings may not be very different under the same designation, but because the Divine Being can be neither said nor believed to be God, except as the great Supreme. Since, therefore, he is obliged to acknowledge that the God whom he does not deny is the great Supreme, it is inadmissible that he should predicate of the Supreme Being such a diminution as should subject Him to another Supreme Being. For He ceases (to be Supreme), if He becomes subject to any. Besides, it is not the characteristic of God to cease from any attribute of His divinity — say, from His supremacy. For at this rate the supremacy would be endangered even in Marcion's more powerful god, if it were capable of depreciation in the Creator. When, therefore, two gods are pronounced to be two great Supremes, it must needs follow that neither of them is greater or less than the other, neither of them loftier or lowlier than the other. If you deny him to be God whom you call inferior, you deny the supremacy of this inferior being. But

when you confessed both gods to be divine, you confessed then both to be supreme. Nothing will you be able to take away from either of them; nothing will you be able to add. By allowing their divinity, you have denied their diversity.

Chap. VII. — Other Beings Besides God Are In Scripture Called God. This Objection Frivolous, For It Is Not A Question Of Names. The Divine Essence Is The Thing At Issue. Heresy, In Its General Terms, Thus Far Treated.

But this argument you will try to shake with an objection from the name of God, by alleging that that name is a vague one, and applied to other beings also; as it is written, “God standeth in the congregation of the mighty; He judgeth among the gods.” And again, “I have said, Ye are gods.” As therefore the attribute of supremacy would be inappropriate to these, although they are called gods, so is it to the Creator. This is a foolish objection; and my answer to it is, that its author fails to consider that quite as strong an objection might be urged against the (superior) god of Marcion: he too is called god, but is not on that account proved to be divine, as neither are angels nor men, the Creator’s handwork. If an identity of names affords a presumption in support of equality of condition, how often do worthless menials strut insolently in the names of kings — your Alexanders, Caesars, and Pompeys! This fact, however, does not detract from the real attributes of the royal persons, Nay more, the very idols of the Gentiles are called gods. Yet not one of them is divine because he is called a god. It is not, therefore, for the name of god, for its sound or its written form, that I am claiming the supremacy in the Creator, but for the essence to which the name belongs; and when I find that essence alone is unbegotten and unmade — alone eternal, and the maker of all things — it is not to its name, but its state, not to its designation, but its condition, that I ascribe and appropriate the attribute of the supremacy. And so, because the essence to which I ascribe it has come to be called god, you suppose that I ascribe it to the name, because I must needs use a name to express the essence, of which indeed that Being consists who is called God, and who is accounted the great Supreme because of His essence, not from His name. In short, Marcion himself, when he imputes this character to his god, imputes it to the nature, not to the word. That supremacy, then, which we ascribe to God in consideration of His essence, and not because of His name, ought, as we maintain, to be equal in both the beings who consist of that substance for which the name of God is given; because, in as far as they are called gods (i.e.

supreme beings, on the strength, of course, of their unbegotten and eternal, and therefore great and supreme essence), in so far the attribute of being the great Supreme cannot be regarded as less or worse in one than in another great Supreme. If the happiness, and sublimity, and perfection of the Supreme Being shall hold good of Marcion's god, it will equally so of ours; and if not of ours, it will equally not hold of Marcion's. Therefore two supreme beings will be neither equal nor unequal: not equal, because the principle which we have just expounded, that the Supreme Being admits of no comparison with Himself, forbids it; not unequal, because another principle meets us respecting the Supreme Being, that He is capable of no diminution. So, Marcion, you are caught in the midst of your own Pontic tide. The waves of truth overwhelm you on every side. You can neither set up equal gods nor unequal ones. For there are not two; so far as the question of number is properly concerned. Although the whole matter of the two gods is at issue, we have yet confined our discussion to certain bounds, within which we shall now have to contend about separate peculiarities.

Chap. VIII. — Specific Points. The Novelty Of Marcion's God Fatal To His Pretensions. God Is From Everlasting, He Cannot Be In Any Wise New.

In the first place, how arrogantly do the Marcionites build up their stupid system, bringing forward a new god, as if we were ashamed of the old one! So schoolboys are proud of their new shoes, but their old master beats their strutting vanity out of them. Now when I hear of a new god, who, in the old world and in the old time and under the old god was unknown and unheard of; whom, (accounted as no one through such long centuries back, and ancient in men's very ignorance of him), a certain "Jesus Christ," and none else revealed; whom Christ revealed, they say — Christ himself new, according to them, even, in ancient names — I feel grateful for this conceit of theirs. For by its help I shall at once be able to prove the heresy of their tenet of a new deity. It will turn out to be such a novelty "as has made gods even for the heathen by some new and yet again and ever new title for each several deification. What new god is there, except a false one? Not even Saturn will be proved to be a god by all his ancient fame, because it was a novel pretence which some time or other produced even him, when it first gave him godship. On the contrary, living and perfect Deity has its origin neither in novelty nor in antiquity, but in its own true nature. Eternity has no time. It is itself all time. It acts; it cannot then suffer. It cannot be born, therefore it lacks age. God, if old, forfeits the eternity that is to come; if new, the eternity which is past. The newness bears witness to a beginning; the oldness threatens an end. God, moreover, is as independent of beginning and end as He is of time, which is only the arbiter and measurer of a beginning and an end.

Chap. IX. — Marcion's Gnostic Pretensions Vain, For The True God Is Neither Unknown Nor Uncertain. The Creator, Whom He Owns To Be God, Alone Supplies An Induction, By Which To Judge Of The True God.

Now I know full well by what perceptive faculty they boast of their new god; even their knowledge. It is, however, this very discovery of a novel thing — so striking to common minds — as well as the natural gratification which is inherent in novelty, that I wanted to refute, and thence further to challenge a proof of this unknown god. For him whom by their knowledge they present to us as new, they prove to have been unknown previous to that knowledge. Let us keep, within the strict limits and measure of our argument. Convince me there could have been an unknown god. I find, no doubt, that altars have been lavished on unknown gods; that, however, is the idolatry of Athens. And on uncertain gods; but that, too, is only Roman superstition. Furthermore, uncertain gods are not well known, because no certainty about them exists; and because of this uncertainty they are therefore unknown. Now, which of these two titles shall we carve for Marcion's god? Both, I suppose, as for a being who is still uncertain, and was formerly unknown. For inasmuch as the Creator, being a known God, caused him to be unknown; so, as being a certain God, he made him to be uncertain. But I will not go so far out of my way, as to say: If God was unknown and concealed, He was overshadowed in such a region of darkness, as must have been itself new and unknown, and be even now likewise uncertain — some immense region indeed, one undoubtedly greater than the God whom it concealed. But I will briefly state my subject, and afterwards most fully pursue it, promising that God neither could have been, nor ought to have been, unknown. Could not have been, because of His greatness; ought not to have been, because of His goodness, especially as He is (supposed, by Marcion) more excellent in both these attributes than our Creator. Since, however, I observe that in some points the proof of every new and heretofore unknown god ought, for its test, to be compared to the form of the Creator, it will be my duty first of all to show that this very course is adopted by me in a settled plan, such as I might with greater confidence use in support of my argument. Before every other consideration, (let me ask) how it happens that you, who acknowledge the Creator to be God, and from your

knowledge confess Him to be prior in existence, do not know that the other god should be examined by you in exactly the same course of investigation which has taught you how to find out a god in the first case? Every prior thing has furnished the rule for the latter. In the present question two gods are propounded, the unknown and the known. Concerning the known there is no question. It is plain that He exists, else He would not be known. The dispute is concerning the unknown god. Possibly he has no existence; because, if he had, he would have been known. Now that which, so long as it is unknown, is an object to be questioned, is an uncertainty so long as it remains thus questionable; and all the while it is in this state of uncertainty, it possibly has no existence at all. You have a god who is so far certain, as he is known; and uncertain, as unknown. This being the case, does it appear to you to be justly defensible, that uncertainties should be submitted for proof to the rule, and form, and standard of certainties? Now, if to the subject before us, which is in itself full of uncertainty thus far, there be applied also arguments derived from uncertainties, we shall be involved in such a series of questions arising out of our treatment of these same uncertain arguments, as shall by reason of their uncertainty be dangerous to the faith, and we shall drift into those insoluble questions which the apostle has no affection for. If, again, in things wherein there is found a diversity of condition, they shall prejudice, as no doubt they will, uncertain, doubtful, and intricate points, by the certain, undoubted, and clear sides of their rule, it will probably happen that (those points) will not be submitted to the standard of certainties for determination, as being freed by the diversity of their essential condition from the application of such a standard in all other respects. As, therefore, it is two gods which are the subject of our proposition, their essential condition must be the same in both. For, as concerns their divinity, they are both unbegotten, unmade, eternal. This will be their essential condition. All other points Marcion himself seems to have made, light of, for he has placed them in a different category. They are subsequent in the order of treatment; indeed, they will not have to be brought into the discussion, since on the essential condition there is no dispute. Now there is this absence of our dispute, because they are both of them gods. Those things, therefore, whose community of condition is evident, will, when brought to a test on the ground of that common condition, have to be submitted, although they are uncertain, to the standard of those certainties

with which they are classed in the community of their essential condition, so as on this account to share also in their manner of proof. I shall therefore contend with the greatest confidence that he is not God who is today uncertain, because he has been hitherto unknown; for of whomsoever it is evident that he is God, from this very fact it is (equally) evident, that he never has been unknown, and therefore never uncertain.

Chap. X. — The Creator Was Known As The True God From The First By His Creation. Acknowledged By The Soul And Conscience Of Man Before He Was Revealed By Moses.

For indeed, as the Creator of all things, He was from the beginning discovered equally with them, they having been themselves manifested that He might become known as God. For although Moses, some long while afterwards, seems to have been the first to introduce the knowledge of the God of the universe in the temple of his writings, yet the birthday of that knowledge must not on that account be reckoned from the Pentateuch. For the volume of Moses does not at all initiate the knowledge of the Creator, but from the first gives out that it is to be traced from Paradise and Adam, not from Egypt and Moses. The greater part, therefore, of the human race, although they knew not even the name of Moses, much less his writings, yet knew the God of Moses; and even when idolatry overshadowed the world with its extreme prevalence, men still spoke of Him separately by His own name as God, and the God of gods, and said, "If God grant," and, "As God pleases," and, "I commend you to God." Reflect, then, whether they knew Him, of whom they testify that He can do all things. To none of the writings of Moses do they owe this. The soul was before prophecy. From the beginning the knowledge of God is the dowry of the soul, one and the same amongst the Egyptians, and the Syrians, and the tribes of Pontus. For their souls call the God of the Jews their God. Do not, O barbarian heretic, put Abraham before the world. Even if the Creator had been the God of one family, He was yet not later than your god; even in Pontus was He known before him. Take then your standard from Him who came first: from the Certain (must be judged) the uncertain; from the Known the unknown. Never shall God be hidden, never shall God be wanting. Always shall He be understood, always be heard, nay even seen, in whatsoever way He shall wish. God has for His witnesses this whole being of ours, and this universe wherein we dwell. He is thus, because not unknown, proved to be both God and the only One, although another still tries hard to make out his claim.

**Chap. XI. — The Evidence For God External To Him;
But The External Creation Which Yields This Evidence
Is Really Not Extraneous, For All Things Are God's.
Marcion's God, Having Nothing To Show For Himself,
No God At All. Marcion's Scheme Absurdly Defective,
Not Furnishing Evidence For His New God's Existence,
Which Should At Least Be Able To Compete With The
Full Evidence Of The Creator.**

And justly so, they say. For who is there that is less well known by his own (inherent) qualities than by strange ones? No one. Well, I keep to this statement. How could anything be strange. to God, to whom, if He were personally existent, nothing would be strange? For this is the attribute of God, that all things are His, and all things belong to Him; or else this question would not so readily be heard from us: What has He to do with things strange to Him? — a point which will be more fully noticed in its proper place. It is now sufficient to observe, that no one is proved to exist to whom nothing is proved to belong. For as the Creator is shown to be God, God without any doubt, from the fact that all things are His, and nothing is strange to Him; so the rival god is seen to be no god, from the circumstance that nothing is his, and all things are therefore strange to him. Since, then, the universe belongs to the Creator, I see no room for any other god. All things are full of their Author, and occupied by Him. If in created beings there be any portion of space anywhere void of Deity, the void will be of a false deity clearly. By falsehood the truth is made clear. Why cannot the vast crowd of false gods somewhere find room for Marcion's god? This, therefore, I insist upon, from the character of the Creator, that God must have been known from the works of some world peculiarly His own, both in its human constituents, and the rest of its organic life; when even the error of the world has presumed to call gods those men whom it sometimes acknowledges, on the ground that in every such case something is. seen which provides for the uses and advantages of life. Accordingly, this also was believed from the character of God to be a divine function; namely, to teach or point out what is convenient and needful in human concerns. So completely has the authority which has given influence to a false divinity been borrowed from that source, whence it had previously

flowed forth to the true one. One stray vegetable s at least Marcion's god ought to have produced as his own; so might he be preached up as a new Triptolemus. Or else state some reason which shall be worthy of a God, why he, supposing him to exist, created nothing; because he must, on supposition of his existence, have been a creator, on that very principle on which it is clear to us that our God is no otherwise existent, than as having been the Creator of this universe of ours. For, once for all, the rule will hold good, that they cannot both acknowledge the Creator to be God, and also prove him divine whom they wish to be equally believed in as God, except they adjust him to the standard of Him whom they and all men hold to be God; which is this, that whereas no one doubts the Creator to be God on the express ground of His having made the universe, so, on the selfsame ground, no one ought to believe that he also is God who has made nothing — except, indeed, some good reason be forthcoming. And this must needs be limited to one of two: he was either unwilling to create, or else unable. There is no third reason. Now, that he was unable, is a reason unworthy of God. Whether to have been unwilling to be a worthy one, I want to inquire. Tell me, Marcion, did your god wish himself to be recognised at any time or not? With what other purpose did he come down from heaven, and preach, and having suffered rise again from the dead, if it were not that he might be acknowledged? And, doubtless, since he was acknowledged, he willed it. For no circumstance could have happened to him, if he had been unwilling. What indeed tended so greatly to the knowledge of himself, as his appearing in the humiliation of the flesh, — a degradation all the lower indeed if the flesh were only illusory? For it was all the more shameful if he, who brought on himself the Creator's curse by hanging on a tree, only pretended the assumption of a bodily substance. A far nobler foundation might he have laid for the knowledge of himself in some evidences of a creation of his own, especially when he had to become known in opposition to Him in whose territory he had remained unknown by any works from the beginning. For how happens it that the Creator, although unaware, as the Marcionites aver, of any god being above Himself, and who used to declare even with an oath that He existed alone, should have guarded by such mighty works the knowledge of Himself, about which, on the assumption of His being alone without a rival, He might have spared Himself all care; while the Superior God, knowing all the while how well furnished in

power His inferior rival was, should have made no provision at all towards getting Himself acknowledged? Whereas He ought to have produced works more illustrious and exalted still, in order that He might, after the Creator's standard, both be acknowledged as God from His works, and even by nobler deeds show Himself to be more potent and more gracious than the Creator.

Chap. XII. — Impossibility Of Acknowledging God Without This External Evidence Of His Existence. Marcion's Rejection Of Such Evidence For His God Saviours Of Impudence And Malignity.

But even if we were able to allow that he exists, we should yet be bound to argue that he is without a cause. For he who had nothing (to show for himself as proof of his existence), would be without a cause, since (such) proof is the whole cause that there exists some person to whom the proof belongs. Now, in as far as nothing ought to be without a cause, that is, without a proof (because if it be without a cause, it is all one as if it be not, not having the very proof which is the cause of a thing), in so far shall I more worthily believe that God does not exist, than that He exists without a cause. For he is without a cause who has not a cause by reason of not having a proof. God, however, ought not to be without a cause, that is to say, without a proof. Thus, as often as I show that He exists without a cause, although (I allow that) He exists, I do really determine this, that He does not exist; because, if He had existed, He could not have existed altogether without a cause. So, too, even in regard to faith itself, I say that he seeks to obtain it without cause from man, who is otherwise accustomed to believe in God from the idea he gets of Him from the testimony of His works: (without cause, I repeat,) because he has provided no such proof as that whereby man has acquired the knowledge of God. For although most persons believe in Him, they do not believe at once by unaided reason, without having some token of Deity in works worthy of God. And so upon this ground of inactivity and lack of works he is guilty both of impudence and malignity: of impudence, in aspiring after a belief which is not due to him, and for which he has provided no foundation; of malignity, in having brought many persons under the charge of unbelief by furnishing to them no groundwork for their faith.

Chap. XIII. — The Marcionites Depreciate The Creation, Which, However, Is A Worthy Witness Of God. This Worthiness Illustrated By References To The Heathen Philosophers, Who Were Apt To Invest The Several Parts Of Creation With Divine Attributes.

While we are expelling from this rank (of Deity) a god who has no evidence to show for himself which is so proper and God-worthy as the testimony of the Creator, Marcion's most shameless followers with haughty impertinence fall upon the Creator's works to destroy them. To be sure, say they, the world is a grand work, worthy of a God. (90 Then is the Creator not at all a God? By all means He is God. Therefore the world is not unworthy of God, for God has made nothing unworthy of Himself; although it was for man, and not for Himself, that He made the world, (and) although every work is less than its maker. And yet, if to have been the author of our creation, such as it is, be unworthy of God, how much more unworthy of Him is it to have created absolutely nothing at all! — not even a production which, although unworthy, might yet have encouraged the hope of some better attempt. To say somewhat, then, concerning the alleged unworthiness of this world's fabric, to which among the Greeks also is assigned a name of ornament and grace, not of sordidness, those very professors of wisdom, from whose genius every heresy derives its spirit, called the said unworthy elements divine; as Thales did water, Heraclitus fire, Anaximenes air, Anaximander all the heavenly bodies, Strato the sky and earth, Zeno the air and ether, and Plato the stars, which he calls a fiery kind of gods; whilst concerning the world, when they considered indeed its magnitude, and strength, and power, and honour, and glory, — the abundance, too, the regularity, and law of those individual elements which contribute to the production, the nourishment, the ripening, and the reproduction of all things, — the majority of the philosophers hesitated to assign a beginning and an end to the said world, lest its constituent elements, great as they undoubtedly are, should fail to be regarded as divine, which are objects of worship with the Persian magi, the Egyptian hierophants, and the Indian gymnosophists. The very superstition of the crowd, inspired by the common idolatry, when ashamed of the names and fables of their ancient dead borne by their idols, has recourse to the interpretation of natural objects, and

so with much ingenuity cloaks its own disgrace, figuratively reducing Jupiter to a heated substance, and Juno to an aerial one (according to the literal sense of the Greek words); Vesta, in like manner, to fire, and the Muses to waters, and the Great Mother to the earth, mowed as to its crops, ploughed up with lusty arms, and watered with baths. Thus Osiris also, whenever he is buried, and looked for to come to life again, and with joy recovered, is an emblem of the regularity wherewith the fruits of the ground return, and the elements recover life, and the year comes round; as also the lions of Mithras are philosophical sacraments of arid and scorched nature. It is, indeed, enough for me that natural elements, foremost in site and state, should have been more readily regarded as divine than as unworthy of God. I will, however, come down to humbler objects. A single floweret from the hedgerow, I say not from the meadows; a single little shellfish from any sea, I say not from the Red Sea; a single stray wing of a moorfowl, I say nothing of the peacock, — will, I presume, prove to you that the Creator was but a sorry artificer!

Chap. XIV. — All Portions Of Creation Attest The Excellence Of The Creator, Whom Marcion Vilifies. His Inconsistency Herein Exposed. Marcion's Own God Did Not Hesitate To Use The Creator's Works In Instituting His Own Religion.

Now, when you make merry with those minuter animals, which their glorious Maker has purposely endued with a profusion. of instincts and resources, — thereby teaching us that greatness has its proofs in lowliness, just as (according to the apostle) there is power even in infirmity — imitate, if you can, the cells of the bee, the hills of the ant, the webs of the spider, and the threads of the silkworm; endure, too, if you know how, those very creatures which infest your couch and house, the poisonous ejections of the blister-beetle, the spikes of the fly, and the gnat's Sheath and sting. What of the greater animals, when the small ones so affect you with pleasure or pain, that you cannot even in their case despise their Creator? Finally, take a circuit round your own self; survey man within and without. Even this handiwork of our God will be pleasing to you, inasmuch as your own lord, that better god, loved it so well, and for your sake was at the pains of descending from the third heaven to these poverty-stricken elements, and for the same reason was actually crucified in this sorry apartment of the Creator. Indeed, up to the present time, he has not disdained the water which the Creator made wherewith he washes his people; nor the oil with which he anoints them; nor that union of honey and milk wherewithal he gives them the nourishment of children; nor the bread by which he represents his own proper body, thus requiring in his very sacraments the “beggarly elements” of the Creator. You, however, are a disciple above his master, and a servant above his lord; you have a higher reach of discernment than his; you destroy what he requires. I wish to examine whether you are at least honest in this, so as to have no longing for those things which you destroy. You are an enemy to the sky, and yet you are glad to catch its freshness in your houses. You disparage the earth, although the elemental parent of your own flesh, as if it were your undoubted enemy, and yet you extract from it all its fatness for your food. The sea, too, you reprobate, but are continually using its produce, which you account the more sacred diet. If I should offer you a rose, you will not disdain its Maker.

You hypocrite, however much of abstinence you use to show yourself a Marcionite, that is, a repudiator of your Maker (for if the world displeased you, such abstinence ought to have been affected by you as a martyrdom), you will have to associate yourself with the Creator's material production, into what element soever you shall be dissolved. How hard is this obstinacy of yours! You vilify the things in which you both live and die.

Chap. XV. — The Lateness Of The Revelation Of Marcion's God. The Question Of The Place Occupied By The Rival Deities. Instead Of Two Gods, Marcion Really (Although, As It Would Seem, Unconsciously) Had Nine Gods In His System.

After all, or, if you like, before all, since you have said that he has a creation of his own, and his own world, and his own sky; we shall see, indeed, about that third heaven, when we come to discuss even your own apostle. Meanwhile, whatever is the (created) substance, it ought at any rate to have made its appearance in company with its own god. But now, how happens it that the Lord has been revealed since the twelfth year of Tiberius Caesar, while no creation of His at all has been discovered up to the fifteenth of the Emperor Severus; although, as being more excellent than the paltry works of the Creator, it should certainly have ceased to conceal itself, when its lord and author no longer lies hid? I ask, therefore, if it was unable to manifest itself in this world, how did its Lord appear in this world? If this world received its Lord, why was it not able to receive the created substance, unless perchance it was greater than its Lord? But now there arises a question about place, having reference both to the world above and to the God thereof. For, behold, if he has his own world beneath him, above the Creator, he has certainly fixed it in a position, the space of which was empty between his own feet and the Creator's head. Therefore God both Himself occupied local space, and caused the world to occupy local space; and this local space, too, will be greater than God and the world together. For in no case is that which contains not greater than that which is contained. And indeed we must look well to it that no small patches be left here and there vacant, in which some third god also may be able with a world of his own to foist himself in. Now, begin to reckon up your gods. There will be local space for a god, not only as being greater than God, but as being also unbegotten and unmade, and therefore eternal, and equal to God, in which God has ever been. Then, inasmuch as He too has fabricated a world out of some underlying material which is unbegotten, and unmade, and contemporaneous with God, just as Marcion holds of the Creator, you reduce this likewise to the dignity of that local space which has enclosed two gods, both God and matter. For matter also is a god according to the rule of Deity,

being (to be sure) unbegotten, and unmade, and eternal. If, however, it was out of nothing that he made his world, this also (our heretic) will be obliged to predicate of the Creator, to whom he subordinates matter in the substance of the world. But it will be only right that he too should have made his world out of matter, because the same process occurred to him as God which lay before the Creator as equally God. And thus you may, if you please, reckon up so far, three gods as Marcion's, — the Maker, local space, and matter. Furthermore, he in like manner makes the Creator a god in local space, which is itself to be appraised on a precisely identical scale of dignity; and to Him as its lord he subordinates matter, which is notwithstanding unbegotten, and unmade, and by reason hereof eternal. With this matter he further associates evil, an unbegotten principle with an unbegotten object, an unmade with an unmade, and an eternal with an eternal; so here he makes a fourth God. Accordingly you have three substances of Deity in the higher instances, and in the lower ones four. When to these are added their Christs — the one which appeared in the time of Tiberius, the other which is promised by the Creator — Marcion suffers a manifest wrong from those persons who assume that he holds two gods, whereas he implies no less than nine. though he knows it not.

Chap. XVI. — Marcion Assumes The Existence Of Two Gods From The Antithesis Between Things Visible And Things Invisible. This Antithetical Principle In Fact Characteristic Of The Works Of The Creator, The One God — Maker Of All Things Visible And Invisible.

Since, then, that other world does not appear, nor its god either, the only resource left to them is to divide things into the two classes of visible and invisible, with two gods for their authors, and so to claim the invisible for their own, (the supreme) God. But who, except an heretical spirit, could ever bring his mind to believe that the invisible part of creation belongs to him who had previously displayed no visible thing, rather than to Him who, by His operation on the visible world, produced a belief in the invisible also, since it is far more reasonable to give one's assent after some samples (of a work) than after none? We shall see to what author even (your favourite) apostle attributes the invisible creation, when we come to examine him. At present (we withhold his testimony), for we are for the most part engaged in preparing the way, by means of common sense and fair arguments, for a belief in the future support of the Scriptures also. We affirm, then, that this diversity of things visible and invisible must on this ground be attributed to the Creator, even because the whole of His work consists of diversities — of things corporeal and incorporeal; of animate and inanimate; of vocal and mute of moveable and stationary; of productive and sterile; of arid and moist; of hot and cold. Man, too, is himself similarly tempered with diversity, both in his body and in his sensation. Some of his members are strong, others weak; some comely, others uncomely; some twofold, others unique; some like, others unlike. In like manner there is diversity also in his sensation: now joy, then anxiety; now love, then hatred; now anger, then calmness. Since this is the case, inasmuch as the whole of this creation of ours has been fashioned with a reciprocal rivalry amongst its several parts, the invisible ones are due to the visible, and not to be ascribed to any other author than Him to whom their counterparts are imputed, marking as they do diversity in the Creator Himself, who orders what He forbade, and forbids what He ordered; who also strikes and heals. Why do they take Him to be uniform in one class of things alone, as the Creator of visible things, and only them; whereas He ought to be

believed to have created both the visible and the invisible, in just the same way as life and death, or as evil things and peace? And verily, if the invisible creatures are greater than the visible, which are in their own sphere great, so also is it fitting that the greater should be His to whom the great belong; because neither the great, nor indeed the greater, can be suitable property for one who seems to possess not even the smallest things.

Chap. XVII. — Not Enough, As The Marcionites Pretend, That The Supreme God Should Rescue Man; He Must Also Have Created Him. The Existence Of God Proved By His Creation, A Prior Consideration To His Character.

Pressed by these arguments, they exclaim: One work is sufficient for our god; he has delivered man by his supreme and most excellent goodness, which is preferable to (the creation of) all the locusts. What superior god is this, of whom it has not been possible to find any work so great as the man of the lesser god! Now without doubt the first thing you have to do is to prove that he exists, after the same manner that the existence of God must ordinarily be proved — by his works; and only after that by his good deeds. For the first question is, Whether he exists? and then, What is his character? The former is to be tested by his works, the other by the beneficence of them. It does not simply follow that he exists, because he is said to have wrought deliverance for man; but only after it shall have been settled that he exists, will there be room for saying that he has affected this liberation. And even this point also must have its own evidence, because it may be quite possible both that he has existence, and yet has not wrought the alleged deliverance. Now in that section of our work which concerned the question of the unknown god, two points were made clear enough — both that he had created nothing: and that he ought to have been a creator, in order to be known by his works; because, if he had existed, he ought to have been known, and that too from the beginning of things; for it was not fit that God should have lain hid. It will be necessary that I should revert to the very trunk of that question of the unknown god, that I may strike off into some of its other branches also. For it will be first of all proper to inquire, Why he, who afterwards brought himself into notice, did so — so late, and not at the very first? From creatures, with which as God he was indeed so closely connected (and the closer this connection was, the greater was his goodness), he ought never to have been hidden. For it cannot be pretended that there was not either any means of arriving at the knowledge of God, or a good reason for it, when from the beginning man was in the world, for whom the deliverance is now come; as was also that malevolence of the Creator, in opposition to which the good God has wrought the deliverance. He

was therefore either ignorant of the good reason for and means of his own necessary manifestation, or doubted them; or else was either unable or unwilling to encounter them. All these alternatives are unworthy of God, especially the supreme and best. This topic, however, we shall afterwards more fully treat, with a condemnation of the tardy manifestation; we at present simply point it out.

Chap. XVIII. — Notwithstanding Their Conceits, The God Of The Marcionites Fails In The Vouchers Both Of Created Evidence And Of Adequate Revelation.

Well, then, he has now advanced into notice, just when he willed, when he could, when the destined hour arrived. For perhaps he was hindered hitherto by his leading star, or some weird malignants, or Saturn in quadrature, or Mars at the trine. The Marcionites are very strongly addicted to astrology; nor do they blush to get their livelihood by help of the very stars which were made by the Creator (whom they depreciate). We must here also treat of the quality of the (new) revelation; whether Marcion's supreme god has become known in a way worthy of him, so as to secure the proof of his existence: and in the way of truth, so that he may be believed to be the very being who had been already proved to have been revealed in a manner worthy of his character. For things which are worthy of God will prove the existence of God. We maintain that God must first be known from nature, and afterwards authenticated by instruction: from nature by His works; by instruction, through His revealed announcements. Now, in a case where nature is excluded, no natural means (of knowledge) are furnished. He ought, therefore, to have carefully supplied a revelation of himself, even by announcements, especially as he had to be revealed in opposition to One who, after so many and so great works, both of creation and revealed announcement, had with difficulty succeeded in satisfying men's faith. In what manner, therefore, has the revelation been made? If by man's conjectural guesses, do not say that God can possibly become known in any other way than by Himself, and appeal not only to the standard of the Creator, but to the conditions both of God's greatness and man's littleness; so that man seem not by any possibility to be greater than God, by having somehow drawn Him out into public recognition, when He was Himself unwilling to become known by His own energies, although man's littleness has been able, according to experiments all over the world, more easily to fashion for itself gods, than to follow the true God whom men now understand by nature. As for the rest, if man shall be thus able to devise a god, — as Romulus did Consus, and Tatius Cloacina, and Hostilius Fear, and Metellus Alburnus, and a certain authority some time since Antinous, — the same accomplishment may be allowed to others. As for us,

we have found our pilot in Marcion, although not a king nor an emperor.

Chap. XIX. — Jesus Christ, The Revealer Of The Creator, Could Not Be The Same As Marcion's God, Who Was Only Made Known By The Heretic Some CXV. Years After Christ, And That, Too, On A Principle Utterly Unsuitd To The Teaching Of Jesus Christ, I.E., The Opposition Between The Law And The Gospels.

Well, but our god, say the Marcionites, although he did not manifest himself from the beginning and by means of the creation, has yet revealed himself in Christ Jesus. A book will be devoted to Christ, treating of His entire state; for it is desirable that these subject-matters should be distinguished one from another, in order that they may receive a fuller and more methodical treatment. Meanwhile it will be sufficient if, at this stage of the question, I show — and that but briefly — that Christ Jesus is the revealer of none other god but the Creator. In the fifteenth year of Tiberius, Christ Jesus vouchsafed to come down from heaven, as the spirit of saving health. I cared not to inquire, indeed, in what particular year of the elder Antoninus. He who had so gracious a purpose did rather, like a pestilential sirocco, exhale this health or salvation, which Marcion teaches from his Pontus. Of this teacher there is no doubt that he is a heretic of the Antonine period, impious under the pious. Now, from Tiberius to Antoninus Pius, there are about 115 years and 6 1/2 months. Just such an interval do they place between Christ and Marcion. Inasmuch, then, as Marcion, as we have shown, first introduced this god to notice in the time of Antoninus, the matter becomes at once clear, if you are a shrewd observer. The dates already decide the case, that he who came to light for the first time in the reign of Antoninus, did not appear in that of Tiberius; in other words, that the God of the Antonine period was not the God of the Tiberian; and consequently, that he whom Marcion has plainly preached for the first time, was not revealed by Christ (who announced His revelation as early as the reign of Tiberius). Now, to prove clearly what remains of the argument, I shall draw materials from my very adversaries. Marcion's special and principal work is the separation of the law and the gospel; and his disciples will not deny that in this point they have their very best pretext for initiating and confirming themselves in his heresy. These are Marcion's Antitheses, or contradictory propositions, which aim at committing the gospel

to a variance with the law, in order that from the diversity of the two documents which contain them, they may contend for a diversity of gods also. Since, therefore, it is this very opposition between the law and the gospel which has suggested that the God of the gospel is different from the God of the law, it is clear that, before the said separation, that god could not have been known who became known from the argument of the separation itself. He therefore could not have been revealed by Christ, who came before the separation, but must have been devised by Marcion, the author of the breach of peace between the gospel and the law. Now this peace, which had remained unhurt and unshaken from Christ's appearance to the time of Marcion's audacious doctrine, was no doubt maintained by that way of thinking, which firmly held that the God of both law and gospel was none other than the Creator, against whom after so long a time a separation has been introduced by the heretic of Pontus.

**Chap. XX. — Marcion, Justifying His Antithesis
Between The Law And The Gospel By The Contention
Of St. Paul With St. Peter, Shown To Have Mistaken St.
Paul's Position And Argument. Marcion's Doctrine
Confuted Out Of St. Paul's Teaching, Which Agrees
Wholly With The Creator's Decrees.**

This most patent conclusion requires to be defended by us against the clamours of the opposite side. For they allege that Marcion did not so much innovate on the rule (of faith) by his separation of the law and the gospel, as restore it after it had been previously adulterated. O Christ, most enduring Lord, who didst bear so many years with this interference with Thy revelation, until Marcion forsooth came to Thy rescue! Now they adduce the case of Peter himself, and the others, who were pillars of the apostolate, as having been blamed by Paul for not walking uprightly, according to the truth of the gospel — that very Paul indeed, who, being yet in the mere rudiments of grace, and trembling, in short, lest he should have run or were still running in vain, then for the first time held intercourse with those who were apostles before himself. Therefore because, in the eagerness of his zeal against Judaism as a neophyte, he thought that there was something to be blamed in their conduct — even the promiscuousness of their conversation — but afterwards was himself to become in his practice all things to all men, that he might gain all, — to the Jews, as a Jew, and to them that were under the law, as under the law, — you would have his censure, which was merely directed against conduct destined to become acceptable even to their accuser, suspected of prevarication against God on a point of public doctrine. Touching their public doctrine, however, they had, as we have already said, joined hands in perfect concord, and had agreed also in the division of their labour in their fellowship of the gospel, as they had indeed in all other respects: “Whether it were I or they, so we preach.” When, again, he mentioned “certain false brethren as having crept in unawares,” who wished to remove the Galatians into another gospel, he himself shows that that adulteration of the gospel was not meant to transfer them to the faith of another god and christ, but rather to perpetuate the teaching of the law; because he blames them for maintaining circumcision, and observing times, and days, and months, and years,

according to those Jewish ceremonies which they ought to have known were now abrogated, according to the new dispensation purposed by the Creator Himself, who of old foretold this very thing by His prophets. Thus He says by Isaiah: Old things have passed away. "Behold, I will do a new thing." And in another passage: "I will make a new covenant, not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers, when I brought them out of the land of Egypt." In like manner by Jeremiah: Make to yourselves a new covenant, "circumcise yourselves to the Lord, and take away the foreskins of your heart." It is this circumcision, therefore, and this renewal, which the apostle insisted on, when he forbade those ancient ceremonies concerning which their very founder announced that they were one day to cease; thus by Hosea: "I will also cause all her mirth to cease, her feast-days, her new moons, and her Sabbaths, and all her solemn feasts." So likewise by Isaiah: "The new moons, and Sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; your holy days, and fasts, and feast-days, my soul hateth." Now, if even the Creator had so long before discarded all these things, and the apostle was now proclaiming them to be worthy of renunciation, the very agreement of the apostle's meaning with the decrees of the Creator proves that none other God was preached by the apostle than He whose purposes he now wished to have recognised, branding as false both apostles and brethren, for the express reason that they were pushing back the gospel of Christ the Creator from the new condition which the Creator had foretold, to the old one which He had discarded.

Chap. XXI. — St. Paul Preached No New God, When He Announced The Repeal Of Some Of God's Ancient Ordinances. Never Any Hesitation About Belief In The Creator, As The God Whom Christ Revealed, Until Marcion's Heresy.

Now if it was with the view of preaching a new god that he was eager to abrogate the law of the old God, how is it that he prescribes no rule about the new god, but solely about the old law, if it be not because faith in the Creator was still to continue, and His law alone was to come to an end? — just as the Psalmist had declared: "Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us. Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth stand up, and the rulers take counsel together against the Lord, and against His Anointed." And, indeed, if another god were preached by Paul, there could be no doubt about the law, whether it were to be kept or not, because of course it would not belong to the new lord, the enemy of the law. The very newness and difference of the god would take away not only all question about the old and alien law, but even all mention of it. But the whole question, as it then stood, was this, that although the God of the law was the same as was preached in Christ, yet there was a disparagement of His law. Permanent still, therefore, stood faith in the Creator and in His Christ; manner of life and discipline alone fluctuated. Some disputed about eating idol sacrifices, others about the veiled dress of women, others again about marriage and divorce, and some even about the hope of the resurrection; but about God no one disputed. Now, if this question also had entered into dispute, surely it would be found in the apostle, and that too as a great and vital point. No doubt, after the time of the apostles, the truth respecting the belief of God suffered corruption, but it is equally certain that during the life of the apostles their teaching on this great article did not suffer at all; so that no other teaching will have the fight of being received as apostolic than that which is at the present day proclaimed in the churches of apostolic foundation. You will, however, find no church of apostolic origin but such as reposes its Christian faith in the Creator. But if the churches shall prove to have been corrupt from the beginning, where shall the pure ones be found? Will it be amongst the adversaries of the Creator? Show us, then, one of your

churches, tracing its descent from an apostle, and you will have gained the day. Forasmuch then as it is on all accounts evident that there was from Christ down to Marcion's time no other God in the rule of sacred truth's than the Creator, the proof of our argument is sufficiently established, in which we have shown that the god of our heretic first became known by his separation of the gospel and the law. Our previous position is accordingly made good, that no god is to be believed whom any man has devised out of his own conceits; except indeed the man be a prophet, and then his own conceits would not be concerned in the matter. If Marcion, however, shall be able to lay claim to this inspired character, it will be necessary for it to be shown. There must be no doubt or paltering. For all heresy is thrust out by this wedge of the truth, that Christ is proved to be the revealer of no God else but the Creator.

Chap. XXII. — God's Attribute Of Goodness Considered As Natural; The God Of Marcion Found Waiting Herein. It Came Not To Man's Rescue When First Wanted.

But how shall (this) Antichrist be fully overthrown unless we relax our defence by mere prescription, and give ourselves scope for rebutting all his other attacks? Let us therefore next take the very person of God Himself, or rather His shadow or phantom, as we have it in Christ, and let Him be examined by that condition which makes Him superior to the Creator. And undoubtedly there will come to hand unmistakable rules for examining God's goodness. My first point, however, is to discover and apprehend the attribute, and then to draw it out into rules. Now, when I survey the subject in its aspects of time, I nowhere descry it from the beginning of material existences, or at the commencement of those causes, with which it ought to have been found, proceeding thence to do whatever had to be done. For there was death already, and Sin the sting of death, and that malignity too of the Creator, against which the goodness of the other god should have been ready to bring relief; falling in with this as the primary rule of the divine goodness (if it were to prove itself a natural agency), at once coming as a succour when the cause for it began. For in God all things should be natural and inbred, just like His own condition indeed, in order that they may be eternal, and so not be accounted casual and extraneous, and thereby temporary and wanting in eternity. In God, therefore, goodness is required to be both perpetual and unbroken, such as, being stored up and kept ready in the treasures of His natural properties, might precede its own causes and material developments; and if thus preceding, might underlie every first material cause, instead of looking at it from a distance, and standing aloof from it. In short, here too I must inquire, Why his goodness did not operate from the beginning? no less pointedly than when we inquired concerning himself, Why he was not revealed from the very first? Why, then, did it not? since he had to be revealed by his goodness if he had any existence. That God should at all fail in power must not be thought, much less that He should not discharge all His natural functions; for if these were restrained from running their course, they would cease to be natural. Moreover, the nature of God Him self knows nothing of

inactivity. Hence (His goodness) is reckoned as having a beginning, if it acts. It will thus be evident that He had no unwillingness to exercise His goodness at any time on account of His nature. Indeed, it is impossible that He should be unwilling because of His nature, since that so directs itself that it would no longer exist if it ceased to act. In Marcion's god, however, goodness ceased from operation at some time or other. A goodness, therefore, which could thus at any time have ceased its action was not natural, because with natural properties such cessation is incompatible. And if it shall not prove to be natural, it must no longer be believed to be eternal nor competent to Deity; because it cannot be eternal so long as, failing to be natural, it neither provides from the past nor guarantees for the future any means of perpetuating itself. Now as a fact it existed not from the beginning, and, doubtless, will not endure to the end. For it is possible for it to fail in existence some future time or other, as it has failed in some past period. Forasmuch, then, as the goodness of Marcion's god failed in the beginning (for he did not from the first deliver man), this failure must have been the effect of will rather than of infirmity. Now a wilful suppression of goodness will be found to have a malignant end in view. For what malignity is so great as to be unwilling to do good when one can, or to thwart what is useful, or to permit injury? The whole description, therefore, of Marcion's Creator will have to be transferred to his new god, who helped on the ruthless proceedings of the former by the retardation of his own goodness. For whosoever has it in his power to prevent the happening of a thing, is accounted responsible for it if it should occur. Man is condemned to death for tasting the fruit of one poor tree, and thence proceed sins with their penalties; and now all are perishing who yet never saw a single sod of Paradise. And all this your better god either is ignorant of, or else brooks. Is it that he might on this account be deemed the better, and the Creator be regarded as all that the worse? Even if this were his purpose he would be malicious enough, for both wishing to aggravate his rival's obloquy by permitting His (evil) works to be done, and by keeping the world harrassed by the wrong. What would you think of a physician who should encourage a disease by withholding the remedy, and prolong the danger by delaying his prescription, in order that his cure might be more costly and more renowned? Such must be the sentence to be pronounced against Marcion's god: tolerant of evil, encouraging wrong, wheedling about his grace, prevaricating in his

goodness, which he did not exhibit simply on its own account, but which he must mean to exhibit purely, if he is good by nature and not by acquisition, if he is supremely good in attribute and not by discipline, if he is God from eternity and not from Tiberius, nay (to speak more truly), from Cerdon only and Marcion. As the case now stands, however, such a god as we are considering would have been more fit for Tiberius, that the goodness of the Divine Being might be inaugurated in the world under his imperial sway!

Chap. XXIII. — God's Attribute Of Goodness Considered As Rational. Marcion's God Defective Here Also; His Goodness Irrational And Misapplied.

Here is another rule for him. All the properties of God ought to be as rational as they are natural. I require reason in His goodness, because nothing else can properly be accounted good than that which is rationally good; much less can goodness itself be detected in any irrationality. More easily will an evil thing which has something rational belonging to it be accounted good, than that a good thing bereft of all reasonable quality should escape being regarded as evil. Now I deny that the goodness of Marcion's god is rational, on this account first, because it proceeded to the salvation of a human creature which was alien to him. I am aware of the plea which they will adduce, that that is rather a primary and perfect goodness which is shed voluntarily and freely upon strangers without any obligation of friendship, on the principle that we are bidden to love even our enemies, such as are also on that very account strangers to us. Now, inasmuch as from the first he had no regard for man, a stranger to him from the first, he settled beforehand, by this neglect of his, that he had nothing to do with an alien creature. Besides, the rule of loving a stranger or enemy is preceded by the precept of your loving your neighbour as yourself; and this precept, although coming from the Creator's law, even you ought to receive, because, so far from being abrogated by Christ, it has rather been confirmed by Him. For you are bidden to love your enemy and the stranger, in order that you may love your neighbour the better. The requirement of the undue is an augmentation of the due benevolence. But the due precedes the undue, as the principal quality, and more worthy of the other, for its attendant and companion. Since, therefore, the first step in the reasonableness of the divine goodness is that it displays itself on its proper object in righteousness, and only at its second stage on an alien object by a redundant righteousness over and above that of scribes and Pharisees, how comes it to pass that the second is attributed to him who fails in the first, not having man for his proper object, and who makes his goodness on this very account defective? Moreover, how could a defective benevolence, which had no proper object whereon to expend itself, overflow on an alien one? Clear up the first step, and then vindicate the next. Nothing can be claimed as rational

without order, much less can reason itself dispense with order in any one. Suppose now the divine goodness begin at the second stage of its rational operation, that is to say, on the stranger, this second stage will not be consistent in rationality if it be impaired in any way else. For only then will even the second stage of goodness, that which is displayed towards the stranger, be accounted rational, when it operates without wrong to him who has the first claim. It is righteousness which before everything else makes all goodness rational. It will thus be rational in its principal stage, when manifested on its proper object, if it be righteous. And thus, in like manner, it will be able to appear rational, when displayed towards the stranger, if it be not unrighteous. But what sort of goodness is that which is manifested in wrong, and that in behalf of an alien creature? For peradventure a benevolence, even when operating injuriously, might be deemed to some extent rational, if exerted for one of our own house and home. By what rule, however, can an unjust benevolence, displayed on behalf of a stranger, to whom not even an honest one is legitimately due, be defended as a rational one? For what is more unrighteous, more unjust, more dishonest, than so to benefit an alien slave as to take him away from his master, claim him as the property of another, and suborn him against his master's life; and all this, to make the matter more iniquitous still whilst he is yet living in his master's house and on his master's garner, and still trembling beneath his stripes? Such a deliverer, I had almost said kidnapper, would even meet with condemnation in the world. Now, no other than this is the character of Marcion's god, swooping upon an alien world, snatching away man from his God, the son from his father, the pupil from his tutor, the servant from his master — to make him impious to his God, undutiful to his father, ungrateful to his tutor, worthless to his master. If, now, the rational benevolence makes man such, what sort of being prithe would the irrational make of him? None I should think more shameless than him who is baptized to his god in water which belongs to another, who stretches out his hands to his god towards a heaven which is another's, who kneels to his god on ground which is another's, offers his thanksgivings to his god over bread which belongs to another, and distributes by way of alms and charity, for the sake of his god, gifts which belong to another God. Who, then, is that so good a god of theirs, that man through him becomes evil; so propitious, too, as to incense against man that

other God who is, indeed, his own proper Lord?

Chap. XXIV. — The Goodness Of Marcion's God Only Imperfectly Manifested; It Saves But Few, And The Souls Merely Of These. Marcion's Contempt Of The Body Absurd.

But as God is eternal and rational, so, I think, He is perfect in all things. "Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." Prove, then, that the goodness of your god also is a perfect one. That it is indeed imperfect has been already sufficiently shown, since it is found to be neither natural nor rational. The same conclusion, however, shall now be made clear by another method; it is not simply imperfect, but actually feeble, weak, and exhausted, failing to embrace the full number of its material objects, and not manifesting itself in them all. For all are not put into a state of salvation by it; but the Creator's subjects, both Jew and Christian, are all excepted. Now, when the greater part thus perish, how can that goodness be defended as a perfect one which is inoperative in most cases, is somewhat only in few, naught in many, succumbs to perdition, and is a partner with destruction? And if so many shall miss salvation, it will not be with goodness, but with malignity, that the greater perfection will lie. For as it is the operation of goodness which brings salvation, so is it malevolence which thwarts it. Since, however, this goodness) saves but few, and so rather leans to the alternative of not saving, it will show itself to greater perfection by not interposing help than by helping. Now, you will not be able to attribute goodness (to your god) in reference to the Creator, (if accompanied with) failure towards all. For whomsoever you call in to judge the question, it is as a dispenser of goodness, if so be such a title can be made out, and not as a squanderer thereof, as you claim your god to be, that you must submit the divine character for determination. So long, then, as you prefer your god to the Creator on the simple ground of his goodness, and since he professes to have this attribute as solely and wholly his own, he ought not to have been wanting in it to any one. However, I do not now wish to prove that Marcion's god is imperfect in goodness because of the perdition of the greater number. I am content to illustrate this imperfection by the fact that even those whom he saves are found to possess but an imperfect salvation — that is, they are saved only so far as the soul is concerned, but lost in their body, which, according to him, does not rise again. Now, whence

comes this halving of salvation, if not from a failure of goodness? What could have been a better proof of a perfect goodness, than the recovery of the whole man to salvation? Totally damned by the Creator, he should have been totally restored by the most merciful god. I rather think that by Marcion's rule the body is baptized, is deprived of marriage, is cruelly tortured in confession. But although sins are attributed to the body, yet they are preceded by the guilty concupiscence of the soul; nay, the first motion of sin must be ascribed to the soul, to which the flesh acts in the capacity of a servant. By and by, when freed from the soul, the flesh sins no more. So that in this matter goodness is unjust, and likewise imperfect, in that it leaves to destruction the more harmless substance, which sins rather by compliance than in will. Now, although Christ put not on the verity of the flesh, as your heresy is pleased to assume, He still vouchsafed to take upon Him the semblance thereof. Surely, therefore, some regard was due to it from Him, because of this His reigned assumption of it. Besides, what else is man than flesh, since no doubt it was the corporeal rather than the spiritual element from which the Author of man's nature gave him his designation? "And the LORD God made man of the dust of the ground," not of spiritual essence; this afterwards came from the divine afflatus: "and man became a living soul." What, then, is man? Made, no doubt of it, of the dust; and God placed him in paradise, because He moulded him, not breathed him, into being — a fabric of flesh, not of spirit. Now, this being the case, with what face will you contend for the perfect character of that goodness which did not fail in some one particular only of man's deliverance, but in its general capacity? If that is a plenary grace and a substantial mercy which brings salvation to the soul alone, this were the better life which we now enjoy whole and entire; whereas to rise again but in part will be a chastisement, not a liberation. The proof of the perfect goodness is, that man, after his rescue, should be delivered from the domicile and power of the malignant deity unto the protection of the most good and merciful God. Poor dupe of Marcion, fever is hard upon you; and your painful flesh produces a crop of all sorts of briars and thorns. Nor is it only to the Creator's thunderbolts that you lie exposed, or to wars, and pestilences, and His other heavier strokes, but even to His creeping insects. In what respect do you suppose yourself liberated from His kingdom when His flies are still creeping upon your face? If your deliverance lies in the future, why not also in the

present, that it may be perfectly wrought? Far different is our condition in the sight of Him who is the Author, the Judge, the injured Head of our race! You display Him as a merely good God; but you are unable to prove that He is perfectly good, because you are not by Him perfectly delivered.

Chap. XXV. — God Is Not A Being Of Simple Goodness; Other Attributes Belong To Him. Marcion Shows Inconsistency In The Portraiture Of His Simply Good And Emotionless God.

As touching this question of goodness, we have in these outlines of our argument shown it to be in no way compatible with Deity, — as being neither natural, nor rational, nor perfect, but wrong, and unjust, and unworthy of the very name of goodness, — because, as far as the congruity of the divine character is concerned, it cannot indeed be fitting that that Being should be regarded as God who is alleged to have such a goodness, and that not in a modified way, but simply and solely. For it is, furthermore, at this point quite open to discussion, whether God ought to be regarded as a Being of simple goodness, to the exclusion of all those other attributes, sensations, and affections, which the Marcionites indeed transfer from their god to the Creator, and which we acknowledge to be worthy characteristics of the Creator too, but only because we consider Him to be God. Well, then, on this ground we shall deny him to be God in whom all things are not to be found which befit the Divine Being. If (Marcion) chose to take any one of the school of Epicurus, and entitle him God in the name of Christ, on the ground that what is happy and incorruptible can bring no trouble either on itself or anything else (for Marcion, while poring over this opinion of the divine indifference, has removed from him all the severity and energy of the judicial character), it was his duty to have developed his conceptions into some imperturbable and listless god (and then what could he have had in common with Christ, who occasioned trouble both to the Jews by what He taught, and to Himself by what He felt?), or else to have admitted that he was possessed of the same emotions as others (and in such case what would he have had to do with Epicurus, who was no friend to either him or Christians?). For that a being who in ages past was in a quiescent state, not caring to communicate any knowledge of himself by any work all the while, should come after so long a time to entertain a concern for man's salvation, of course by his own will, — did he not by this very fact become susceptible of the impulse of a new volition, so as palpably to be open to all other emotions? But what volition is unaccompanied with the spur of desire? Who wishes for what he

desires not? Moreover, care will be another companion of the will. For who will wish for any object and desire to have it, without also caring to obtain it? When, therefore, (Marcion's god) felt both a will and a desire for man's salvation, he certainly occasioned some concern and trouble both to himself and others. This Marcion's theory suggests, though Epicurus demurs. For he raised up an adversary against himself in that very thing against which his will and desire, and care were directed, — whether it were sin or death, — and more especially in their Tyrant and Lord, the Creator of man. Again, nothing will ever run its course without hostile rivalry, which shall not (itself) be without a hostile aspect. In fact, when willing, desiring, and caring to deliver man, (Marcion's god) already in the very act encounters a rival, both in Him from whom He effects the deliverance (for of course he means the liberation to be an opposition to Him), and also in those things from which the deliverance is wrought (the intended liberation being to the advantage of some other things). For it must needs be, that upon rivalry its own ancillary passions will be in attendance, against whatever objects its emulation is directed: anger, discord, hatred, disdain, indignation, spleen, loathing, displeasure. Now, since all these emotions are present to rivalry; since, moreover, the rivalry which arises in liberating man excites them; and since, again, this deliverance of man is an operation of goodness, it follows that this goodness avails nothing without its endowments, that is to say, without those sensations and affections whereby it carries out its purpose against the Creator; so that it cannot even in this be ruled to be irrational, as if it were wanting in proper sensations and affections. These points we shall have to insist on much more fully, when we come to plead the cause of the Creator, where they will also incur our condemnation.

Chap. XXVI. — In The Attribute Of Justice, Marcion's God Is Hopelessly Weak And Ungodlike. He Dislikes Evil, But Does Not Punish Its Perpetration.

But it is here sufficient that the extreme perversity of their god is proved from the mere exposition of his lonely goodness, in which they refuse to ascribe to him such emotions of mind as they censure in the Creator. Now, if he is susceptible of no feeling of rivalry, or anger, or damage, or injury, as one who refrains from exercising judicial power, I cannot tell how any system of discipline — and that, too, a plenary one — can be consistent in him. For how is it possible that he should issue commands, if he does not mean to execute them; or forbid sins, if he intends not to punish them, but rather to decline the functions of the judge, as being a stranger to all notions of severity and judicial chastisement? For why does he forbid the commission of that which he punishes not when perpetrated? It would have been far more right, if he had not forbidden what he meant not to punish, than that he should punish what he had not forbidden. Nay, it was his duty even to have permitted what he was about to prohibit in so unreasonable a way, as to annex no penalty to the offence. For even now that is tacitly permitted which is forbidden without any infliction of vengeance. Besides, he only forbids the commission of that which he does not like to have done. Most listless, therefore, is he, since he takes no offence at the doing of what he dislikes to be done, although displeasure ought to be the companion of his violated will. Now, if he is offended, he ought to be angry; if angry, he ought to inflict punishment. For such infliction is the just fruit of anger, and anger is the debt of displeasure, and displeasure (as I have said) is the companion of a violated will. However, he inflicts no punishment; therefore he takes no offence.

He takes no offence, therefore his will is not wronged, although that is done which he was unwilling to have done; and the transgression is now committed with the acquiescence of his will, because whatever offends not the will is not committed against the will. Now, if this is to be the principle of the divine virtue or goodness, to be unwilling indeed that a thing be done and to prohibit it, and yet not be moved by its commission, we then allege that he has been moved already when he declared his unwillingness; and that it is vain for him not to be moved by the accomplishment of a thing after being moved at

the possibility thereof, when he willed it not to be done. For he prohibited it by his not willing it. Did he not therefore do a judicial act, when he declared his unwillingness, and consequent prohibition of it? For he judged that it ought not to be done, and he deliberately declared that it should be forbidden. Consequently by this time even he performs the part of a judge. If it is unbecoming for God to discharge a judicial function, or at least only so far becoming that He may merely declare His unwillingness, and pronounce His prohibition, then He may not even punish for an offence when it is committed. Now, nothing is so unworthy of the Divine Being as not to execute retribution on what He has disliked and forbidden. First, He owes the infliction of chastisement to whatever sentence or law He promulges, for the vindication of His authority and the maintenance of submission to it; secondly, because hostile opposition is inevitable to what He has disliked to be done, and by that dislike forbidden. Moreover, it would be a more unworthy course for God to spare the evil-doer than to punish him, especially in the most good and holy God, who is not otherwise fully good than as the enemy of evil, and that to such a degree as to display His love of good by the hatred of evil, and to fulfil His defence of the former by the extirpation of the latter.

Chap. XXVII. — Dangerous Effects To Religion And Morality Of The Doctrine Of So Weak A God.

Again, he plainly judges evil by not willing it, and condemns it by prohibiting it; while, on the other hand, he acquits it by not avenging it, and lets it go free by not punishing it. What a prevaricator of truth is such a god! What a dissembler with his own decision! Afraid to condemn what he really condemns, afraid to hate what he does not love, permitting that to be done which he does not allow, choosing to indicate what he dislikes rather than deeply examine it! This will turn out an imaginary goodness, a phantom of discipline, perfunctory in duty, careless in sin. Listen, ye sinners; and ye who have not yet come to this, hear, that you may attain to such a pass! A better god has been discovered, who never takes offence, is never angry, never inflicts punishment, who has prepared no fire in hell, no gnashing of teeth in the outer darkness! He is purely and simply good. He indeed forbids all delinquency, but only in word. He is in you, if you are willing to pay him homage, for the sake of appearances, that you may seem to honour God; for your fear he does not want. And so satisfied are the Marcionites with such pretences, that they have no fear of their god at all. They say it is only a bad man who will be feared, a good man will be loved. Foolish man, do you say that he whom you call Lord ought not to be feared, whilst the very title you give him indicates a power which must itself be feared? But how are you going to love, without some fear that you do not love? Surely (such a god) is neither your Father, towards whom your love for duty's sake should be consistent with fear because of His power; nor your proper Lord, whom you should love for His humanity and fear as your teacher. Kidnappers indeed are loved after this fashion, but they are not feared. For power will not be feared, except it be just and regular, although it may possibly be loved even when corrupt: for it is by allurements that it stands, not by authority; by flattery, not by proper influence. And what can be more direct flattery than not to punish sins? Come, then, if you do not fear God as being good, why do you not boil over into every kind of lust, and so realize that which is, I believe, the main enjoyment of life to all who fear not God? Why do you not frequent the customary pleasures of the maddening circus, the bloodthirsty arena, and the lascivious theatre? Why in persecutions also do you not, when the censor is

presented, at once redeem your life by the denial of your faith? God forbid, you say with redoubted emphasis. So you do fear sin, and by your fear prove that He is an object of fear Who forbids the sin. This is quite a different matter from that obsequious homage you pay to the god whom you do not fear, which is identical in perversity indeed to its own conduct, in prohibiting a thing without annexing the sanction of punishment. Still more vainly do they act, who when asked, What is to become of every sinner in that great day? reply, that he is to be cast away out of sight. Is not even this a question of judicial determination? He is adjudged to deserve rejection, and that by a sentence of condemnation; unless the sinner is cast away forsooth for his salvation, that even a leniency like this may fall in consistently with the character of your most good and excellent god! And what will it be to be cast away, but to lose that which a man was in the way of obtaining, were it not for his rejection — that is, his salvation? Therefore his being cast away will involve the forfeiture of salvation; and this sentence cannot possibly be passed upon him, except by an angry and offended authority, who is also the punisher of sin — that is, by a judge.

Chap. XXVIII. — This Perverse Doctrine Deprives Baptism Of All Its Grace. If Marcion Be Right, The Sacrament Would Confer No Remission Of Sins, No Regeneration, No Gift Of The Spirit.

And what will happen to him after he is cast away? He will, they say, be thrown into the Creator's fire. Then has no remedial provision been made (by their god) for the purpose of banishing those that sin against him, without resorting to the cruel measure of delivering them over to the Creator? And what will the Creator then do? I suppose He will prepare for them a hell doubly charged with brimstone, as for blasphemers against Himself; except indeed their god in his zeal, as perhaps might happen, should show clemency to his rival's revolted subjects. Oh, what a god is this! everywhere perverse; nowhere rational; in all cases vain; and therefore a nonentity! — in whose state, and condition, and nature, and every appointment, I see no coherence and consistency; no, not even in the very sacrament of his faith! For what end does baptism serve, according to him? If the remission of sins, how will he make it evident that he remits sins, when he affords no evidence that he retains them? Because he would retain them, if he performed the functions of a judge. If deliverance from death, how could he deliver from death, who has not delivered to death? For he must have delivered the sinner to death, if he had from the beginning condemned sin. If the regeneration of man, how can he regenerate, who has never generated? For the repetition of an act is impossible to him, by whom nothing any time has been ever done. If the bestowal of the Holy Ghost, how will he bestow the Spirit, who did not at first impart the life? For the life is in a sense the supplement of the Spirit. He therefore seals man, who had never been unsealed in respect of him; washes man, who had never been defiled so far as he was concerned; and into this sacrament of salvation wholly plunges that flesh which is beyond the pale of salvation! No farmer will irrigate ground that will yield him no fruit in return, except he be as stupid as Marcion's god. Why then impose sanctity upon our most infirm and most unworthy flesh, either as a burden or as a glory? What shall I say, too, of the uselessness of a discipline which sanctifies what is already sanctified? Why burden the infirm, or glorify the unworthy? Why not remunerate with salvation what it burdens or else glorifies? Why keep back

from a work its due reward, by not recompensing the flesh with salvation?
Why even permit the honour of sanctity in it to die?

Chap. XXIX. — Marcion Forbids Marriage. Tertullian Elequently Defends It As Holy, And Carefully Discriminates Between Marcion's Doctrine And His Own Mantanism.

The flesh is not, according to Marcion, immersed in the water of the sacrament, unless it be in virginity, widowhood, or celibacy, or has purchased by divorce a title to baptism, as if even generative impotents did not all receive their flesh from nuptial union. Now, such a scheme as this must no doubt involve the proscription of marriage. Let us see, then, whether it be a just one: not as if we aimed at destroying the happiness of sanctity, as do certain Nicolaitans in their maintenance of lust and luxury, but as those who have come to the knowledge of sanctity, and pursue it and prefer it, without detriment, however, to marriage; not as if we superseded a bad thing by a good, but only a good thing by a better. For we do not reject marriage, but simply refrain from it. Nor do we prescribe sanctity as the rule, but only recommend it, observing it as a good, yea, even the better state, if each man uses it carefully according to his ability; but at the same time earnestly vindicating marriage, whenever hostile attacks are made against it is a polluted thing, to the disparagement of the Creator. For He bestowed His blessing on matrimony also, as on an honourable estate, for the increase of the human race; as He did indeed on the whole of His creation, for wholesome and good uses. Meats and drinks are not on this account to be condemned, because, when served up with too exquisite a daintiness, they conduce to gluttony; nor is raiment to be blamed, because, when too costlily adorned, it becomes inflated with vanity and pride. So, on the same principle, the estate of matrimony is not to be refused, because, when enjoyed without moderation, it is fanned into a voluptuous flame. There is a great difference between a cause and a fault, between a state and its excess. Consequently it is not an institution of this nature that is to be blamed, but the extravagant use of it; according to the judgment of its founder Himself, who not only said, "Be fruitful, and multiply," but also, "Thou shalt not commit adultery," and, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife;" and who threatened with death the unchaste, sacrilegious, and monstrous abomination both of adultery and unnatural sin with man and beast. Now, if any limitation is set to marrying —

such as the spiritual rule, which prescribes but one marriage under the Christian obedience, maintained by the authority of the Paraclete, — it will be His prerogative to fix the limit Who had once been diffuse in His permission; His to gather, Who once scattered; His to cut down the tree, Who planted it; His to reap the harvest, Who sowed the seed; His to declare, “It remaineth that they who have wives be as though they had none,” Who once said, “Be fruitful, and multiply;” His the end to Whom belonged the beginning. Nevertheless, the tree is not cut down as if it deserved blame; nor is the corn reaped, as if it were to be condemned, — but simply because their time is come. So likewise the state of matrimony does not require the hook and scythe of sanctity, as if it were evil; but as being ripe for its discharge, and in readiness for that sanctity which will in the long run bring it a plenteous crop by its reaping. For this leads me to remark of Marcion’s god, that in reproaching marriage as an evil and unchaste thing, he is really prejudicing the cause of that very sanctity which he seems to serve. For he destroys the material on which it subsists; if there is to be no marriage, there is no sanctity. All proof of abstinence is lost when excess is impossible; for sundry things have thus their evidence in their contraries. Just as “strength is made perfect in weakness,” so likewise is continence made manifest by the permission to marry. Who indeed will be called continent, if that be taken away which gives him the opportunity of pursuing a life of continence? What room for temperance in appetite does famine give? What repudiation of ambitious projects does poverty afford? What bridling of lust can the eunuch merit? To put a complete stop, however, to the sowing of the human race, may, for aught I know, be quite consistent for Marcion’s most good and excellent god. For how could he desire the salvation of man, whom he forbids to be born, when he takes away that institution from which his birth arises? How will he find any one on whom to set the mark of his goodness, when he suffers him not to come into existence? How is it possible to love him whose origin he hates? Perhaps he is afraid of a redundant population, lest he should be weary in liberating so many; lest he should have to make many heretics; lest Marcionite parents should produce too many noble disciples of Marcion. The cruelty of Pharaoh, which slew its victims at their birth, will not prove to be more inhuman in comparison. For while he destroyed lives, our heretic’s god refuses to give them: the one removes from life, the other admits none to it.

There is no difference in either as to their homicide — man is slain by both of them; by the former just after birth, by the latter as yet unborn. Thanks should we owe thee, thou god of our heretic, hadst thou only checked the dispensation of the Creator in uniting male and female; for from such a union indeed has thy Marcion been born! Enough; however, of Marcion's god, who is shown to have absolutely no existence at all, both by our definitions of the one only Godhead, and the condition of his attributes. The whole course, however, of this little work aims directly at this conclusion. If, therefore, we seem to anybody to have achieved but little result as yet, let him reserve his expectations, until we examine the very Scripture which Marcion quotes.

BOOK II.

Wherein Tertullian Shows That The Creator, Or Demiurge, Whom Marcion Calumniated, Is The True And Good God.

Chap. I. — The Methods Of Marcion's Argument Incorrect And Absurd. The Proper Course Of The Argument.

The occasion of reproducing this little work, the fortunes of which we noticed in the preface of our first book, has furnished us with the opportunity of distinguishing, in our treatment of the subject of two Gods in opposition to Marcion, each of them with a description and section of his own, according to the division of the subject-matter, defining one of the gods to have no existence at all, and maintaining of the Other that He is rightly God; thus far keeping pace with the heretic of Pontus, who has been pleased to admit one unto, and exclude the other. For he could not build up his mendacious scheme without pulling down the system of truth. He found it necessary to demolish some other thing, in order to build up the theory which he wished. This process, however, is like constructing a house without preparing suitable materials. The discussion ought to have been directed to this point alone, that he is no god who supersedes the Creator. Then, when the false god had been excluded by certain rules which prescriptively settle what is the character of the One only perfect Divinity, there could have remained no longer any question as to the true God. The proof of His existence would have been clear, and that, too, amid the failure of all evidence in support of any other god; and still clearer would have seemed the point as to the honour in which He ought without controversy to be held: that He ought to be worshipped rather than judged; served reverentially rather than handled critically, or even dreaded for His severity. For what was more fully needed by man than a careful estimate of the true God, on whom, so to speak, he had alighted, because there was no other god?

Chap. II. — The True Doctrine Of God The Creator. The Heretics Pretended To A Knowledge Of The Divine Being, Opposed To And Subversive Of Revelation. God's Nature And Ways Past Human Discovery. Adam's Heresy.

We have now, then, cleared our way to the contemplation of the Almighty God, the Lord and Maker of the universe. His greatness, as I think, is shown in this, that from the beginning He made Himself known: He never hid Himself, but always shone out brightly, even before the time of Romulus, to say nothing of that of Tiberius; with the exception indeed that the heretics, and they alone, know Him not, although they take such pains about Him. They on this account suppose that another god must be assumed to exist, because they are more able to censure than deny Him whose existence is so evident, deriving all their thoughts about God from the deductions of sense; just as if some blind man, or a man of imperfect vision, chose to assume some other sun of milder and healthier ray, because he sees not that which is the object of sight. There is, O man, but one sun which rules this world and even when you think otherwise of him, he is best and useful; and although to you he may seem too fierce and baneful, or else, it may be, too sordid and corrupt, he yet is true to the laws of his own existence. Unable as you are to see through those laws, you would be equally impotent to bear the rays of any other sun, were there one, however great and good. Now, you whose sight is defective in respect of the inferior god, what is your view of the sublimer One? Really you are too lenient to your weakness; and set not yourself to the proof of things, holding God to be certainly, undoubtedly, and therefore sufficiently known, the very moment you have discovered Him to exist, though you know Him not except on the side where He has willed His proofs to lie. But you do not even deny God intelligently, you treat of Him ignorantly; nay, you accuse Him with a semblance of intelligence, whom if you did but know Him, you would never accuse, nay, never treat of. You give Him His name indeed, but you deny the essential truth of that name, that is, the greatness which is called God; not acknowledging it to be such as, were it possible for it to have been known to man in every respect, would not be greatness. Isaiah even so early, with the clearness of an apostle, foreseeing the

thoughts of heretical hearts, asked, “Who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been His counsellor? With whom took He counsel? . . . or who taught Him knowledge, and showed to Him the way of understanding?” With whom the apostle agreeing exclaims, “Oh the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out!” “His judgments unsearchable,” as being those of God the Judge; and “His ways past finding out,” as comprising an understanding and knowledge which no man has ever shown to Him, except it may be those critics of the Divine Being, who say, God ought not to have been this, and He ought rather to have been that; as if any one knew what is in God, except the Spirit of God. Moreover, having the spirit of the world, and “in the wisdom of God by wisdom knowing not God,” they seem to themselves to be wiser than God; because, as the wisdom of the world is foolishness with God, so also the wisdom of God is folly in the world’s esteem. We, however, know that “the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men.” Accordingly, God is then especially great, when He is small to man; then especially good, when not good in man’s judgment; then especially unique, when He seems to man to be two or more. Now, if from the very first “the natural man, not receiving the things of the Spirit of God,” has deemed God’s law to be foolishness, and has therefore neglected to observe it; and as a further consequence, by his not having faith, “even that which he seemeth to have hath been taken from him” — such as the grace of paradise and the friendship of God, by means of which he might have known all things of God, if he had continued in his obedience — what wonder is it, if he, reduced to his material nature, and banished to the toil of tilling the ground, has in his very labour, downcast and earth-gravitating as it was, handed on that earth-derived spirit of the world to his entire race, wholly natural and heretical as it is, and not receiving the things which belong to God? Or who will hesitate to declare the great sin of Adam to have been heresy, when he committed it by the choice of his own will rather than of God’s? Except that Adam never said to his fig-tree, Why hast thou made me thus? He confessed that he was led astray; and he did not conceal the seducer. He was a very rude heretic. He was disobedient; but yet he did not blaspheme his Creator, nor blame that Author of his being, Whom from the beginning of his life he had found to be so good and excellent, and Whom he had perhaps made his own judge from the very

first.

Chap. III. — God Known By His Works. His Goodness Shown In His Creative Energy; But Everlasting In Its Nature; Inherent In God, Previous To All Exhibition Of It. The First Stage Of This Goodness Prior To Man.

It will therefore be right for us, as we enter on the examination of the known God, when the question arises, in what condition He is known to us, to begin with His works, which are prior to man; so that His goodness, being discovered immediately along with Himself, and then constituted and prescriptively settled, may suggest to us some sense whereby we may understand how the subsequent order of things came about. The disciples of Marcion, moreover, may possibly be able, while recognising the goodness of our God, to learn how worthy it is likewise of the Divine Being, on those very grounds whereby we have proved it to be unworthy in the case of their god. Now this very point, which is a material one in their scheme, Marcion did not find in any other god, but eliminated it for himself out of his own god. The first goodness, then, was that of the Creator, whereby God was unwilling to remain hidden for ever; in other words, (unwilling) that there should not be a something by which God should become known. For what, indeed, is so good as the knowledge and fruition of God? Now, although it did not transpire that this was good, because as yet there existed nothing to which it could transpire, yet God foreknew what good would eventually transpire, and therefore He set Himself about developing His own perfect goodness, for the accomplishment of the good which was to transpire; not, indeed, a sudden goodness issuing in some accidental boon or in some excited impulse, such as must be dated simply from the moment when it began to operate. For if it did itself produce its own beginning when it began to operate, it had not, in fact, a beginning itself when it acted. When, however, an initial act had been once done by it, the scheme of temporal seasons began, for distinguishing and noting which, the stars and luminaries of heaven were arranged in their order. "Let them be," says God, "for seasons, and for days, and years." Previous, then, to this temporal course, (the goodness) which created time had not time; nor before that beginning which the same goodness originated, had it a beginning. Being therefore without all order of a beginning, and all mode of time, it will be reckoned to possess an age, measureless in extent and endless in duration; nor

will it be possible to regard it as a sudden or adventitious or impulsive emotion, because it has nothing to occasion such an estimate of itself; in other words, no sort of temporal sequence. It must therefore be accounted an eternal attribute, inbred in God, and everlasting, and on this account worthy of the Divine Being, putting to shame for ever the benevolence of Marcion's god, subsequent as he is to (I will not say) all beginnings and times, but to the very malignity of the Creator, if indeed malignity could possibly have been found in goodness.

Chap. IV. — The Next Stage Occurs In The Creation Of Man By The Eternal Word. Spiritual As Well As Physical Gifts To Man. The Blessings Of Man's Free-Will.

The goodness of God having, therefore, provided man for the pursuit of the knowledge of Himself, added this to its original notification, that it first prepared a habitation for him, the vast fabric (of the world) to begin with, and then afterwards the vaster one (of a higher world,) that he might on a great as well as on a smaller stage practise and advance in his probation, and so be promoted from the good which God had given him, that is, from his high position, to God's best; that is, to some higher abode. In this good work God employs a most excellent minister, even His own Word. "My heart" He says, "hath emitted my most excellent Word." Let Marcion take hence his first lesson on the noble fruit of this truly most excellent tree. But, like a most clumsy clown, he has grafted a good branch on a bad stock. The sapling, however, of his blasphemy shall be never strong: it shall wither with its planter, and thus shall be manifested the nature of the good tree. Look at the total result: how fruitful was the Word! God issued His fiat, and it was done: God also saw that it was good; not as if He were ignorant of the good until He saw it; but because it was good, He therefore saw it, and honoured it, and set His seal upon it; and consummated the goodness of His works by His vouchsafing to them that contemplation. Thus God blessed what He made good, in order that He might commend Himself to you as whole and perfect, good both in word and act. As yet the Word knew no malediction, because He was a stranger to malefaction. We shall see what reasons required this also of God. Meanwhile the world consisted of all things good, plainly foreshowing how much good was preparing for him for whom all this was provided. Who indeed was so worthy of dwelling amongst the works of God, as he who was His own image and likeness? That image was wrought out by a goodness even more operative than its wont, with no imperious word, but with friendly hand preceded by an almost affable utterance: "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness." Goodness spake the word; Goodness formed man of the dust of the ground into so great a substance of the flesh, built up out of one material with so many qualities; Goodness breathed into him a soul, not dead but

living. Goodness gave him dominion over all things, which he was to enjoy and rule over, and even give names to. In addition to this, Goodness annexed pleasures to man so that, while master of the whole world, he might tarry among higher delights, being translated into paradise, out of the world into the Church. The self-same Goodness provided also a help meet for him, that there might be nothing in his lot that was not good. For, said He, that the man be alone is not good. He knew full well what a blessing to him would be the sex of Mary, and also of the Church. The law, however, which you find fault with, and wrest into a subject of contention, was imposed on man by Goodness, aiming at his happiness, that he might cleave to God, and so not show himself an abject creature rather than a free one, nor reduce himself to the level of the other animals, his subjects, which were free from God, and exempt from all tedious subjection; but might, as the sole human being, boast that he alone was worthy of receiving laws from God; and as a rational being, capable of intelligence and knowledge, be restrained within the bounds of rational liberty, subject to Him who had subjected all things unto him. To secure the observance of this law, Goodness likewise took counsel by help of this sanction: "In the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shall surely die." For it was a most benignant act of His thus to point out the issues of transgression, lest ignorance of the danger should encourage a neglect of obedience. Now, since it was given as a reason previous to the imposition of the law, it also amounted to a motive for subsequently observing it, that a penalty was annexed to its transgression; a penalty, indeed, which He who proposed it was still unwilling that it should be incurred. Learn then the goodness of our God amidst these things and up to this point; learn it from His excellent works, from His kindly blessings, from His indulgent bounties, from His gracious providences, from His laws and warnings, so good and merciful.

Chap. V. — Marcion's Cavils Considered. His Objection Refuted, I.E., Man's Fall Showed Failure In God. The Perfection Of Man's Being Lay In His Liberty, Which God Purposely Bestowed On Him. The Fall Imputable To Man's Own Choice.

Now then, ye dogs, whom the apostle puts outside, and who yelp at the God of truth, let us come to your various questions. These are the bones of contention, which you are perpetually gnawing! If God is good, and prescient of the future, and able to avert evil, why did He permit man, the very image and likeness of Himself, and, by the origin of his soul, His own substance too, to be deceived by the devil, and fall from obedience of the law into death? For if He had been good, and so unwilling that such a catastrophe should happen, and prescient, so as not to be ignorant of what was to come to pass, and powerful enough to hinder its occurrence, that issue would never have come about, which should be impossible under these three conditions of the divine greatness. Since, however, it has occurred, the contrary proposition is most certainly true, that God must be deemed neither good, nor prescient, nor powerful. For as no such issue could have happened had God been such as He is reputed — good, and prescient, and mighty — so has this issue actually happened, because He is not such a God. In reply, we must first vindicate those attributes in the Creator which are called in question — namely, His goodness and foreknowledge, and power. But I shall not linger long over this point for Christ's own definition comes to our aid at once. From works must proofs be obtained. The Creator's works testify at once to His goodness, since they are good, as we have shown, and to His power, since they are mighty, and spring indeed out of nothing. And even if they were made out of some (previous) matter, as some will have it, they are even thus out of nothing, because they were not what they are. In short, both they are great because they are good; and God is likewise mighty, because all things are His own, whence He is almighty. But what shall I say of His prescience, which has for its witnesses as many prophets as it inspired? After all, what title to prescience do we look for in the Author of the universe, since it was by this very attribute that He foreknew all things when He appointed them their places, and appointed them their places when He fore knew them? There is sin itself. If

He had not foreknown this, He would not have proclaimed a caution against it under the penalty of death. Now if there were in God such attributes as must have rendered it both impossible and improper for any evil to have happened to man, and yet evil did occur, let us consider man's condition also — whether it were not, in fact, rather the cause why that came to pass which could not have happened through God. I find, then, that man was by God constituted free, master of his own will and power; indicating the presence of God's image and likeness in him by nothing so well as by this constitution of his nature. For it was not by his face, and by the lineaments of his body, though they were so varied in his human nature, that he expressed his likeness to the form of God; but he showed his stamp in that essence which he derived from God Himself (that is, the spiritual, which answered to the form of God), and in the freedom and power of his will. This his state was confirmed even by the very law which God then imposed upon him. For a law would not be imposed upon one who had it not in his power to render that obedience which is due to law; nor again, would the penalty of death be threatened against sin, if a contempt of the law were impossible to man in the liberty of his will. So in the Creator's subsequent laws also you will find, when He sets before man good and evil, life and death, that the entire course of discipline is arranged in precepts by God's calling men from sin, and threatening and exhorting them; and this on no other ground than that man is free, with a will either for obedience or resistance.

Chap. VI. — This Liberty Vindicated In Respect Of Its Original Creation; Suitable Also For Exhibiting The Goodness And The Purpose Of God. Reward And Punishment Impossible If Man Were Good Or Evil Through Necessity And Not Choice.

But although we shall be understood, from our argument, to be only so affirming man's unshackled power over his will, that what happens to him should be laid to his own charge, and not to God's, yet that you may not object, even now, that he ought not to have been so constituted, since his liberty and power of will might turn out to be injurious, I will first of all maintain that he was rightly so constituted, that I may with the greater confidence commend both his actual constitution, and the additional fact of its being worthy of the Divine Being; the cause which led to man's being created with such a constitution being shown to be the better one. Moreover, man thus constituted will be protected by both the goodness of God and by His purpose, both of which are always found in concert in our God. For His purpose is no purpose without goodness; nor is His goodness goodness without a purpose, except forsooth in the case of Marcion's god, who is purposelessly good, as we have shown. Well, then, it was proper that God should be known; it was no doubt a good and reasonable thing. Proper also was it that there should be something worthy of knowing God. What could be found so worthy as the image and likeness of God? This also was undoubtedly good and reasonable. Therefore it was proper that (he who is) the image and likeness of God should be formed with a free will and a mastery of himself; so that this very thing — namely, freedom of will and self-command — might be reckoned as the image and likeness of God in him. For this purpose such an essence was adapted to man as suited this character, even the afflatus of the Deity, Himself free and uncontrolled. But if you will take some other view of the case, how came it to pass that man, when in possession of the whole world, did not above all things reign in self-possession — a master over others, a slave to himself? The goodness of God, then, you can learn from His gracious gift to man, and His purpose from His disposal of all things. At present, let God's goodness alone occupy our attention, that which gave so large a gift to man, even the liberty of his will. God's purpose claims some other opportunity of treatment,

offering as it does instruction of like import. Now, God alone is good by nature. For He, who has that which is without beginning, has it not by creation, but by nature. Man, however, who exists entirely by creation, having a beginning, along with that beginning obtained the form in which he exists; and thus he is not by nature disposed to good, but by creation, not having it as his own attribute to be good, because, (as we have said,) it is not by nature, but by creation, that he is disposed to good, according to the appointment of his good Creator, even the Author of all good. In order, therefore, that man might have a goodness of his own, bestowed on him by God, and there might be henceforth in man a property, and in a certain sense a natural attribute of goodness, there was assigned to him in the constitution of his nature, as a formal witness of the goodness which God bestowed upon him, freedom and power of the will, such as should cause good to be performed spontaneously by man, as a property of his own, on the ground that no less than this would be required in the matter of a goodness which was to be voluntarily exercised by him, that is to say, by the liberty of his will, without either favour or servility to the constitution of his nature, so that man should be good just up to this point, if he should display his goodness in accordance with his natural constitution indeed, but still as the result of his will, as a property of his nature; and, by a similar exercise of volition, should show himself to be too strong in defence against evil also (for even this God, of course, foresaw), being free, and master of himself; because, if he were wanting in this prerogative of self-mastery, so as to perform even good by necessity and not will, he would, in the helplessness of his servitude, become subject to the usurpation of evil, a slave as much to evil as to good. Entire freedom of will, therefore, was conferred upon him in both tendencies; so that, as master of himself, he might constantly encounter good by spontaneous observance of it, and evil by its spontaneous avoidance; because, were man even otherwise circumstanced, it was yet his bounden duty, in the judgment of God, to do justice according to the motions of his will regarded, of course, as free. But the reward neither of good nor of evil could be paid to the man who should be found to have been either good or evil through necessity and not choice. In this really lay the law which did not exclude, but rather prove, human liberty by a spontaneous rendering of obedience, or a spontaneous commission of iniquity; so patent was the liberty of man's will for either issue. Since,

therefore, both the goodness and purpose of God are discovered in the gift to man of freedom in his will, it is not right, after ignoring the original definition of goodness and purpose which it was necessary to determine previous to any discussion of the subject, on subsequent facts to presume to say that God ought not in such a way to have formed man, because the issue was other than what was assumed to be proper for God. We ought rather, after duly considering that it behoved God so to create man, to leave this consideration unimpaired, and to survey the other aspects of the case. It is, no doubt, an easy process for persons who take offence at the fall of man, before they have looked into the facts of his creation, to impute the blame of what happened to the Creator, without any examination of His purpose. To conclude: the goodness of God, then fully considered from the beginning of His works, will be enough to convince us that nothing evil could possibly have come forth from God; and the liberty of man will, after a second thought, show us that it alone is chargeable with the fault which itself committed.

Chap. VII. — If God Had Anyhow Checked Man's Liberty, Marcion Would Have Been Ready With Another And Opposite Cavil. Man's Fall Foreseen By God. Provision Made For It Remedially And Consistently With His Truth And Goodness.

By such a conclusion all is reserved unimpaired to God; both His natural goodness, and the purposes of His governance and foreknowledge, and the abundance of His power. You ought, however, to deduct from God's attributes both His supreme earnestness of purpose and most excellent truth in His whole creation, if you would cease to inquire whether anything could have happened against the will of God. For, while holding this earnestness and truth of the good God, which are indeed capable of proof from the rational creation, you will not wonder at the fact that God did not interfere to prevent the occurrence of what He wished not to happen, in order that He might keep from harm what He wished. For, since He had once for all allowed (and, as we have shown, worthily allowed) to man freedom of will and mastery of himself, surely He from His very authority in creation permitted these gifts to be enjoyed: to be enjoyed, too, so far as lay in Himself, according to His own character as God, that is, for good (for who would permit anything hostile to himself?); and, so far as lay in man, according to the impulses of his liberty (for who does not, when giving anything to any one to enjoy, accompany the gift with a permission to enjoy it with all his heart and will?). The necessary consequence, therefore, was, that God must separate from the liberty which He had once for all bestowed upon man (in other words, keep within Himself), both His foreknowledge and power, through which He might have prevented man's falling into danger when attempting wrongly to enjoy his liberty. Now, if He had interposed, He would have rescinded the liberty of man's will, which He had permitted with set purpose, and in goodness. But, suppose God had interposed; suppose Him to have abrogated man's liberty, by warning him from the tree, and keeping off the subtle serpent from his interview with the woman; would not Marcion then exclaim, What a frivolous, unstable, and faithless Lord, canceling the gifts He had bestowed! Why did He allow any liberty of will, if He afterwards withdrew it? Why withdraw it after allowing it? Let Him choose where to brand Himself with

error, either in His original constitution of man, or in His subsequent abrogation thereof! If He had checked (man's freedom), would He not then seem to have been rather deceived, through want of foresight into the future? But in giving it full scope, who would not say that He did so in ignorance of the issue of things? God, however, did fore-know that man would make a bad use of his created constitution; and yet what can be so worthy of God as His earnestness of purpose, and the truth of His created works, be they what they may? Man must see, if he failed to make the most of the good gift he had received, how that he was himself guilty in respect of the law which he did not choose to keep, and not that the Lawgiver was committing a fraud against His own law, by not permitting its injunctions to be fulfilled. Whenever you are inclined to indulge in such censure (and it is the most becoming for you) against the Creator, recall gently to your mind in His behalf His earnestness, and endurance, and truth, in having given completeness to His creatures both as rational and good.

Chap. VIII. — Man, Endued With Liberty, Superior To The Angels. Overcomes Even The Angel Which Lured Him To His Fall, When Repentant And Resuming Obedience To God.

For it was not merely that he might live the natural life that God had produced man, but that he should live virtuously, that is, in relation to God and to His law. Accordingly, God gave him to live when he was formed into a living soul; but He charged him to live virtuously when he was required to obey a law. So also God shows that man was not constituted for death, by now wishing that he should be restored to life, preferring the sinner's repentance to his death. As, therefore, God designed for man a condition of life, so man brought on himself a state of death; and this, too, neither through infirmity nor through ignorance, so that no blame can be imputed to the Creator. No doubt it was an angel who was the seducer; but then the victim of that seduction was free, and master of himself; and as being the image and likeness of God, was stronger than any angel; and as being, too, the afflatus of the Divine Being, was nobler than that material spirit of which angels were made. Who maketh, says he, His angels spirits, and His ministers a flame of fire. He would not have made all things subject to man, if he had been too weak for the dominion, and inferior to the angels, to whom He assigned no such subjects; nor would He have put the burden of law upon him, if he had been incapable of sustaining so great a weight; nor, again, would He have threatened with the penalty of death a creature whom He knew to be guiltless on the score of his helplessness: in short, if He had made him infirm, it would not have been by liberty and independence of will, but rather by the withholding from him these endowments. And thus it comes to pass, that even now also, the same human being, the same substance of his soul, the same condition as Adam's, is made conqueror over the same devil by the self-same liberty and power of his will, when it moves in obedience to the laws of God.

Chap. IX. — Another Cavil Answered, I.E., The Fall Imputable To God, Because Man's Soul Is A Portion Of The Spiritual Essence Of The Creator. The Divine Afflatus Not In Fault In The Sin Of Man, But The Human Will Which Was Additional To It.

But, you say, in what way soever the substance of the Creator is found to be susceptible of fault, when the afflatus of God, that is to say, the soul, offends in man, it cannot but be that that fault of the portion is referable to the original whole. Now, to meet this objection, we must explain the nature of the soul. We must at the outset hold fast the meaning of the Greek scripture, which has afflatus, not spirit. Some interpreters of the Greek, without reflecting on the difference of the words, and careless about their exact meaning, put spirit for afflatus; they thus afford to heretics an opportunity of tarnishing the Spirit of God, that is to say, God Himself, with default. And now comes the question. Afflatus, observe then, is less than spirit, although it comes from spirit; it is the spirit's gentle breeze, but it is not the spirit. Now a breeze is rarer than the wind; and although it proceeds from wind, yet a breeze is not the wind. One may call a breeze the image of the spirit. In the same manner, man is the image of God, that is, of spirit; for God is spirit. Afflatus is therefore the image of the spirit. Now the image is not in any case equal to the very thing. It is one thing to be like the reality, and another thing to be the reality itself. So, although the afflatus is the image of the spirit, it is yet not possible to compare the image of God in such a way, that, because the reality — that is, the spirit, or in other words, the Divine Being — is faultless, therefore the afflatus also, that is to say, the image, ought not by any possibility to have done wrong. In this respect will the image be less than the reality, and the afflatus inferior to the spirit, in that, while it possesses beyond doubt the true lineaments of divinity, such as an immortal soul, freedom and its own mastery over itself, foreknowledge in a great degree, reasonableness, capacity of understanding and knowledge, it is even in these respects an image still, and never amounts to the actual power of Deity, nor to absolute exemption from fault, — a property which is only conceded to God, that is, to the reality, and which is simply incompatible with an image. An image, although it may express all the lineaments of the reality, is yet wanting in its intrinsic power; it is destitute of

motion. In like manner, the soul, the image of the spirit, is unable to express the simple power thereof, that is to say, its happy exemption from sinning. Were it otherwise, it would not be soul, but spirit; not man, who received a soul, but God. Besides, to take another view of the matter, not everything which pertains to God will be regarded as God, so that you would not maintain that His afflatus was God, that is, exempt from fault, because it is the breath of God. And in an act of your own, such as blowing into a flute, you would not thereby make the flute human, although it was your own human breath which you breathed into it, precisely as God breathed of His own Spirit. In fact, the Scripture, by expressly saying that God breathed into man's nostrils the breath of life, and that man became thereby a living soul, not a life-giving spirit, has distinguished that soul from the condition of the Creator. The work must necessarily be distinct from the workman, and it is inferior to him. The pitcher will not be the potter, although made by the potter; nor in like manner, will the afflatus, because made by the spirit, be on that account the spirit. The soul has often been called by the same name as the breath. You should also take care that no descent be made from the breath to a still lower quality. So you have granted (you say) the infirmity of the soul, which you denied before! Undoubtedly, when you demand for it an equality with God, that is, a freedom from fault, I contend that it is infirm. But when the comparison is challenged with an angel, I am compelled to maintain that the head over all things is the stronger of the two, to whom the angels are ministers, who is destined to be the judge of angels, if he shall stand fast in the law of God — an obedience which he refused at first. Now this disobedience it was possible for the afflatus of God to commit: it was possible, but it was not proper. The possibility lay in its slenderness of nature, as being the breath and not the spirit; the impropriety, however, arose from its power of will, as being free, and not a slave. It was furthermore assisted by the warning against committing sin under the threat of incurring death, which was meant to be a support for its slender nature, and a direction for its liberty of choice. So that the soul can no longer appear to have sinned, because it has an affinity with God, that is to say, through the afflatus, but rather through that which was an addition to its nature, that is, through its free-will, which was indeed given to it by God in accordance with His purpose and reason, but recklessly employed by man according as he chose. This, then, being the case, the entire course of

God's action is purged from all imputation to evil. For the liberty of the will will not retort its own wrong on Him by whom it was bestowed, but on him by whom it was improperly used. What is the evil, then, which you want to impute to the Creator? If it is man's sin, it will not be God's fault, because it is man's doing; nor is that Being to be regarded as the author of the sin, who turns out to be its forbidding, nay, its condemner. If death is the evil, death will not give the reproach of being its own author to Him who threatened it, but to him who despised it. For by his contempt he introduced it, which assuredly would not have appeared had man not despised it.

**Chap. X. — Another Cavil, I.E., The Devil Who
Instigated Man To Sin Himself The Creature Of God.
Nay, The Primeval Cherub Only Was God's Work. The
Devilish Nature Superadded By Wilfulness. In Man's
Recovery The Devil Is Vanquished In A Conflict On His
Own Ground.**

If, however, you choose to transfer the account of evil from man to the devil as the instigator of sin, and in this way, too, throw the blame on the Creator, inasmuch as He created the devil, — for He maketh those spiritual beings, the angels — then it will follow that what was made, that is to say, the angel, will belong to Him who made it; while that which was not made by God, even the devil, or accuser, cannot but have been made by itself; and this by false detraction from God: first, how that God had forbidden them to eat of every tree; then, with the pretence that they should not die if they ate; thirdly, as if God grudged them the property of divinity. Now, whence originated this malice of lying and deceit towards man, and slandering of God? Most certainly not from God, who made the angel good after the fashion of His good works. Indeed, before he became the devil, he stands forth the wisest of creatures; and wisdom is no evil. if you turn to the prophecy of Ezekiel, you will at once perceive that this angel was both by creation good and by choice corrupt. For in the person of the prince of Tyre it is said in reference to the devil: “Moreover, the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Son of man, take up a lamentation upon the king of Tyrus, and say unto him, Thus saith the Lord God: Thou sealest up the sum, full of wisdom, perfect in beauty” (this belongs to him as the highest of the angels, the archangel, the wisest of all); “amidst the delights of the paradise of thy God wast thou born” (for it was there, where God had made the angels in a shape which resembled the figure of animals). “Every precious stone was thy covering, the sardius, the topaz, and the diamond, the beryl, the onyx, and the jasper, the sapphire, the emerald, and the carbuncle; and with gold hast thou filled thy barns and thy treasuries. From the day when thou wast created, when I set thee, a cherub, upon the holy mountain of God, thou wast in the midst of stones of fire, thou wast irreproachable in thy days, from the day of thy creation, until thine iniquities were discovered. By the abundance of thy merchandise thou hast

filled thy storehouses, and thou hast sinned," etc. This description, it is manifest, properly belongs to the transgression of the angel, and not to the prince's: for none among human beings was either born in the paradise of God, not even Adam himself, who was rather translated thither; nor placed with a cherub upon God's holy mountain, that is to say, in the heights of heaven, from which the Lord testifies that Satan fell; nor detained amongst the stones of fire, and the flashing rays of burning constellations, whence Satan was cast down like lightning. No, it is none else than the very author of sin who was denoted in the person of a sinful man: he was once irreproachable, at the time of his creation, formed for good by God, as by the good Creator of irreproachable creatures, and adorned with every angelic glory, and associated with God, good with the Good; but afterwards of his own accord removed to evil. From the day when thine iniquities, says he, were discovered, — attributing to him those injuries wherewith he injured man when he was expelled from his allegiance to God, — even from that time did he sin, when he propagated his sin, and thereby plied "the abundance of his merchandise," that is, of his Wickedness, even the tale of his transgressions, because he was himself as a spirit no less (than man) created, with the faculty of free-will. For God would in nothing fail to endow a being who was to be next to Himself with a liberty of this kind. Nevertheless, by precondemning him, God testified that he had departed from the condition of his created nature, through his own lusting after the wickedness which was spontaneously conceived within him; and at the same time, by conceding a permission for the operation of his designs, He acted consistently with the purpose of His own goodness, deferring the devil's destruction for the self-same reason as He postponed the restitution of man. For He afforded room for a conflict, wherein man might crush his enemy with the same freedom of his will as had made him succumb to him (proving that the fault was all his own, not God's), and so worthily recover his salvation by a victory; wherein also the devil might receive a more bitter punishment, through being vanquished by him whom he had previously injured; and wherein God might be discovered to be so much the more good, as waiting for man to return from his present life to a more glorious paradise, with a right to pluck of the tree of life.

Chap. XI. — If, After Man's Sin, God Exercised His Attribute Of Justice And Judgment, This Was Compatible With His Goodness, And Enhances The True Idea Of The Perfection Of God's Character.

Up to the fall of man, therefore, from the beginning God was simply good; after that He became a judge both severe and, as the Marcionites will have it, cruel. Woman is at once condemned to bring forth in sorrow, and to serve her husband, although before she had heard without pain the increase of her race proclaimed with the blessing, Increase and multiply, and although she had been destined to be a help and not a slave to her male partner. Immediately the earth is also cursed, which before was blessed. Immediately spring up briars and thorns, where once had grown grass, and herbs, and fruitful trees. Immediately arise sweat and labour for bread, where previously on every tree was yielded spontaneous food and untilled nourishment. Thenceforth it is “man to the ground,” and not as before, “from the ground; to death thenceforth, but before, to life; thenceforth with coats of skins, but before, nakedness without a blush. Thus God's prior goodness was from nature, His subsequent severity from a cause. The one was innate, the other accidental; the one His own, the other adapted; the one issuing from Him, the other admitted by Him. But then nature could not have rightly permitted His goodness to have gone on inoperative, nor the cause have allowed His severity to have escaped in disguise or concealment. God provided the one for Himself, the other for the occasion. You should now set about showing also that the position of a judge is allied with evil, who have been dreaming of another god as a purely good one — solely because you cannot understand the Deity to be a judge; although we have proved God to be also a judge. Or if not a judge, at any rate a perverse and useless originator of a discipline which is not to be vindicated — in other words, not to be judged. You do not, however, disprove God's being a judge, who have no proof to show that He is a judge. You will undoubtedly have to accuse justice herself, which provides the judge, or else to reckon her among the species of evil, that is, to add injustice to the titles of goodness. But then justice is an evil, if injustice is a good. And yet you are forced to declare injustice to be one of the worst of things, and by the same rule are constrained to class justice amongst the most excellent. Since

there is nothing hostile to evil which is not good, and no enemy of good which is not evil. It follows, then, that as injustice is an evil, so in the same degree is justice a good. Nor should it be regarded as simply a species of goodness, but as the practical observance of it, because goodness (unless justice be so controlled as to be just) will not be goodness, if it be unjust. For nothing is good which is unjust; while everything, on the other hand, which is just is good.

Chap. XII. — The Attributes Of Goodness And Justice Should Not Be Separated. They Are Compatible In The True God. The Function Of Justice In The Divine Being Described.

Since, therefore, there is this union and agreement between goodness and justice, you cannot prescribe their separation. With what face will you determine the separation of your two Gods, regarding in their separate condition one as distinctively the good God, and the other as distinctively the just God? Where the just is, there also exists the good. in short, from the very first the Creator was both good and also just. And both His attributes advanced together. His goodness created, His justice arranged, the world; and in this process it even then decreed that the world should be formed of good materials, because it took counsel with goodness. The work of justice is apparent, in the separation which was pronounced between light and darkness, between day and night, between heaven and earth, between the water above and the water beneath, between the gathering together of the sea and the mass of the dry land, between the greater lights and the lesser, between the luminaries of the day and those of the night, between male and female, between the tree of knowledge of death and of life, between the world and paradise, between the aqueous and the earth-born animals. As goodness conceived all things, so did justice discriminate them. With the determination of the latter, everything was arranged and set in order. Every site and quality of the elements, their effect, motion, and state, the rise and setting of each, are the judicial determinations of the Creator. Do not suppose that His function as a judge must be defined as beginning I when evil began, and so tarnish His justice with the cause of evil. By such considerations, then, do we show that this attribute advanced in company with goodness, the author s of all things, — worthy of being herself, too, deemed innate and natural, and not as accidentally accruing to God, inasmuch as she was found to be in Him, her Lord, the arbiter of His works.

Chap. XIII. — Further Description Of The Divine Justice; Since The Fall Of Man It Has Regulated The Divine Goodness, God's Claims On Our Love And Our Fear Reconciled.

But yet, when evil afterwards broke out, and the goodness of God began now to have an adversary to contend against, God's justice also acquired another function, even that of directing His goodness according to men's application for it. And this is the result: the divine goodness, being interrupted in that free course whereby God was spontaneously good, is now dispensed according to the deserts of every man; it is offered to the worthy, denied to the unworthy, taken away from the unthankful, and also avenged on all its enemies. Thus the entire office of justice in this respect becomes an agency for goodness: whatever it condemns by its judgment, whatever it chastises by its condemnation, whatever (to use your phrase) it ruthlessly pursues, it, in fact, benefits with good instead of injuring. Indeed, the fear of judgment contributes to good, not to evil. For good, now contending with an enemy, was not strong enough to recommend itself by itself alone. At all events, if it could do so much, it could not keep its ground; for it had lost its impregnability through the foe, unless some power of fear supervened, such as might compel the very unwilling to seek after good, and take care of it. But who, when so many incentives to evil were assailing him, would desire that good, which he could despise with impunity? Who, again, would take care of what he could lose without danger? You read how broad is the road to evil, how thronged in comparison with the opposite: would not all glide down that road were there nothing in it to fear? We dread the Creator's tremendous threats, and yet scarcely turn away from evil. What, if He threatened not? Will you call this justice an evil, when it is all unfavourable to evil? Will you deny it to be a good, when it has its eye towards good? What sort of being ought you to wish God to be? Would it be right to prefer that He should be such, that sins might flourish under Him, and the devil make mock at Him? Would you suppose Him to be a good God, who should be able to make a man worse by security in sin? Who is the author of good, but He who also requires it? In like manner who is a stranger to evil, except Him who is its enemy? Who its enemy, besides Him who is its conqueror? Who else its conqueror, than He

who is its punisher? Thus God is wholly good, because in all things He is on the side of good. In fact, He is omnipotent, because able both to help and to hurt. Merely to profit is a comparatively small matter, because it can do nothing else than a good turn. From such a conduct with what confidence can I hope for good, if this is its only ability? How can I follow after the reward of innocence, if I have no regard to the requital of wrong-doing? I must needs have my doubts whether he might not fail in recompensing one or other alternative, who was unequal in his resources to meet both. Thus far, then, justice is the very fulness of the Deity Himself, manifesting God as both a perfect father and a perfect master: a father in His mercy, a master in His discipline; a father in the mildness of His power, a master in its severity; a father who must be loved with dutiful affection, a master who must needs be feared; be loved, because He prefers mercy to sacrifice; be feared because He dislikes sin; be loved, because He prefers the sinner's repentance to his death; be feared, because He dislikes the sinners who do not repent. Accordingly, the divine law enjoins duties in respect of both these attributes: Thou shalt love God, and, Thou shalt fear God. It proposed one for the obedient man, the other for the transgressor.

Chap. XIV. — Evil Of Two Kinds, Penal And Criminal. It Is Not Of The Latter Sort That God Is The Author, But Only Of The Former, Which Are Penal, And Included In His Justice.

On all occasions does God meet you: it is He who smites, but also heals; who kills, but also makes alive; who humbles, and yet exalts; who “creates evil,” but also “makes peace;” — so that from these very (contrasts Of His providence) I may get an answer to the heretics. Behold, they say, how He acknowledges Himself to be the creator of evil in the passage, “It is I who create evil.” They take a word whose one form reduces to confusion and ambiguity two kinds of evils (because both sins and punishments are called evils), and will have Him in every passage to be understood as the creator of all evil things, in order that He may be designated the author of evil. We, on the contrary, distinguish between the two meanings of the word in question, and, by separating evils of sin from penal evils, *mala culpoe* from *mala poenoe*, confine to each of the two classes its own author, — the devil as the author of the sinful evils (*culpoe*), and God as the creator of penal evils (*poenoe*); so that the one class shall be accounted as morally bad, and the other be classed as the operations of justice passing penal sentences against the evils of sin. Of the latter class of evils which are compatible with justice, God is therefore avowedly the creator. They are, no doubt, evil to those by whom they are endured, but still on their own account good, as being just and defensive of good and hostile to sin. In this respect they are, moreover, worthy of God. Else prove them to be unjust, in order to show them deserving of a place in the sinful class, that is to say, evils of injustice; because if they turn out to belong to justice, they will be no longer evil things, but good — evil only to the bad, by whom even directly good things are condemned as evil. In this case, you must decide that man, although the wilful contemner of the divine law, unjustly bore the doom which he would like to have escaped; that the wickedness of those days was unjustly smitten by the deluge, afterwards by the fire (of Sodom); that Egypt, although most depraved and supposititious, and, worse still, the harasser of its guest-population, was unjustly stricken with the chastisement of its ten plagues. God hardens the heart of Pharaoh. He deserved, however, to be influenced to his destruction,

who had already denied God, already in his pride so often rejected His ambassadors, accumulated heavy burdens on His people, and (to sum up all) as an Egyptian, had long been guilty before God of Gentile idolatry, worshipping the ibis and the crocodile in preference to the living God. Even His own people did God visit in their ingratitude. Against young lads, too, did He send forth bears, for their irreverence to the prophet.

Chap. XV. — The Severity Of God Compatible With Reason And Justice. When Inflicted, Not Meant To Be Arbitrary, But Remedial.

Consider well, then, before all things the justice of the Judge; and if its purpose be clear, then the severity thereof, and the operations of the severity in its course, will appear compatible with reason and justice. Now, that we may not linger too long on the point, (I would challenge you to) assert the other reasons also, that you may condemn the Judge's sentences; extenuate the delinquencies of the sinner, that you may blame his judicial conviction. Never mind censuring the Judge; rather prove Him to be an unjust one. Well, then, even though He required the sins of the fathers at the hands of the children, the hardness of the people made such remedial measures necessary for them, in order that, having their posterity in view, they might obey the divine law. For who is there that feels not a greater care for his children than for himself? Again, if the blessing of the fathers was destined likewise for their offspring, previous to any merit on the part of these, why might not the guilt of the fathers also redound to their children? As was the grace, so was the offence; so that the grace and the offence equally ran down through the whole race, with the reservation, indeed, of that subsequent ordinance by which it became possible to refrain from saying, that "the fathers had eaten a sour grape, and the children's teeth were set on edge:" in other words, that the father should not bear the iniquity of the son, nor the son the iniquity of the father, but that every man should be chargeable with his own sin; so that the harshness of the law having been reduced after the hardness of the people, justice was no longer to judge the race, but individuals. If, however, you accept the gospel of truth, you will discover on whom recoils the sentence of the Judge, when requiting on sons the sins of their fathers, even on those who had been (hardened enough) to imprecate spontaneously on themselves this condemnation: "His blood be on us, and on our children." This, therefore, the providence of God has ordered throughout its course, even as it had heard it.

Chap. XVI. — To The Severity Of God There Belong Accessory Qualities, Compatible With Justice. If Human Passions Are Predicated Of God, They Must Not Be Measured On The Scale Of Human Imperfection.

Even His severity then is good, because just: when the judge is good, that is just. Other. qualities likewise are good, by means of which the good work of a good severity runs out its course, whether wrath, or jealousy, or sternness. For all these are as indispensable to severity as severity is to justice. The shamelessness of an age, which ought to have been reverent, had to be avenged. Accordingly, qualities which pertain to the judge, when they are actually free from blame, as the judge himself is, will never be able to be charged upon him as a fault. What would be said, if, when you thought the doctor necessary, you were to find fault with his instruments, because they cut, or cauterize, or amputate, or tighten; whereas there could be no doctor of any value without his professional tools? Censure, if you please, the practitioner who cuts badly, amputates clumsily, is rash in his cautery; and even blame his implements as rough tools of his art. Your conduct is equally unreasonable, when you allow indeed that God is a judge, but at the same time destroy those operations and dispositions by which He discharges His judicial functions. We are taught God by the prophets, and by Christ, not by the philosophers nor by Epicurus. We who believe that God really lived on earth, and took upon Him the low estate of human form, for the purpose of man's salvation, are very far from thinking as those do who refuse to believe that God cares for anything. Whence has found its way to the heretics an argument of this kind: If God is angry, and jealous, and roused, and grieved, He must therefore be corrupted, and must therefore die. Fortunately, however, it is a part of the creed of Christians even to believe that God did die, and yet that He is alive for evermore. Superlative is their folly, who prejudge divine things from human; so that, because in man's corrupt condition there are found passions of this description, therefore there must be deemed to exist in God also sensations of the same kind. Discriminate between the natures, and assign to them their respective senses, which are as diverse as their natures require, although they seem to have a community of designations. We read, indeed, of God's right hand, and eyes, and feet: these must not, however, be compared

with those of human beings, because they are associated in one and the same name. Now, as great as shall be the difference between the divine and the human body, although their members pass under identical names, so great will also be the diversity between the divine and the human soul, notwithstanding that their sensations are designated by the same names. These sensations in the human being are rendered just as corrupt by the corruptibility of man's substance, as in God they are rendered incorruptible by the incorruption of the divine essence. Do you really believe the Creator to be God? By all means, is your reply. How then do you suppose that in God there is anything human, and not that all is divine? Him whom you do not deny to be God, you confess to be not human; because, when you confess Him to be God, you have, in fact, already determined that He is undoubtedly diverse from every sort of human conditions. Furthermore, although you allow, with others, that man was inbreathed by God into a living soul, not God by man, it is yet palpably absurd of you to be placing human characteristics in God rather than divine ones in man, and clothing God in the likeness of man, instead of man in the image of God. And this, therefore, is to be deemed the likeness of God in man, that the human soul have the same emotions and sensations as God, although they are not of the same kind; differing as they do both in their conditions and their issues according to their nature. Then, again, with respect to the opposite sensations, — I mean meekness, patience, mercy, and the very parent of them all, goodness, — why do you form your opinion of the divine displays of these (from the human qualities)? For we indeed do not possess them in perfection, because it is God alone who is perfect. So also in regard to those others, — namely, anger and irritation. we are not affected by them in so happy a manner, because God alone is truly happy, by reason of His property of incorruptibility. Angry He will possibly be, but not irritated, nor dangerously tempted; He will be moved, but not subverted. All appliances He must needs use, because of all contingencies; as many sensations as there are causes: anger because of the wicked, and indignation because of the ungrateful, and jealousy because of the proud, and whatsoever else is a hindrance to the evil. So, again, mercy on account of the erring, and patience on account of the impenitent, and pre-eminent resources on account of the meritorious, and whatsoever is necessary to the good. All these affections He is moved by in that peculiar manner of His own, in which it is profoundly fit

that He should be affected; and it is owing to Him that man is also similarly affected in a way which is equally his own.

Chap. XVII. — Trace God's Government In History And In His Precepts, And You Will Find It Full Of His Goodness.

These considerations show that the entire order of God as Judge is an operative one, and (that I may express myself in worthier words) protective of His Catholic and supreme goodness, which, removed as it is from judiciary emotions, and pure in its own condition, the Marcionites refuse to acknowledge to be in one and the same Deity, "raining on the just and on the unjust, and making His sun to rise on the evil and on the good," — a bounty which no other god at all exercises. It is true that Marcion has been bold enough to erase from the gospel this testimony of Christ to the Creator; but yet the world itself is inscribed with the goodness of its Maker, and the inscription is read by each man's conscience. Nay, this very long-suffering of the Creator will tend to the condemnation of Marcion; that patience, (I mean,) which waits for the sinner's repentance rather than his death, which prefers mercy to sacrifice, averting from the Ninevites the ruin which had been already denounced against them, and vouchsafing to Hezekiah's tears an extension of his life, and restoring his kingly state to the monarch of Babylon after his complete repentance; that mercy, too, which conceded to the devotion of the people the son of Saul when about to die, and gave free forgiveness to David on his confessing his sins against the house of Uriah; which also restored the house of Israel as often as it condemned it, and addressed to it consolation no less frequently than reproof. Do not therefore look at God simply as Judge, but turn your attention also to examples of His conduct as the Most Good. Noting Him, as you do, when He takes vengeance, consider Him likewise When He shows mercy. In the scale, against His severity place His gentleness. When you shall have discovered both qualities to co-exist in the Creator, you will find in Him that very circumstance which induces you to think there is another God. Lastly, come and examine into His doctrine, discipline, precepts, and counsels. You will perhaps say that there are equally good prescriptions in human laws. But Moses and God existed before all your Lycurguses and Solons. There is not one after-age which does not take from primitive sources. At any rate, my Creator did not learn from your God to issue such commandments as: Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not commit

adultery; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not bear false witness; thou shalt not covet what is thy neighbour's; honour thy father and thy mother; and, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. To these prime counsels of innocence, chastity, and justice, and piety, are also added prescriptions of humanity, as when every seventh year slaves are released for liberty; when at the same period the land is spared from tillage; a place is also granted to the needy; and from the treading ox's mouth the muzzle is removed, for the enjoyment of the fruit of his labour before him, in order that kindness first shown in the case of animals might be raised from such rudiments to the refreshment of men.

Chap. XVIII. — Some Of God's Laws Defended As Good, Which The Marcionites Impeached, Such As The Lex Talionis. Useful Purposes In A Social And Moral Point Of View Of This, And Sundry Other Enactments.

But what parts of the law can I defend as good with a greater confidence than those which heresy has shown such a longing for? — as the statute of retaliation, requiring eye for eye, tooth for tooth, and stripe for stripe. Now there is not here any smack of a permission to mutual injury; but rather, on the whole, a provision for restraining violence. To a people which was very obdurate, and wanting in faith towards God, it might seem tedious, and even incredible, to expect from God that vengeance which was subsequently to be declared by the prophet: “Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord.” Therefore, in the meanwhile, the commission of wrong was to be checked by the fear of a retribution immediately to happen; and so the permission of this retribution was to be the prohibition of provocation, that a stop might thus be put to all hot-blooded injury, whilst by the permission of the second the first is prevented by fear, and by this deterring of the first the second fails to be committed. By the same law another result is also obtained, even the more ready kindling of the fear of retaliation by reason of the very savour of passion which is in it. There is no more bitter thing, than to endure the very suffering which you have inflicted upon others. When, again, the law took somewhat away from men's food, by pronouncing unclean certain animals which were once blessed, you should understand this to be a measure for encouraging continence, and recognise in it a bridle imposed on that appetite which, while eating angels' food, craved after the cucumbers and melons of the Egyptians. Recognise also therein a precaution against those companions of the appetite, even lust and luxury, which are usually chilled by the chastening of the appetite. For “the people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play.” Furthermore, that an eager wish for money might be restrained, so far as it is caused by the need of food, the desire for costly meat and drink was taken out of their power. Lastly, in order that man might be more readily educated by God for fasting, he was accustomed to such articles of food as were neither plentiful nor sumptuous, and not likely to pamper the appetite of the luxurious. Of course the Creator deserved all the greater blame,

because it was from His own people that He took away food, rather than from the more ungrateful Marcionites. As for the burdensome sacrifices also, and the troublesome scrupulousness of their ceremonies and oblations, no one should blame them, as if God specially required them for Himself: for He plainly asks, “To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me?” and, “Who hath required them at your hand?” But he should see herein a careful provision on God’s part, which showed His wish to bind to His own religion a people who were prone to idolatry and transgression by that kind of services wherein consisted the superstition of that period; that He might call them away therefrom, while requesting it to be performed to Himself, as if He desired that no sin should be committed in making idols.

**Chap. XIX. — The Minute Prescriptions Of The Law
Meant To Keep The People Dependent On God. The
Prophets Sent By God In Pursuance Of His Goodness.
Many Beautiful Passages From Them Quoted In
Illustration Of This Attribute.**

But even in the common transactions of life, and of human intercourse at home and in public, even to the care of the smallest vessels, He in every possible manner made distinct arrangement; in order that, when they everywhere encountered these legal instructions, they might not be at any moment out of the sight of God. For what could better tend to make a man happy, than having “his delight in the law of the Lord?” “In that law would he meditate day and night. It was not in severity that its Author promulgated this law, but in the interest of the highest benevolence, which rather aimed at subduing the nation’s hardness of heart, and by laborious services hewing out a fealty which was (as yet) untried in obedience: for I purposely abstain from touching on the mysterious senses of the law, considered in its spiritual and prophetic relation, and as abounding in types of almost every variety and sort. It is enough at present, that it simply bound a man to God, so that no one ought to find fault with it, except him who does not choose to serve God. To help forward this beneficent, not onerous, purpose of the law, the prophets were also ordained by the self-same goodness of God, teaching precepts worthy of God, how that men should “cease to do evil, learn to do well, seek judgment, judge the fatherless, and plead for the widow:” be fond of the divine expostulations: avoid contact with the wicked: “let the oppressed go free:” dismiss the unjust sentence. “deal their bread to the hungry; bring the outcast into their house; cover the naked, when they see him; nor hide themselves from their own flesh and kin:” “keep their tongue from evil, and their lips from speaking guile: depart from evil, and do good; seek peace, and pursue it:” be angry, and sin not; that is, not persevere in anger, or be enraged: “walk not in the counsel of the ungodly; nor stand in the way of sinners; nor sit in the seat of the scornful.” Where then? “Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity;” meditating (as they do) day and night in the law of the Lord, because “it is better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in man; better to hope in the Lord than in man.” For

what recompense shall man receive from God? “He shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season; his leaf also shall not wither, and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper.” “He that hath clean hands and a pure heart, who hath not taken God’s name in vain, nor sworn deceitfully to his neighbour, he shall receive blessing from the Lord, and mercy from the God of his salvation.” “For the eyes of the Lord are upon them that fear Him, upon them that hope in His mercy, to deliver their souls from death,” even eternal death, “and to nourish them in their hunger,” that is, after eternal life. “Many are the afflictions of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of them all.” “Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints.” “The Lord keepeth all their bones; not one of them shall be broken.” The Lord will redeem the souls of His servants. We have adduced these few quotations from a mass of the Creator’s Scriptures; and no more, I suppose, are wanted to prove Him to be a most good God, for they sufficiently indicate both the precepts of His goodness and the first-fruits thereof.

Chap. XX. — The Marcionites Charged God With Having Instigated The Hebrews To Spoil The Egyptians. Defence Of The Divine Dispensation In That Matter.

But these “saucy cuttles” (of heretics) under the figure of whom the law about things to be eaten prohibited this very kind of piscatory ailment, as soon as they find themselves confuted, eject the black venom of their blasphemy, and so spread about in all directions the object which (as is now plain) they severally have in view, when they put forth such assertions and protestations as shall obscure and tarnish the rekindled light of the Creator’s bounty. We will, however, follow their wicked design, even through these black clouds, and drag to light their tricks of dark calumny, laying to the Creator’s charge with especial emphasis the fraud and theft of gold and silver which the Hebrews were commanded by Him to practise against the Egyptians. Come, unhappy heretic, I cite even you as a witness; first look at the case of the two nations, and then you will form a judgment of the Author of the command. The Egyptians put in a claim on the Hebrews for these gold and silver vessels. The Hebrews assert a counter claim, alleging that by the bond of their respective fathers, attested by the written engagement of both parties, there were due to them the arrears of that laborious slavery of theirs, for the bricks they had so painfully made, and the cities and palaces which they had built. What shall be your verdict, you discoverer of the most good God? That the Hebrews must admit the fraud, or the Egyptians the compensation? For they maintain that thus has the question been settled by the advocates on both sides, of the Egyptians demanding their vessels, and the Hebrews claiming the requital of their labours. But for all they say, the Egyptians justly renounced their restitution-claim then and there; while the Hebrews to this day, in spite of the Marcionites, re-assert their demand for even greater damages, insisting that, however large was their loan of the gold and silver, it would not be compensation enough, even if the labour of six hundred thousand men should be valued at only “a farthing” a day a piece. Which, however, were the more in number — those who claimed the vessel, or those who dwelt in the palaces and cities? Which, too, the greater — the grievance of the Egyptians against the Hebrews, or “the favour” which they displayed towards them? Were free men reduced to servile labour, in order that the Hebrews might simply

proceed against the Egyptians by action at law for injuries; or in order that their officers might on their benches sit and exhibit their backs and shoulders shamefully mangled by the fierce application of the scourge? It was not by a few plates and cup — in all cases the property, no doubt, of still fewer rich men — that any one would pronounce that compensation should have been awarded to the Hebrews, but both by all the resources of these and by the contributions of all the people. If, therefore, the case of the Hebrews be a good one, the Creator's case must likewise be a good one; that is to say, his command, when He both made the Egyptians unconsciously grateful, and also gave His own people their discharge in full at the time of their migration by the scanty comfort of a tacit requital of their long servitude. It was plainly less than their due which He commanded to be exacted. The Egyptians ought to have given back their men-children also to the Hebrews.

Chap. XXI. — The Law Of The Sabbath-Day Explained. The Eight Days Procession Around Jericho. The Gathering Of Sticks A Violation.

Similarly on other points also, you reproach Him with fickleness and instability for contradictions in His commandments, such as that He forbade work to be done on Sabbath-days, and yet at the siege of Jericho ordered the ark to be carried round the walls during eight days; in other words, of course, actually on a Sabbath. You do not, however, consider the law of the Sabbath: they are human works, not divine, which it prohibits. For it says, “Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work.” What work? Of course your own. The conclusion is, that from the Sabbath-day He removes those works which He had before enjoined for the six days, that is, your own works; in other words, human works of daily life. Now, the carrying around of the ark is evidently not an ordinary daily duty, nor yet a human one; but a rare and a sacred work, and, as being then ordered by the direct precept of God, a divine one. And it might fully explain what this signified, were it not a tedious process to open out the forms of all the Creator’s proofs, which you would, moreover, probably refuse to allow. It is more to the point, if you be confuted on plain matters by the simplicity of truth rather than curious reasoning. Thus, in the present instance, there is a clear distinction respecting the Sabbath’s prohibition of human labours, not divine ones. Accordingly, the man who went and gathered sticks on the Sabbath-day was punished with death. For it was his own work which he did; and this the law forbade. They, however, who on the Sabbath carried the ark round Jericho, did it with impunity. For it was not their own work, but God’s, which they executed, and that too, from His express commandment.

Chap. XXII. — The Brazen Serpent And The Golden Cherubim Were Not Violations Of The Second Commandment. Their Meaning.

Likewise, when forbidding the similitude to be made of all things which are in heaven, and in earth, and in the waters, He declared also the reasons, as being prohibitory of all material exhibition of a latent idolatry. For He adds: “Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor serve them.” The form, however, of the brazen serpent which the Lord afterwards commanded Moses to make, afforded no pretext for idolatry, but was meant for the cure of those who were plagued with the fiery serpents? I say nothing of what was figured by this cure. Thus, too, the golden Cherubim and Seraphim were purely an ornament in the figured fashion of the ark; adapted to ornamentation for reasons totally remote from all condition of idolatry, on account of which the making a likeness is prohibited; and they are evidently not at variance with this law of prohibition, because they are not found in that form of similitude, in reference to which the prohibition is given. We have spoken of the rational institution of the sacrifices, as calling off their homage from idols to God; and if He afterwards rejected this homage, saying, “To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me?” — He meant nothing else than this to be understood, that He had never really required such homage for Himself. For He says, “I will not eat the flesh of bulls;” and in another passage: “The everlasting God shall neither hunger nor thirst.” Although He had respect to the offerings of Abel, and smelled a sweet savour from the holocaust of Noah, yet what pleasure could He receive from the flesh of sheep, or the odour of burning victims? And yet the simple and God-fearing mind of those who offered what they were receiving from God, both in the way of food and of a sweet smell, was favourably accepted before God, in the sense of respectful homage to God, who did not so much want what was offered, as that which prompted the offering. Suppose now, that some dependant were to offer to a rich man or a king, who was in want of nothing, some very insignificant gift, will the amount and quality of the gift bring dishonour to the rich man and the king; or will the consideration of the homage give them pleasure? Were, however, the dependant, either of his own accord or even in compliance with a command, to present to him gifts suitably to his rank, and were he to

observe the solemnities due to a king, only without faith and purity of heart, and without any readiness for other acts of obedience, will not that king or rich man consequently exclaim: “To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? I am full of your solemnities, your feast-days, and your Sabbaths.” By calling them yours, as having been performed after the giver’s own will, and not according to the religion of God (since he displayed them as his own, and not as God’s), the Almighty in this passage, demonstrated how suitable to the conditions of the case, and how reasonable, was His rejection of those very offerings which He had commanded to be made to Him.

Chap. XXIII. — God's Purposes In Election And Rejection Of The Same Men, Such As King Saul, Explained, In Answer To The Marcionite Cavil.

Now, although you will have it that He is inconstant in respect of persons, sometimes disapproving where approbation is deserved; or else wanting in foresight, bestowing approbation on men who ought rather to be reprobated, as if He either censured His own past judgments, or could not forecast His future ones; yet s nothing is so consistent for even a good judge as both to reject and to choose on the merits of the present moment. Saul is chosen, but he is not yet the despiser of the prophet Samuel. Solomon is rejected; but he is now become a prey to foreign women, and a slave to the idols of Moab and Sidon. What must the Creator do, in order to escape the censure of the Marcionites? Must He prematurely condemn men, who are thus far correct in their conduct, because of future delinquencies? But it is not the mark of a good God to condemn beforehand persons who have not yet deserved condemnation. Must He then refuse to eject sinners, on account of their previous good deeds? But it is not the characteristic of a just judge to forgive sins in consideration of former virtues which are no longer practised. Now, who is so faultless among men, that God could always have him in His choice, and never be able to reject him? Or who, on the other hand, is so void of any good work, that God could reject him for ever, and never be able to choose him? Show me, then, the man who is always good, and he will not be rejected; show me, too, him who is always evil, and he will never be chosen. Should, however, the same man, being found on different occasions in the pursuit of both (good and evil) be recompensed in both directions by God, who is both a good and judicial Being, He does not change His judgments through inconstancy or want of foresight, but dispenses reward according to the deserts of each case with a most unwavering and provident decision.

Chap. XXIV. — Instances Of God's Repentance, And Notably In The Case Of The Ninevites, Accounted For And Vindicated.

Furthermore, with respect to the repentance which occurs in His conduct? you interpret it with similar perverseness just as if it were with fickleness and improvidence that He repented, or on the recollection of some wrong-doing; because He actually said, "It repenteth me that I have set up Saul to be king, very much as if He meant that His repentance savoured of an acknowledgment of some evil work or error. Well, this is not always implied. For there occurs even in good works a confession of repentance, as a reproach and condemnation of the man who has proved himself unthankful for a benefit. For instance, in this case of Saul, the Creator, who had made no mistake in selecting him for the kingdom, and endowing him with His Holy Spirit, makes a statement respecting the goodness of his person, how that He had most fitly chosen him as being at that moment the choicest man, so that (as He says) there was not his fellow among the children of Israel. Neither was He ignorant how he would afterwards turn out. For no one would bear you out in imputing lack of foresight to that God whom, since you do not deny Him to be divine, you allow to be also foreseeing; for this proper attribute of divinity exists in Him. However, He did, as I have said, burden the guilt of Saul with the confession of His own repentance; but as there is an absence of all error and wrong in His choice of Saul, it follows that this repentance is to be understood as upbraiding another rather than as self-incriminating. Look here then, say you: I discover a self-incriminating case in the matter of the Ninevites, when the book of Jonah declares, "And God repented of the evil that He had said that He would do unto them; and He did it not." In accordance with which Jonah himself says unto the Lord, "Therefore I fled before unto Tarshish; for I knew that Thou art a gracious God and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and repentest Thee of the evil." It is well, therefore, that he premised the attribute of the most good God as most patient over the wicked, and most abundant in mercy and kindness over such as acknowledged and bewailed their sins, as the Ninevites were then doing. For if He who has this attribute is the Most Good, you will have first to relinquish that position of yours, that the very contact with evil is

incompatible with such a Being, that is, with the most good God. And because Marcion, too, maintains that a good tree ought not to produce bad fruit; but yet he has mentioned "evil" (in the passage under discussion), which the most good God is incapable of, is there forthcoming any explanation of these "evils," which may render them compatible with even the most Good? There is, We say, in short, that evil in the present case means, not what may be attributed to the Creator's nature as an evil being, but what may be attributed to His power as a judge. In accordance with which He declared, "I create evil," and, "I frame evil against you;" meaning not to sinful evils, but avenging ones. What sort of stigmas pertains to these, congruous as they are with God's judicial character, we have sufficiently explained. Now although these are called "evils," they are yet not reprehensible in a judge; nor because of this their name do they show that the judge is evil: so in like manner will this particular evil be understood to be one of this class of judiciary evils, and along with them to be compatible with (God as) a judge. The Greeks also sometimes use the word "evils" for troubles and injuries (not malignant ones), as in this passage of yours is also meant. Therefore, if the Creator repented of such evil as this, as showing that the creature deserve condemnation, and ought to be punished for his sin, then, in the present instance no fault of a criminating nature will be imputed to the Creator, for having deservedly and worthily decreed the destruction of a city so full of iniquity. What therefore He had justly decreed, having no evil purpose in His decree, He decreed from the principle of justice, not from malevolence. Yet He gave it the name of "evil," because of the evil and desert involved in the very suffering itself. Then, you will say, if you excuse the evil under name of justice, on the ground that He had justly determined destruction against the people of Nineveh, He must even on this argument be blameworthy, for having repented of an act of justice, which surely should not be repented of. Certainly not, my reply is; God will never repent of an act of justice. And it now remains that we should understand what God's repentance means. For although man repents most frequently on the recollection of a sin, and occasionally even from the unpleasantness of some good action, this is never the case with God. For, inasmuch as God neither commits sin nor condemns a good action, in so far is there no room in Him for repentance of either a good or an evil deed. Now this point is determined for you even in the scripture which we have quoted.

Samuel says to Saul, "The Lord hath rent the kingdom of Israel from thee this day, and hath given it to a neighbour of thine that is better than thou;" and into two parts shall Israel be divided: "for He will not turn Himself, nor repent; for He does not repent as a man does." According, therefore, to this definition, the divine repentance takes in all cases a different form from that of man, in that it is never regarded as the result of improvidence or of fickleness, or of any condemnation of a good or an evil work. What, then, will be the mode of God's repentance? It is already quite clear, if you avoid referring it to human conditions. For it will have no other meaning than a simple change of a prior purpose; and this is admissible without any blame even in a man, much more in God, whose every purpose is faultless. Now in Greek the word for repentance (*meta'noia*) is formed, not from the confession of a sin, but from a change of mind, which in God we have shown to be regulated by the occurrence of varying circumstances.

Chap. XXV. — God's Dealings With Adam At The Fall, And With Cain After His Crime, Admirably Explained And Defended.

It is now high time that I should, in order to meet all objections of this kind, proceed to the explanation and clearing up of the other trifles, weak points, and inconsistencies, as you deemed them. God calls out to Adam, Where art thou? as if ignorant where he was; and when he alleged that the shame of his nakedness was the cause (of his hiding himself), He inquired whether he had eaten of the tree, as if He were in doubt. By no means; God was neither uncertain about the commission of the sin, nor ignorant of Adam's whereabouts. It was certainly proper to summon the offender, who was concealing himself from the consciousness of his sin, and to bring him forth into the presence of his Lord, not merely by the calling out of his name, but with a home-thrust blow at the sin which he had at that moment committed. For the question ought not to be read in a merely interrogative tone, Where art thou, Adam? but with an impressive and earnest voice, and with an air of imputation, Oh, Adam, where art thou? — as much as to intimate: thou art no longer here, thou art in perdition — so that the voice is the utterance of One who is at once rebuking and sorrowing. But of course some part of paradise had escaped the eye of Him who holds the universe in His hand as if it were a bird's nest, and to whom heaven is a throne and earth a footstool; so that He could not see, before He summoned him forth, where Adam was, both while lurking and when eating of the forbidden fruit! The wolf or the paltry thief escapes not the notice of the keeper of your vineyard or your garden! And God, I suppose, with His keener vision, from on high was unable to miss the sight of aught which lay beneath Him! Foolish heretic, who treat with scorn so fine an argument of God's greatness and man's instruction! God put the question with an appearance of uncertainty, in order that even here He might prove man to be the subject of a free will in the alternative of either a denial or a confession, and give to him the opportunity of freely acknowledging his transgression, and, so far, of lightening it. In like manner He inquires of Cain where his brother was, just as if He had not yet heard the blood of Abel crying from the ground, in order that he too might have the opportunity from the same power of the will of spontaneously denying, and to this degree

aggravating, his crime; and that thus there might be supplied to us examples of confessing sins rather than of denying them: so that even then was initiated the evangelic doctrine, “By thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned.” Now, although Adam was by reason of his condition under law subject to death, yet was hope preserved to him by the Lord’s saying, “Behold, Adam is become as one of us;” that is, in consequence of the future taking of the man into the divine nature. Then what follows? “And now, lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, (and eat), and live for ever.” Inserting thus the particle of present time, “And now,” He shows that He had made for a time, and at present, a prolongation of man’s life. Therefore He did not actually curse Adam and Eve, for they were candidates for restoration, and they had been relieved by confession. Cain, however, He not only cursed; but when he wished to atone for his sin by death, He even prohibited his dying, so that he had to bear the load of this prohibition in addition to his crime. This, then, will prove to be the ignorance of our God, which was simulated on this account, that delinquent man should not be unaware of what he ought to do. Coming down to the case of Sodom and Gomorrha, he says: “I will go down now, and see whether they have done altogether according to the cry of it which is come unto me; and if not, I will know.” Well, was He in this instance also uncertain through ignorance, and desiring to know? Or was this a necessary tone of utterance, as expressive of a minatory and not a dubious sense, under the colour of an inquiry? If you make merry at God’s “going down,” as if He could not except by the descent have accomplished His judgment, take care that you do not strike your own God with as hard a blow. For He also came down to accomplish what He wished.

Chap. XXVI. — The Oath Of God: It's Meaning. Moses, When Deprecating God's Wrath Against Israel, A Type Of Christ.

But God also swears. Well, is it, I wonder, by the God of Marcion? No, no, he says; a much vainer oath — by Himself! What was He to do, when He knew of no other God; especially when He was swearing to this very point, that besides himself there was absolutely no God? Is it then of swearing falsely that you convict Him, or of swearing a vain oath? But it is not possible for him to appear to have sworn falsely, when he was ignorant, as you say he was, that there was another God. For when he swore by that which he knew, he really committed no perjury. But it was not a vain oath for him to swear that there was no other God. It would indeed be a vain oath, if there had been no persons who believed that there were other Gods, like the worshippers of idols then, and the heretics of the present day. Therefore He swears by Himself, in order that you may believe God, even when He swears that there is besides Himself no other God at all. But you have yourself, O Marcion, compelled God to do this. For even so early as then were you foreseen. Hence, if He swears both in His promises and His threatenings, and thus extorts faith which at first was difficult, nothing is unworthy of God which causes men to believe in God. But (you say) God was even then mean enough in His very fierceness, when, in His wrath against the people for their consecration of the calf, He makes this request of His servant Moses: "Let me alone, that my wrath may wax hot against them, and that I may consume them; and I will make of thee a great nation." Accordingly, you maintain that Moses is better than his God, as the deprecator, nay the averter, of His anger. "For," said he, "Thou shalt not do this; or else destroy me along with them." Pitiably are ye also, as well as the people, since you know not Christ, prefigured in the person of Moses as the deprecator of the Father, and the offerer of His own life for the salvation of the people. It is enough, however, that the nation was at the instant really given to Moses. That which he, as a servant, was able to ask of the Lord, the Lord required of Himself. For this purpose did He say to His servant, "Let me alone, that I may consume them," in order that by his entreaty, and by offering himself, he might hinder (the threatened judgment), and that you might by such an Instance learn how much privilege is vouchsafed with God to a

faithful man and a prophet.

Chap. XXVII. — Other Objections Considered. God's Condenscension In The Incarnation Nothing Derogatory To The Divine Being In This Economy. The Divine Majesty Worthily Sustained By The Almighty Father, Never Visible To Man. Perverseness Of The Marcionite Cavils.

And now, that I may briefly pass in review the other points which you have thus far been engaged in collecting, as mean, weak, and unworthy, for demolishing the Creator, I will propound them in a simple and definite statement: that God would have been unable to hold any intercourse with men, if He had not taken on Himself the emotions and affections of man, by means of which He could temper the strength of His majesty, which would no doubt have been incapable of endurance to the moderate capacity of man, by such a humiliation as was indeed degrading to Himself, but necessary for man, and such as on this very account became worthy of God, because nothing is so worthy of God as the salvation of man. If I were arguing with heathens, I should dwell more at length on this point; although with heretics too the discussion does not stand on very different grounds. Inasmuch as ye yourselves have now come to the belief that God moved about in the form and all other circumstances of man's nature, you will of course no longer require to be convinced that God conformed Himself to humanity, but feel yourselves bound by your own faith. For if the God (in whom ye believe,) even from His higher condition, prostrated the supreme dignity of His majesty to such a lowliness as to undergo death, even the death of the cross, why can you not suppose that some humiliations are becoming to our God also, only more tolerable than Jewish contumelies, and crosses, and sepulchres? Are these the humiliations which henceforth are to raise a prejudice against Christ (the subject as He is of human passions) being a partaker of that Godhead against which you make the participation in human qualities a reproach? Now we believe that Christ did ever act in the name of God the Father; that He actually from the beginning held intercourse with (men); actually communed with patriarchs and prophets; was the Son of the Creator; was His Word; whom God made His Son by emitting Him from His own self, and thenceforth set Him over every dispensation and (administration of) His will, making Him a

little lower than the angels, as is written in David. In which lowering of His condition He received from the Father a dispensation in those very respects which you blame as human; from the very beginning learning, even then, (that state of a) man which He was destined in the end to become. It is He who descends, He who interrogates, He who demands, He who swears. With regard, however, to the Father, the very gospel which is common to us will testify that He was never visible, according to the word of Christ: "No man knoweth the Father, save the Son." For even in the Old Testament He had declared, "No man shall see me, and live." He means that the Father is invisible, in whose authority and in whose name was He God who appeared as the Son of God. But with us Christ is received in the person of Christ, because even in this manner is He our God. Whatever attributes therefore you require as worthy of God, must be found in the Father, who is invisible and unapproachable, and placid, and (so to speak) the God of the philosophers; whereas those qualities which you censure as unworthy must be supposed to be in the Son, who has been seen, and heard, and encountered, the Witness and Servant of the Father, uniting in Himself man and God, God in mighty deeds, in weak ones man, in order that He may give to man as much as He takes from God. What in your esteem is the entire disgrace of my God, Is in fact the sacrament of man's salvation God held converse with man, that man might learn to act as God. God dealt on equal terms with man, that man might be able to deal on equal terms with God. God was found little, that man might become very great. You who disdain such a God, I hardly know whether you ex fide believe that God was crucified. How great, then, is your perversity in respect of the two characters of the Creator! You designate Him as Judge, and reprobate as Cruelty that severity of the Judge which only acts in accord with the merits of cases. You require God to be very good, and yet despise as meanness that gentleness of His which accorded with His kindness, (and) held lowly converse in proportion to the mediocrity of man's estate. He pleases you not, whether great or little, neither as your judge nor as your friend !What if the same features should be discovered in your God? That He too is a judge, we have already shown in the proper section: that from being a judge He must needs be severe; and from being severe He must also be cruel, if indeed cruel.

Chap. XXVIII. — The Tables Turned Upon Marcion, By Contrasts, In Favour Of The True God.

Now, touching the weaknesses and malignities, and the other (alleged), notes (of the Creator), I too shall advance antitheses in rivalry to Marcion's. If my God knew not of any other superior to Himself, your god also was utterly unaware that there was any beneath himself. It is just what Heraclitus "the obscure" said; whether it be up or down, it comes to the same thing. If, indeed, he was not ignorant (of his position), it must have occurred to Him from the beginning. Sin and death, and the author of sin too — the devil — and all the evil which my God permitted to be, this also, did your god permit; for he allowed Him to permit it. Our God changed His purposes; in like manner yours did also. For he who cast his look so late in the human race, changed that purpose, which for so long a period had refused to cast that look. Our God repented Him of the evil in a given case; so also did yours. For by the fact that he at last had regard to the salvation of man, he showed such a repentance of his previous disregard as was due for a wrong deed. But neglect of man's salvation will be accounted a wrong deed, simply because it has been remedied by his repentance in the conduct of your god. Our God you say commanded a fraudulent act, but in a matter of gold and silver. Now, inasmuch as man is more precious than gold and silver, in so far is your god more fraudulent still, because he robs man of his Lord and Creator. Eye for eye does our God require; but your god does even a greater injury, (in your ideas,) when he prevents an act of retaliation. For what man will not return a blow, without waiting to be struck a second time. Our God (you say) knows not whom He ought to choose. Nor does your god, for if he had foreknown the issue, he would not have chosen the traitor Judas. If you allege that the Creator practised deception in any instance, there was a far greater mendacity in your Christ, whose very body was unreal. Many were consumed by the severity of my God. Those also who were not saved by your god are verily disposed by him to ruin. My God ordered a man to be slain. Your god willed himself to be put to death; not less a homicide against himself than in respect of him by whom he meant to be slain. I will moreover prove to Marcion that they were many who were slain by his god; for he made every one a homicide: in other words, he doomed him to perish, except when people failed

in no duty towards Christ. But the straightforward virtue of truth is contented with few resources. Many things will be necessary for falsehood.

Chap. XXIX. — Marcion's Own Antitheses, If Only The Title And Object Of The Work Be Excepted, Afford Proofs Of The Consistent Attributes Of The True God.

But I would have attacked Marcion's own Antitheses in closer and fuller combat, if a more elaborate demolition of them were required in maintaining for the Creator the character of a good God and a Judge, alters the examples of both points, which we have shown to be so worthy of God. Since, however, these two attributes of goodness and justice do together make up the proper fulness of the Divine Being as omnipotent, I am able to content myself with having now compendiously refuted his Antitheses, which aim at drawing distinctions out of the qualities of the (Creator's) artifices, or of His laws, or of His great works; and thus sundering Christ from the Creator, as the most Good from the Judge, as One who is merciful from Him who is ruthless, and One who brings salvation from Him who causes ruin. The truth is, they rather unite the two Beings whom they arrange in those diversities (of attribute), which yet are compatible in God. For only take away the title of Marcion's book, and the intention and purpose of the work itself, and you could get no better demonstration that the self-same God was both very good and a Judge, inasmuch as these two characters are only competently found in God. Indeed, the very effort which is made in the selected examples to oppose Christ to the Creator, conduces all the more to their union. For so entirely one and the same was the nature of the Divine Beings, the good and the severe, as shown both by the same examples and in similar proofs, that It willed to display Its goodness to those on whom It had first inflicted Its severity. The difference in time was no matter of surprise, when the same God was afterwards merciful in presence of evils which had been subdued, who had once been so austere whilst they were as yet unsubdued. Thus, by help of the Antitheses, the dispensation of the Creator can be more readily shown to have been reformed by Christ, rather than destroyed; restored, rather than abolished; especially as you sever your own god from everything like acrimonious conduct, even from all rivalry whatsoever with the Creator. Now, since this is the case, how comes it to pass that the Antitheses demonstrate Him to have been the Creator's rival in every disputed cause? Well, even here, too, I will allow that in these causes my God has been a jealous God, who has in His own right taken especial care

that all things done by Him should be in their beginning of a robuster growth; and this in the way of a good, because rational emulation, which tends to maturity. In this sense the world itself will acknowledge His “antitheses,” from the contrariety of its own elements, although it has been regulated with the very highest reason. Wherefore, most thoughtless Marcion, it was your duty to have shown that one (of the two Gods you teach) was a God of light, and the other a God of darkness; and then you would have found it an easier task to persuade us that one was a God of goodness, the other a God of severity. How ever, the “antithesis” (or variety of administration) will rightly be His property, to whom it actually belongs in (the government of) the world.

BOOK III.

Wherein Christ Is Shown To Be The Son Of God, Who Created The World; To Have Been Predicted By The Prophets; To Have Taken Human Flesh Like Our Own, By A Real Incarnation.

Chap. I. — Introductory; A Brief Statement Of The Preceding Argument In Connection With The Subject Of This Book.

Following the track of my original treatise, the loss of which we are steadily proceeding to restore, we come now, in the order of our subject, to treat of Christ, although this be a work of supererogation, after the proof which we have gone through that there is but one only God. For no doubt it has been already ruled with sufficient clearness, that Christ must be regarded as pertaining to no other God than the Creator, when it has been determined that no other God but the Creator should be the object of our faith. Him did Christ so expressly preach, whilst the apostles one after the other also so clearly affirmed that Christ belonged to no other God than Him whom He Himself preached — that is, the Creator — that no mention of a second God (nor, accordingly, of a second Christ) was ever agitated previous to Marcion's scandal. This is most easily proved by an examination of both the apostolic and the heretical churches, from which we are forced to declare that there is undoubtedly a subversion of the rule (of faith), where any opinion is found of later date, — a point which I have inserted in my first book. A discussion of it would unquestionably be of value even now, when we are about to make a separate examination into (the subject of) Christ; because, whilst proving Christ to be the Creator's Son, we are effectually shutting out the God of Marcion. Truth should employ all her available resources, and in no limping way. In our compendious rules of faith, however, she has it all her own way. But I have resolved, like an earnest man, to meet my adversary every way and everywhere in the madness of his heresy, which is so great, that he has found it easier to assume that that Christ has come who was never heard of, than He who has always been predicted.

Chap. II. — Why Christ's Coming Should Be Previously Announced.

Coming then at once to the point, I have to encounter the question, Whether Christ ought to have come so suddenly? (I answer, No.) First, because He was the Son of God His Father. For this was a point of order, that the Father should announce the Son before the Son should the Father, and that the Father should testify of the Son before the Son should testify of the Father. Secondly, because, in addition to the title of Son, He was the Sent. The authority, therefore, of the Sender must needs have first appeared in a testimony of the Sent; because none who comes in the authority of another does himself set it forth for himself on his own assertion, but rather looks out for protection from it, for first comes the support of him who gives him his authority. Now (Christ) will neither be acknowledged as Son if the Father never named Him, nor be believed in as the Sent One if no Sender gave Him a commission: the Father, if any, purposely naming Him; and the Sender, if any, purposely commissioning Him. Everything will be open to suspicion which transgresses a rule. Now the primary order of all things will not allow that the Father should come after the Son in recognition, or the Sender after the Sent, or God after Christ. Nothing can take precedence of its own original in being acknowledged, nor in like manner can it in its ordering. Suddenly a Son, suddenly Sent, and suddenly Christ! On the contrary, I should suppose that from God nothing comes suddenly, because there is nothing which is not ordered and arranged by God. And if ordered, why not also foretold, that it may be proved to have been ordered by the prediction, and by the ordering to be divine? And indeed so great a work, which (we may be sure) required preparation, as being for the salvation of man, could not have been on that very account a sudden thing, because it was through faith that it was to be of avail. Inasmuch, then, as it had to be believed in order to be of use, so far did it require, for the securing of this faith, a preparation built upon the foundations of pro-arrangement and fore-announcement. Faith, when informed by such a process, might justly be required of man by God, and by man be reposed in God; it being a duty, after that knowledge has made it a possibility, to believe those things which a man had learned indeed to believe from the fore-announcement.

Chap. III. — Miracles Alone, Without Prophecy, An Insufficient Evidence Of Christ's Mission.

A procedure of this kind, you say, was not necessary, because He was forthwith to prove Himself the Son and the Sent One, and the Christ of God in very deed, by means of the evidence of His wonderful works. On my side, however, I have to deny that evidence simply of this sort was sufficient as a testimony to Him. He Himself afterwards deprived it of its authority, because when He declared that many would come and “show great signs and wonders,” so as to turn aside the very elect, and yet for all that were not to be received, He showed how rash was belief in signs and wonders, which were so very easy of accomplishment by even false christs. Else how happens it, if He meant Himself to be approved and understood, and received on a certain evidence — I mean that of miracles — that He forbade the recognition of those others who had the very same sort of proof to show, and whose coming was to be quite as sudden and unannounced by any authority? If, because He came before them, and was beforehand with them in displaying the signs of His mighty deeds, He therefore seized the first right to men's faith, — just as the first comers do the first place in the baths, — and so forestalled all who came after Him in that right, take care that He, too, be not caught in the condition of the later comers, if He be found to be behindhand with the Creator, who had already been made known, and had already worked miracles like Him, and like Him had forewarned men not to believe in others, even such as should come after Him. If, therefore, to have been the first to come and utter this warning, is to bar and limit faith, He will Himself have to be condemned, because He was later in being acknowledged; and authority to prescribe such a rule about later comers will belong to the Creator alone, who could have been posterior to none. And now, when I am about to prove that the Creator sometimes displayed by His servants of old, and in other cases reserved for His Christ to display, the self-same miracles which you claim as solely due to faith in your Christ, I may fairly even from this maintain that there was so much the greater reason wherefore Christ should not be believed in simply on account of His miracles, inasmuch as these would have shown Him to belong to none other (God) than the Creator, because answering to the mighty deeds of the Creator, both as performed by His servants and reserved

for His Christ; although, even if some other proofs should be found in your Christ — new ones, to wit — we should more readily believe that they, too, belong to the same God as do the old ones, rather than to him who has no other than new proofs, such as are wanting in the evidences of that antiquity which wins the assent of faith, so that even on this ground he ought to have come announced as much by prophecies of his own building up faith in him, as by miracles, especially in opposition to the Creator's Christ who was to come fortified by signs and prophets of His own, in order that he might shine forth as the rival of Christ by help of evidence of different kinds. But how was his Christ to be foretold by a god who was himself never predicted? This, therefore, is the unavoidable inference, that neither your god nor your Christ is an object of faith, because God ought not to have been unknown, and Christ ought to have been made known through God.

Chap. IV. — Marcion's Christ Not The Subject Of Prophecy. The Absurd Consequences Of This Theory Of The Heretic.

He disdained, I suppose, to imitate the order of our God, as one who was displeasing to him, and was by all means to be vanquished. He wished to come, as a new being in a new way — a son previous to his father's announcement, a sent one before the authority of the sender; so that he might in person propagate a most monstrous faith, whereby it should come to be believed that Christ was come before it should be known that He had an existence. It is here convenient to me to treat that other point: Why he came not after Christ? For when I observe that, during so long a period, his lord bore with the greatest patience the very ruthless Creator who was all the while announcing His Christ to men, I say, that whatever reason impelled him to do so, postponing thereby his own revelation and interposition, the self-same reason imposed on him the duty of bearing with the Creator (who had also in His Christ dispensations of His own to carry out); so that, after the completion and accomplishment of the entire plan of the rival God and the rival Christ, he might then superinduce his own proper dispensation. But he grew weary of so long an endurance, and so failed to wait till the end of the Creator's course. It was of no use, his enduring that his Christ should be predicted, when he refused to permit him to be manifested. Either it was without just cause that he interrupted the full course of his rival's time, or without just cause did he so long refrain from interrupting it. What held him back at first? Or what disturbed him at last? As the case now stands, however, he has committed himself in respect of both, having revealed himself so tardily after the Creator, so hurriedly before His Christ; whereas he ought long ago to have encountered the one with a confutation, the other to have forborne encountering as yet — not to have borne with the one so long in His ruthless hostility, nor to have disquieted the other, who was as yet quiescent! In the case of both, while depriving them of their title to be considered the most good God, he showed himself at least capricious and uncertain; lukewarm (in his resentment) towards the Creator, but fervid against His Christ, and powerless in respect of them both! For he no more restrained the Creator than he resisted His Christ. The Creator still remains such as He really is. His

Christ also will come, just as it is written of Him. Why did he come after the Creator, since he was unable to correct Him by punishment? Why did he reveal himself before Christ, whom he could not hinder from appearing? If, on the contrary, he did chastise the Creator, he revealed himself, (I suppose,) after Him in order that things which require correction might come first. On which account also, (of course,) he ought to have waited for Christ to appear first, whom he was going to chastise in like manner; then he would be His punisher coming after Him, just as he had been in the case of the Creator. There is another consideration: since he will at his second advent come after Him, that as he at His first coming took hostile proceedings against the Creator, destroying the law and the prophets, which were His, so he may, to be sure, at his second coming proceed in opposition to Christ, upsetting His kingdom. Then, no doubt, he would terminate his course, and then (if ever) be worthy of belief; for else, if his work has been already perfected, it would be in vain for him to come, for there would indeed be nothing that he could further accomplish.

Chap. V. — Sundry Features Of The Prophetic Style: Principles Of Its Interpretation.

These preliminary remarks I have ventured to make at this first step of the discussion and while the conflict is, as it were, from a distance. But inasmuch as I shall now from this point have to grapple with my opponent on a distinct issue and in close combat, I perceive that I must advance even here some lines, at which the battle will have to be delivered; they are the Scriptures of the Creator. For as I shall have to prove that Christ was from the Creator, according to these (Scriptures), which were afterwards accomplished in the Creator's Christ, I find it necessary to set forth the form and, so to speak, the nature of the Scriptures themselves, that they may not distract the reader's attention by being called into controversy at the moment of their application to subjects of discussion, and by their proof being confounded with the proof of the subjects themselves. Now there are two conditions of prophetic announcement which I adduce, as requiring the assent of our adversaries in the future stages of the discussion. One, that future events are sometimes announced as if they were already passed. For it is consistent with Deity to regard as accomplished facts whatever It has determined on, because there is no difference of time with that Being in whom eternity itself directs a uniform condition of seasons. It is indeed more natural to the prophetic divination to represent as seen and already brought to pass, even while foreseeing it, that which it foresees; in other words, that which is by all means future. As for instance, in Isaiah: "I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks (I exposed) to their hands. I hid not my face from shame and spitting." For whether it was Christ even then, as we hold, or the prophet, as the Jews say, who pronounced these words concerning himself, in either case, that which as yet had not happened sounded as if it had been already accomplished. Another characteristic will be, that very many events are figuratively predicted by means of enigmas and allegories and parables, and that they must be understood in a sense different from the literal description. For we both read Of "the mountains dropping down new wine," but not as if one might expect "must" from the stones, or its decoction from the rocks; and also hear of "a land flowing with milk and honey," but not as if you were to suppose that you would ever gather Samian cakes from the ground; nor does God, forsooth,

offer His services as a water-bailiff or a farmer when He says, "I will open rivers in a land; I will plant in the wilderness the cedar and the box-tree." In like manner, when, foretelling the conversion of the Gentiles, He says, "The beasts of the field shall honour me, the dragons and the owls," He surely never meant to derive His fortunate omens from the young of birds and foxes, and from the songsters of marvel and fable. But why enlarge on such a subject? When the very apostle whom our heretics adopt, interprets the law which allows an unmuzzled mouth to the oxen that tread out the corn, not of cattle, but of ourselves; and also alleges that the rock which followed (the Israelites) and supplied them with drink was Christ; teaching the Galatians, moreover, that the two narratives of the sons of Abraham had an allegorical meaning in their course; and to the Ephesians giving an intimation that, when it was declared in the beginning that a man should leave his father and mother and become one flesh with his wife, he applied this to Christ and the church.

Chap. VI. — Community In Certain Points Of Marcionite And Jewish Error. Prophecies Of Christ's Rejection Examined.

Since, therefore, there clearly exist these two characteristics in the Jewish prophetic literature, let the reader remember, whenever we adduce any evidence therefrom, that, by mutual consent, the point of discussion is not the form of the scripture, but the subject it is called in to prove. When, therefore, our heretics in their phrenzy presumed to say that that Christ was come who had never been fore-announced, it followed that, on their assumption, that Christ had not yet appeared who had always been predicted; and thus they are obliged to make common cause with Jewish error, and construct their arguments with its assistance, on the pretence that the Jews were themselves quite certain that it was some other who came: so they not only rejected Him as a stranger, but slew Him as an enemy, although they would without doubt have acknowledged Him, and with all religious devotion followed Him, if He had only been one of themselves: Our shipmaster of course got his craft-wisdom not from the Rhodian law, but from the Pontic, which cautioned him against believing that the Jews had no right to sin against their Christ; whereas (even if nothing like their conduct had been predicted against them) human nature alone, liable to error as it is, might well have induced him to suppose that it was quite possible for the Jews to have committed such a sin, considered as men, without assuming any unfair prejudice regarding their feelings, whose sin was antecedently so credible. Since, however, it was actually foretold that they would not acknowledge Christ, and therefore would even put Him to death, it will therefore follow that He was both ignored and slain by them, who were beforehand pointed out as being about to commit such offences against Him. If you require a proof of this, instead of turning out those passages of Scripture which, while they declare Christ to be capable of suffering death, do thereby also affirm the possibility of His being rejected (for if He had not been rejected, He could not really suffer anything), but rather reserving them for the subject of His sufferings, I shall content myself at the present moment with adducing those which simply show that there was a probability of Christ's rejection. This is quickly done, since the passages indicate that the entire power of understanding was by the Creator taken from

the people. “I will take away,” says He, “the wisdom of their wise men; and the understanding of their prudent men will I hide;” and again: “With your ear ye shall hear, and not understand; and with your eyes ye shall see, but not perceive: for the heart of this people hath growth fat, and with their ears they hear heavily, and their eyes have they shut; lest they hear with their ears, and see with their eyes, and understand with the heart, and be converted, and I heal them.” Now this blunting of their sound senses they had brought on themselves, loving God with their lips, but keeping far away from Him in their heart. Since, then, Christ was announced by the Creator, “who formeth the lightning, and createth the wind, and declareth unto man His Christ,” as the prophet Joel says, since the entire hope of the Jews, not to say of the Gentiles too, was fixed on the manifestation of Christ, — it was demonstrated that they, by their being deprived of those powers of knowledge and understanding — wisdom and prudence, would fail to know and understand that which was predicted, even Christ; when the chief of their wise men should be in error respecting Him — that is to say, their scribes and prudent ones, or Pharisees; and when the people, like them, should hear with their ears and not understand Christ while teaching them, and see with their eyes and not perceive Christ, although giving them signs. Similarly it is said elsewhere: “Who is blind, but my servant? or deaf, but he who ruleth over them?” Also when He upbraids them by the same Isaiah: “I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me. The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master’s crib: but Israel doth not know; my people doth not consider.” We indeed, who know for certain that Christ always spoke in the prophets, as the Spirit of the Creator (for so says the prophet: “The person of our Spirit, Christ the Lord,” who from the beginning was both heard and seen as the Father’s vicegerent in the name of God), are well aware that His words, when actually upbraiding Israel, were the same as those which it was foretold that He should denounce against him: “Ye have forsaken the Lord, and have provoked the Holy One of Israel to anger.” If, however, you would rather refer to God Himself, instead of to Christ, the whole imputation of Jewish ignorance from the first, through an unwillingness to allow that even anciently the Creator’s word and Spirit — that is to say, His Christ — was despised and not acknowledged by them, you will even in this subterfuge be defeated. For when you do not deny that the Creator’s Son and Spirit and Substance is also

His Christ, you must needs allow that those who have not acknowledged the Father have failed likewise to acknowledge the Son through the identity of their natural substance; for if in Its fulness It has baffled man's understanding, much more has a portion of It, especially when partaking of the fulness Now, when these things are carefully considered, it becomes evident how the Jews both rejected Christ and slew Him; not because they regarded Him as a strange Christ, but because they did not acknowledge Him, although their own. For how could they have understood the strange One, concerning whom nothing had ever been announced, when they failed to understand Him about whom there had been a perpetual course of prophecy? That admits of being understood or being not understood, which, by possessing a substantial basis for prophecy, will also have a subject-matter for either knowledge or error; whilst that which lacks such matter admits not the issue of wisdom. So that it was not as if He belonged to another god that they conceived an aversion for Christ, and persecuted Him, but simply as a man whom they regarded as a wonder-working juggler, and an enemy in His doctrines. They brought Him therefore to trial as a mere man, and one of themselves too — that is, a Jew (only a renegade and a destroyer of Judaism) — and punished Him according to their law. If He had been a stranger, indeed, they would not have sat in judgment over Him. So far are they from appearing to have understood Him to be a strange Christ, that they did not even judge Him to be a stranger to their own human nature.

Chap. VII. — Prophecy Sets Forth Two Different Conditions Of Christ, One Lowly, The Other Majestic.

This Fact Points Out Two Advents Of Christ.

Our heretic will now have the fullest opportunity of learning the clue of his errors along with the Jew himself, from whom he has borrowed his guidance in this discussion. Since, however, the blind leads the blind, they fall into the ditch together. We affirm that, as there are two conditions demonstrated by the prophets to belong to Christ, so these presignified the same number of advents; one, and that the first, was to be in lowliness, when He had to be led as a sheep to be slain as a victim, and to be as a lamb dumb before the shearer, not opening His mouth, and not fair to look upon. For, says (the prophet), we have announced concerning Him: "He is like a tender plant, like a root out of a thirsty ground; He hath no form nor comeliness; and we beheld Him, and He was without beauty: His form was disfigured;" "marred more than the sons of men; a man stricken with sorrows, and knowing how to bear our infirmity;" "placed by the Father as a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence;" "made by Him a little lower than the angels;" declaring Himself to be "a worm and not a man, a reproach of men, and despised of the people." Now these signs of degradation quite suit His first coming, just as the tokens of His majesty do His second advent, when He shall no longer remain "a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence," but after His rejection become "the chief corner-stone," accepted and elevated to the top place of the temple, even His church, being that very stone in Daniel, cut out of the mountain, which was to smite and crush the image of the secular kingdom. Of this advent the same prophet says: "Behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days; and they brought Him before Him, and there was given Him dominion and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve Him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away; and His kingdom that which shall not be destroyed." Then indeed He shall have both a glorious form, and an unsullied beauty above the sons of men. "Thou art fairer," says (the Psalmist), "than the children of men; grace is poured into Thy lips; therefore God hath blessed Thee for ever. Gird Thy sword upon Thy thigh, O most mighty, with Thy glory and Thy majesty." For the Father, after making Him a little lower than

the angels, “will crown Him with glory and honour, and put all things under His feet.” “Then shall they look on Him whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for Him, tribe after tribe;” because, no doubt, they once refused to acknowledge Him in the lowliness of His human condition. He is even a man says Jeremiah, and who shall recognise Him Therefore, asks Isaiah, “who shall declare His generation?” So also in Zechariah, Christ Jesus, the true High Priest of the Father, in the person of Joshua, nay, in the very mystery of His name, is portrayed in a twofold dress with reference to both His advents. At first He is clad in sordid garments, that is to say, in the lowliness of suffering and mortal flesh: then the devil resisted Him, as the instigator of the traitor Judas, not to mention his tempting Him after His baptism: afterwards He was stripped of His first filthy raiment, and adorned with the priestly robe and mitre, and a pure diadem; in other words, with the glory and honour of His second advent. If I may offer, moreover, an interpretation of the two goats which were presented on “the great day of atonement,” do they not also figure the two natures of Christ? They were of like size, and very similar in appearance, owing to the Lord’s identity of aspect; because He is not to come in any other form, having to be recognised by those by whom He was also wounded and pierced. One of these goats was bound with scarlet, and driven by the people out of the camp into the wilderness, amid cursing, and spitting, and pulling, and piercing, being thus marked with all the signs of the Lord’s own passion; while the other, by being offered up for sins, and given to the priests of the temple for meat, afforded proofs of His second appearance, when (after all sins have been expiated) the priests of the spiritual temple, that is, the church, are to enjoy the flesh, as it were, of the Lord’s own grace, whilst the residue go away from salvation without tasting it. Since, therefore, the first advent was prophetically declared both as most obscure in its types, and as deformed with every kind of indignity, but the second as glorious and altogether worthy of God, they would on this very account, while confining their regards to that which they were easily able both to understand and to believe, even the second advent, be not undeservedly deceived respecting the more obscure, and, at any rate, the more lowly first coming. Accordingly, to this day they deny that their Christ has come, because He has not appeared in majesty, while they ignore the fact that He was to come also in lowliness.

Chap. VIII. — Absurdity Of Marcion's Docetic Opinions; Reality Of Christ's Incarnation.

Our heretic must now cease to borrow poison from the Jew— “the asp,” as the adage runs, “from the viper” — and henceforth vomit forth the virulence of his own disposition, as when he alleges Christ to be a phantom. Except, indeed, that this opinion of his will be sure to have others to maintain it in his precocious and somewhat abortive Marcionites, whom the Apostle John designated as antichrists, when they denied that Christ was come in the flesh; not that they did this with the view of establishing the right of the other god (for on this point also they had been branded by the same apostle), but because they had started with assuming the incredibility of an incarnate God. Now, the more firmly the antichrist Marcion had seized this assumption, the more prepared was he, of course, to reject the bodily substance of Christ, since he had introduced his very god to our notice as neither the author nor the restorer of the flesh; and for this very reason, to be sure, as pre-eminently good, and most remote from the deceits and fallacies of the Creator. His Christ, therefore, in order to avoid all such deceits and fallacies, and the imputation, if possible, of belonging to the Creator, was not what he appeared to be, and reigned himself to be what he was not — incarnate without being flesh, human without being man, and likewise a divine Christ without being God! But why should he not have propagated also the phantom of God? Can I believe him on the subject of the internal nature, who was all wrong touching the external substance? How will it be possible to believe him true on a mystery, when he has been found so false on a plain fact? How, moreover, when he confounds the truth of the spirit with the error of the flesh, could he combine within himself that communion of light and darkness, or truth and error, which the apostle says cannot co-exist? Since however, Christ's being flesh is now discovered to be a lie, it follows that all things which were done by the flesh of Christ were done untruly, — every act of intercourse, of contact, of eating or drinking, yea, His very miracles. If with a touch, or by being touched, He freed any one of a disease, whatever was done by any corporeal act cannot be believed to have been truly done in the absence of all reality in His body itself. Nothing substantial can be allowed to have been effected by an unsubstantial thing; nothing full by a vacuity. If the habit were

putative, the action was putative; if the worker were imaginary the works were imaginary. On this principle, too, the sufferings of Christ will be found not to warrant faith in Him. For He suffered nothing who did not truly suffer; and a phantom could not truly suffer. God's entire work, therefore, is subverted. Christ's death, wherein lies the whole weight and fruit of the Christian name, is denied although the apostle asserts it so expressly as undoubtedly real, making it the very foundation of the gospel, of our salvation and of his own preaching. "I have delivered unto you before all things," says he, "how that Christ died for our sins, and that he was buried, and that He rose again the third day." Besides, if His flesh is denied, how is His death to be asserted; for death is the proper suffering of the flesh, which returns through death back to the earth out of which it was taken, according to the law of its Maker? Now, if His death be denied, because of the denial of His flesh, there will be no certainty of His resurrection. For He rose not, for the very same reason that He died not, even because He possessed not the reality of the flesh, to which as death accrues, so does resurrection likewise. Similarly, if Christ's resurrection be nullified, ours also is destroyed. If Christ's resurrection be not realized, neither shall that be for which Christ came. For just as they, who said that there is no resurrection of the dead, are refuted by the apostle from the resurrection of Christ, so, if the resurrection of Christ falls to the ground, the resurrection of the dead is also swept away. And so our faith is vain, and vain also is the preaching of the apostles. Moreover, they even show themselves to be false witnesses of God, because they testified that He raised up Christ, whom He did not raise. And we remain in our sins still. And those who have slept in Christ have perished; destined, forsooth, to rise again, but peradventure in a phantom state, just like Christ.

Chap. IX. — Refutation Of Marcion's Objections Derived From The Cases Of The Angels, And The Pre- Incarnate Manifestations Of The Son Of God.

Now, in this discussion of yours, when you suppose that we are to be met with the case of the Creator's angels, as if they held intercourse with Abraham and Lot in a phantom state, that of merely putative flesh, and yet did truly converse, and eat, and work, as they had been commissioned to do, you will not, to begin with, be permitted to use as examples the acts of that God whom you are destroying. For by how much you make your god a better and more perfect being, by just so much will all examples be unsuitable to him of that God from whom he totally differs, and without which difference he would not be at all better or more perfect. But then, secondly, you must know that it will not be conceded to you, that in the angels there was only a putative flesh, but one of a true and solid human substance. For if (on your terms) it was no difficulty to him to manifest true sensations and actions in a putative flesh, it was much more easy for him still to have assigned the true substance of flesh to these true sensations and actions, as the proper maker and former thereof. But your god, perhaps on the ground of his having produced no flesh at all, was quite right in introducing the mere phantom of that of which he had been unable to produce the reality. My God, however, who formed that which He had taken out of the dust of the ground in the true quality of flesh, although not issuing as yet from conjugal seed, was equally able to apply to angels too a flesh of any material whatsoever, who built even the world out of nothing, into so many and so various bodies, and that at a word! And, really, if your god promises to men some time or other the true nature of angels (for he says, "They shall be like the angels"), why should not my God also have fitted on to angels the true substance of men, from whatever source derived? For not even you will tell me, in reply, whence is obtained that angelic nature on your side; so that it is enough for me to define this as being fit and proper to God, even the verity of that thing which was objective to three senses — sight, touch, and hearing. It is more difficult for God to practise deception than to produce real flesh from any material whatever, even without the means of birth. But for other heretics, also, who maintain that the flesh in the angels ought to have been born of flesh, if it had been really human, we have an answer on a sure

principle, to the effect that it was truly human flesh, and yet not born. It was truly human, because of the truthfulness of God, who can neither lie nor deceive, and because (angelic beings) cannot be dealt with by men in a human way except in human substance: it was withal unborn, because none but Christ could become incarnate by being born of the flesh in order that by His own nativity He might regenerate our birth, and might further by His death also dissolve our death, by rising again in that flesh in which, that He might even die, He was born. Therefore on that occasion He did Himself appear with the angels to Abraham in the verity of the flesh, which had not as yet undergone birth, because it was not yet going to die, although it was even now learning to hold intercourse amongst men. Still greater was the propriety in angels, who never received a dispensation to die for us, not having assumed even a brief experience of flesh by being born, because they were not destined to lay it down again by dying; but, from whatever quarter they obtained it, and by what means soever they afterwards entirely divested themselves of it, they yet never pretended it to be unreal flesh. Since the Creator “maketh His angels spirits, and His ministers a flame of fire” — as truly spirits as also fire — so has He truly made them flesh likewise; wherefore we can now recall to our own minds, and remind the heretics also, that He has promised that He will one day form men into angels, who once formed angels into men.

Chap. X. — The Truly Incarnate State More Worthy Of God Than Marcion's Fantastic Flesh.

Therefore, since you are not permitted to resort to any instances of the Creator, as alien from the subject, and possessing special causes of their own, I should like you to state yourself the design of your god, in exhibiting his Christ not in the reality of flesh. If he despised it as earthly, and (as you express it) full of dung, why did he not on that account include the likeness of it also in his contempt? For no honour is to be attributed to the image of anything which is itself unworthy of honour. As the natural state is, so will the likeness be. But how could he hold converse with men except in the image of human substance? Why, then, not rather in the reality thereof, that his intercourse might be real, since he was under the necessity of holding it? And to how much better account would this necessity have been turned by ministering to faith rather than to a fraud! The god whom you make is miserable enough, for this very reason that he was unable to display his Christ except in the effigy of an unworthy, and indeed an alien, thing. In some instances, it will be convenient to use even unworthy things, if they be only our own, as it will also be quite improper to use things, be they ever so worthy, if they be not our own. Why, then, did he not come in some other worthier substance, and especially his own, that he might not seem as if he could not have done without an unworthy and an alien one? Now, since my Creator held intercourse with man by means of even a bush and fire, and again afterwards by means of a cloud and column, and in representations of Himself used bodies composed of the elements, these examples of divine power afford sufficient proof that God did not require the instrumentality of false or even of real flesh. But yet, if we look steadily into the subject, there is really no substance which is worthy of becoming a vestment for God. Whatsoever He is pleased to clothe Himself withal, He makes worthy of Himself — only without untruth. Therefore how comes it to pass that he should have thought the verity of the flesh, rather than its unreality, a disgrace? Well, but he honoured it by his fiction of it. How great, then, is that flesh, the very phantasy of which was a necessity to the superior God!

Chap. XI. — Christ Was Truly Born; Marcion's Absurd Cavil In Defence Of A Putative Nativity.

All these illusions of an imaginary corporeity in (his) Christ, Marcion adopted with this view, that his nativity also might not be furnished with any evidence from his human substance, and that thus the Christ of the Creator might be free to have assigned to Him all predictions which treated of Him as one capable of human birth, and therefore fleshly. But most foolishly did our Pontic heresiarch act in this too. As if it would not be more readily believed that flesh in the Divine Being should rather be unborn than untrue, this belief having in fact had the way mainly prepared for it by the Creator's angels when they conversed in flesh which was real, although unborn. For indeed the notorious Philumena persuaded Apelles and the other seceders from Marcion rather to believe that Christ did really carry about a body of flesh; not derived to Him, however, from birth, but one which He borrowed from the elements. Now, as Marcion was apprehensive that a belief of the fleshly body would also involve a belief of birth, undoubtedly He who seemed to be man was believed to be verily and indeed born. For a certain woman had exclaimed, "Blessed is the womb that bare Thee, and the paps which Thou hast sucked!" And how else could they have said that His mother and His brethren were standing without? But we shall see more of this in the proper place. Surely, when He also proclaimed Himself as the Son of man, He, without doubt, confessed that He had been born. Now I would rather refer all these points to an examination of the gospel; but still, as I have already stated, if he, who seemed to be man, had by all means to pass as having been born, it was vain for him to suppose that faith in his nativity was to be perfected by the device of an imaginary flesh. For what advantage was there in that being not true which was held to be true, whether it were his flesh or his birth? Or if you should say, let human opinion go for nothing; you are then honouring your god under the shelter of a deception, since he knew himself to be something different from what he had made men to think of him. In that case you might possibly have assigned to him a putative nativity even, and so not have hung the question on this point. For silly women fancy themselves pregnant sometimes, when they are corpulent either from their natural flux or from some other malady. And, no doubt, it had become his duty, since he had put

on the mere mask of his substance, to act out from its earliest scene the play of his phantasy, lest he should have failed in his part at the beginning of the flesh. You have, of course, rejected the sham of a nativity, and have produced true flesh itself. And, no doubt, even the real nativity of a God is a most mean thing. Come then, wind up your cavils against the most sacred and reverend works of nature; inveigh against all that you are; destroy the origin of flesh and life; call the womb a sewer of the illustrious animal — in other words, the manufactory for the production of man; dilate on the impure and shameful tortures of parturition, and then on the filthy, troublesome, contemptible issues of the puerperal labour itself! But yet, after you have pulled all these things down to infamy, that you may affirm them to be unworthy of God, birth will not be worse for Him than death, infancy than the cross, punishment than nature, condemnation than the flesh. If Christ truly suffered all this, to be born was a less thing for Him. If Christ suffered evasively, as a phantom; evasively, too, might He have been born. Such are Marcion's chief arguments by which he makes out another Christ; and I think that we show plainly enough that they are utterly irrelevant, when we teach how much more truly consistent with God is the reality rather than the falsehood of that condition in which He manifested His Christ. Since He was "the truth," He was flesh; since He was flesh, He was born. For the points which this heresy assaults are confirmed, when the means of the assault are destroyed. Therefore if He is to be considered in the flesh, because He was born; and born, because He is in the flesh, and because He is no phantom, — it follows that He must be acknowledged as Himself the very Christ of the Creator, who was by the Creator's prophets foretold as about to come in the flesh, and by the process of human birth.

Chap. XII. — Isaiah's Prophecy Of Emmanuel. Christ Entitled To That Name.

And challenge us first, as is your wont, to consider Isaiah's description of Christ, while you contend that in no point does it suit. For, to begin with, you say that Isaiah's Christ will have to be called Emmanuel; then, that He takes the riches of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria against the king of Assyria. But yet He who is come was neither born under such a name, nor ever engaged in any warlike enterprise. I must, however, remind you that you ought to look into the contexts of the two passages. For there is immediately added the interpretation of Emmanuel, "God with us;" so that you have to consider not merely the name as it is uttered, but also its meaning. The utterance is Hebrew, Emmanuel, of the prophet's own nation; but the meaning of the word, God with us, is by the interpretation made common property. Inquire, then, whether this name, God-with-us, which is Emmanuel, be not often used for the name of Christ, from the fact that Christ has enlightened the world. And I suppose you will not deny it, inasmuch as you do yourself admit that He is called God-with-us, that is, Emmanuel. Else if you are so foolish, that, because with you He gets the designation God-with-us, not Emmanuel, you therefore are unwilling to grant that He is come whose property it is to be called Emmanuel, as if this were not the same name as God-with-us, you will find among the Hebrew Christians, and amongst Marcionites too, that they name Him Emmanuel when they mean Him to be called God-with-us; just indeed as every nation, by whatever word they would express God-with-us, has called Him Emmanuel, completing the sound in its sense. Now since Emmanuel is God-with-us, and God-with-us is Christ, who is in us (for "as many of you as are baptized into Christ, have put on Christ"), Christ is as properly implied in the meaning of the name, which is God-with-us, as He is in the pronunciation of the name, which is Emmanuel. And thus it is evident that He is now come who was foretold as Emmanuel, because what Emmanuel signifies is come, that is to say, God-with-us.

Chap. XIII. — Isaiah's Prophecies Considered. The Virginity Of Christ's Mother A Sign. Other Prophecies Also Signs. Metaphorical Sense Of Proper Names In Sundry Passages Of The Prophets.

You are equally led away by the sound of names, when you so understand the riches of Damascus, and the spoils of Samaria, and the king of Assyria, as if they portended that the Creator's Christ was a warrior, not attending to the promise contained in the passage, "For before the Child shall have knowledge to cry, My father and My mother, He shall take away the riches of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria before the king of Assyria." You should first examine the point of age, whether it can be taken to represent Christ as even yet a man, much less a warrior. Although, to be sure, He might be about to call to arms by His cry as an infant; might be about to sound the alarm of war not with a trumpet, but with a little rattle; might he about to seek His foe, not on horseback, or in chariot, or from parapet, but from nurse's neck or nursemaid's back, and so be destined to subjugate Damascus and Samaria from His mother's breasts! It is a different matter, of course, when the babes of your barbarian Pontus spring forth to the fight. They are, I ween, taught to lance before they lacerate; swathed at first in sunshine and ointment, afterwards armed with the satchel, and rationed on bread and butter! Now, since nature, certainly, nowhere grants to man to learn warfare before life, to pillage the wealth of a Damascus before he knows his father and mother's name, it follows that the passage in question must be deemed to be a figurative one. Well, but nature, says he, does not permit "a virgin to conceive," and still the prophet is believed. And indeed very properly; for he has paved the way for the incredible thing being believed, by giving a reason for its occurrence, in that it was to be for a sign. "Therefore," says he, "the Lord himself shall give you a sign; behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son." Now a sign from God would not have been a sign, unless it had been some novel and prodigious thing. Then, again, Jewish cavillers, in order to disconcert us, boldly pretend that Scripture does not hold that a virgin, but only a young woman, is to conceive and bring forth. They are, however, refuted by this consideration, that nothing of the nature of a sign can possibly come out of what is a daily occurrence, the pregnancy and child-bearing of a

young woman. A virgin mother is justly deemed to be proposed by God as a sign, but a warlike infant has no like claim to the distinction; for even in such a case there does not occur the character of a sign. But after the sign of the strange and novel birth has been asserted, there is immediately afterwards declared as a sign the subsequent course of the Infant, who was to eat butter and honey. Not that this indeed is of the nature of a sign, nor is His “refusing the evil;” for this, too, is only a characteristic of infancy. But His destined capture of the riches of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria before the king of Assyria is no doubt a wonderful sign. Keep to the measure of His age, and seek the purport of the prophecy, and give back also to the truth of the gospel what you have taken away from it in the lateness of your heresy, and the prophecy at once becomes intelligible and declares its own accomplishment. Let those eastern magi wait on the new-born Christ, presenting to Him, (although) in His infancy, their gifts of gold and frankincense; and surely an Infant will have received the riches of Damascus without a battle, and unarmed.

For besides the generally known fact, that the riches of the East, that is to say, its strength and resources, usually consist of gold and spices, it is certainly true of the Creator, that He makes gold the riches of the other nations also. Thus He says by Zechariah:

“And Judah shall also fight at Jerusalem and shall gather together all the wealth of the nations round about, gold and silver.” Moreover, respecting that gift of gold, David also says: “And there shall be given to Him of the gold of Arabia;” and again: “The kings of Arabia and Saba shall offer to Him gifts.” For the East generally regarded the magi as kings; and Damascus was anciently deemed to belong to Arabia, before it was transferred to Syrophoenicia on the division of the Syrias (by Rome). Its riches Christ then received, when He received the tokens thereof in the gold and spices; while the spoils of Samaria were the magi themselves. These having discovered Him and honoured Him with their gifts, and on beaded knee adored Him as their God and King, through the witness of the star which led their way and guided them, became the spoils of Samaria, that is to say, of idolatry, because, as it is easy enough to see, they believed in Christ. He designated idolatry under the name of Samaria, as that city was shameful for its idolatry, through which it had then revolted from God from the days of king Jeroboam. Nor is

this an unusual manner for the Creator, (in His Scriptures) figuratively to employ names of places as a metaphor derived from the analogy of their sins. Thus He calls the Chief men of the Jews “rulers of Sodom,” and the nation itself “people of Gomorrah.” And in another passage He also says: “Thy father was an Amorite, and thy mother an Hittite,” by reason of their kindred iniquity; although He had actually called them His sons: “I have nourished and brought up children.” So likewise by Egypt is sometimes understood, in His sense, the whole world as being marked out by superstition and a curse. By a similar usage Babylon also in our (St.) John is a figure of the city of Rome, as being like (Babylon) great and proud in royal power, and warring down the saints of God. Now it was in accordance with this style that He called the magi by the name of Samaritans, because (as we have said) they had practised idolatry as did the Samaritans. Moreover, by the phrase “before or against the king of Assyria,” understand “against Herod;” against whom the magi then opposed themselves, when they refrained from carrying him back word concerning Christ, whom he was seeking to destroy.

Chap. XIV. — Figurative Style Of Certain Messianic Prophecies In The Psalms. Military Metaphors Applied To Christ.

This interpretation of ours will derive confirmation, when, on your supposing that Christ is in any passage called a warrior, from the mention of certain arms and expressions of that sort, you weigh well the analogy of their other meanings, and draw your conclusions accordingly. “Gird on Thy sword,” says David, “upon Thy thigh.” But what do you read about Christ just before? “Thou art fairer than the children of men; grace is poured forth upon Thy lips.” It amuses me to imagine that blandishments of fair beauty and graceful lips are ascribed to one who had to gird on His sword for war! So likewise, when it is added, “Ride on prosperously in Thy majesty,” the reason is subjoined: “Because of truth, and meekness, and righteousness.” But who shall produce these results with the sword, and not their opposites rather — deceit, and harshness, and injury — which, it must be confessed, are the proper business of battles? Let us see, therefore, whether that is not some other sword, which has so different an action. Now the Apostle John, in the Apocalypse, describes a sword which proceeded from the mouth of God as “a doubly sharp, two-edged one.” This may be understood to be the Divine Word, who is doubly edged with the two testaments of the law and the gospel — sharpened with wisdom, hostile to the devil, arming us against the spiritual enemies of all wickedness and concupiscence, and cutting us off from the dearest objects for the sake of God’s holy name. If, however, you will not acknowledge John, you have our common master Paul, who “girds our loins about with truth, and puts on us the breastplate of righteousness, and shoes us with the preparation of the gospel of peace, not of war; who bids us take the shield of faith, wherewith we may be able to quench all the fiery darts of the devil, and the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which (he says) is the word of God.” This sword the Lord Himself came to send on earth, and not peace. If he is your Christ, then even he is a warrior. If he is not a warrior, and the sword he brandishes is an allegorical one, then the Creator’s Christ in the psalm too may have been girded with the figurative sword of the Word, without any martial gear. The above-mentioned “fairness” of His beauty and “grace of His lips” would quite suit such a sword, girt as it even then was

upon His thigh in the passage of David, and sent as it would one day be by Him on earth. For this is what He says: "Ride on prosperously in Thy majesty" — advancing His word into every land, so as to call all nations: destined to prosper in the success of that faith which received Him, and reigning, from the fact that He conquered death by His resurrection. "Thy right hand," says He, "shall wonderfully lead Thee forth," even the might of Thy spiritual grace, whereby the knowledge of Christ is spread. "Thine arrows are sharp;" everywhere Thy precepts fly about, Thy threatenings also, and convictions of heart, pricking and piercing each conscience. "The people shall fall under Thee," that is, in adoration. Thus is the Creator's Christ mighty in war, and a bearer of arms; thus also does He now take the spoils, not of Samaria alone, but of all nations. Acknowledge, then, that His spoils are figurative, since you have learned that His arms are allegorical. Since, therefore, both the Lord speaks and His apostle writes such things in a figurative style, we are not rash in using His interpretations, the records of which even our adversaries admit; and thus in so far will it be Isaiah's Christ who has come, in as far as He was not a warrior, because it is not of such a character that He is described by Isaiah.

Chap. XV. — The Title Christ Suitable As A Name Of The Creator's Son, But Unsuitable To Marcion's Christ.

Touching then the discussion of His flesh, and (through that) of His nativity, and incidentally of His name Emmanuel, let this suffice. Concerning His other names, however, and especially that of Christ, what has the other side to say in reply? If the name of Christ is as common with you as is the name of God — so that as the Son of both Gods may be fitly called Christ, so each of the Fathers may be called Lord — reason will certainly be opposed to this argument. For the name of God, as being the natural designation of Deity, may be ascribed to all those beings for whom a divine nature is claimed, — as, for instance, even to idols. The apostle says: “For there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth.” The name of Christ, however, does not arise from nature, but from dispensation; and so becomes the proper name of Him to whom it accrues in consequence of the dispensation. Nor is it subject to be shared in by any other God, especially a rival, and one that has a dispensation of His own, to whom it will be also necessary that He should possess names apart from all others. For how happens it that, after they have devised different dispensations for two Gods they admit into this diversity of dispensation a community of names; whereas no proof could be more useful of two Gods being rival ones, than if there should be found coincident with their (diverse) dispensations a diversity also of names? For that is not a state of diverse qualities, which is not distinctly indicated in the specific meanings of their designations. Whenever these are wanting, there occurs what the Greeks call the *katachresis* of a term, by its improper application to what does not belong to it. In God, however, there ought, I suppose, to be no defect, no setting up of His dispensations by *katachrestic* abuse of words. Who is this god, that claims for his son names from the Creator? I say not names which do not belong to him, but ancient and well-known names, which even in this view of them would be unsuitable for a novel and unknown god. How is it, again, that he tells us that “a piece of new cloth is not sewed on to an old garment,” or that “new wine is not trusted to old bottles,” when he is himself patched and clad in an old suit of names? How is it he has rent off the gospel from the law, when he is wholly invested with the law, — in the name, forsooth, of Christ? What hindered his calling himself by some other name,

seeing that he preached another (gospel), came from another source, and refused to take on him a real body, for the very purpose that he might not be supposed to be the Creator's Christ? Vain, however, was his unwillingness to seem to be He whose name he was willing to assume; since, even if he had been truly corporeal, he would more certainly escape being taken for the Christ of the Creator, if he had not taken on him His name. But, as it is, he rejects the substantial verity of Him whose name he has assumed, even though he should give a proof of that verity by his name. For Christ means anointed, and to be anointed is certainly an affair of the body. He who had not a body, could not by any possibility have been anointed; he who could not by any possibility have been anointed, could not in any wise have been called Christ. It is a different thing (quite), if he only assumed the phantom of a name too. But how, he asks, was he to insinuate himself into being believed by the Jews, except through a name which was usual and familiar amongst them? Then 'tis a fickle and tricksty God whom you describe! To promote any plan by deception, is the resource of either distrust or of maliciousness. Much more frank and simple was the conduct of the false prophets against the Creator, when they came in His name as their own God. But I do not find that any good came of this proceeding, since they were more apt to suppose either that Christ was their own, or rather was some deceiver, than that He was the Christ of the other god; and this the gospel will show.

Chap. XVI. — The Sacred Name Jesus Most Suited To The Christ Of The Creator Joshua A Type Of Him.

Now if he caught at the name Christ, just as the pickpocket clutches the dole-basket, why did he wish to be called Jesus too, by a name which was not so much looked for by the Jews? For although we, who have by God's grace attained to the understanding of His mysteries, acknowledge that this name also was destined for Christ, yet, for all that, the fact was not known to the Jews, from whom wisdom was taken away. To this day, in short, it is Christ that they are looking for, not Jesus; and they interpret Elias to be Christ rather than Jesus. He, therefore, who came also in a name in which Christ was not expected, might have come only in that name which was solely anticipated for Him. But since he has mixed up the two, the expected one and the unexpected, his twofold project is defeated. For if he be Christ for the very purpose of insinuating himself as the Creator's, then Jesus opposes him, because Jesus was not looked for in the Christ of the Creator; or if he be Jesus, in order that he might pass as belonging to the other (God), then Christ hinders him, because Christ was not expected to belong to any other than the Creator. I know not which one of these names may be able to hold its ground. In the Christ of the Creator, however, both will keep their place, for in Him a Jesus too is found. Do you ask, how? Learn it then here, with the Jews also who are panakers of your heresy. When Oshea the son of Nun was destined to be the successor of Moses, is not his old name then changed, and for the first time he is called Joshua? It is true, you say. This, then, we first observe, was a figure of Him who was to come. For inasmuch as Jesus Christ was to introduce a new generation (because we are born in the wilderness of this world) into the promised land which flows with milk and honey, that is, into the possession of eternal life, than which nothing can be sweeter; inasmuch, too, as this was to be brought about not by Moses, that is to say, not by the discipline of the law, but by Joshua, by the grace of the gospel, our circumcision being effected by a knife of stone, that is, (by the circumcision) of Christ, for Christ is a rock (or stone), therefore that great man, who was ordained as a type of this mystery, was actually consecrated with the figure of the Lord's own name, being called Joshua. This name Christ Himself even then testified to be His own, when He talked with Moses. For who was it that

talked with him, but the Spirit of the Creator, which is Christ? When He therefore spake this commandment to the people, "Behold, I send my angel before thy face, to keep thee in the way, and to bring thee into the land which I have prepared for thee; attend to him, and obey his voice and do not provoke him; for he has not shunned you, since my name is upon him," He called him an angel indeed, because of the greatness of the powers which he was to exercise, and because of his prophetic office, while announcing the will of God; but Joshua also (Jesus), because it was a type of His own future name. Often did He confirm that name of His which He had thus conferred upon (His servant); because it was not the name of angel, nor Oshea, but Joshua (Jesus), which He had commanded him to bear as his usual appellation for the time to come. Since, therefore, both these names are suitable to the Christ of the Creator, they are proportionately unsuitable to the non-Creator's Christ; and so indeed is all the rest of (our Christ's) destined course. In short, there must now for the future be made between us that certain and equitable rule, necessary to both sides, which shall determine that there ought to be absolutely nothing at all in common between the Christ of the other god and the Creator's Christ. For you will have as great a necessity to maintain their diversity as we have to resist it, inasmuch as you will be as unable to show that the Christ of the other god has come, until you have proved him to be a far different being from the Creator's Christ, as we, to claim Him (who has come) as the Creator's, until we have shown Him to be such a one as the Creator has appointed. Now respecting their names, such is our conclusion against (Marcion). I claim for myself Christ; I maintain for myself Jesus.

Chap. XVII. — Prophecies In Isaiah And The Psalms Respecting Christ's Humiliation.

Let us compare with Scripture the rest of His dispensation. Whatever that poor despised body may be, because it was an object of touch and sight, it shall be my Christ, be He inglorious, be He ignoble, be He dishonoured; for such was it announced that He should be, both in bodily condition and aspect. Isaiah comes to our help again: "We have announced (His way) before Him," says he; "He is like a servant, like a root in a dry ground; He hath no form nor comeliness; we saw Him, and He had neither form nor beauty; but His form was despised, marred above all men." Similarly the Father addressed the Son just before: "Inasmuch as many will be astonished at Thee, so also will Thy beauty be without glory from men," For although, in David's words, He is fairer than the children of men," yet it is in that figurative state of spiritual grace, when He is girded with the sword of the Spirit, which is verily His form, and beauty, and glory. According to the same prophet, however, He is in bodily condition "a very worm, and no man; a reproach of men, and an outcast of the people." But no internal quality of such a kind does He announce as belonging to Him. In Him dwelt the fulness of the Spirit; therefore I acknowledge Him to be "the rod of the stem of Jesse." His blooming flower shall be my Christ, upon whom hath rested, according to Isaiah, "the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of piety, and of the fear of the Lord." Now to no man, except Christ, would the diversity of spiritual proofs suitably apply. He is indeed like a flower for the Spirit's grace, reckoned indeed of the stem of Jesse, but thence to derive His descent through Mary. Now I purposely demand of you, whether you grant to Him the destination of all this humiliation, and suffering, and tranquility, from which He will be the Christ of Isaiah, — a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief, who was led as a sheep to the slaughter, and who, like a lamb before the shearer, opened not His mouth; who did not struggle nor cry, nor was His voice heard in the street who broke not the bruised reed — that is, the shattered faith of the Jews — nor quenched the smoking flax — that is, the freshly-kindled ardour of the Gentiles. He can be none other than the Man who was foretold. It is right that His conduct be investigated according to the rule of Scripture, distinguishable

as it is unless I am mistaken, by the twofold operation of preaching and of miracle. But the treatment of both these topics I shall so arrange as to postpone, to the chapter wherein I have determined to discuss the actual gospel of Marcion, the consideration of His wonderful doctrines and miracles — with a view, however, to our present purpose. Let us here, then, in general terms complete the subject which we had entered upon, by indicating, as we pass on, how Christ was fore-announced by Isaiah as a preacher: “For who is there among you,” says he, “that feareth the Lord, that obeyeth the voice of His Son?” And likewise as a healer: “For,” says he, “He hath taken away our infirmities, and carried our sorrows.”

Chap. XVIII. — Types Of The Death Of Christ. Isaac; Joseph; Jacob Against Simeon And Levi; Moses Praying Against Amalek; The Brazen Serpent.

On the subject of His death, I suppose, you endeavour to introduce a diversity of opinion, simply because you deny that the suffering of the cross was predicted of the Christ of the Creator, and because you contend, moreover, that it is not to be believed that the Creator would expose His Son to that kind of death on which He had Himself pronounced a curse. “Cursed,” says He, “is every one who hangeth on a tree.” But what is meant by this curse, worthy as it is of the simple prediction of the cross, of which we are now mainly inquiring, I defer to consider, because in another passage we have given the reason of the thing preceded by proof. First, I shall offer a full explanation of the types. And no doubt it was proper that this mystery should be prophetically set forth by types, and indeed chiefly by that method: for in proportion to its incredibility would it be a stumbling-block, if it were set forth in bare prophecy; and in proportion too, to its grandeur, was the need of obscuring it in shadow, that the difficulty of understanding it might lead to prayer for the grace of God. First, then, Isaac, when he was given up by his father as an offering, himself carried the wood for his own death. By this act he even then was setting forth the death of Christ, who was destined by His Father as a sacrifice, and carried the cross whereon He suffered. Joseph likewise was a type of Christ, not indeed on this ground (that I may not delay my course), that he suffered persecution for the cause of God from his brethren, as Christ did from His brethren after the flesh, the Jews; but when he is blessed by his father in these words: “His glory is that of a bullock; his horns are the horns of a unicorn; with them shall he push the nations to the very ends of the earth,” — he was not, of course, designated as a mere unicorn with its one horn, or a minotaur with two; but Christ was indicated in him — a bullock in respect of both His characteristics: to some as severe as a Judge, to others gentle as a Saviour, whose horns were the extremities of His cross. For of the antenna, which is a part of a cross, the ends are called horns; while the midway stake of the whole frame is the unicorn. By this virtue, then, of His cross, and in this manner “horned,” He is both now pushing all nations through faith, bearing them away from earth to heaven; and will then push

them through judgment, casting them down from heaven to earth. He will also, according to another passage in the same scripture, be a bullock, when He is spiritually interpreted to be Jacob against Simeon and Levi, which means against the scribes and the Pharisees; for it was from them that these last derived their origin. Like Simeon and Levi, they consummated their wickedness by their heresy, with which they persecuted Christ. "Into their counsel let not my soul enter; to their assembly let not my heart be united: for in their anger they slew men," that is, the prophets; "and in their self-will they hacked the sinews of a bullock," that is, of Christ. For against Him did they wreak their fury after they had slain His prophets, even by affixing Him with nails to the cross. Otherwise, it is an idle thing when, after slaying men, he inveighs against them for the torture of a bullock! Again, in the case of Moses, wherefore did he at that moment particularly, when Joshua was fighting Amalek, pray in a sitting posture with outstretched hands, when in such a conflict it would surely have been more seemly to have bent the knee, and smitten the breast, and to have fallen on the face to the ground, and in such prostration to have offered prayer? Wherefore, but because in a battle fought in the name of that Lord who was one day to fight against the devil, the shape was necessary of that very cross through which Jesus was to win the victory? Why, once more, did the same Moses, after prohibiting the likeness of everything, set up the golden serpent on the pole; and as it hung there, propose it as an object to be looked at for a cure? Did he not here also intend to show the power of our Lord's cross, whereby that old serpent the devil was vanquished, — whereby also to every man who was bitten by spiritual serpents, but who yet turned with an eye of faith to it, was proclaimed a cure from the bite of sin, and health for evermore?

Chap. XIX. — Prophecies Of The Death Of Christ.

Come now, when you read in the words of David, how that “the Lord reigneth from the tree,” I want to know what you understand by it. Perhaps you think some wooden king of the Jews is meant! — and not Christ, who overcame death by His suffering on the cross, and thence reigned! Now, although death reigned from Adam even to Christ, why may not Christ be said to have reigned from the tree, from His having shut up the kingdom of death by dying upon the tree of His cross? Likewise Isaiah also says: “For unto us a child is born.” But what is there unusual in this, unless he speaks of the Son of God? “To us is given He whose government is upon His shoulder.” Now, what king is there who bears the ensign of his dominion upon his shoulder, and not rather upon his head as a diadem, or in his hand as a sceptre, or else as a mark in some royal apparel? But the one new King of the new ages, Jesus Christ, carried on His shoulder both the power and the excellence of His new glory, even His cross; so that, according to our former prophecy, He might thenceforth reign from the tree as Lord. This tree it is which Jeremiah likewise gives you intimation of, when he prophesies to the Jews, who should say, “Come, let us destroy the tree with the fruit, (the bread) thereof,” that is, His body. For so did God in your own gospel even reveal the sense, when He called His body bread; so that, for the time to come, you may understand that He has given to His body the figure of bread, whose body the prophet of old figuratively turned into bread, the Lord Himself designing to give by and by an interpretation of the mystery. If you require still further prediction of the Lord’s cross, the twenty-first Psalm is sufficiently able to afford it to you, containing as it does the entire passion of Christ, who was even then prophetically declaring His glory. “They pierced,” says He, “my hands and my feet,” which is the special cruelty of the cross. And again, when He implores His Father’s help, He says, “Save me from the lion’s mouth,” that is, the jaws of death, “and my humiliation from the horns of the unicorns;” in other words, from the extremities of the cross, as we have shown above. Now, David himself did not suffer this cross, nor did any other king of the Jews; so that you cannot suppose that this is the prophecy of any other’s passion than His who alone was so notably crucified by the nation. Now should the heretics, in their obstinacy, reject and despise all these interpretations, I will

grant to them that the Creator has given us no signs of the cross of His Christ; but they will not prove from this concession that He who was crucified was another (Christ), unless they could somehow show that this death was predicted as His by their own god, so that from the diversity of predictions there might be maintained to be a diversity of sufferers, and thereby also a diversity of persons. But since there is no prophecy of even Marcion's Christ, much less of his cross, it is enough for my Christ that there is a prophecy merely of death. For, from the fact that the kind of death is not declared, it was possible for the death of the cross to have been still intended, which would then have to be assigned to another (Christ), if the prophecy had had reference to another. Besides, if he should be unwilling to allow that the death of my Christ was predicted, his confusion must be the greater if he announces that his own Christ indeed died, whom he denies to have had a nativity, whilst denying that my Christ is mortal, though he allows Him to be capable of birth. However, I will show him the death, and burial, and resurrection of my Christ all indicated in a single sentence of Isaiah, who says, "His sepulture was removed from the midst of them." Now there could have been no sepulture without death, and no removal of sepulture except by resurrection. Then, finally, he added: "Therefore He shall have many for his inheritance, and He shall divide the spoil of the many, because He poured out His soul unto death." For there is here set forth the cause of this favour to Him, even that it was to recompense Him for His suffering of death. It was equally shown that He was to obtain this recompense for His death, was certainly to obtain it after His death by means of the resurrection.

Chap. XX. — The Subsequent Influence Or Christ's Death In The World Predicted. The Sure Mercies Of David. What These Are.

It is sufficient for my purpose to have traced thus far the course of Christ's dispensation in these particulars. This has proved Him to be such a one as prophecy announced He should be, so that He ought not to be regarded in any other character than that which prediction assigned to Him; and the result of this agreement between the facts of His course and the Scriptures of the Creator should be the restoration of belief in them from that prejudice which has, by contributing to diversity of opinion, either thrown doubt upon, or led to a denial of, a considerable part of them. And now we go further and build up the superstructure of those kindred events out of the Scriptures of the Creator which were predicted and destined to happen after Christ. For the dispensation would not be found complete, if He had not come after whom it had to run on its course. Look at all nations from the vortex of human error emerging out of it up to the Divine Creator, the Divine Christ, and deny Him to be the object of prophecy, if you dare. At once there will occur to you the Father's promise in the Psalms: "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten Thee. Ask of me, and I shall give Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for Thy possession." You will not be able to put in a claim for some son of David being here meant, rather than Christ; or for the ends of the earth being promised to David, whose kingdom was confined to the Jewish nation simply, rather than to Christ, who now embraces the whole world in the faith of His gospel. So again He says by Isaiah: "I have given Thee for a dispensation of the people, for a light of the Gentiles, to open the eyes of the blind," that is, those that be in error, "to bring out the prisoners from the prison," that is, to free them from sin, "and from the prison-house," that is, of death, "those that sit in darkness" — even that of ignorance. If these things are accomplished through Christ, they would not have been designed in prophecy for any other than Him through whom they have their accomplishment. In another passage He also says: "Behold, I have set Him as a testimony to the nations, a prince and commander to the nations; nations which know Thee not shall invoke Thee, and peoples shall run together unto Thee." You will not interpret these words of David, because He previously

said, "I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David." Indeed, you will be obliged from these words all the more to understand that Christ is reckoned to spring from David by carnal descent, by reason of His birth of the Virgin Mary. Touching this promise of Him, there is the oath to David in the psalm, "Of the fruit of thy body will I set upon thy throne." What body is meant? David's own? Certainly not. For David was not to give birth to a son. Nor his wife's either. For instead of saying, "Of the fruit of thy body," he would then have rather said, "Of the fruit of thy wife's body." But by mentioning his body, it follows that He pointed to some one of his race of whose body the flesh of Christ was to be the fruit, which bloomed forth from Mary's womb. He named the fruit of the body (womb) alone, because it was peculiarly fruit of the womb, of the womb only in fact, and not of the husband also; and he refers the womb (body) to David, as to the chief of the race and father of the family. Because it could not consist with a virgin's condition to consort her with a husband, He therefore attributed the body (womb) to the father. That new dispensation, then, which is found in Christ now, will prove to be what the Creator then promised under the appellation of "the sure mercies of David," which were Christ's, inasmuch as Christ sprang from David, or rather His very flesh itself was David's "sure mercies," consecrated by religion, and "sure" after its resurrection. Accordingly the prophet Nathan, in the first of Kings, makes a promise to David for his seed, "which shall proceed," says he, "out of thy bowels." Now, if you explain this simply of Solomon, you will send me into a fit of laughter. For David will evidently have brought forth Solomon! But is not Christ here designated the seed of David, as of that womb which was derived from David, that is, Mary's? Now, because Christ rather than any other was to build the temple of God, that is to say, a holy manhood, wherein God's Spirit might dwell as in a better temple, Christ rather than David's son Solomon was to be looked for as the Son of God. Then, again, the throne for ever with the kingdom for ever is more suited to Christ than to Solomon, a mere temporal king. From Christ, too, God's mercy did not depart, whereas on Solomon even God's anger alighted, after his luxury and idolatry. For Satan stirred up an Edomite as an enemy against him. Since, therefore, nothing of these things is compatible with Solomon, but only with Christ, the method of our interpretations will certainly be true; and the very issue of the facts shows that they were clearly

predicted of Christ. And so in Him we shall have “the sure mercies of David.” Him, not David, has God appointed for a testimony to the nations; Him, for a prince and commander to the nations, not David, who ruled over Israel alone. It is Christ whom all nations now invoke, which knew Him not; Christ to whom all races now betake themselves, whom they were ignorant of before. It is impossible that that should be said to be future, which you see (daily) coming to pass.

Chap. XXI. — The Call Of The Gentiles Under The Influence Of The Gospel Foretold.

So you cannot get out of this notion of yours a basis for your difference between the two Christs, as if the Jewish Christ were ordained by the Creator for the restoration of the people alone from its dispersion, whilst yours was appointed by the supremely good God for the liberation of the whole human race. Because, after all, the earliest Christians are found on the side of the Creator, not of Marcion, all nations being called to His kingdom, from the fact that God set up that kingdom from the tree (of the cross), when no Cerdon was yet born, much less a Marcion. However, when you are refuted on the call of the nations, you betake yourself to proselytes. You ask, who among the nations can turn to the Creator, when those whom the prophet names are proselytes of individually different and private condition? “Behold,” says Isaiah, “the proselytes shall come unto me through — Thee,” showing that they were even proselytes who were to find their way to God through Christ. But nations (Gentiles) also, like ourselves, had likewise their mention (by the prophet) as trusting in Christ. “And in His name,” says he, “shall the Gentiles trust.” Besides, the proselytes whom you substitute for the nations in prophecy, are not in the habit of trusting in Christ’s name, but in the dispensation of Moses, from whom comes their instruction. But it was in the last days that the choice of the nations had its commencement. In these very words Isaiah says: “And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord,” that is, God’s eminence, “and the house of God,” that is, Christ, the Catholic temple of God, in which God is worshipped, “shall be established upon the mountains,” over all the eminences of virtues and powers; “and all nations shall come unto it; and many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob; and He will teach us His way, and we will walk in it: for out of Sion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.” The gospel will be this “way,” of the new law and the new word in Christ, no longer in Moses. “And He shall judge among the nations,” even concerning their error. “And these shall rebuke a large nation,” that of the Jews themselves and their proselytes. “And they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks;” in other words, they shall

change into pursuits of moderation and peace the dispositions of injurious minds, and hostile tongues, and all kinds of evil, and blasphemy. "Nation shall not lift up sword against nation," shall not stir up discord. "Neither shall they learn war any more," that is, the provocation of hostilities; so that you here learn that Christ is promised not as powerful in war, but pursuing peace. Now you must deny either that these things were predicted, although they are plainly seen, or that they have been accomplished, although you read of them; else, if you cannot deny either one fact or the other, they must have been accomplished in Him of whom they were predicted. For look at the entire course of His call up to the present time from its beginning, how it is addressed to the nations (Gentiles) who are in these last days approaching to God the Creator, and not to proselytes, whose election was rather an event of the earliest days. Verily the apostles have annulled that belief of yours.

Chap. XXII. — The Success Of The Apostles, And Their Sufferings In The Cause Of The Gospel, Foretold.

You have the work of the apostles also predicted: “How beautiful are the feet of them which preach the gospel of peace, which bring good tidings of good,” not of war nor evil tidings. In response to which is the psalm, “Their sound is gone through all the earth, and their words to the ends of the world;” that is, the words of them who carry round about the law that proceeded from Sion and the Lord’s word from Jerusalem, in order that that might come to pass which was written: “They who were far from my righteousness, have come near to my righteousness and truth.” When the apostles girded their loins for this business, they renounced the elders and rulers and priests of the Jews. Well, says he, but was it not above all things that they might preach the other god? Rather (that they might preach) that very self-same God, whose scripture they were with all their might fulfilling! “Depart ye, depart ye,” exclaims Isaiah; “go ye out from thence, and touch not the unclean thing,” that is blasphemy against Christ; “Go ye out of the midst of her,” even of the synagogue” Be ye separate who bear the vessels of the Lord.” For already had the Lord, according to the preceding words (of the prophet), revealed His Holy One with His arm, that is to say, Christ by His mighty power, in the eyes of the nations, so that all the nations and the utmost parts of the earth have seen the salvation, which was from God. By thus departing from Judaism itself, when they exchanged the obligations and burdens of the law for the liberty of the gospel, they were fulfilling the psalm, “Let us burst their bonds asunder, and cast away their yoke from us;” and this indeed (they did) after that “the heathen raged, and the people imagined vain devices;” after that “the kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers took their counsel together against the Lord, and against His Christ.” What did the apostles thereupon suffer? You answer: Every sort of iniquitous persecutions, from men that belonged indeed to that Creator who was the adversary of Him whom they were preaching. Then why does the Creator, if an adversary of Christ, not only predict that the apostles should incur this suffering, but even express His displeasure thereat? For He ought neither to predict the course of the other god, whom, as you contend, He knew not, nor to have expressed displeasure at that which He had taken care to bring about. “See how the righteous

perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart; and how merciful men are taken away, and no man considereth. For the righteous man has been removed from the evil person.” Who is this but Christ? “Come, say they, let us take away the righteous, because He is not for our turn, (and He is clean contrary to our doings).” Premising, therefore, and likewise subjoining the fact that Christ suffered, He foretold that His just ones should suffer equally with Him — both the apostles and all the faithful in succession; and He signed them with that very seal of which Ezekiel spake: “The Lord said unto me, Go through the gate, through the midst of Jerusalem, and set the mark Tau upon the foreheads of the men.” Now the Greek letter Tau and our own letter T is the very form of the cross, which He predicted would be the sign on our foreheads in the true Catholic Jerusalem, in which, according to the twenty-first Psalm, the brethren of Christ or children of God would ascribe glory to God the Father, in the person of Christ Himself addressing His Father; “I will declare Thy name unto my brethren; in the midst of the congregation will I sing praise unto Thee.” For that which had to come to pass in our day in His name, and by His Spirit, He rightly foretold would be of Him. And a little afterwards He says: “My praise shall be of Thee in the great congregation.” In the sixty-seventh Psalm He says again: “In the congregations bless ye the Lord God.” So that with this agrees also the prophecy of Malachi: “I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord; neither will I accept your offerings: for from the rising of the sun, even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place sacrifice shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering” — such as the ascription of glory, and blessing, and praise, and hymns. Now, inasmuch as all these things are also found amongst you, and the sign upon the forehead, and the sacraments of the church, and the offerings of the pure sacrifice, you ought now to burst forth, and declare that the Spirit of the Creator prophesied of your Christ.

Chap. XXIII. — The Dispersion Of The Jews, And Their Desolate Condition For Rejecting Christ, Foretold.

Now, since you join the Jews in denying that their Christ has come, recollect also what is that end which they were predicted as about to bring on themselves after the time of Christ, for the impiety wherewith they both rejected and slew Him. For it began to come to pass from that day, when, according to Isaiah, “a man threw away his idols of gold and of silver, which they made into useless and hurtful objects of worship;” in other words, from the time when he threw away his idols after the truth had been made clear by Christ. Consider whether what follows in the prophet has not received its fulfilment: “The Lord of hosts hath taken away from Judah and from Jerusalem, amongst other things, both the prophet and the wise artificer;” that is, His Holy Spirit, who builds the church, which is indeed the temple, and household and city of God. For thenceforth God’s grace failed amongst them; and “the clouds were commanded to rain no rain upon the vineyard” of Sorech; to withhold, that is, the graces of heaven, that they shed no blessing upon “the house of Israel,” which had but produced “the thorns” wherewith it had crowned the Lord, and “instead of righteousness, the cry” wherewith it had hurried Him away to the cross. And so in this manner the law and the prophets were until John, but the clews of divine grace were withdrawn from the nation. After his time their madness still continued, and the name of the Lord was blasphemed by them, as saith the Scripture: “Because of you my name is continually blasphemed amongst the nations” (for from them did the blasphemy originate); neither in the interval from Tiberius to Vespasian did they learn repentance. Therefore “has their land become desolate, their cities are burnt with fire, their country strangers are devouring before their own eyes; the daughter of Sion has been deserted like a cottage in a vineyard, or a lodge in a garden of cucumbers,” ever since the time when “Israel acknowledged not the Lord, and the people understood Him not, but forsook Him, and provoked the Holy One of Israel unto anger.” So likewise that conditional threat of the sword, “If ye refuse and hear me not, the sword shall devour you,” has proved that it was Christ, for rebellion against whom they have perished. In the fifty-eighth Psalm He demands of the Father their dispersion: “Scatter them in Thy power.” By Isaiah He also says, as He

finishes a prophecy of their consumption by fire: "Because of me has this happened to you; ye shall lie down in sorrow." But all this would be unmeaning enough, if they suffered this retribution not on account of Him, who had in prophecy assigned their suffering to His own cause, but for the sake of the Christ of the other god. Well, then, although you affirm that it is the Christ of the other god who was driven to the cross by the powers and authorities of the Creator, as it were by hostile beings, still I have to say, See how manifestly He was defended by the Creator: there were given to Him both "the wicked for His burial," even those who had strenuously maintained that His corpse had been stolen, "and the rich for His death," even those who had redeemed Him from the treachery of Judas, as well as from the lying report of the soldiers that His body had been taken away. Therefore these things either did not happen to the Jews on His account, in which case you will be refuted by the sense of the Scriptures tallying with the issue of the facts and the order of the times, or else they did happen on His account, and then the Creator could not have inflicted the vengeance except for His own Christ; nay, He must have rather had a reward for Judas, if it had been his master's enemy whom they put to death. At all events, if the Creator's Christ has not come yet, on whose account the prophecy dooms them to such sufferings, they will have to endure the sufferings when He shall have come. Then where will there be a daughter of Sion to be reduced to desolation, for there is none now to be found? Where will there be cities to be burnt with fire, for they are now in heaps? Where a nation to be dispersed, which is already in banishment? Restore to Judaea its former state, that the Creator's Christ may find it, and then you may contend that another Christ has come. But then, again, how is it that He can have permitted to range through His own heaven one whom He was some day to put to death on His own earth, after the more noble and glorious region of His kingdom had been violated, and His own very palace and sublimest height had been trodden by him? Or was it only in appearance rather that he did this? God is no doubt a jealous God! Yet he gained the victory. You should blush with shame, who put your faith in a vanquished god! What have you to hope for from him, who was not strong enough to protect himself? For it was either through his infirmity that he was crushed by the powers and human agents of the Creator, or else through maliciousness, in order that he might fasten so great a stigma on them by his

endurance of their wickedness.

Chap. XXV. — Christ's Millennial And Heavenly Glory In Company With His Saints.

Yes, certainly, you say, I do hope from Him that which amounts in itself to a proof of the diversity (of Christs), God's kingdom in an everlasting and heavenly possession. Besides, your Christ promises to the Jews their primitive condition, with the recovery of their country; and after this life's course is over, repose in Hades in Abraham's bosom. Oh, most excellent God, when He restores in amnesty what He took away in wrath! Oh, what a God is yours, who both wounds and heals, creates evil and makes peace! Oh, what a God, that is merciful even down to Hades! I shall have something to say about Abraham's bosom in the proper place. As for the restoration of Judaea, however, which even the Jews themselves, induced by the names of places and countries, hope for just as it is described, it would be tedious to state at length how the figurative interpretation is spiritually applicable to Christ and His church, and to the character and fruits thereof; besides, the subject has been regularly treated in another work, which we entitle *De Spe Fidelium*. At present, too, it would be superfluous for this reason, that our inquiry relates to what is promised in heaven, not on earth. But we do confess that a kingdom is promised to us upon the earth, although before heaven, only in another state of existence; inasmuch as it will be after the resurrection for a thousand years in the divinely-built city of Jerusalem, "let down from heaven," which the apostle also calls "our mother from above;" and, while declaring that our poli'teuma, or citizenship, is in heaven, he predicates of it that it is really a city in heaven. This both Ezekiel had knowledge of and the Apostle John beheld. And the word of the new prophecy which is a part of our belief, attests how it foretold that there would be for a sign a picture of this very city exhibited. to view previous to its manifestation. This prophecy, indeed, has been very lately fulfilled in an expedition to the East. For it is evident from the testimony of even heathen witnesses, that in Judaea there was suspended in the sky a city early every morning for forty days. As the day advanced, the entire figure of its walls would wane gradually, and sometimes it would vanish instantly. We say that this city has been provided by God for receiving the saints on their resurrection, and refreshing them with the abundance of all really spiritual blessings, as a recompense for those which in the world we

have either despised or lost; since it is both just and God-worthy that His servants should have their joy in the place where they have also suffered affliction for His name's sake. Of the heavenly kingdom this is the process. After its thousand years are over, within which period is completed the resurrection of the saints, who rise sooner or later according to their deserts there will ensue the destruction of the world and the conflagration of all things at the judgment: we shall then be changed in a moment into the substance of angels, even by the investiture of an incorruptible nature, and so be removed to that kingdom in heaven of which we have now been treating, just as if it had not been predicted by the Creator, and as if it were proving Christ to belong to the other god and as if he were the first and sole revealer of it. But now learn that it has been, in fact, predicted by the Creator, and that even without prediction it has a claim upon our faith in respect of the Creator. What appears to be probable to you, when Abraham's seed, after the primal promise of being like the sand of the sea for multitude, is destined likewise to an equality with the stars of heaven — are not these the indications both of an earthly and a heavenly dispensation? When Isaac, in blessing his son Jacob, says, "God give thee of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth," are there not in his words examples of both kinds of blessing? Indeed, the very form of the blessing is in this instance worthy of notice. For in relation to Jacob, who is the type of the later and more excellent people, that is to say ourselves, first comes the promise of the heavenly dew, and afterwards that about the fatness of the earth. So are we first invited to heavenly blessings when we are separated from the world, and afterwards we thus find ourselves in the way of obtaining also earthly blessings. And your own gospel likewise has it in this wise: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and these things shall be added unto you." But to Esau the blessing promised is an earthly one, which he supplements with a heavenly, after the fatness of the earth, saying, "Thy dwelling shall be also of the dew of heaven." For the dispensation of the Jews (who were in Esau, the prior of the sons in birth, but the later in affection) at first was imbued with earthly blessings through the law, and afterwards brought round to heavenly ones through the gospel by faith. When Jacob sees in his dream the steps of a ladder set upon the earth, and reaching to heaven, with angels ascending and descending thereon, and the Lord standing above, we shall without hesitation venture to suppose, that by this

ladder the Lord has in judgment appointed that the way to heaven is shown to men, whereby some may attain to it, and others fall therefrom. For why, as soon as he awoke out of his sleep, and shook through a dread of the spot, does he fall to an interpretation of his dream? He exclaims, "How terrible is this place!" And then adds, "This is none other than the house of God; this is the gate of heaven!" For he had seen Christ the Lord, the temple of God, and also the gate by whom heaven is entered. Now surely he would not have mentioned the gate of heaven, if heaven is not entered in the dispensation of the Creator. But there is now a gate provided by Christ, which admits and conducts to glory. Of this Amos says: "He buildeth His ascensions into heaven;" certainly not for Himself alone, but for His people also, who will be with Him. "And Thou shall bind them about Thee," says he, "like the adornment of a bride." Accordingly the Spirit, admiring such as soar up to the celestial realms by these ascensions, says, "They fly, as if they were kites; they fly as clouds, and as young doves, unto me" — that is, simply like a dove. For we shall, according to the apostle, be caught up into the clouds to meet the Lord (even the Son of man, who shall come in the clouds, according to Daniel and so shall we ever be with the Lord, so long as He remains both on the earth and in heaven, who, against such as are thankless for both one promise and the other, calls the elements themselves to witness: "Hear, O heaven, and give ear, O earth." Now, for my own part indeed, even though Scripture held out no hand of heavenly hope to me (as, in fact, it so often does), I should still possess a sufficient presumption of even this promise, in my present enjoyment of the earthly gift; and I should look out for something also of the heavenly, from Him who is the God of heaven as well as of earth. I should thus believe that the Christ who promises the higher blessings is (the Son) of Him who had also promised the lower ones; who had, moreover, afforded proofs of greater gifts by smaller ones; who had reserved for His Christ alone this revelation of a (perhaps) unheard of kingdom, so that, while the earthly glory was announced by His servants, the heavenly might have God Himself for its messenger. You, however, argue for another Christ, from the very circumstance that He proclaims a new kingdom. You ought first to bring forward some example of His beneficence, that I may have no good reason for doubting the credibility of the great promise, which you say ought to be hoped for; nay, it is before all things necessary that you should prove

that a heaven belongs to Him, whom you declare to be a promiser of heavenly things. As it is, you invite us to dinner, but do not point out your house; you assert a kingdom, but show us no royal state. Can it be that your Christ promises a kingdom of heaven, without having a heaven; as He displayed Himself man, without having flesh? O what a phantom from first to last! O hollow pretence of a mighty promise!

BOOK IV

Which Tertullian Pursues His Argument. Jesus Is The Christ Of The Creator. He Derives His Proofs From St. Luke's Gospel; That Being The Only Historical Portion Of The New Testament Partially Accepted By Marcion. This Book May Also Be Regarded As A Commentary On St. Luke. It Gives Remarkable Proof Of Tertullian's Grasp Of Scripture, And Proves That "The Old Testament Is Not Contrary To The New." It Also Abounds In Striking Expositions Of Scriptural Passages, Embracing Profound Views Of Revelation, In Connection With The Nature Of Man.

Chap. I. — Examination Of The Antitheses Of Marcion, Bringing Them To The Test Of Marcion's Own Gospel. Certain True Antitheses In The Dispensations Of The Old And The New Testaments. These Variations Quite Compatible With One And The Same God, Who Ordered Them.

Every opinion and the whole scheme of the impious and sacrilegious Marcion we now bring to the test of that very Gospel which, by his process of interpolation, he has made his own. To encourage a belief of this Gospel he has actually devised for it a sort of dower, in a work composed of contrary statements set in opposition, thence entitled Antitheses, and compiled with a view to such a severance of the law from the gospel as should divide the Deity into two, nay, diverse, gods — one for each Instrument, or Testament as it is more usual to call it; that by such means he might also patronize belief in “the Gospel according to the Antitheses.” These, however, I would have attacked in special combat, hand to hand; that is to say, I would have encountered singly the several devices Of the Pontic heretic, if it were not much more convenient to refute them in and with that very gospel to which they contribute their support. Although it is so easy to meet them at once with a peremptory demurrer, yet, in order that I may both make them admissible in argument, and account them valid expressions of opinion, and even contend that they make for our side, that so there may be all the redder shame for the blindness of their author, we have now drawn out some antitheses of our own in opposition to Marcion. And indeed I do allow that one order did run its course in the old dispensation under the Creator, and that another is on its way in the new under Christ. I do not deny that there is a difference in the language of their documents, in their precepts of virtue, and in their teachings of the law; but yet all this diversity is consistent with one and the same God, even Him by whom it was arranged and also foretold. Long ago did Isaiah declare that “out of Sion should go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem” — some other law, that is, and another word. In short, says he, “He shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people;” meaning not those of the Jewish people only, but of the nations which are judged by the new law of the gospel and the new word of the apostles, and are amongst

themselves rebuked of their old error as soon as they have believed. And as the result of this, “they beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears(which are a kind of hunting instruments) into pruning-hooks;” that is to say, minds, which once were fierce and cruel, are changed by them into good dispositions productive of good fruit. And again: “Hearken unto me, hearken unto me, my people, and ye kings, give ear unto me; for a law shall proceed from me, and my judgment for a light to the nations;” wherefore He had determined and decreed that the nations also were to be enlightened by the law and the word of the gospel. This will be that law which (according to David also) is unblameable, because “perfect, converting the soul” from idols unto God. This likewise will be the word concerning which the same Isaiah says, “For the Lord will make a decisive word in the land.” Because the New Testament is compendiously short, and freed from the minute and perplexing burdens of the law. But why enlarge, when the Creator by the same prophet foretells the renovation more manifestly and clearly than the light itself? “Remember not the former things, neither consider the things of old” (the old things have passed away, and new things are arising). “Behold, I will do new things, which shall now spring forth.” So by Jeremiah: “Break up for yourselves new pastures, and sow not among thorns, and circumcise yourselves in the foreskin of your heart.” And in another passage: “Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Jacob, and with the house of Judah; not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day when I arrested their dispensation, in order to bring them out of the land of Egypt.” He thus shows that the ancient covenant is temporary only, when He indicates its change; also when He promises that it shall be followed by an eternal one. For by Isaiah He says: “Hear me, and ye shall live; and I will make an everlasting covenant with you,” adding “the sure mercies of David,” in order that He might show that that covenant was to run its course in Christ. That He was of the family of David, according to the genealogy of Mary, He declared in a figurative way even by the rod which was to proceed out of the stem of Jesse. Forasmuch then as he said, that from the Creator there would come other laws, and other words, and new dispensations of covenants, indicating also that the very sacrifices were to receive higher offices, and that amongst all nations, by Malachi when he says: “I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord, neither will

I accept your sacrifices at your hands. For from the rising of the sun, even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place a sacrifice is offered unto my name, even a pure offering” — meaning simple prayer from a pure conscience, — it is of necessity that every change which comes as the result of innovation, introduces a diversity in those things of which the change is made, from which diversity arises also a contrariety. For as there is nothing, after it has undergone a change, which does not become different, so there is nothing different which is not contrary. Of that very thing, therefore, there will be predicated a contrariety in consequence of its diversity, to which there accrued a change of condition after an innovation. He who brought about the change, the same instituted the diversity also; He who foretold the innovation, the same announced beforehand the contrariety likewise. Why, in your interpretation, do you impute a difference in the state of things to a difference of powers? Why do you wrest to the Creator’s prejudice those examples from which you draw your antitheses, when you may recognise them all in His sensations and affections? “I will wound,” He says, “and I will heal;” “I will kill,” He says again, “and I will make alive” — even the same “who createth evil and maketh peace;” from which you are used even to censure Him with the imputation of fickleness and inconstancy, as if He forbade what He commanded, and commanded what He forbade. Why, then, have you not reckoned up the Antitheses also which occur in the natural works of the Creator, who is for ever contrary to Himself? You have not been able, unless I am misinformed, to recognise the fact, that the world, at all events, even amongst your people of Pontus, is made up of a diversity of elements which are hostile to one another. It was therefore your bounden duty first to have determined that the god of the light was one being, and the god of darkness was another, in such wise that you might have been able to have distinctly asserted one of them to be the god of the law and the other the god of the gospel. It is, however, the settled conviction already of my mind from manifest proofs, that, as His works and plans exist in the way of Antitheses, so also by the same rule exist the mysteries of His religion.

Chap. II. — St. Luke's Gospel, Selected By Marcion As His Authority, And Mutilated By Him. The Other Gospels Equally Authoritative. Marcion's Terms Of Discussion, However, Accepted, And Grappled With On The Footing Of St. Luke's Gospel Alone.

You have now our answer to the Antitheses compendiously indicated by us. I pass on to give a proof of the Gospel — not, to be sure, of Jewry, but of Pontus — having become meanwhile adulterated; and this shall indicate the order by which we proceed. We lay it down as our first position, that the evangelical Testament has apostles for its authors, to whom was assigned by the Lord Himself this office of publishing the gospel. Since, however, there are apostolic men also, they are yet not alone, but appear with apostles and after apostles; because the preaching of disciples might be open to the suspicion of an affectation of glory, if there did not accompany it the authority of the masters, which means that of Christ, for it was that which made the apostles their masters. Of the apostles, therefore, John and Matthew first instil faith into us; whilst of apostolic men, Luke and Mark renew it afterwards. These all start with the same principles of the faith, so far as relates to the one only God the Creator and His Christ, how that He was born of the Virgin, and came to fulfil the law and the prophets. Never mind if there does occur some variation in the order of their narratives, provided that there be agreement in the essential matter of the faith, in which there is disagreement with Marcion. Marcion, on the other hand, you must know, ascribes no author to his Gospel, as if it could not be allowed him to affix a title to that from which it was no crime (in his eyes) to subvert the very body. And here I might now make a stand, and contend that a work ought not to be recognised, which holds not its head erect, which exhibits no consistency, which gives no promise of credibility from the fulness of its title and the just profession of its author. But we prefer to join issue on every point; nor shall we leave unnoticed what may fairly be understood to be on our side. Now, of the authors whom we possess, Marcion seems to have singled out Luke for his mutilating process. Luke, however, was not an apostle, but only an apostolic man; not a master, but a disciple, and so inferior to a master — at least as far subsequent to him as the apostle whom he followed (and that, no doubt, was Paul) was subsequent to

the others; so that, had Marcion even published his Gospel in the name of St. Paul himself, the single authority of the document, destitute of all support from preceding authorities, would not be a sufficient basis for our faith. There would be still wanted that Gospel which St. Paul found in existence, to which he yielded his belief, and with which he so earnestly wished his own to agree, that he actually on that account went up to Jerusalem to know and consult the apostles, “lest he should run, or had been running in vain;” in other words, that the faith which he had learned, and the gospel which he was preaching, might be in accordance with theirs. Then, at last, having conferred with the (primitive) authors, and having agreed with them touching the rule of faith, they joined their hands in fellowship, and divided their labours thenceforth in the office of preaching the gospel, so that they were to go to the Jews, and St. Paul to the Jews and the Gentiles. Inasmuch, therefore, as the enlightener of St. Luke himself desired the authority of his predecessors for both his own faith and preaching, how much more may not I require for Luke’s Gospel that which was necessary for the Gospel of his master.

Chap. III. — Marcion Insinuated The Untrustworthiness Of Certain Apostles Whom St. Paul Rebuked. The Rebuke Shows That It Cannot Be Regarded As Derogating From Their Authority. The Apostolic Gospels Perfectly Authentic.

In the scheme of Marcion, on the contrary, the mystery of the Christian religion begins from the discipleship of Luke. Since, however, it was on its course previous to that point, it must have had its own authentic materials, by means of which it found its own way down to St. Luke; and by the assistance of the testimony which it bore, Luke himself becomes admissible. Well, but Marcion, finding the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians (wherein he rebukes even apostles) for “not walking uprightly according to the truth of the gospel,” as well as accuses certain false apostles of perverting the gospel of Christ), labours very hard to destroy the character of those Gospels which are published as genuine and under the name of apostles, in order, forsooth, to secure for his own Gospel the credit which he takes away from them. But then, even if he censures Peter and John and James, who were thought to be pillars, it is for a manifest reason. They seemed to be changing their company from respect of persons. And yet as Paul himself “became all things to all men,” that he might gain all, it was possible that Peter also might have betaken himself to the same plan of practising somewhat different from what he taught. And, in like manner, if false apostles also crept in, their character too showed itself in their insisting upon circumcision and the Jewish ceremonies. So that it was not on account of their preaching, but of their conversation, that they were marked by St. Paul, who would with equal impartiality have marked them with censure, if they had erred at all with respect to God the Creator or His Christ. Each several case will therefore have to be distinguished. When Marcion complains that apostles are suspected (for their prevarication and dissimulation) of having even depraved the gospel, he thereby accuses Christ, by accusing those whom Christ chose. If, then, the apostles, who are censured simply for inconsistency of walk, composed the Gospel in a pure form, but false apostles interpolated their true record; and if our own copies have been made from these, where will that genuine text of the apostle’s writings be found which has not suffered adulteration? Which

was it that enlightened Paul, and through him Luke? It is either completely blotted out, as if by some deluge — being obliterated by the inundation of falsifiers — in which case even Marcion does not possess the true Gospel; or else, is that very edition which Marcion alone possesses the true one, that is, of the apostles? How, then, does that agree with ours, which is said not to be (the work) of apostles, but of Luke? Or else, again, if that which Marcion uses is not to be attributed to Luke simply because it does agree with ours (which, of course, is, also adulterated in its title), then it is the work of apostles. Our Gospel, therefore, which is in agreement with it, is equally the work of apostles, but also adulterated in its title.

Chap. IV. — Each Side Claims To Possess The True Gospel. Antiquity The Criterion Of Truth In Such A Matter. Marcion's Pretensions As An Amender Of The Gospel.

We must follow, then, the clue of our discussion, meeting every effort of our opponents with reciprocal vigor. I say that my Gospel is the true one; Marcion, that his is. I affirm that Marcion's Gospel is adulterated; Marcion, that mine is. Now what is to settle the point for us, except it be that principle of time, which rules that the authority lies with that which shall be found to be more ancient; and assumes as an elemental truth, that corruption (of doctrine) belongs to the side which shall be convicted of comparative lateness in its origin. For, inasmuch as error is falsification of truth, it must needs be that truth therefore precede error. A thing must exist prior to its suffering any casualty; and an object must precede all rivalry to itself. Else how absurd it would be, that, when we have proved our position to be the older one, and Marcion's the later, ours should yet appear to be the false one, before it had even received from truth its objective existence; and Marcion's should also be supposed to have experienced rivalry at our hands, even before its publication; and, in fine, that that should be thought to be the truer position which is the later one — a century later than the publication of all the many and great facts and records of the Christian religion, which certainly could not have been published without, that is to say, before, the truth of the gospel. With regard, then, to the pending question, of Luke's Gospel (so far as its being the common property of ourselves and Marcion enables it to be decisive of the truth,) that portion of it which we alone receive is so much older than Marcion, that Marcion, himself once believed it, when in the first warmth of faith he contributed money to the Catholic church, which along with himself was afterwards rejected, when he fell away from our truth into his own heresy. What if the Marcionites have denied that he held the primitive faith amongst ourselves, in the face even of his own letter? What, if they do not acknowledge the letter? They, at any rate, receive his Antitheses; and more than that, they make ostentatious use of them. Proof out of these is enough for me. For if the Gospel, said to be Luke's which is current amongst us (we shall see whether it be also current with Marcion), is the very one which, as

Marcion argues in his *Antitheses*, was interpolated by the defenders of Judaism, for the purpose of such a conglomeration with it of the law and the prophets as should enable them out of it to fashion their Christ, surely he could not have so argued about it, unless he had found it (in such a form). No one censures things before they exist, when he knows not whether they will come to pass. Emendation never precedes the fault. To be sure, an amender of that Gospel, which had been all topsy-turvy from the days of Tiberius to those of Antoninus, first presented himself in Marcion alone — so long looked for by Christ, who was all along regretting that he had been in so great a hurry to send out his apostles without the support of Marcion! But for all that, heresy, which is for ever mending the Gospels, and corrupting them in the act, is an affair of man's audacity, not of God's authority; and if Marcion be even a disciple, he is yet not "above his master;" if Marcion be an apostle, still as Paul says, "Whether it be I or they, so we preach;" if Marcion be a prophet, even "the spirits of the prophets will be subject to the prophets," for they are not the authors of confusion, but of peace; or if Marcion be actually an angel, he must rather be designated "as anathema than as a preacher of the gospel," because it is a strange gospel which he has preached. So that, whilst he amends, he only confirms both positions: both that our Gospel is the prior one, for he amends that which he has previously fallen in with; and that that is the later one, which, by putting it together out of the emendations of ours, he has made his own Gospel, and a novel one too.

Chap. V. — By The Rule Of Antiquity, The Catholic Gospels Are Found To Be True, Including The Real St. Luke's. Marcion's Only A Mutilated Edition. The Heretic's Weakness And Inconsistency In Ignoring The Other Gospels.

On the whole, then, if that is evidently more true which is earlier, if that is earlier which is from the very beginning, if that is from the beginning which has the apostles for its authors, then it will certainly be quite as evident, that that comes down from the apostles, which has been kept as a sacred deposit in the churches of the apostles. Let us see what milk the Corinthians drank from Paul; to what rule of faith the Galatians were brought for correction; what the Philippians, the Thessalonians, the Ephesians read by it; what utterance also the Romans give, so very near (to the apostles), to whom Peter and Paul conjointly bequeathed the gospel even sealed with their own blood. We have also St. John's foster churches. For although Marcion rejects his Apocalypse, the orders of the bishops (thereof), when traced up to their origin, will yet rest on John as their author. In the same manner is recognised the excellent source of the other churches. I say, therefore, that in them (and not simply such of them as were rounded by apostles, but in all those which are united with them in the fellowship of the mystery of the gospel of Christ) that Gospel of Luke which we are defending with all our might has stood its ground from its very first publication; whereas Marcion's Gospel is not known to most people, and to none whatever is it known without being at the same time condemned. It too, of course, has its churches, but specially its own — as late as they are spurious; and should you want to know their original, you will more easily discover apostasy in it than apostolicity, with Marcion forsooth as their founder, or some one of Marcion's swarm. Even wasps make combs; so also these Marcionites make churches. The same authority of the apostolic churches will afford evidence to the other Gospels also, which we possess equally through their means, and according to their usage — I mean the Gospels of John and Matthew — whilst that which Mark published may be affirmed to be Peter's whose interpreter Mark was. For even Luke's form of the Gospel men unusually ascribe to Paul. And it may well seem that the works which disciples publish belong to their masters. Well, then, Marcion ought to

be called to a strict account concerning these (other Gospels) also, for having omitted them, and insisted in preference on Luke; as if they, too, had not had free course in the churches, as well as Luke's Gospel, from the beginning. Nay, it is even more credible that they existed from the very beginning; for, being the work of apostles, they were prior, and coeval in origin with the churches themselves. But how comes it to pass, if the apostles published nothing, that their disciples were more forward in such a work; for they could not have been disciples, without any instruction from their masters? If, then, it be evident that these (Gospels) also were current in the churches, why did not Marcion touch them — either to amend them if they were adulterated, or to acknowledge them if they were uncorrupt? For it is but natural that they who were perverting the gospel, should be more solicitous about the perversion of those things whose authority they knew to be more generally received. Even the false apostles (were so called) on this very account, because they imitated the apostles by means of their falsification. In as far, then, as he might have amended what there was to amend, if found corrupt, in so far did he firmly imply that all was free from corruption which he did not think required amendment. In short, he simply amended what he thought was corrupt; though, indeed, not even this justly, because it was not really corrupt. For if the (Gospels) of the apostles have come down to us in their integrity, whilst Luke's, which is received amongst us, so far accords with their rule as to be on a par with them in permanency of reception in the churches, it clearly follows that Luke's Gospel also has come down to us in like integrity until the sacrilegious treatment of Marcion. In short, when Marcion laid hands on it, it then became diverse and hostile to the Gospels of the apostles. I will therefore advise his followers, that they either change these Gospels, however late to do so, into a conformity with their own, whereby they may seem to be in agreement with the apostolic writings (for they are daily retouching their work, as daily they are convicted by us); or else that they blush for their master, who stands self-condemned either way — when once he hands on the truth of the gospel conscience smitten, or again subverts it by shameless tampering. Such are the summary arguments which we use, when we take up arms against heretics for the faith of the gospel, maintaining both that order of periods, which rules that a late date is the mark of forgers, and that authority of churches which lends support to the tradition of the apostles; because truth

must needs precede the forgery, and proceed straight from those by whom it has been handed on.

Chap. VI. — Marcion's Object In Adulterating The Gospe. No Difference Between The Christ Of The Creator And The Christ Of The Gospel. No Rival Christ Admissible. The Connection Of The True Christ With The Dispensation Of The Old Testament Asserted.

But we now advance a step further on, and challenge (as we promised to do) the very Gospel of Marcion, with the intention of thus proving that it has been adulterated. For it is certain that the whole aim at which he has strenuously laboured even in the drawing up of his Antitheses, centres in this, that he may establish a diversity between the Old and the New Testaments, so that his own Christ may be separate from the Creator, as belonging to this rival god, and as alien from the law and the prophets. It is certain, also, that with this view he has erased everything that was contrary to his own opinion and made for the Creator, as if it had been interpolated by His advocates, whilst everything which agreed with his own opinion he has retained. The latter statements we shall strictly examine; and if they shall turn out rather for our side, and shatter the assumption of Marcion, we shall embrace them. It will then become evident, that in retaining them he has shown no less of the defect of blindness, which characterizes heresy, than he displayed when he erased all the former class of subjects. Such, then, is to be the drift and form of my little treatise; subject, of course, to whatever condition may have become requisite on both sides of the question. Marcion has laid down the position, that Christ who in the days of Tiberius was, by a previously unknown god, revealed for the salvation of all nations, is a different being from Him who was ordained by God the Creator for the restoration of the Jewish state, and who is yet to come. Between these he interposes the separation of a great and absolute difference — as great as lies between what is just and what is good; as great as lies between the law and the gospel; as great, (in short,) as is the difference between Judaism and Christianity. Hence will arise also our rule, by which we determine that there ought to be nothing in common between the Christ of the rival god and the Creator; but that (Christ) must be pronounced to belong to the Creator, if He has administered His dispensations, fulfilled His prophecies, promoted His laws, given reality to His promises, revived His mighty power, remoulded His determinations expressed His attributes, His properties. This

law and this rule I earnestly request the reader to have ever in his mind, and so let him begin to investigate whether Christ be Marcion's or the Creator's.

Chap. VII. — Marcion Rejected The Preceding Portion Of St. Luke's Gospel. Therefore This Review Opens With An Examination Of The Case Of The Evil Spirit In The Synagogue Of Capernaum. He Whom The Demon Acknowledged Was The Creator's Christ.

In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius (for such is Marcion's proposition) he "came down to the Galilean city of Capernaum," of course meaning from the heaven of the Creator, to which he had previously descended from his own. What then had been his Course, for him to be described as first descending from his own heaven to the Creator's? For why should I abstain from censuring those parts of the statement which do not satisfy the requirement of an ordinary narrative, but always end in a falsehood? To be sure, our censure has been once for all expressed in the question, which we have already suggested: Whether, when descending through the Creator's domain, and indeed in hostility to him, he could possibly have been admitted by him, and by him been transmitted to the earth, which was equally his territory? Now, however, I want also to know the remainder of his course down, assuming that he came down. For we must not be too nice in inquiring whether it is supposed that he was seen in any place. To come into view indicates a sudden unexpected glance, which for a moment fixed the eye upon the object that passed before the view, without staying. But when it happens that a descent has been effected, it is apparent, and comes under the notice of the eyes. Moreover, it takes account of fact, and thus obliges one to examine in what condition with what preparation, with how much violence or moderation, and further, at what time of the day or night, the descent was made; who, again, saw the descent, who reported it, who seriously avouched the fact, which certainly was not easy to be believed, even after the asseveration. It is, in short, too bad that Romulus should have had in Proculus an avoucher of his ascent to heaven, when the Christ of (this) god could not find any one to announce his descent from heaven; just as if the ascent of the one and the descent of the other were not effected on one and the same ladder of falsehood! Then, what had he to do with Galilee, if he did not belong to the Creator by whom that region was destined (for His Christ) when about to enter on His ministry? As Isaiah says: "Drink in this first, and be

prompt, O region of Zabulon and land of Nephthalim, and ye others who (inhabit) the sea-coast, and that of Jordan, Galilee of the nations, ye people who sit in darkness, behold a great light; upon you, who inhabit (that) land, sitting in the shadow of death, the light hath arisen.” It is, however, well that Marcion’s god does claim to be the enlightener of the nations, that so he might have the better reason for coming down from heaven; only, if it must needs be, he should rather have made Pontus his place of descent than Galilee. But since both the place and the work of illumination according to the prophecy are compatible with Christ, we begin to discern that He is the subject of the prophecy, which shows that at the very outset of His ministry, He came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but rather to fulfil them; for Marcion has erased the passage as an interpolation. It will, however, be vain for him to deny that Christ uttered in word what He forthwith did partially indeed. For the prophecy about place He at once fulfilled. From heaven straight to the synagogue. As the adage runs: “The business on which we are come, do at once.” Marcion must even expunge from the Gospel, “I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel;” and, “It is not meet to take the children’s bread, and to cast it to dogs,” — in order, forsooth, that Christ may not appear to be an Israelite. But facts will satisfy me instead of words. Withdraw all the sayings of my Christ, His acts shall speak. Lo, He enters the synagogue; surely (this is going) to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. Behold, it is to Israelites first that He offers the “bread” of His doctrine; surely it is because they are “children” that He shows them this priority. Observe, He does not yet impart it to others; surely He passes them by as “dogs.” For to whom else could He better have imparted it, than to such as were strangers to the Creator, if He especially belonged not to the Creator? And yet how could He have been admitted into the synagogue — one so abruptly appearing, so unknown; one, of whom no one had as yet been apprised of His tribe, His nation, His family, and lastly, His enrolment in the census of Augustus — that most faithful witness of the Lord’s nativity, kept in the archives of Rome? They certainly would have remembered, if they did not know Him to be circumcised, that He must not be admitted into their most holy places. And even if He had the general right of entering the synagogue (like other Jews), yet the function of giving instruction was allowed only to a man who was extremely well known, and examined and tried, and for some time invested

with the privilege after experience duly attested elsewhere. But “they were all astonished at His doctrine.” Of course they were; “for, says (St. Luke), “His word was with power — not because He taught in opposition to the law and the prophets. No doubt, His divine discourse gave forth both power and grace, building up rather than pulling down the substance of the law and the prophets. Otherwise, instead of “astonishment, they would feel horror. It would not be admiration, but aversion, prompt and sure, which they would bestow on one who was the destroyer of law and prophets, and the especial propounder as a natural consequence of a rival god; for he would have been unable to teach anything to the disparagement of the law and the prophets, and so far of the Creator also, without premising the doctrine of a different and rival divinity, Inasmuch, then, as the Scripture makes no other statement on the matter than that the simple force and power of His word produced astonishment, it more naturally shows that His teaching was in accordance with the Creator by not denying (that it was so), than that it was in opposition to the Creator, by not asserting (such a fact). And thus He will either have to be acknowledged as belonging to Him, in accordance with whom He taught; or else will have to be adjudged a deceiver since He taught in accordance with One whom He had come to oppose. In the same passage, “the spirit of an unclean devil” exclaims: “What have we to do with Thee, Thou Jesus? Art Thou come to destroy us? I know Thee who Thou art, the Holy One of God.” I do not here raise the question whether this appellation was suitable to one who ought not to be called Christ, unless he were sent by the Creator. Elsewhere there has been already given a full consideration of His titles. My present discussion is, how the evil spirit could have known that He was called by such a name, when there had never at any time been uttered about Him a single prophecy by a god who was unknown, and up to that time silent, of whom it was not possible for Him to be attested as “the Holy One,” as (of a god) unknown even to his own Creator. What similar event could he then have published of a new deity, whereby he might betoken for “the holy one” of the rival god? Simply that he went into the synagogue, and did nothing even in word against the Creator? As therefore he could not by any means acknowledge him, whom he was ignorant of, to be Jesus and the Holy One of God; so did he acknowledge Him whom he knew (to be both). For he remembered how that the prophet had prophesied of “the Holy One” of God,

and how that God's name of "Jesus" was in the son of Nun. These facts he had also received from the angel, according to our Gospel: "Wherefore that which shall be born of thee shall be called the Holy One, the Son of God;" and, "Thou shalt call his name Jesus." Thus he actually had (although only an evil spirit) some idea of the Lord's dispensation, rather than Of any strange and heretofore imperfectly understood one. Because he also premised this question: "What have we to do with Thee?" — not as if referring to a strange Jesus, to whom pertain the evil spirits of the Creator. Nor did he say, What hast Thou to do with us? but, "What have we to do with Thee?" as if deploring himself, and deprecating his own calamity; at the prospect of which he adds: "Art Thou come to destroy us?" So completely did he acknowledge in Jesus the Son of that God who was judicial and avenging, and (so to speak) severe, and not of him who was simply good, and knew not how to destroy or how to punish! Now for what purpose have we adduced his passage first? In order to show that Jesus was neither acknowledged by the evil spirit, nor affirmed by Himself, to be any other than the Creator's. Well, but Jesus rebuked him, you say. To be sure he did, as being an envious (spirit), and in his very confession only petulant, and evil in adulation — just as if it had been Christ's highest glory to have come for the destruction of demons, and not for the salvation of mankind; whereas His wish really was that His disciples should not glory in the subjection of evil spirits but in the fair beauty of salvation. Why else did He rebuke him? If it was because he was entirely wrong (in his invocation), then He was neither Jesus nor the Holy One of God; if it was because he was partially wrong — for having supposed him to be, rightly enough, Jesus and the Holy One of God, but also as belonging to the Creator — most unjustly would He have rebuked him for thinking what he knew he ought to think (about Him), and for not supposing that of Him which he knew not that he ought to suppose — that he was another Jesus, and the holy one of the other god. If, however, the rebuke has not a more probable meaning than that which we ascribe to it, follows that the evil spirit made no mistake, and was not rebuked for lying; for it was Jesus Himself, besides whom it was impossible for the evil spirit to have acknowledged any other, whilst Jesus affirmed that He was He whom the evil spirit had acknowledged, by not rebuking him for uttering a lie.

Chap. VIII.” — Other Proofs From The Same Chapter, That Jesus, Who Preached At Nazareth, And Was Acknowledged By Certain Demons As Christ The Son Of God, Was The Creator’s Christ. As Occasion Offers, The Docetic Errors Of Marcion Are Exposed.

The Christ of the Creator had to be called a Nazarene according to prophecy; whence the Jews also designate us, on that very account, Nazerenes after Him. For we are they of whom it is written, “Her Nazarites were whiter than snow;” even they who were once defiled with the stains of sin, and darkened with the clouds of ignorance. But to Christ the title Nazarene was destined to become a suitable one, from the hiding-place of His infancy, for which He went down and dwelt at Nazareth, to escape from Archelaus the son of Herod. This fact I have not refrained from mentioning on this account, because it behoved Marcion’s Christ to have forborne all connection whatever with the domestic localities of the Creator’s Christ, when he had so many towns in Judaea which had not been by the prophets thus assigned to the Creator’s Christ. But Christ will be (the Christ) of the prophets, wheresoever He is found in accordance with the prophets. And yet even at Nazareth He is not remarked as having preached anything new, whilst in another verse He is said to have been rejected by reason of a simple proverb. Here at once, when I observe that they laid their hands on Him, I cannot help drawing a conclusion respecting His bodily substance, which cannot be believed to have been a phantom, since it was capable of being touched and even violently handled, when He was seized and taken and led to the very brink of a precipice. For although He escaped through the midst of them, He had already experienced their rough treatment, and afterwards went His way, no doubt because the crowd (as usually happens) gave way, or was even broken through; but not because it was eluded as by an impalpable disguise, which, if there had been such, would not at all have submitted to any touch.

“Tangere enim et tangi, nisi corpus, nulla potest res,” is even a sentence worthy of a place in the world’s wisdom. In short, He did himself touch others, upon whom He laid His hands, which were capable of being felt, and conferred the blessings of healing, which were not less true, not less unimaginary, than were the hands wherewith He bestowed them. He was

therefore the very Christ of Isaiah, the healer of our sicknesses. "Surely," says he, "He hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows." Now the Greeks are accustomed to use for carry a word which also signifies to take away. A general promise is enough for me in passing. Whatever were the cures which Jesus effected, He is mine. We will come, however, to the kinds of cures. To liberate men, then, from evil spirits, is a cure of sickness. Accordingly, wicked spirits (just in the manner of our former example) used to go forth with a testimony, exclaiming, "Thou art the Son of God," — of what God, is clear enough from the case itself. But they were rebuked, and ordered not to speak; precisely because Christ willed Himself to be proclaimed by men, not by unclean spirits, as the Son of God — even that Christ alone to whom this was befitting, because He had sent beforehand men through whom He might become known, and who were assuredly worthier preachers. It was natural to Him to refuse the proclamation of an unclean spirit, at whose command there was an abundance of saints. He, however, who had never been foretold (if, indeed, he wished to be acknowledged; for if he did not wish so much, his coming was in vain), would not have spurned the testimony of an alien or any sort of substance, who did not happen to have a substance of his own, but had descended in an alien one. And now, too, as the destroyer also of the Creator, he would have desired nothing better than to be acknowledged by His spirits, and to be divulged for the sake of being feared: only that Marcion says that his god is not feared; maintaining that a good being is not an object of fear, but only a judicial being, in whom reside the grounds of fear — anger, severity, judgments, vengeance, condemnation. But it was from fear, undoubtedly, that the evil spirits were cowed. Therefore they confessed that (Christ) was the Son of a God who was to be feared, because they would have an occasion of not submitting if there were none for fearing. Besides, He showed that He was to be feared, because He drove them out, not by persuasion like a good being, but by command and reproof. Or else did he reprove them, because they were making him an object of fear, when all the while he did not want to be feared? And in what manner did he wish them to go forth, when they could not do so except with fear? So that he fell into the dilemma of having to conduct himself contrary to his nature, whereas he might in his simple goodness have at once treated them with leniency. He fell, too, into another false position — of prevarication, when he permitted himself

to be feared by the demons as the Son of the Creator, that he might drive them out, not indeed by his own power, but by the authority of the Creator. "He departed, and went into a desert place." This was, indeed, the Creator's customary region. It was proper that the Word should there appear in body, where He had aforetime, wrought in a cloud. To the gospel also was suitable that condition of place which had once been determined on for the law. "Let the wilderness and the solitary place, therefore, be glad and rejoice;" so had Isaiah promised. When "stayed" by the crowds, He said, "I must preach the kingdom of God to other cities also." Had He displayed His God anywhere yet? I suppose as yet nowhere. But was He speaking of those who knew of another god also? I do not believe so. If, therefore, neither He had preached, nor they had known, any other God but the Creator, He was announcing the kingdom of that God whom He knew to be the only God known to those who were listening to Him.

Chap. IX. — Out Of St. Luke's Fifth Chapter Are Found Proofs Of Christ's Belonging To The Creator, E.G., In The Call Of Fishermen To The Apostolic Office, And In The Cleansing Of The Leper. Christ Compared With The Prophet Elisha.

Out of so many kinds of occupations, why indeed had He such respect for that of fishermen, as to select from it for apostles Simon and the sons of Zebedee (for it cannot seem to be the mere fact itself for which the narrative was meant to be drawn out), saying to Peter, when he trembled at the very large draught of the fishes, "Fear not; from henceforth thou shalt catch men?" By saying this, He suggested to them the meaning of the fulfilled prophecy, that it was even He who by Jeremiah had foretold, "Behold, I will send many fishers; and they shall fish them," that is, men. Then at last they left their boats, and followed Him, understanding that it was He who had begun to accomplish what He had declared. It is quite another case, when he affected to choose from the college of shipmasters, intending one day to appoint the shipmaster Marcion his apostle. We have indeed already laid it down, in opposition to his Antitheses, that the position of Marcion derives no advantage from the diversity which he supposes to exist between the Law and the Gospel, inasmuch as even this was ordained by the Creator, and indeed predicted in the promise of the new Law, and the new Word, and the new Testament. Since, however, he quotes with especial care, as a proof in his domain, a certain companion in misery (*suntalai'pwron*), and associate in hatred (*summisou'menon*), with himself, for the cure of leprosy, I shall not be sorry to meet him, and before anything else to point out to him the force of the law figuratively interpreted, which, in this example of a leper (who was not to be touched, but was rather to be removed from all intercourse with others), prohibited any communication with a person who was defiled with sins, with whom the apostle also forbids us even to eat food, forasmuch as the taint of sins would be communicated as if contagious: wherever a man should mix himself with the sinner. The Lord, therefore, wishing that the law should be more profoundly understood as signifying spiritual truths by carnal facts — and thus not destroying, but rather building up, that law which He wanted to have more earnestly acknowledged-touched the leper, by whom (even

although as man He might have been defiled) He could not be defiled as God, being of course incorruptible. The prescription, therefore, could not be meant for Him, that He was bound to observe the law and not touch the unclean person, seeing that contact with the unclean would not cause defilement to Him. I thus teach that this (immunity) is consistent in my Christ, the rather when I show that it is not consistent in yours. Now, if it was as an enemy of the law that He touched the leper — disregarding the precept of the law by a contempt of the defilement — how could he be defiled, when he possessed not a body which could be defiled? For a phantom is not susceptible of defilement. He therefore, who could not be defiled, as being a phantom, will not have an immunity from pollution by any divine power, but owing to his fantastic vacuity; nor can he be regarded as having despised pollution, who had not in fact any material capacity for it; nor, in like manner, as having destroyed the law, who had escaped defilement from the occasion of his phantom nature, not from any display of virtue. If, however, the Creator's prophet Elisha cleansed Naaman the Syrian alone, to the exclusion of so many lepers in Israel, this fact contributes nothing to the distinction of Christ, as if he were in this way the better one for cleansing this Israelite leper, although a stranger to him, whom his own Lord had been unable to cleanse. The cleansing of the Syrian rather was significant throughout the nations of the world of their own cleansing in Christ their light, steeped as they were in the stains of the seven deadly sins: idolatry, blasphemy, murder, adultery, fornication, false-witness, and fraud. Seven times, therefore, as if once for each," did he wash in Jordan; both in order that he might celebrate the expiation of a perfect hebdomad; and because the virtue and fulness of the one baptism was thus solemnly imputed to Christ, alone, who was one day to establish on earth not only a revelation, but also a baptism, endued with compendious efficacy. Even Marcion finds here an antithesis: how that Elisha indeed required a material resource, applied water, and that seven times; whereas Christ, by the employment of a word only, and that but once for all, instantly effected the cure. And surely I might venture to claim the Very Word also as of the Creator's substance. There is nothing of which He who was the primitive Author is not also the more powerful one. Forsooth, it is incredible that that power of the Creator should have, by a word, produced a remedy for a single malady, which once by a word brought into being so vast a fabric as

the world! From what can the Christ of the Creator be better discerned, than from the power of His word? But Christ is on this account another (Christ), because He acted differently from Elisha — because, in fact, the master is more powerful than his servant! Why, Marcion, do you lay down the rule, that things are done by servants just as they are by their very masters? Are you not afraid that it will turn to your discredit, if you deny that Christ belongs to the Creator, on the ground that He was once more powerful than a servant of the Creator — since, in comparison with the weakness of Elisha, He is acknowledged to be the greater, if indeed greater! For the cure is the same, although there is a difference in the working of it. What has your Christ performed more than my Elisha? Nay, what great thing has the word of your Christ performed, when it has simply done that which a river of the Creator effected? On the same principle occurs all the rest. So far as renouncing all human glory went, He forbade the man to publish abroad the cure; but so far as the honour of the law was concerned, He requested that the usual course should be followed: “Go, show thyself to the priest, and present the offering which Moses commanded.” For the figurative signs of the law in its types He still would have observed, because of their prophetic import. These types signified that a man, once a sinner, but afterwards purified from the stains thereof by the word of God, was bound to offer unto God in the temple a gift, even prayer and thanksgiving in the church through Christ Jesus, who is the Catholic Priest of the Father. Accordingly He added: “that it may be for a testimony unto you” — one, no doubt, whereby He would testify that He was not destroying the law, but fulfilling it; whereby, too, He would testify that it was He Himself who was foretold as about to undertake their sicknesses and infirmities. This very consistent and becoming explanation of “the testimony,” that adulator of his own Christ, Marcion seeks to exclude under the cover of mercy and gentleness. For, being both good (such are his words), and knowing, besides, that every man who had been freed from leprosy would be sure to perform the solemnities of the law, therefore He gave this precept. Well, what then? Has He continued in his goodness (that is to say, in his permission of the law) or not? For if he has persevered in his goodness, he will never become a destroyer of the law; nor will he ever be accounted as belonging to another god, because there would not exist that destruction of the law which would constitute his claim to belong to the other god. If, however,

he has not continued good, by a subsequent destruction of the law, it is a false testimony which he has since imposed upon them in his cure of the leper; because he has forsaken his goodness, in destroying the law. If, therefore, he was good whilst upholding the law, he has now become evil as a destroyer of the law. However, by the support which he gave to the law, he affirmed that the law was good. For no one permits himself in the support of an evil thing. Therefore he is not only bad if he has permitted obedience to a bad law; but even worse still, if he has appeared as the destroyer of a good law. So that if he commanded the offering of the gift because he knew that every cured leper would be sure to bring one; he possibly abstained from commanding what he knew would be spontaneously done. In vain, therefore, was his coming down, as if with the intention of destroying the law, when he makes concessions to the keepers of the law. And yet, because he knew their disposition, he ought the more earnestly to have prevented their neglect of the law, since he had come for this purpose. Why then did he not keep silent, that man might of his own simple will obey the law? For then might he have seemed to some extent to have persisted in his patience. But he adds also his own authority increased by the weight of this "testimony." Of what testimony, I ask, if not that of the assertion of the law? Surely it matters not in what way he asserted the law — whether as good, or as supererogatory, or as patient, or as inconstant-provided, Marcion, I drive you from your position. Observe, he commanded that the law should be fulfilled. In whatever way he commanded it, in the same way might he also have first uttered that sentiment: "I came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it." What business, therefore, had you to erase out of the Gospel that which was quite consistent in it? For you have confessed that, in his goodness, he did in act what you deny that he did in word. We have therefore good proof that He uttered the word, in the fact that He did the deed; and that you have rather expunged the Lord's word, than that our (evangelists) have inserted it.

Chap. X. — Further Proofs Of The same Truth In The Same Chapter, From The Healing Of The Paralytic, And From The Designation Son Of Man Which Jesus Gives Himself. Tertullian Sustains His Argument By Several Quotations From The Prophets.

The sick of the palsy is healed, and that in public, in the sight of the people. For, says Isaiah, “they shall see the glory of the Lord, and the excellency of our God.” What glory, and what excellency? “Be strong, ye weak hands, and ye feeble knees:” this refers to the palsy. “Be strong; fear not.” Be strong is not vainly repeated, nor is fear not vainly added; because with the renewal of the limbs there was to be, according to the promise, a restoration also of bodily energies: “Arise, and take up thy couch;” and likewise moral courage not to be afraid of those who should say, “Who can forgive sins, but God alone?” So that you have here not only the fulfilment of the prophecy which promised a particular kind of healing, but also of the symptoms which followed the cure. In like manner, you should also recognise Christ in the same prophet as the forgiver of sins. “For,” he says, “He shall remit to many their sins, and shall Himself take away our sins.” For in an earlier passage, speaking in the person of the Lord himself, he had said: “Even though your sins be as scarlet, I will make them as white as snow; even though they be like crimson, I will whiten them as wool.” In the scarlet colour He indicates the blood of the prophets; in the crimson, that of the Lord, as the brighter. Concerning the forgiveness of sins, Micah also says: “Who is a God like unto Thee? pardoning iniquity, and passing by the transgressions of the remnant of Thine heritage. He retaineth not His anger as a testimony against them, because He delighteth in mercy. He will turn again, and will have compassion upon us; He wipeth away our iniquities, and casteth our sins into the depths of the sea.” Now, if nothing of this sort had been predicted of Christ, I should find in the Creator examples of such a benignity as would hold out to me the promise of similar affections also in the Son of whom He is the Father. I see how the Ninevites obtained forgiveness of their sins from the Creator — not to say from Christ, even then, because from the beginning He acted in the Father’s name. I read, too, how that, when David acknowledged his sin against Uriah, the prophet Nathan said unto him, “The Lord hath cancelled thy

sin, and thou shalt not die;" how king Ahab in like manner, the husband of Jezebel, guilty of idolatry and of the blood of Naboth, obtained pardon because of his repentance; and how Jonathan the son of Saul blotted out by his deprecation the guilt of a violated fast. Why should I recount the frequent restoration of the nation itself after the forgiveness of their sins? — by that God, indeed, who will have mercy rather than sacrifice, and a sinner's repentance rather than his death. You will first have to deny that the Creator ever forgave sins; then you must in reason show that He never ordained any such prerogative for His Christ; and so you will prove how novel is that boasted benevolence of the, of course, novel Christ when you shall have proved that it is neither compatible with the Creator nor predicted by the Creator. But whether to remit sins can appertain to one who is said to be unable to retain them, and whether to absolve can belong to him who is incompetent even to condemn, and whether to forgive is suitable to him against whom no offence can be committed, are questions which we have encountered elsewhere, when we preferred to drop suggestions rather than treat them anew. Concerning the Son of man our rule is a twofold one: that Christ cannot lie, so as to declare Himself the Son of man, if He be not truly so; nor can He be constituted the Son of man, unless He be born of a human parent, either father or mother. And then the discussion will turn on the point, of which human parent He ought to be accounted the son — of the father or the mother? Since He is (begotten) of God the Father, He is not, of course, (the son) of a human father. If He is not of a human father, it follows that He must be (the son) of a human mother. If of a human mother, it is evident that she must be a virgin. For to whom a human father is not ascribed, to his mother a husband will not be reckoned; and then to what mother a husband is not reckoned, the condition of virginity belongs. But if His mother be not a virgin, two fathers will have to be reckoned to Him — a divine and a human one. For she must have a husband, not to be a virgin; and by having a husband, she would cause two fathers — one divine, the other human — to accrue to Him, who would thus be Son both of God and of a man. Such a nativity (if one may call it so) the mythic stories assign to Castor or to Hercules. Now, if this distinction be observed, that is to say, if He be Son of man as born of His mother, because not begotten of a father, and His mother be a virgin, because His father is not human — He will be that Christ whom

Isaiah foretold that a virgin should conceive, On what principle you, Marcion, can admit Him Son of man, I cannot possibly see. If through a human father, then you deny him to be Son of God; if through a divine one also, then you make Christ the Hercules of fable; if through a human mother only, then you concede my point; if not through a human father also, then He is not the son of any man, and He must have been guilty of a lie for having declared Himself to be what He was not. One thing alone can help you in your difficulty: boldness on your part either to surname your God as actually the human father of Christ, as Valentinus did with his AEon; or else to deny that the Virgin was human, which even Valentinus did not do. What now, if Christ be described in Daniel by this very title of “Son of man?” Is not this enough to prove that He is the Christ of prophecy? For if He gives Himself that appellation which was provided in the prophecy for the Christ of the Creator, He undoubtedly offers Himself to be understood as Him to whom (the appellation) was assigned by the prophet. But perhaps it can be regarded as a simple identity of names; and yet we have maintained that neither Christ nor Jesus ought to have been called by these names, if they possessed any condition of diversity. But as regards the appellation “Son of man,” in as far as it occurs by accident, in so far there is a difficulty in its occurrence along with a casual identity of names. For it is of pure accident, especially when the same cause does not appear whereby the identity may be occasioned. And therefore, if Marcion’s Christ be also said to be born of man, then he too would receive an identical appellation, and there would be two Sons of man, as also two Christs and two Jesuses. Therefore, since the appellation is the sole right of Him in whom it has a suitable reason, if it be claimed for another in whom there is an identity of name, but not of appellation, then the identity of name even looks suspicious in him for whom is claimed without reason the identity of appellation. And it follows that He must be believed to be One and the Same, who is found to be the more fit to receive both the name and the appellation; while the other is excluded, who has no right to the appellation, because he has no reason to show for it. Nor will any other be better entitled to both than He who is the earlier, and has had allotted to Him the name of Christ and the appellation of Son of man, even the Jesus of the Creator. It was He who was seen by the king of Babylon in the furnace with His martyrs: “the fourth, who was like the Son of man.” He also was revealed to Daniel himself expressly as “the Son of man, coming in the

clouds of heaven” as a Judge, as also the Scripture shows. What I have advanced might have been sufficient concerning the designation in prophecy of the Son of man. But the Scripture offers me further information, even in the interpretation of the Lord Himself. For when the Jews, who looked at Him as merely man, and were not yet sure that He was God also, as being likewise the Son of God, rightly enough said that a man could not forgive sins, but God alone, why did He not, following up their point about man, answer them, that He had power to remit sins; inasmuch as, when He mentioned the Son of man, He also named a human being? except it were because He wanted, by help of the very designation “Son of man” from the book of Daniel, so to induce them to reflect as to show them that He who remitted sins was God and man — that only Son of man, indeed, in the prophecy of Daniel, who had obtained the power of judging, and thereby, of course, of forgiving sins likewise (for He who judges also absolves); so that, when once that objection of theirs was shattered to pieces by their recollection of Scripture, they might the more easily acknowledge Him to be the Son of man Himself by His own actual forgiveness of sins. I make one more observation, how that He has nowhere as yet professed Himself to be the Son of God — but for the first time in this passage, in which for the first time He has remitted sins; that is, in which for the first time He has used His function of judgment, by the absolution. All that the opposite side has to allege in argument against these things, (I beg you) carefully weigh what it amounts to. For it must needs strain itself to such a pitch of infatuation as, on the one hand, to maintain that (their Christ) is also Son of man, in order to save Him from the charge of falsehood; and, on the other hand, to deny that He was born of woman, lest they grant that He was the Virgin’s son. Since, however, the divine authority and the nature of the case, and common sense, do not admit this insane position of the heretics, we have here the opportunity of putting in a veto in the briefest possible terms, on the substance of Christ’s body, against Marcion’s phantoms. Since He is born of man, being the Son of man. He is body derived from body. You may, I assure you, more easily find a man born without a heart or without brains, like Marcion himself, than without a body, like Marcion’s Christ. And let this be the limit to your examination of the heart, or, at any rate, the brains of the heretic of Pontus.

Chap. XI. — The Call Of Levi The Publican. Christ In Relation To The Baptist. Christ As The Bridegroom. The Parable Of The Old Wine And The New. Arguments Connecting Christ With The Creator.

The publican who was chosen by the Lord, he adduces for a proof that he was chosen as a stranger to the law and uninitiated in Judaism, by one who was an adversary to the law. The case of Peter escaped his memory, who, although he was a man of the law, was not only chosen by the Lord, but also obtained the testimony of possessing knowledge which was given to him by the Father. He had nowhere read of Christ's being foretold as the light, and hope, and expectation of the Gentiles! He, however, rather spoke of the Jews in a favourable light, when he said, "The whole needed not a physician, but they that are sick." For since by "those that are sick" he meant that the heathens and publicans should be understood, whom he was choosing, he affirmed of the Jews that they were "whole" for whom he said that a physician was not necessary. This being the case, he makes a mistake in coming down to destroy the law, as if for the remedy of a diseased condition. because they who were living under it were "whole," and "not in want of a physician." How, moreover, does it happen that he proposed the similitude of a physician, if he did not verify it? For, just as nobody uses a physician for healthy persons, so will no one do so for strangers, in so far as he is one of Marcion's god-made men, having to himself both a creator and preserver, and a specially good physician, in his Christ. This much the comparison predetermines, that a physician is more usually furnished by him to whom the sick people belong. Whence, too, does John come upon the scene? Christ, suddenly; and just as suddenly, John! After this fashion occur all things in Marcion's system. They have their own special and plenary course in the Creator's dispensation. Of John, however, what else I have to say will be found in another passage. To the several points which now come before us an answer must be given. This, then, I will take care to do — demonstrate that, reciprocally, John is suitable to Christ, and Christ to Joan, the latter, of course, as a prophet of the Creator, just as the former is the Creator's Christ; and so the heretic may blush at frustrating, to his own frustration, the mission of John the Baptist. For if there had been no ministry of John at all— "the voice," as Isaiah calls him, "of one

crying in the wilderness,” and the preparer of the ways of the Lord by denunciation and recommendation of repentance; if, too, he had not baptized (Christ) Himself along with others, nobody could have challenged the disciples of Christ, as they ate and drank, to a comparison with the disciples of John, who were constantly fasting and praying; because, if there existed any diversity between Christ and John, and their followers respectively, no exact comparison would be possible, nor would there be a single point where it could be challenged. For nobody would feel surprise, and nobody would be perplexed, although there should arise rival predictions of a diverse deity, which should also mutually differ about modes of conduct, having a prior difference about the authorities upon which they were based. Therefore Christ belonged to John, and John to Christ; while both belonged to the Creator, and both were of the law and the prophets, preachers and masters. Else Christ would have rejected the discipline of John, as of the rival god, and would also have defended the disciples, as very properly pursuing a different walk, because consecrated to the service of another and contrary deity. But as it is, while modestly giving a reason why “the children of the bridegroom are unable to fast during the time the bridegroom is with them,” but promising that “they should afterwards fast, when the bridegroom was taken away from them,” He neither defended the disciples, (but rather excused them, as if they had not been blamed without some reason), nor rejected the discipline of John, but rather allowed it, referring it to the time of John, although destining it for His own time. Otherwise His purpose would have been to reject it, and to defend its opponents, if He had not Himself already belonged to it as then in force. I hold also that it is my Christ who is meant by the bridegroom, of whom the psalm says: “He is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber; His going forth is from the end of the heaven, and His return is back to the end of it again.” By the mouth of Isaiah He also says exultingly of the Father: “Let my soul rejoice in the Lord; for He hath clothed me with the garment of salvation and with the tunic of joy, as a bridegroom. He hath put a mitre round about my head, as a bride.” To Himself likewise He appropriates the church, concerning which the same Spirit says to Him: “Thou shall clothe Thee with them all, as with a bridal ornament.” This spouse Christ invites home to Himself also by Solomon from the call of the Gentiles, because you read: “Come with me from Lebanon, my spouse.” He elegantly makes mention of

Lebanon (the mountain, of course) because it stands for the name of frankincense with the Greeks; for it was from idolatry that He betrothed Himself the church. Deny now, Marcion, your utter madness, (if you can)! Behold, you impugn even the law of your god. He unites not in the nuptial bond, nor, when contracted, does he allow it; no one does he baptize but a coelebs or a eunuch; until death or divorce does he reserve baptism. Wherefore, then, do you make his Christ a bridegroom? This is the designation of Him who united man and woman, not of him who separated them. You have erred also in that declaration of Christ, wherein He seems to make a difference between things new and old. You are inflated about the old bottles, and brain-muddled with the new wine; and therefore to the old (that is to say, to the prior) gospel you have sewed on the patch of your new-fangled heresy. I should like to know in what respect the Creator is inconsistent with Himself. When by Jeremiah He gave this precept, "Break up for yourselves new pastures," does He not turn away from the old state of things? And when by Isaiah He proclaims how "old things were passed away; and, behold, all things, which I am making, are new," does He not advert to a new state of things? We have generally been of opinion's that the destination of the former state of things was rather promised by the Creator, and exhibited in reality by Christ, only under the authority of one and the same God, to whom appertain both the old things and the new. For new wine is not put into old bottles, except by one who has the old bottles; nor does anybody put a new piece to an old garment, unless the old garment be forthcoming to him. That person only does not do a thing when it is not to be done, who has the materials wherewithal to do it if it were to be done. And therefore, since His object in making the comparison was to show that He was separating the new condition of the gospel from the old state of the law, He proved that that from which He was separating His own ought not to have been branded as a separation of things which were alien to each other; for nobody ever unites his own things with things that are alien to them, in order that he may afterwards be able to separate them from the alien things. A separation is possible by help of the conjunction through which it is made. Accordingly, the things which He separated He also proved to have been once one; as they would have remained, were it not for His separation. But still we make this concession, that there is a separation, by reformation, by amplification, by progress; just

as the fruit is separated from the seed, although the fruit comes from the seed. So likewise the gospel is separated from the law, whilst it advances from the law — a different thing from it, but not an alien one; diverse, but not contrary. Nor in Christ do we even find any novel form of discourse. Whether He proposes similitudes or refute questions, it comes from the seventy-seventh Psalm. “I will open,” says He, “my mouth in a parable” (that is, in a similitude); “I will utter dark problems” (that is, I will set forth questions). If you should wish to prove that a man belonged to another race, no doubt you would fetch your proof from the idiom of his language.

Chap. XII. — Christ's Authority Over The Sabbath. As Its Lord He Recalled It From Pharisaic Neglect To The Original Purpose Of Its Institution By The Creator The Case Of The Disciples Who Plucked The Ears Of Corn On The Sabbath. The Withered Hand Healed On The Sabbath.

Concerning the Sabbath also I have this to premise, that this question could not have arisen, if Christ did not publicly proclaim the Lord of the Sabbath. Nor could there be any discussion about His annulling the Sabbath, if He had a right to annul it. Moreover, He would have the right, if He belonged to the rival god; nor would it cause surprise to any one that He did what it was right for Him to do. Men's astonishment therefore arose from their opinion that it was improper for Him to proclaim the Creator to be God and yet to impugn His Sabbath. Now, that we may decide these several points first, lest we should be renewing them at every turn to meet each argument of our adversary which rests on some novel institutions of Christ, let this stand as a settled point, that discussion concerning the novel character of each institution ensued on this account, because as nothing was as yet advanced by Christ touching any new deity, so discussion thereon was inadmissible; nor could it be retorted, that from the very novelty of each several institution another deity was clearly enough demonstrated by Christ, inasmuch as it was plain that novelty was not in itself a characteristic to be wondered at in Christ, because it had been foretold by the Creator. And it would have been, of course, but right that a new god should first be expounded, and his discipline be introduced afterwards; because it would be the god that would impart authority to the discipline, and not the discipline to the god; except that (to be sure) it has happened that Marcion acquired his very perverse opinions not from a master, but his master from his opinion! All other points respecting the Sabbath I thus rule. If Christ interfered with the Sabbath, He simply acted after the Creator's example; inasmuch as in the siege of the city of Jericho the carrying around the walls of the ark of the covenant for eight days running, and therefore on a Sabbath-day, actually annulled the Sabbath, by the Creator's command — according to the opinion of those who think this of Christ in this passage of St. Luke, in their ignorance that neither Christ nor the

Creator violated the Sabbath, as we shall by and by show. And yet the Sabbath was actually then broken by Joshua, so that the present charge might be alleged also against Christ. But even if, as being not the Christ of the Jews, He displayed a hatred against the Jews' most solemn day, He was only professedly following the Creator, as being His Christ, in this very hatred of the Sabbath; for He exclaims by the mouth of Isaiah: "Your new moons and your Sabbaths my soul hateth." Now, in whatever sense these words were spoken, we know that an abrupt defence must, in a subject of this sort, be used in answer to an abrupt challenge. I shall now transfer the discussion to the very matter in which the teaching of Christ seemed to annul the Sabbath. The disciples had been hungry; on that the Sabbath day they had plucked some ears and rubbed them in their hands; by thus preparing their food, they had violated the holy day. Christ excuses them, and became their accomplice in breaking the Sabbath. The Pharisees bring the charge against Him. Marcion sophistically interprets the stages of the controversy (if I may call in the aid of the truth of my Lord to ridicule his arts), both in the scriptural record and in Christ's purpose. For from the Creator's Scripture, and from the purpose of Christ, there is derived a colourable precedent — as from the example of David, when he went into the temple on the Sabbath, and provided food by boldly breaking up the shew-bread. Even he remembered that this privilege (I mean the dispensation from fasting) was allowed to the Sabbath from the very beginning, when the Sabbath-day itself was instituted. For although the Creator had forbidden that the manna should be gathered for two days, He yet permitted it on the one occasion only of the day before the Sabbath, in order that the yesterday's provision of food might free from fasting the feast of the following Sabbath-day. Good reason, therefore, had the Lord for pursuing the same principle in the annulling of the Sabbath (since that is the word which men will use); good reason, too, for expressing the Creator's will, when He bestowed the privilege of not fasting on the Sabbath-day. In short, He would have then and there put an end to the Sabbath, nay, to the Creator Himself, if He had commanded His disciples to fast on the Sabbath-day, contrary to the intention of the Scripture and of the Creator's will. But because He did not directly defend His disciples, but excuses them; because He interposes human want, as if deprecating censure; because He maintains the honour of the Sabbath as a day which is to be free from gloom rather than from work;

because he puts David and his companions on a level with His own disciples in their fault and their extenuation; because He is pleased to endorse the Creator's indulgence: because He is Himself good according to His example — is He therefore alien from the Creator? Then the Pharisees watch whether He would heal on the Sabbath-day, that they might accuse Him — surely as a violator of the Sabbath, not as the propounder of a new god; for perhaps I might be content with insisting on all occasions on this one point, that another Christ is nowhere proclaimed. The Pharisees, however, were in utter error concerning the law of the Sabbath, not observing that its terms were conditional, when it enjoined rest from labour, making certain distinctions of labour. For when it says of the Sabbath-day, "In it thou shalt not do any work of thine," by the word thine it restricts the prohibition to human work — which every one performs in his own employment or business — and not to divine work. Now the work of healing or preserving is not proper to man, but to God. So again, in the law it says, "Thou shalt not do any manner of work in it," except what is to be done for any soul, that is to say, in the matter of delivering the soul; because what is God's work may be done by human agency for the salvation of the soul. By God, however, would that be done which the man Christ was to do, for He was likewise God. Wishing, therefore, to initiate them into this meaning of the law by the restoration of the withered hand, He requires, "Is it lawful on the Sabbath-days to do good, or not? to save life, or to destroy it?" In order that He might, whilst allowing that amount of work which He was about to perform for a soul, remind them what works the law of the Sabbath forbade — even human works; and what it enjoined — even divine works, which might be done for the benefit of any soul, He was called "Lord of the Sabbath," because He maintained the Sabbath as His own institution. Now, even if He had annulled the Sabbath, He would have had the right to do so, as being its Lord, (and) still more as He who instituted it. But He did not utterly destroy it, although its Lord, in order that it might henceforth be plain that the Sabbath was not broken by the Creator, even at the time when the ark was carried around Jericho. For that was really God's work, which He commanded Himself, and which He had ordered for the sake of the lives of His servants when exposed to the perils of war. Now, although He has in a certain place expressed an aversion of Sabbaths, by calling them your Sabbaths, reckoning them as men's Sabbaths,

not His own, because they were celebrated without the fear of God by a people full of iniquities, and loving God “with the lip, not the heart,” He has yet put His own Sabbaths (those, that is, which were kept according to His prescription) in a different position; for by the same prophet, in a later passage, He declared them to be “true, and delightful, and inviolable.” Thus Christ did not at all rescind the Sabbath: He kept the law thereof, and both in the former case did a work which was beneficial to the life of His disciples, for He indulged them with the relief of food when they were hungry, and in the present instance cured the withered hand; in each case intimating by facts, “I came not to destroy, the law, but to fulfil it,” although Marcion has gagged His mouth by this word. For even in the case before us He fulfilled the law, while interpreting its condition; moreover, He exhibits in a dear light the different kinds of work, while doing what the law excepts from the sacredness of the Sabbath and while imparting to the Sabbath-day itself, which from the beginning had been consecrated by the benediction of the Father, an additional sanctity by His own beneficent action. For He furnished to this day divine safeguards, — a course which His adversary would have pursued for some other days, to avoid honouring the Creator’s Sabbath, and restoring to the Sabbath the works which were proper for it. Since, in like manner, the prophet Elisha on this day restored to life the dead son of the Shunammite woman, you see, O Pharisee, and you too, O Marcion, how that it was proffer employment for the Creator’s Sabbaths of old to do good, to save life, not to destroy it; how that Christ introduced nothing new, which was not after the example, the gentleness, the mercy, and the prediction also of the Creator. For in this very example He fulfils the prophetic announcement of a specific healing: “The weak hands are strengthened,” as were also “the feeble knees” in the sick of the palsy.

Chap. XIII. — Christ's Connection With The Creator Shown. Many Quotations Out Of The Old Testament Prophetically Bear On Certain Events Of The Life Of Jesus — Such As His Ascent To Praying On The Mountain; His Selection Of Twelve Apostles; His Changing Simon's Name To Peter, And Gentiles From Tyre And Sidon Resorting To Him.

Surely to Sion He brings good tidings, and to Jerusalem peace and all blessings; He goes up into a mountain, and there spends a night in prayer, and He is indeed heard by the Father. Accordingly turn over the prophets, and learn therefrom His entire course. "Into the high mountain," says Isaiah, "get Thee up, who bringest good tidings to Sion; lift up Thy voice with strength, who bringest good tidings to Jerusalem." "They were mightily astonished at His doctrine; for He was teaching as one who had power." And again: "Therefore, my people shall know my name in that day." What name does the prophet mean, but Christ's? "That I am He that doth speak — even I." For it was He who used to speak in the prophets — the Word, the Creator's Son. "I am present, while it is the hour, upon the mountains, as one that bringeth glad tidings of peace, as one that publisheth good tidings of good." So one of the twelve (minor prophets), Naburn: "For behold upon the mountain the swift feet of Him that bringeth glad tidings of peace." Moreover, concerning the voice of His prayer to the Father by night, the psalm manifestly says: "O my God, I will cry in the day-time, and Thou shalt hear; and in the night season, and it shall not be in vain to me." in another passage touching the same voice and place, the psalm says: "I cried unto the Lord with my voice, and He heard me out of His holy mountain." You have a representation of the name; you have the action of the Evangelizer; you have a mountain for the site; and the night as the time; and the sound of a voice; and the audience of the Father: you have, (in short,) the Christ of the prophets. But why was it that He chose twelve apostles, and not some other number? In truth, I might from this very point conclude of my Christ, that He was foretold not only by the words of prophets, but by the indications of facts. For of this number I find figurative hints up and down the Creator's dispensation in the twelve springs of Elfin; in the twelve gems of Aaron's priestly vestment; and in the twelve stones

appointed by Joshua to be taken out of the Jordan, and set up for the ark of the covenant. Now, the same number of apostles was thus portended, as if they were to be fountains and rivers which should water the Gentile world, which was formerly dry and destitute of knowledge (as He says by Isaiah: "I will put streams in the unwatered ground"); as if they were to be gems to shed lustre upon the church's sacred robe, which Christ, the High Priest of the Father, puts on; as if, also, they were to be stones massive in their faith, which the true Joshua took out of the layer of the Jordan, and placed in the sanctuary of His covenant. What equally good defence of such a number has Marcion's Christ to show? It is impossible that anything can be shown to have been done by him unconnectedly, which cannot be shown to have been done by my Christ in connection (with preceding types). To him will appertain the event in whom is discovered the preparation for the same. Again, He changes the name of Simon to Peter, inasmuch as the Creator also altered the names of Abram, and Sarai, and Oshea, by calling the latter Joshua, and adding a syllable to each of the former. But why Peter? If it was because of the vigour of his faith, there were many solid materials which might lend a name from their strength. Was it because Christ was both a rock and a stone? For we read of His being placed "for a stone of stumbling and for a rock of offence." I omit the rest of the passage. Therefore He would fain impart to the dearest of His disciples a name which was suggested by one of His own especial designations in figure; because it was, I suppose, more peculiarly fit than a name which might have been derived from no figurative description of Himself. There come to Him from Tyre, and from other districts even, a transmarine multitude. This fact the psalm had in view: "And behold tribes of foreign people, and Tyre, and the people of the Ethiopians; they were there. Sion is my mother, shall a man say; and in her was born a man" (forasmuch as the God-man was born), and He built her by the Father's will; that you may know how Gentiles then flocked to Him, because He was born the God-man who was to build the church according to the Father's will — even of other races also. So says Isaiah too: "Behold, these come from far; and these from the north and from the west; and these from the land of the Persians." Concerning whom He says again: "Lift up thine eyes round about, and behold, all these have gathered themselves together." And yet again: "Thou seest these unknown and strange ones; and thou wilt say in thine heart, Who hath begotten me these? But who

hath brought me up these? And these, where have they been?” Will such a Christ not be (the Christ) of the prophets? And what will be the Christ of the Marcionites? Since perversion of truth is their pleasure, he could not be (the Christ) of the prophets.

Chap. XIV. — Christ's Sermon On The Mount. In Manner And Contents It So Resembles The Creator's Dispensational Words And Deeds. It Suggests Therefore The Conclusion That Jesus Is The Creator's Christ. The Beatitudes.

I now come to those ordinary precepts of His, by means of which He adapts the peculiarity of His doctrine to what I may call His official proclamation as the Christ. "Blessed are the needy" (for no less than this is required for interpreting the word in the Greek, "because theirs is the kingdom of heaven.") Now this very fact, that He begins with beatitudes, is characteristic of the Creator, who used no other voice than that of blessing either in the first fiat or the final dedication of the universe: for "my heart," says He, "hath indited a very good word." This will be that "very good word" of blessing which is admitted to be the initiating principle of the New Testament, after the example of the Old. What is there, then, to wonder at, if He entered on His ministry with the very attributes of the Creator, who ever in language of the same sort loved, consoled, protected, and avenged the beggar, and the poor, and the humble, and the widow, and the orphan? So that you may believe this private bounty as it were of Christ to be a rivulet streaming from the springs of salvation. Indeed, I hardly know which way to turn amidst so vast a wealth of good words like these; as if I were in a forest, or a meadow, or an orchard of apples. I must therefore look out for such matter as chance may present to me.

In the psalm he exclaims: "Defend the fatherless and the needy; do justice to the humble and the poor; deliver the poor, and rid the needy out of the hand of the wicked." Similarly in the seventy-first Psalm: "In righteousness shall He judge the needy amongst the people, and shall save the children of the poor." And in the following words he says of Christ: "All nations shall serve Him." Now David only reigned over the Jewish nation, so that nobody can suppose that this was spoken of David; whereas He had taken upon Himself the condition of the poor, and such as were oppressed with want, "Because He should deliver the needy out of the hand of the mighty man; He shall spare the needy and the poor, and shall deliver the souls of the poor. From usury and injustice shall He redeem their souls, and in His sight shall their name be honoured." Again: "The wicked shall be turned into hell, even all the nations

that forget God; because the needy shall not alway be forgotten; the endurance of the poor shall not perish for ever.” Again: “Who is like unto the Lord our God, who dwelleth on high, and yet looketh on the humble things that are in heaven and on earth! — who raiseth up the needy from off the ground, and out of the dunghill exalteth the poor; that He may set him with the princes of His people,” that is, in His own kingdom. And likewise earlier, in the book of Kings, Hannah the mother of Samuel gives glory to God in these words: “He raiseth the poor man from the ground, and the beggar, that He may set him amongst the princes of His people (that is, in His own kingdom), and on thrones of glory” (even royal ones). And by Isaiah how He inveighs against the oppressors of the needy “What mean ye that ye set fire to my vineyard, and that the spoil of the poor is in your houses? Wherefore do ye beat my people to pieces, and grind the face of the needy?” And again: “Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees; for in their decrees they decree wickedness, turning aside the needy from judgment, and taking away their rights from the poor of my people.” These righteous judgments He requires for the fatherless also, and the widows, as well as for consolation to the very needy themselves. “Do justice to the fatherless, and deal justly with the widow; and come, let us be reconciled, saith the Lord.” To him, for whom in every stage of lowliness there is provided so much of the Creator’s compassionate regard, shall be given that kingdom also which is promised by Christ, to whose merciful compassion belong, and for a great while have belonged, those to whom the promise is made. For even if you suppose that the promises of the Creator were earthly, but that Christ’s are heavenly, it is quite clear that heaven has been as yet the property of no other God whatever, than Him who owns the earth also; quite clear that the Creator has given even the lesser promises (of earthly blessing), in order that I may more readily believe Him concerning His greater promises (of heavenly blessings) also, than (Marcion’s god), who has never given proof of his liberality by any preceding bestowal of minor blessings. “Blessed are they that hunger, for they shall be filled.” I might connect this clause with the former one, because none but the poor and needy suffer hunger, if the Creator had not specially designed that the promise of a similar blessing should serve as a preparation for the gospel, that so men might know it to be His. For thus does He say, by Isaiah, concerning those whom He was about to call from the ends of the earth —

that is, the Gentiles: "Behold, they shall come swiftly with speed:" swiftly, because hastening towards the fulness of the times; with speed, because unclogged by the weights of the ancient law. They shall neither hunger nor thirst. Therefore they shall be filled, — a promise which is made to none but those who hunger and thirst. And again He says: "Behold, my servants shall be filled, but ye shall be hungry; behold, my servants shall drink, but ye shall be thirsty." As for these oppositions, we shall see whether they are not premonitors of Christ. Meanwhile the promise of fulness to the hungry is a provision of God the Creator. "Blessed are they that weep, for they shall laugh." Turn again to the passage of Isaiah: "Behold, my servants shall exult with joy, but ye shall be ashamed; behold, my servants shall be glad, but ye shall cry for sorrow of heart." And recognise these oppositions also in the dispensation of Christ. Surely gladness and joyous exultation is promised to those who are in an opposite condition — to the sorrowful, and sad, and anxious. Just as it is said in the 125th Psalm: "They who sow in tears shall reap in joy." Moreover, laughter is as much an accessory to the exulting and glad, as weeping is to the sorrowful and grieving. Therefore the Creator, in foretelling matters for laughter and tears, was the first who said that those who mourned should laugh. Accordingly, He who began (His course) with consolation for the poor, and the humble, and the hungry, and the weeping, was at once eager to represent Himself as Him whom He had pointed out by the mouth of Isaiah: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the poor." "Blessed are the needy, because theirs is the kingdom of heaven." "He hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted." "Blessed are they that hunger, for they shall be filled." "To comfort all that mourn." "Blessed are they that weep, for they shall laugh." "To give unto them that mourn in Sion, beauty (or glory) for ashes, and the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness." Now since Christ, as soon as He entered on His course, fulfilled such a ministration as this, He is either, Himself, He who predicted His own coming to do all this; or else if he is not yet come who predicted this, the charge to Marcion's Christ must be a ridiculous one (although I should perhaps add a necessary one), which bade him say, "Blessed shall ye be, when men shall bate you, and shall reproach you, and shall cast out your name as evil, for the Son of man's sake." In this declaration there is, no doubt, an exhortation to

patience. Well, what did the Creator say otherwise by Isaiah? “Fear ye not the reproach of men, nor be diminished by their contempt.” What reproach? what contempt? That which was to be incurred for the sake of the Son of man. What Son of man? He who (is come) according to the Creator’s will. Whence shall we get our proof? From the very cutting off, which was predicted against Him; as when He says by Isaiah to the Jews, who were the instigators of hatred against Him: “Because of you, my name is blasphemed amongst the Gentiles;” and in another passage: “Lay the penalty on Him who surrenders His own life, who is held in contempt by the Gentiles, whether servants or magistrates.” Now, since hatred was predicted against that Son of man who has His mission from the Creator, whilst the Gospel testifies that the name of Christians, as derived from Christ, was to be hated for the Son of man’s sake, because He is Christ, it determines the point that that was the Son of man in the matter of hatred who came according to the Creator’s purpose, and against whom the hatred was predicted. And even if He had not yet come, the hatred of His name which exists at the present day could not in any case have possibly preceded Him who was to bear the name. But He has both suffered the penalty in our presence, and surrendered His life, laying it down for our sakes, and is held in contempt by the Gentiles. And He who was born (into the world) will be that very Son of man on whose account our name also is rejected.

Chap. XV. — Sermon On The Mount Continued. Its Woes In Strict Agreement With The Creator's Disposition. Many Quotations Out Of The Old Testament In Proof Of This.

“In the like manner,” says He, “did their fathers unto the prophets.” What a turncoat is Marcion’s Christ! Now the destroyer, now the advocate of the prophets! He destroyed them as their rival, by converting their disciples; he took up their cause as their friend, by stigmatizing their persecutors. But, in as far as the defence of the prophets could not be consistent in the Christ of Marcion, who came to destroy them; in so far is it becoming to the Creator’s Christ that He should stigmatize those who persecuted the prophets, for He in all things accomplished their predictions. Again, it is more characteristic of the Creator to upbraid sons with their fathers’ sins, than it is of that god who chastizes no man for even his own misdeeds. But you will say, He cannot be regarded as defending the prophets simply because He wished to affirm the iniquity of the Jews for their impious dealings with their own prophets. Well, then, in this case, no sin ought to have been charged against the Jews: they were rather deserving of praise and approbation when they maltreated(24 those whom the absolutely good god of Marcion, after so long a time, bestirred himself to destroy. I suppose, however, that by this time he had ceased to be the absolutely good god; he had now sojourned a considerable while even with the Creator, and was no longer (like) the god of Epicurus purely and simply. For see how he condescends to curse, and proves himself capable of taking offence and feeling anger! He actually pronounces a woe! But a doubt is raised against us as to the import of this word, as if it carried with it less the sense of a curse than of an admonition. Where, however, is the difference, since even an admonition is not given without the sting of a threat, especially when it is embittered with a woe? Moreover, both admonition and threatening will be the resources of him s who knows how to feel angry, For no one will forbid the doing of a thing with an admonition or a threat, except him who will inflict punishment for the doing of it. No one would inflict punishment, except him who was susceptible of anger. Others, again, admit that the word implies a curse; but they will have it that Christ pronounced the woe, not as if it were His own genuine feeling, but because the woe is from

the Creator, and He wanted to set forth to them the severity of the Creator in order that He might the more commend His own long-suffering in His beatitudes Just as if it were not competent to the Creator, in the pre-eminence of both His attributes as the good God and Judge, that, as He had made clemency the preamble of His benediction so He should place severity in the sequel of His curses; thus fully developing His discipline in both directions, both in following out the blessing and in providing against the curse. He had already said of old, "Behold, I have set before you blessing and cursing." Which statement was really a presage of this temper of the gospel. Besides, what sort of being is that who, to insinuate a belief in his own goodness, invidiously contrasted with it the Creator's severity? Of little worth is the recommendation which has for its prop the defamation of another. And yet by thus setting forth the severity of the Creator, he, in fact, affirmed Him to be an object of fear. Now if He be an object of fear, He is of course more worthy of being obeyed than slighted; and thus Marcion's Christ begins to teach favourably to the Creator's interests. Then, on the admission above mentioned, since the woe which has regard to the rich is the Creator's, it follows that it is not Christ, but the Creator, who is angry with the rich; while Christ approves of the incentives of the rich — I mean, their pride, their pomp, their love of the world, and their contempt of God, owing to which they deserve the woe of the Creator. But how happens it that the reprobation of the rich does not proceed from the same God who had just before expressed approbation of the poor? There is nobody but reprobates the opposite of that which he has approved. If, therefore, there be imputed to the Creator the woe pronounced against the rich, there must be claimed for Him also the promise of the blessing upon the poor; and thus the entire work of the Creator devolves on Christ. — If to Marcion's god there be ascribed the blessing of the poor, he must also have imputed to him the malediction of the rich; and thus will he become the Creator's equal, both good and judicial; nor will there be left any room for that distinction whereby two gods are made; and when this distinction is removed, there will remain the verity which pronounces the Creator to be the one only God. Since, therefore, "woe" is a word indicative of malediction, or of some unusually austere exclamation; and since it is by Christ uttered against the rich, I shall have to show that the Creator is also a despiser of the rich, as I have shown Him to be the defender of the poor, in

order that I may prove Christ to be on the Creator's side in this matter, even when He enriched Solomon. But with respect to this man, since, when a choice was left to him, he preferred asking for what he knew to be well-pleasing to God — even wisdom — he further merited the attainment of the riches, which he did not prefer. The endowing of a man indeed with riches, is not an incongruity to God, for by the help of riches even rich men are comforted and assisted; moreover, by them many a work of justice and charity is carried out. But yet there are serious faults which accompany riches; and it is because of these that woes are denounced on the rich, even in the Gospel. "Ye have received," says He, "your consolation;" that is, of course, from their riches, in the pomps and vanities of the world which these purchase for them. Accordingly, in Deuteronomy, Moses says: "Lest, when thou hast eaten and art full, and hast built goodly houses, and when thy herds and thy flocks multiply, as well as thy silver and thy gold, thine heart be then lifted up, and thou forget the Lord thy God." in similar terms, when king Hezekiah became proud of his treasures, and gloried in them rather than in God before those who had come on an embassy from Babylon, (the Creator) breaks forth against him by the mouth of Isaiah: "Behold, the days come when all that is in thine house, and that which thy fathers have laid up in store, shall be carried to Babylon." So by Jeremiah likewise did He say: "Let not the rich man glory in his riches but let him that glorieth even glory in the Lord." Similarly against the daughters of Sion does He inveigh by Isaiah, when they were haughty through their pomp and the abundance of their riches, just as in another passage He utters His threats against the proud and noble: "Hell hath enlarged herself, and opened her mouth, and down to it shall descend the illustrious, and the great, and the rich (this shall be Christ's 'woe to the rich'); and man shall be humbled," even he that exalts himself with riches; "and the mighty man shall be dishonoured," even he who is mighty from his wealth. Concerning whom He says again: "Behold, the Lord of hosts shall confound the pompous together with their strength: those that are lifted up shall be hewn down, and such as are lofty shall fall by the sword." And who are these but the rich? Because they have indeed received their consolation, glory, and honour and a lofty position from their wealth. In Ps. xlviii. He also turns off our care from these and says: "Be not thou afraid when one is made rich, and when his glory is increased: for when he shall die, he shall carry nothing

away; nor shall his glory descend along with him.” So also in Ps. lxi.: “Do not desire riches; and if they do yield you their lustre, do not set your heart upon them.” Lastly, this very same woe is pronounced of old by Amos against the rich, who also abounded in delights. “Woe unto them,” says he, “who sleep upon beds of ivory, and deliciously stretch themselves upon their couches; who eat the kids from the flocks of the goats, and sucking calves from the flocks of the heifers, while they chant to the sound of the viol; as if they thought they should continue long, and were not fleeting; who drink their refined wines, and anoint themselves with the costliest ointments.” Therefore, even if I could do nothing else than show that the Creator dissuades men from riches, without at the same time first condemning the rich, in the very same terms in which Christ also did, no one could doubt that, from the same authority, there was added a commination against the rich in that woe of Christ, from whom also had first proceeded the dissuasion against the material sin of these persons, that is, their riches. For such commination is the necessary sequel to such a dissuasive. He inflicts a woe also on “the full, because they shall hunger; on those too which laugh now,, because they shall mourn.” To these will correspond these opposites which occur, as we have seen above, in the benedictions of the Creator: “Behold, my servants shall be full, but ye shall be hungry “ — even because ye have been filled; “behold, my servants shall rejoice, but ye shall be ashamed” — even ye who shall mourn, who now are laughing. For as it is written in the psalm, “They who sow in tears shall reap in joy,” so does it run in the Gospel: They who sow in laughter, that is, in joy, shall reap in tears. These principles did the Creator lay down of old; and Christ has renewed them, by simply bringing them into prominent view, not by making any change in them. “Woe unto you, when all men shall speak well of you! for so did their fathers to the false prophets.” With equal stress does the Creator, by His prophet Isaiah, censure those who seek after human flattery and praise: “O my people, they who call you happy mislead you, and disturb the paths of your feet.” In another passage He forbids all implicit trust in man, and likewise in the applause of man; as by the prophet Jeremiah: “Cursed be the man that trusteth in man.” Whereas in Ps. cxvii. it is said: “It is better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in man; it is better to trust in the Lord than to place hope in princes.” Thus everything which is caught at by men is adjured by the Creator, down to their good

words. It is as much His property to condemn the praise and flattering words bestowed on the false prophets by their fathers, as to condemn their vexatious and persecuting treatment of the (true) prophets. As the injuries suffered by the prophets could not be imputed to their own God, so the applause bestowed on the false prophets could not have been displeasing to any other god but the God of the true prophets.

Chap. XVI. — The Precept Of Loving One's Enemies. It Is As Much Taught In The Creator's Scriptures Of The Old Testament As In Christ's Sermon. The Lex Talionis Of Moses Admirably Explained In Consistency With The Kindness And Love Which Jesus Christ Came To Proclaim And Enforce In Behalf Of The Creator. Sundry Precepts Of Charity Explained.

“But I say unto you which hear” (displaying here that old injunction, of the Creator: “Speak to the ears of those who lend them to you”), “Love your enemies, and bless those which hate you, and pray for them which calumniate you.” These commands the Creator included in one precept by His prophet Isaiah: “Say, Ye are our brethren, to those who hate you.” For if they who are our enemies, and hate us, and speak evil of us, and calumniate us, are to be called our brethren, surely He did in effect bid us bless them that hate us, and pray for them who calumniate us, when He instructed us to reckon them as brethren. Well, but Christ plainly teaches a new kind of patience, when He actually prohibits the reprisals which the Creator permitted in requiring “an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth,” and bids us, on the contrary, “to him who smiteth us on the one cheek, to offer the other also, and to give up our coat to him that taketh away our cloak.” No doubt these are supplementary additions by Christ, but they are quite in keeping with the teaching of the Creator. And therefore this question must at once be determined, Whether the discipline of patience be enjoined by the Creator? When by Zechariah He commanded, “Let none of you imagine evil against his brother,” He did not expressly include his neighbour; but then in another passage He says, “Let none of you imagine evil in your hearts against his neighbour.” He who counselled that an injury should be forgotten, was still more likely to counsel the patient endurance of it. But then, when He said, “Vengeance is mine, and I will repay,” He thereby teaches that patience calmly waits for the infliction of vengeance. Therefore, inasmuch as it is incredible that the same (God) should seem to require “a tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye,” in return for an injury, who forbids not only all reprisals, but even a revengeful thought or recollection of an injury, in so far does it become plain to us in what sense He required “an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth,” — not, indeed, for the

purpose of permitting the repetition of the injury by retaliating it, which it virtually prohibited when it forbade vengeance; but for the purpose of restraining the injury in the first instance, which it had forbidden on pain of retaliation or reciprocity; so that every man, in view of the permission to inflict a second (or retaliatory) injury, might abstain from the commission of the first (or provocative) wrong. For He knows how much more easy it is to repress violence by the prospect of retaliation, than by the promise of (indefinite) vengeance. Both results, however, it was necessary to provide, in consideration of the nature and the faith of men, that the man who believed in God might expect vengeance from God, while he who had no faith (to restrain him) might fear the laws which prescribed retaliation. This purpose of the law, which it was difficult to understand, Christ, as the Lord of the Sabbath and of the law, and of all the dispensations of the Father, both revealed and made intelligible, when He commanded that “the other cheek should be offered (to the smiter),” in order that He might the more effectually extinguish all reprisals of an injury, which the law had wished to prevent by the method of retaliation, (and) which most certainly revelation had manifestly restricted, both by prohibiting the memory of the wrong, and referring the vengeance thereof to God. Thus, whatever (new provision) Christ introduced, He did it not in opposition to the law, but rather in furtherance of it, without at all impairing the prescription of the Creator. If, therefore, one looks carefully into the very grounds for which patience is enjoined (and trial to such a full and complete extent), one finds that it cannot stand if it is not the precept of the Creator, who promises vengeance, who presents Himself as the judge (in the case). If it were not so, — if so vast a weight of patience — which is to refrain from giving blow for blow; which is to offer the other cheek; which is not only not to return railing for railing, but contrariwise blessing; and which, so far from keeping the coat, is to give up the cloak also — is laid upon me by one who means not to help me, — (then all I can say is,) he has taught me patience to no purpose, because he shows me no reward to his precept — I mean no fruit of such patience. There is revenge which he ought to have permitted me to take, if he meant not to inflict it himself; if he did not give me that permission, then he should himself have inflicted it; since it is for the interest of discipline itself that an injury should be avenged. For by the fear of vengeance all iniquity is curbed. But if licence is allowed to it without

discrimination, it will get the mastery — it will put out (a man's) both eyes; it will knock out every tooth in the safety of its impunity. This, however, is (the principle) of your good and simply beneficent god — to do a wrong to patience, to open the door to violence, to leave the righteous undefended, and the wicked unrestrained! "Give to every one that asketh of thee" — to the indigent of course, or rather to the indigent more especially, although to the affluent likewise. But in order that no man may be indigent, you have in Deuteronomy a provision commanded by the Creator to the creditor. "There shall not be in thine hand an indigent man; so that the Lord thy God shall bless thee with blessings," — thee meaning the creditor to whom it was owing that the man was not indigent. But more than this. To one who does not ask, He bids a gift to be given. "Let there be, not," He says, "a poor man in thine hand;" in other words, see that there be not, so far as thy will can prevent; by which command, too, He all the more strongly by inference requires men to give to him that asks, as in the following words also: "If there be among you a poor man of thy brethren, thou shalt not turn away thine heart, nor shut thine hand from thy poor brother. But thou shalt open thine hand wide unto him, and shalt surely lend him as much as he wanteth," Loans are not usually given, except to such as ask for them. On this subject of lending, however, more hereafter. Now, should any one wish to argue that the Creator's precepts extended only to a man's brethren, but Christ's to all that ask, so as to make the latter a new and different precept, (I have to reply) that one rule only can be made out of those principles, which show the law of the Creator to be repeated in Christ. For that is not a different thing which Christ enjoined to be done towards all men, from that which the Creator prescribed in favour of a man's brethren. For although that is a greater charity, which is shown to strangers, it is yet not preferable to that which was previously due to one's neighbours. For what man will be able to bestow the love (which proceeds from knowledge of character, upon strangers? Since, however, the second step in charity is towards strangers, while the first is towards one's neighbours, the second step will belong to him to whom the first also belongs, more fitly than the second will belong to him who owned no first. Accordingly, the Creator, when following the course of nature, taught in the first instance kindness to neighbours, intending afterwards to enjoin it towards strangers; and when following the method of His dispensation, He limited charity first to the Jews,

but afterwards extended it to the whole race of mankind. So long, therefore, as the mystery of His government was confined to Israel, He properly commanded that pity should be shown only to a man's brethren; but when Christ had given to Him "the Gentiles for His heritage, and the ends of the earth for His possession," then began to be accomplished what was said by Hosea: "Ye are not my people, who were my people; ye have not obtained mercy, who once obtained mercy" — that is, the (Jewish) nation. Thenceforth Christ extended to all men the law of His Father's compassion, excepting none from His mercy, as He omitted none in His invitation. So that, whatever was the ampler scope of His teaching, He received it all in His heritage of the nations. "And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise." In this command is no doubt implied its counterpart: "And as ye would not that men should do to you, so should ye also not do to them likewise." Now, if this were the teaching of the new and previously unknown and not yet fully proclaimed deity, who had favoured me with no instruction beforehand, whereby I might first learn what I ought to choose or to refuse for myself, and to do to others what I would wish done to myself, not doing to them what I should be unwilling to have done to myself, it would certainly be nothing else than the chance-medley of my own sentiments which he would have left to me, binding me to no proper rule of wish or action, in order that I might do to others what I would like for myself, or refrain from doing to others what I should dislike to have done to myself. For he has not, in fact, defined what I ought to wish or not to wish for myself as well as for others, so that I shape my conduct according to the law of my own will, and have it in my power not to render to another what I would like to have rendered to myself — love, obedience, consolation, protection, and such like blessings; and in like manner to do to another what I should be unwilling to have done to myself — violence, wrong, insult, deceit, and evils of like sort. Indeed, the heathen who have not been instructed by God act on this incongruous liberty of the will and the conduct. For although good and evil are severally known by nature, yet life is not thereby spent under the discipline of God, which alone at last teaches men the proper liberty of their will and action in faith, as in the fear of God. The god of Marcion, therefore, although specially revealed, was, in spite of his revelation, unable to publish any summary of the precept in question, which had hitherto been so confined, and obscure, and dark, and

admitting of no ready interpretation, except according to my own arbitrary thought, because he had provided no previous discrimination in the matter of such a precept. This, however, was not the case with my God, for He always and everywhere enjoined that the poor, and the orphan, and the widow should be protected, assisted, refreshed; thus by Isaiah He says: “Deal thy bread to the hungry, and them that are houseless bring into thine house; when thou seest the naked, cover him.” By Ezekiel also He thus describes the just man: “His bread will he give to the hungry, and the naked will he cover with a garment.” That teaching was even then a sufficient inducement to me to do to others what I would that they should do unto me. Accordingly, when He uttered such denunciations as, “Thou shalt do no murder; thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not bear false witness,” He taught me to refrain from doing to others what I should be unwilling to have done to myself; and therefore the precept developed in the Gospel will belong to Him alone, who anciently drew it up, and gave it distinctive point, and arranged it after the decision of His own teaching, and has now reduced it, suitably to its importance, to a compendious formula, because (as it was predicted in another passage) the Lord — that is, Christ” was to make (or utter) a concise word on earth.”

Chap. XVII. — Concerning Loans. Prohibition Of Usury And The Usurious Spirit. The Law Preparatory To The Gospel In Its Provisions; So In The Present Instance. On Reprisals. Christ's Teaching Throughout Proves Him To Be Sent By The Creator.

And now, on the subject of a loan, when He asks, "And if ye lend to them of whom ye hope to receive, what thank have ye?" compare with this the following words of Ezekiel, in which He says of the before-mentioned just man, "He hath not given his money upon usury, nor will he take any increase" — meaning the redundance of interest, which is usury. The first step was to eradicate the fruit of the money lent, the more easily to accustom a man to the loss, should it happen, of the money itself, the interest of which he had learnt to lose. Now this, we affirm, was the function of the law as preparatory to the gospel. It was engaged in forming the faith of such as would learn, by gradual stages, for the perfect light of the Christian discipline, through the best precepts of which it was capable, inculcating a benevolence which as yet expressed itself but falteringly. For in the passage of Ezekiel quoted above He says, "And thou shalt restore the pledge of the loan " — to him, certainly, who is incapable of repayment, because, as a matter of course, He would not anyhow prescribe the restoration of a pledge to one who was solvent. Much more clearly is it enjoined in Deuteronomy: "Thou shalt not sleep upon his pledge; thou shalt be sure to return to him his garment about sunset, and he shall sleep in his own garment." Clearer still is a former passage: "Thou shalt remit every debt which thy neighbour oweth thee; and of thy brother thou shalt not require it, because it is called the release of the Lord thy God." Now, when He commands that a debt be remitted to a man who shall be unable to pay it (for it is a still stronger argument when He forbids its being asked for from a man who is even able to repay it), what else does He teach than that we should lend to those of whom we cannot receive again, inasmuch as He has imposed so great a loss on lending? "And ye shall be the children of God." What can be more shameless, than for him to be making us his children, who has not permitted us to make children for ourselves by forbidding marriage? How does he propose to invest his followers with a name which he has already erased? I cannot be the son of a eunuch Especially when I have for my

Father the same great Being whom the universe claims for its! For is not the Founder of the universe as much a Father, even of all men, as (Marcion's) castrated deity, who is the maker of no existing thing? Even if the Creator had not united male and female, and if He had not allowed any living creature whatever to have children, I yet had this relation to Him before Paradise, before the fall, before the expulsion, before the two became one. I became His son a second time, as soon as He fashioned me with His hands, and gave me motion with His inbreathing. Now again He names me His son, not begetting me into natural life, but into spiritual life. "Because," says He, "He is kind unto the unthankful and to the evil." Well done, Marcion! how cleverly have you withdrawn from Him the showers and the sunshine, that He might not seem to be a Creator! But who is this kind being which hitherto has not been even known? How can he be kind who had previously shown no evidences of such a kindness as this, which consists of the loan to us of sunshine and rain? — who is not destined to receive from the human race (the homage due to that) Creator, — who, up to this very moment, in return for His vast liberality in the gift of the elements, bears with men while they offer to idols, more readily than Himself, the due returns of His graciousness. But God is truly kind even in spiritual blessings. "The utterances of the Lord are sweeter than honey and honeycombs." He then has taunted men as ungrateful who deserved to have their gratitude — even He, whose sunshine and rain even you, O Marcion, have enjoyed, but without gratitude! Your god, however, had no right to complain of man's ingratitude, because he had used no means to make them grateful. Compassion also does He teach: "Be ye merciful," says He, "as your Father also that had mercy upon you." This injunction will be of a piece with, "Deal thy bread to the hungry; and if he be houseless, bring him into thine house; and if thou seest the naked, cover him;" also with, "Judge the fatherless, plead with the widow." I recognise here that ancient doctrine of Him who "prefers mercy to sacrifice." If, however, it be now some other being which teaches mercy, on the ground of his own mercifulness, how happens it that he has been wanting in mercy to me for so vast an age? "Judge not, and ye shall not be judged; condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned; forgive, and ye shall be forgiven; give, and it shall be given unto you: good measure, pressed down, and running over, shall men give into your bosom. For with the same measure that ye measure withal, it shall be measured to you

again.” As it seems to me, this passage announces a retribution proportioned to the merits. But from whom shall come the retribution? If only from men, in that case he teaches a merely human discipline and recompense; and in everything we shall have to obey man: if from the Creator, as the Judge and the Recompenser of merits, then He compels our submission to Him, in whose hands He has placed a retribution which will be acceptable or terrible according as every man shall have judged or condemned, acquitted or dealt with, his neighbour; if from (Marcion’s god) himself, he will then exercise a judicial function which Marcion denies. Let the Marcionites therefore make their choice: Will it not be just the same inconsistency to desert the prescription of their master, as to have Christ teaching in the interest of men or of the Creator? But “a blind man will lead a blind man into the ditch.” Some persons believe Marcion. But “the disciple is not above his master.” Apelles ought to have remembered this — a corrector of Marcion, although his disciple. The heretic ought to take the beam out of his own eye, and then he may convict the Christian, should he suspect a mote to be in his eye. Just as a good tree cannot produce evil fruit, so neither can truth generate heresy; and as a corrupt tree cannot yield good fruit, so heresy will not produce truth. Thus, Marcion brought nothing good out of Cerdon’s evil treasure; nor Apelles out of Marcion’s. For in applying to these heretics the figurative words which Christ used of men in general, we shall make a much more suitable interpretation of them than if we were to deduce out of them two gods, according to Marcion’s grievous exposition. I think that I have the best reason possible for insisting still upon the position which I have all along occupied, that in no passage to be anywhere found has another God been revealed by Christ. I wonder that in this place alone Marcion’s hands should have felt benumbed in their adulterating labour. But even robbers have their qualms now and then. There is no wrong-doing without fear, because there is none without a guilty conscience. So long, then, were the Jews cognisant of no other god but Him, beside whom they knew none else; nor did they call upon any other than Him whom alone they knew. This being the case, who will He clearly be that said, “Why tallest thou me Lord, Lord?” Will it be he who had as yet never been called on, because never yet revealed; or He who was ever regarded as the Lord, because known from the beginning — even the God of the Jews? Who, again, could possibly have added, “and do not the

things which I say?" Could it have been he who was only then doing his best to teach them? Or He who from the beginning had addressed to them His messages both by the law and the prophets? He could then upbraid them with disobedience, even if He had no ground at any time else for His reproof. The fact is, that He who was then imputing to them their ancient obstinacy was none other than He who, before the coming of Christ, had addressed to them these words, "This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart standeth far off from me." Otherwise, how absurd it were that a new god, a new Christ, the revealer of a new and so grand a religion should denounce as obstinate and disobedient those whom he had never had it in his power to make trial of!

Chap. XVIII. — Concerning The Centurion's Faith. The Raising Of The Widow's Son. John Baptist, And His Message To Christ; And The Woman Who Was A Sinner. Proofs Extracted From All Of The Relation Of Christ To The Creator.

Likewise, when extolling the centurion's faith, how incredible a thing it is, that He should confess that He had "found so great a faith not even in Israel." to whom Israel's faith was in no way interesting! But not from the fact (here stated by Christ) could it have been of any interest to Him to approve and compare what was hitherto crude, nay, I might say, hitherto naught. Why, however, might He not have used the example of faith in another god? Because, if He had done so, He would have said that no such faith had ever had existence in Israel; but as the case stands, He intimates that He ought to have found so great a faith in Israel, inasmuch as He had indeed come for the purpose of finding it, being in truth the God and Christ of Israel, and had now stigmatized it, only as one who would enforce and Uphold it. If, indeed, He had been its antagonist, He would have preferred finding it to be such faith, having come to weaken and destroy it rather than to approve of it. He raised also the widow's son from death. This was not a strange miracle. The Creator's prophets had wrought such; then why not His Son much rather? Now, so evidently had the Lord Christ introduced no other god for the working of so momentous a miracle as this, that all who were present gave glory to the Creator, saying: "A great prophet is risen up among us, and God hath visited His people." What God? He, of course, whose people they were, and from whom had come their prophets. But if they glorified the Creator, and Christ (on hearing them, and knowing their meaning) refrained from correcting them even in their very act of invoking the Creator in that vast manifestation of His glory in this raising of the dead, undoubtedly He either announced no other God but Him, whom He thus permitted to be honoured in His own beneficent acts and miracles, or else how happens it that He quietly permitted these persons to remain so long in their error, especially as He came for the very purpose to cure them of their error? But John is offended when he hears of the miracles of Christ, as of an alien god. Well, I on my side will first explain the reason of his offence, that I may the more easily explode the

scandal of our heretic. Now, that the very Lord Himself of all might, the Word and Spirit of the Father, was operating and preaching on earth, it was necessary that the portion of the Holy Spirit which, in the form of the prophetic gift, had been through John preparing the ways of the Lord, should now depart from John, and return back again of course to the Lord, as to its all-embracing original. Therefore John, being now an ordinary person, and only one of the many, was offended indeed as a man, but not because he expected or thought of another Christ as teaching or doing nothing new, for he was not even expecting such a one. Nobody will entertain doubts about any one whom (since he knows him not to exist) he has no expectation or thought of. Now John was quite sure that there was no other God but the Creator, even as a Jew, especially as a prophet. Whatever doubt he felt was evidently rather entertained about Him whom he knew indeed to exist but knew not whether He were the very Christ. With this fear, therefore, even John asks the question, “Art thou He that should come, or look we for another?” — simply inquiring whether He was come as He whom he was looking for. “Art thou He that should come?” i.e. Art thou the coming One? “or look we for another?” i.e. Is He whom we are expecting some other than Thou, if Thou art not He whom we expect to come? For he was supposing, as all men then thought, from the similarity of the miraculous evidences, that a prophet might possibly have been meanwhile sent, from whom the Lord Himself, whose coming was then expected, was different, and to whom He was superior. And there lay John’s difficulty. He was in doubt whether He was actually come whom all men were looking for; whom, moreover, they ought to have recognised by His predicted works, even as the Lord sent word to John, that it was by means of these very works that He was to be recognised. Now, inasmuch as these predictions evidently related to the Creator’s Christ — as we have proved in the examination of each of them — it was perverse enough, if he gave himself out to be not the Christ of the Creator, and rested the proof of his statement on those very evidences whereby he was urging his claims to be received as the Creator’s Christ. Far greater still is his perverseness when, not being the Christ of John, he yet bestows on John his testimony, affirming him to be a prophet, nay more, his messenger, applying to him the Scripture, “Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee.” He graciously adduced the prophecy in the superior sense of the alternative

mentioned by the perplexed John, in order that, by affirming that His own precursor was already come in the person of John, He might quench the doubt which lurked in his question: "Art thou He that, should come, or look we for another?" Now that the forerunner had fulfilled his mission, and the way of the Lord was prepared, He ought now to be acknowledged as that (Christ) for whom the forerunner had made ready the way. That forerunner was indeed "greater than all of women born;" but for all that, He who was least in the kingdom of God was not subject to him; as if the kingdom in which the least person was greater than John belonged to one God, while John, who was greater than all of women born, belonged himself to another God. For whether He speaks of any "least person" by reason of his humble position, or of Himself, as being thought to be less than John — since all were running into the wilderness after John rather than after Christ ("What went ye out into the wilderness to see?") — the Creator has equal right to claim as His own both John, greater than any born of women, and Christ, or every "least person in the kingdom of heaven," who was destined to be greater than John in that kingdom, although equally pertaining to the Creator, and who would be so much greater than the prophet, because he would not have been offended at Christ, as infirmity which then lessened the greatness John. We have already spoken of the forgiveness of sins. The behaviour of "the woman which was a sinner," when she covered the Lord's feet with her kisses, bathed them with her tears, wiped them with the hairs of her head, anointed them with ointment, produced an evidence that what she handled was not an empty phantom, but a really solid body, and that her repentance as a sinner deserved forgiveness according to the mind of the Creator, who is accustomed to prefer mercy to sacrifice. But even if the stimulus of her repentance proceeded from her faith, she heard her justification by faith through her repentance pronounced in the words, "Thy faith hath saved thee," by Him who had declared by Habakkuk, "The just shall live by his faith."

Chap. XIX. — The Rich Women Of Piety Who Followed Jesus Christ's Teaching By Parables. The Marcionite Cavil Derived From Christ's Remark, When Told Of His Mother And His Brethren. Explanation Of Christ's Apparent Rejection Of Them.

The fact that certain rich women clave to Christ, “which ministered unto Him of their substance,” amongst whom was the wife of the king’s steward, is a subject of prophecy. By Isaiah the Lord called these wealthy ladies— “Rise up, ye women that are at ease, and hear my voice” — that He might prove them first as disciples, and then as assistants and helpers: “Daughters, hear my words in hope; this day of the year cherish the memory of, in labour with hope.” For it was “in labour” that they followed Him, and “with hope” did they minister to Him. On the subject of parables, let it suffice that it has been once for all shown that this kind of language was with equal distinctness promised by the Creator. But there is that direct mode of His speaking to the people”Ye shall hear with the ear, but ye shall not understand” — which now claims notice as having furnished to Christ that frequent form of His earnest instruction: “He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.” Not as if Christ, actuated with a diverse spirit, permitted a hearing which the Creator had refused; but because the exhortation followed the threatening. First came, “Ye shall hear with the ear, but shall not understand;” then followed, “He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.” For they wilfully refused to hear, although they had ears. He, however, was teaching them that it was the ears of the heart which were necessary; and with these the Creator had said that they would not hear. Therefore it is that He adds by His Christ, “Take heed how ye hear,” and hear not, — meaning, of course, with the hearing of the heart, not of the ear. If you only attach a proper, sense to the Creator’s admonition suitable to the meaning of Him who was rousing the people to hear by the words, “Take heed how ye hear,” it amounted to a menace to such as would not hear. In fact, that most merciful god of yours, who judges not, neither is angry, is minatory. This is proved even by the sentence which immediately follows: “Whosoever hath, to him shall be given; and whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken even that which he seemeth to have.” What shall be given? The increase of faith, or understanding, or even salvation. What shall be taken away? That, of course,

which shall be, given. By whom shall the gift and the deprivation be made? If by the Creator it be taken away, by Him also shall it be given. If by Marcion's god it be given, by Marcion's god also will it be taken away. Now, for whatever reason He threatens the "deprivation," it will not be the work of a god who knows not how to threaten, because incapable of anger. I am, moreover, astonished when he says that "a candle is not usually hidden," who had hidden himself — a greater and more needful light — during so long a time; and when he promises that "everything shall be brought out of its secrecy and made manifest," who hitherto has kept his god in obscurity, waiting (I suppose) until Marcion be born. We now come to the most strenuously-plied argument of all those who call in question the Lord's nativity. They say that He testifies Himself to His not having been born, when He asks, "Who is my mother, and who are my brethren?" In this manner heretics either wrest plain and simple words to any sense they choose by their conjectures, or else they violently resolve by a literal interpretation words which imply a conditional sense and are incapable of a simple solution, as in this passage. We, for our part, say in reply, first, that it could not possibly have been told Him that His mother and His brethren stood without, desiring to see Him, if He had had no mother and no brethren. They must have been known to him who announced them, either some time previously, or then at that very time, when they desired to see Him, or sent Him their message. To this our first position this answer is usually given by the other side. But suppose they sent Him the message for the purpose of tempting Him? Well, but the Scripture does not say so; and inasmuch as it is usual for it to indicate what is done in the way of temptation ("Behold, a certain lawyer stood up, and tempted Him;" again, when inquiring about tribute, the Pharisees came to Him, tempting Him), so, when it makes no mention of temptation, it does not admit the interpretation of temptation. However, although I do not allow this sense, I may as well ask, by way of a superfluous refutation, for the reasons of the alleged temptation, To what purpose could they have tempted Him by naming His mother and His brethren? If it was to ascertain whether He had been born or not — when was a question raised on this point, which they must resolve by tempting Him in this way? Who could doubt His having been born, when they saw Him before them a veritable man? — whom they had heard call Himself "Son of man?" — of whom they doubted whether He were God

or Son of God, from seeing Him, as they did, in the perfect garb of human quality? — supposing Him rather to be a prophet, a great one indeed, but still one who had been born as man? Even if it had been necessary that He should thus be tried in the investigation of His birth, surely any other proof would have better answered the trial than that to be obtained from mentioning those relatives which it was quite possible for Him, in spite of His true nativity, not at that moment to have had. For tell me now, does a mother live on contemporaneously with her sons in every case? Have all sons brothers born for them? May a man rather not have fathers and sisters (living), or even no relatives at all? But there is historical proof that at this very time a census had been taken in Judaea by Sentius Saturninus, which might have satisfied their inquiry respecting the family and descent of Christ. Such a method of testing the point had therefore no consistency whatever in it and they “who were standing without” were really “His mother and His brethren.” It remains for us to examine His meaning when He resorts to non-literal words, saying “Who is my mother or my brethren?” It seems as if His language amounted to a denial of His family and His birth; but it arose actually from the absolute nature of the case, and the conditional sense in which His words were to be explained. He was justly indignant, that persons so very near to Him” stood without,” while strangers were within hanging on His words, especially as they wanted to call Him away from the solemn work He had in hand. He did not so much deny as disavow them. And therefore, when to the previous question, “Who is my mother, and who are my brethren? He added the answer “None but they who hear my words and do them,” He transferred the names of blood-relationship to others, whom He judged to be more closely related to Him by reason of their faith. Now no one transfers a thing except from him who possesses that which is transferred. If, therefore, He made them “His mother and His brethren” who were not so, how could He deny them these relationships who really had them? Surely only on the condition of their deserts, and not by any disavowal of His near relatives; teaching them by His own actual example, that “whosoever preferred father or mother or brethren to the Word of God, was not a disciple worthy of Him.” Besides, His admission of His mother and His brethren was the more express, from the fact of His unwillingness to acknowledge them. That He adopted others only confirmed those in their relationship to Him whom He refused because of their offence,

and for whom He substituted the others, not as being truer relatives, but worthier ones. Finally, it was no great matter if He did prefer to kindred (that) faith which it did not possess.

Chap. XX. — Comparison Of Christ's Power Over Winds And Waves With Moses' Command Of The Waters Of The Red Sea And The Jordan. Christ's Power Over Unclean Spirits. The Case Of The Legion The Cure Of The Issue Of Blood. The Mosaic Uncleanness On This Point Explained.

But "what manner of man is this? for He commandeth even the winds and water!" Of course He is the new master and proprietor of the elements, now that the Creator is deposed, and excluded from their possession! Nothing of the kind. But the elements own their own Maker, just as they had been accustomed to obey His servants also. Examine well the Exodus, Marcion; look at the rod of Moses, as it waves His command to the Red Sea, ampler than all the lakes of Judaea. How the sea yawns from its very depths, then fixes itself in two solidified masses, and so, out of the interval between them, makes a way for the people to pass dry-shod across; again does the same red vibrate, the sea returns in its strength, and in the concourse of its waters the chivalry of Egypt is engulfed! To that consummation the very winds subserved! Read, too, how that the Jordan was as a sword, to hinder the emigrant nation in their passage across its stream; how that its waters from above stood still, and its current below wholly ceased to run at the bidding of Joshua, when his priests began to pass over! What will you say to this? If it be your Christ that is meant say he will not be more potent than the servants of the Creator. But I should have been content with the examples I have adduced without addition, if a prediction of His present passage on the sea had not preceded Christ's coming. As psalm is, in fact, accomplished by this crossing over the lake. "The Lord," says the psalmist, "is upon many waters." When He disperses its waves, Habakkuk's words are fulfilled, where he says, "Scattering the waters in His passage." When at His rebuke the sea is calmed, Nahum is also verified: He rebuketh the sea, and maketh it dry," including the winds indeed, whereby it was disquieted. With what evidence would you have my Christ vindicated? Shall it come from the examples, or from the prophecies, of the Creator? You suppose that He is predicted as a military and armed warrior, instead of one who in a figurative and allegorical sense was to wage a spiritual warfare against spiritual enemies, in spiritual campaigns, and

with spiritual weapons: come now, when in one man alone you discover a multitude of demons calling itself Legion, of course comprised of spirits, you should learn that Christ also must be understood to be an exterminator of spiritual foes, who wields spiritual arms and fights in spiritual strife; and that it was none other than He, who now had to contend with even a legion of demons. Therefore it is of such a war as this that the Psalm may evidently have spoken: "The Lord is strong, The Lord is mighty in battle." For with the last enemy death did He fight, and through the trophy of the cross He triumphed. Now of what God did the Legion testify that Jesus was the Son? No doubt, of that God whose torments and abyss they knew and dreaded. It seems impossible for them to have remained up to this time in ignorance of what the power of the recent and unknown god was working in the world, because it is very unlikely that the Creator was ignorant thereof. For if He had been at any time ignorant that there was another god above Himself, He had by this time at all events discovered that there was one at work below His heaven. Now, what their Lord had discovered had by this time become notorious to His entire family within the same world and the same circuit of heaven, in which the strange deity dwelt and acted. As therefore both the Creator and His creatures must have had knowledge of him, if he had been in existence, so, inasmuch as he had no existence, the demons really knew none other than the Christ of their own God. They do not ask of the strange god, what they recollected they must beg of the Creator — not to be plunged into the Creator's abyss. They at last had their request granted. On what ground? Because they had lied? Because they had proclaimed Him to be the Son of a ruthless God? And what sort of god will that be who helped the lying, and upheld his detractors? However, no need of this thought, for, inasmuch as they had not lied, inasmuch as they had acknowledged that the God of the abyss was also their God, so did He actually Himself affirm that He was the same whom these demons acknowledged — Jesus, the Judge and Son of the avenging God. Now, behold an inkling of the Creator's failings and infirmities in Christ; for I on my side mean to impute to Him ignorance. Allow me some indulgence in my effort against the heretic. Jesus is touched by the woman who had an issue of blood, He knew not by whom. "Who touched me?" He asks, when His disciples alleged an excuse. He even persists in His assertion of ignorance: "Somebody hath touched me," He says, and advances some

proof: "For I perceive that virtue is gone out of me." What says our heretic? Could Christ have known the person? And why did He speak as if He were ignorant? Why? Surely it was to challenge her faith, and to try her fear. Precisely as He had once questioned Adam, as if in ignorance: Adam, where art thou?" Thus you have both the Creator excused in the same way as Christ, and Christ acting similarly to the Creator. But in this case He acted as an adversary of the law; and therefore, as the law forbids contact with a woman with an issue, He desired not only that this woman should touch Him, but that He should heal her. Here, then, is a God who is not merciful by nature, but in hostility! Yet, if we find that such was the merit of this woman's faith, that He said unto her, Thy faith hath saved thee." what are you, that you should detect an hostility to the law in that act, which the Lord Himself shows us to have been done as a reward of faith? But will you have it that this faith of the woman consisted in the contempt which she had acquired for the law? Who can suppose, that a woman who had been. hitherto unconscious of any God, uninitiated as yet in any new law, should violently infringe that law by which she was up to this time bound? On what faith, indeed, was such an infringement hazarded? In what God believing? Whom despising? The Creator? Her touch at least was an act of faith. And if of faith in the Creator, how could she have violated His law, when she was ignorant of any other God? Whatever her infringement of the law amounted to, it proceeded from and was proportionate to her faith in the Creator. But how can these two things be compatible? That she violated the law, and violated it in faith, which ought to have restrained her from such violation? I will tell you how her faith was this above all: it made her believe that her God preferred mercy even to sacrifice; she was certain that her God was working in Christ; she touched Him, therefore, nor as a holy man simply, nor as a prophet, whom she knew to be capable of contamination by reason of his human nature, but as very God, whom she assumed to be beyond all possibility of pollution by any uncleanness. She therefore, not without reason, interpreted for herself the law, as meaning that such things as are susceptible of defilement become defiled, but not so God, whom she knew for certain to be in Christ. But she recollected this also, that what came under the prohibition of the law was that ordinary and usual issue of blood which proceeds from natural functions every month, and in childbirth, not that which was the result of disordered health. Her case,

however, was one of long abounding ill health, for which she knew that the succour of God's mercy was needed, and not the natural relief of time. And thus she may: evidently be regarded as having discerned the law, instead of breaking it. This will prove to be the faith which was to confer intelligence likewise. "If ye will not believe," says (the prophet), "ye shall not understand." When Christ approved of the faith of this woman, which simply rested in the Creator, He declared by His answer to her, that He was Himself the divine object of the faith of which He approved. Nor can I overlook the fact that His garment, by being touched, and not a phantom, which the garment clothed. This indeed is not our point now; but the remark has a natural bearing on the question we are discussing. For if it were not a veritable body, but only a fantastic one, it could not for certain have received contamination, as being an unsubstantial thing. He therefore, who, by reason of this vacuity of his substance, was incapable of contamination, how could he possibly have desired this touch? As an adversary of the law, his conduct was deceitful, for he was not susceptible of a real pollution.

**Chap. XXI. — Christ's Connection With The Creator
Shown From Several Incidents In The Old Testament,
Compared With St. Luke's Narrative Of The Mission Of
The Disciples. The Feeding Of The Multitude. The
Confession Of St. Peter. Being Ashamed Of Christ. This
Shame Is Only Possible Of The True Christ. Marcionite
Pretensions Absurd.**

He sends forth His disciples to preach the kingdom of God. Does He here say of what God? He forbids their taking anything for their journey, by way of either food or raiment. Who would have given such a commandment as this, but He who feeds the ravens and clothes the flowers of the field? Who anciently enjoined for the treading ox an unmuzzled mouth, that he might be at liberty to gather his fodder from his labour, on the principle that the worker is worthy of his hire? Marcion may expunge such precepts, but no matter, provided the sense of them survives. But when He charges them to shake off the dust of their feet against such as should refuse to receive them, He also bids that this be done as a witness. Now no one bears witness except in a case which is decided by judicial process; and whoever orders inhuman conduct to be submitted to the trial by testimony, does really threaten as a judge. Again, that it was no new god which recommended by Christ, was dearly attested by the opinion of all men, because some maintained to Herod that Jesus was the Christ; others, that He was John; some, that He was Elias; and others, that He was one of the old prophetss. Now, whosoever of all these He might have been, He certainly was not raised up for the purpose of announcing another god after His resurrection. He feeds the multitude in the desert place; this, you must knows was after the manner of the Old Testament. Or else, if there was not the same grandeur, it follows that He is now inferior to the Creator. For He, not for one day, but during forty years, not on the inferior aliment of bread and fish, but with the manna of heaven, supported the lives of not five thousand, but of six hundred thousand human beings. However, such was the greatness of His miracle, that He willed the slender supply of food, not only to be enough, but even to prove superabundant; and herein He followed the ancient precedent. For in like manner, during the famine in Elijah's time, the scanty and final meal of the widow of Sarepta was multiplied by the blessing

of the prophet throughout the period of the famine. You have the third book of the Kings. If you also turn to the fourth book, you will discover all this conduct of Christ pursued by that man of God, who ordered ten barley loaves which had been given him to be distributed among the people; and when his servitor, after contrasting the large number of the persons with the small supply of the food, answered, "What, shall I set this before a hundred men?" he said again, "Give them, and they shall eat: for thus saith the Lord, They shall eat, and shall leave thereof, according to the word of the Lord." O Christ, even in Thy novelties Thou art old! Accordingly, when Peter, who had been an eye-witness of the miracle, and had compared it with the ancient precedents, and had discovered in them prophetic intimations of what should one day come to pass, answered (as the mouthpiece of them all) the Lord's inquiry, "Whom say ye that I am?" in the words, "Thou art the Christ," he could not but have perceived that He was that Christ, beside whom he knew of none else in the Scriptures, and whom he was now surveying in His wonderful deeds. This conclusion He even Himself confirms by thus far bearing with it, nay, even enjoining silence respecting it. For if Peter was unable to acknowledge Him to be any other than the Creator's Christ, while He commanded them "to tell no man that saying," surely He was unwilling to have the conclusion promulged which Peter had drawn. No doubt of that, you say; but as Peter's conclusion was a wrong one, therefore He was unwilling to have a lie disseminated. It was, however, a different reason which He assigned for the silence, even because "the Son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected of the elders, and scribes, and priests, and be slain, and be raised again the third day." Now, inasmuch as these sufferings were actually foretold for the Creator's Christ (as we shall fully show in the proper place), so by this application of them to His own case does He prove that it is He Himself of whom they were predicted. At all events, even if they had not been predicted, the reason which He alleged for imposing silence (on the disciples) was such as made it clear enough that Peter had made no mistake, that reason being the necessity of His undergoing these sufferings. "Whosoever," says He, "will save his life, shall lose it; and whosoever will lose his life for my sake, the same shall save it." Surely it is the Son of man who uttered this sentence. Look carefully, then, along with the king of Babylon, into his burning fiery furnace, and there you will discover one "like the Son of man" (for He was

not yet really Son of man, because not yet born of man), even as early as then appointing issues such as these. He saved the lives of the three brethren, who had agreed to lose them for God's sake; but He destroyed those of the Chaldaeans, when they had preferred to save them by the means of their idolatry. Where is that novelty, which you pretend in a doctrine which possesses these ancient proofs? But all the predictions have been fulfilled concerning martyrdoms which were to happen, and were to receive the recompenses of their reward from God. "See," says Isaiah, "how the righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart; and just men are taken away, and no man considereth." When does this more frequently happen than in the persecution of His saints? This, indeed, is no ordinary matter, no common casualty of the law of nature; but it is that illustrious devotion, that fighting for the faith, wherein whosoever loses his life for God saves it, so that you may here again recognize the Judge who recompenses the evil gain of life with its destruction, and the good loss thereof with its salvation. It is, however, a jealous God whom He here presents to me one who returns evil for evil. "For whosoever," says He, "shall be ashamed of me, of him will I also be ashamed." Now to none but my Christ can be assigned the occasion of such a shame as this. His whole course was so exposed to shame as to open a way for even the taunts of heretics, declaiming with all the bitterness in their power against the utter disgrace of His birth and bringing-up, and the unworthiness of His very flesh. But how can that Christ of yours be liable to a shame, which it is impossible for him to experience? Since he was never condensed into human flesh in the womb of a woman, although a virgin; never grew from human seed, although only after the law of corporeal substance, from the fluids of a woman; was never deemed flesh before shaped in the womb; never called foetus after such shaping; was never delivered from a ten months' writhing in the womb; was never shed forth upon the ground, amidst the sudden pains of parturition, with the unclean issue which flows at such a time through the sewerage of the body, forthwith to inaugurate the light of life with tears, and with that primal wound which severs the child from her who bears him; never received the copious ablution, nor the meditation of salt and honey; nor did he initiate a shroud with swaddling clothes; nor afterwards did he ever wallow in his own uncleanness, in his mother's lap; nibbling at her breast; long an infant; gradually a boy; by slow degrees a man. But he was

revealed from heaven, full-grown at once, at once complete; immediately Christ; simply spirit, and power, and god. But as withal he was not true, because not visible; therefore he was no object to be ashamed of from the curse of the cross, the real endurance of which he escaped, because wanting in bodily substance. Never, therefore, could he have said, "Whoever shall be ashamed of me." But as for our Christ, He could do no otherwise than make such a declaration; "made" by the Father "a little lower than the angels," "a worm and no man, a reproach of men, and despised of the people;" seeing that it was His will that "with His stripes we should be healed," that by His humiliation our salvation should be established. And justly did He humble Himself for His own creature man, for the image and likeness of Himself, and not of another, in order that man, since he had not felt ashamed when bowing down to a stone or a stock, might with similar courage give satisfaction to God for the shamelessness of his idolatry, by displaying an equal degree of shamelessness in his faith, in not being ashamed of Christ. Now, Marcion, which of these courses is better suited to your Christ, in respect of a meritorious shame? Plainly, you ought yourself to blush with shame for having given him a fictitious existence.

Chap. XXII. — The Same Conclusion Supported By The Transfiguration. Marcion Inconsistent In Associating With Christ In Glory Two Such Eminent Servants Of The Creator As Moses And Elijah. St. Peter's Ignorance Accounted For On Montanist Principle.

You ought to be very much ashamed of yourself on this account too, for permitting him to appear on the retired mountain in the company of Moses and Elias, whom he had come to destroy. This, to be sure, was what he wished to be understood as the meaning of that voice from heaven: "This is my beloved Son, hear Him" — Him, that is, not Moses or Elias any longer. The voice alone, therefore, was enough, without the display of Moses and Elias; for, by expressly mentioning whom they were to hear, he must have forbidden all others from being heard. Or else, did he mean that Isaiah and Jeremiah and the others whom he did not exhibit were to be heard, since he prohibited those whom he did display? Now, even if their presence was necessary, they surely should not be represented as conversing together, which is a sign of familiarity; nor as associated in glory with him, for this indicates respect and graciousness; but they should be shown in some slough as a sure token of their ruin, or even in that darkness of the Creator which Christ was sent to disperse, far removed from the glory of Him who was about to sever their words and writings from His gospel. This, then, is the way how he demonstrates them to be aliens, even by keeping them in his own company! This is how he shows they ought to be relinquished: he associates them with himself instead! This is how he destroys them: he irradiates them with his glory! How would their own Christ act? I suppose He would have imitated the frowardness (of heresy), and revealed them just as Marcion's Christ was bound to do, or at least as having with Him any others rather than His own prophets! But what could so well befit the Creator's Christ, as to manifest Him in the company of His own foreannouncers? — to let Him be seen with those to whom He had appeared in revelations? — to let Him be speaking with those who had spoken of Him? — to share His glory with those by whom He used to be called the Lord of glory; even with those chief servants of His, one of whom was once the moulder of His people, the other afterwards the reformer thereof; one the initiator of the Old Testament, the other the

consummator of the New? Well therefore does Peter, when recognizing the companions of his Christ in their indissoluble connection with Him, suggest an expedient: "It is good for us to be here" (good: that evidently means to be where Moses and Elias are); "and let us make three tabernacles, one for Thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias. But he knew not what he said." How knew not? Was his ignorance the result of simple error? Or was it on the principle which we maintain in the cause of the new prophecy, that to grace ecstasy or rapture is incident. For when a man is rapt in the Spirit, especially when he beholds the glory of God, or when God speaks through him, he necessarily loses his sensation, because he is overshadowed with the power of God, — a point concerning which there is a question between us and the carnally-minded. Now, it is no difficult matter to prove the rapture of Peter. For how could he have known Moses and Elias, except (by being) in the Spirit? People could not have had their images, or statues, or likenesses; for that the law forbade. How, if it were not that he had seen them in the Spirit? And therefore, because it was in the Spirit that he had now spoken, and not in his natural senses, he could not know what he had said. But if, on the other hand, he was thus ignorant, because he erroneously supposed that (Jesus) was their Christ, it is then evident that Peter, when previously asked by Christ, "Whom they thought Him to be," meant the Creator's Christ, when he answered, "Thou art the Christ;" because if he had been then aware that He belonged to the rival god, he would not have made a mistake here. But if he was in error here cause of his previous erroneous opinion, then you may be sure that up to that very day no new divinity had been revealed by Christ, and that Peter had so far made no mistake, because hitherto Christ had revealed nothing of the kind; and that Christ accordingly was not to be regarded as belonging to any other than the Creator, whose entire dispensation he, in fact, here described. He selects from His disciples three witnesses of the impending vision and voice. And this is just the way of the Creator. "In the mouth of three witnesses," says He, "shall every word be established." He withdraws to a mountain. In the nature of the place I see much meaning. For the Creator had originally formed His ancient people on a mountain both with visible glory and His voice. It was only tight that the New Testament should be attested on such an elevated spot as that whereon the Old Testament had been composed; under a like covering of cloud also, which nobody will doubt, was

condensed out of the Creator's air. Unless, indeed, he had brought down his own clouds thither, because he had himself forced his way through the Creator's heaven; or else it was only a precarious cloud, as it were, of the Creator which he used. On the present (as also on the former) occasion, therefore, the cloud was not silent; but there was the accustomed voice from heaven, and the Father's testimony to the Son; precisely as in the first Psalm He had said, "Thou art my Son, today have I begotten thee." By the mouth of Isaiah also He had asked concerning Him, "Who is there among you that feareth God? Let him hear the voice of His Son." When therefore He here presents Him with the words, "This is my (beloved) Son," this clause is of course understood, "whom I have promised." For if He once promised, and then afterwards says, "This is He," it is suitable conduct for one who accomplishes His purpose that He should utter His voice in proof of the promise which He had formerly made; but unsuitable in one who is amenable to the retort, Can you, indeed, have a right to say, "This is my son," concerning whom you have given us no previous information, any more than you have favoured us with a revelation about your own prior existence? "Hear ye Him," therefore, whom from the beginning (the Creator) had declared entitled to be heard in the name of a prophet, since it was as a prophet that He had to be regarded by the people. "A prophet," says Moses, "shall the Lord your God raise up unto you, of your sons" (that is, of course, after a carnal descent; "unto Him shall ye hearken, as unto me." "Every one who will not hearken unto Him, his soul shall be cut off from amongst his people.", So also Isaiah: "Who is there among you that feareth God? Let him hear the voice of His Son." This voice the Father was going Himself to recommend. For, says he, He establishes the words of His Son, when He says, "This is my beloved Son, hear ye Him." Therefore, even if there be made a transfer of the obedient "heating" from Moses and Elias to Christ, it is still not from another God, or to another Christ; but from" the Creator to His Christ, in consequence of the departure of the old covenant and the supervening of the new. "Not an ambassador, nor an angel, but He Himself," says Isaiah, "shall save them;" for it is He Himself who is now declaring and fulfilling the law and the prophets. The Father gave to the Son new disciples, after that Moses and Elias had been exhibited along with Him in the honour of His glory, and had then been dismissed as having fully discharged their duty and office, for the express

purpose of affirming for Marcion's information the fact that Moses and Elias had a share in even the glory of Christ. But we have the entire structure of this same vision in Habakkuk also, where the Spirit in the person of some of the apostles says, "O Lord, I have heard Thy speech, and was afraid." What speech was this, other than the words of the voice from heaven, This is my beloved Son, hear ye, Him? "I considered thy works, and was astonished." When could this have better happened than when Peter, on seeing His glory, knew not what he was saying? "In the midst of the two Thou shalt be known" — even Moses and Elias. These likewise did Zechariah see under the figure of the two olive trees and olive branches. For these are they of whom he says, "They are the two anointed ones, that stand by the Lord of the whole earth." And again Habakkuk says, "His glory covered the heavens" (that is, with that cloud), "and His splendour shall be like the light — even the light, wherewith His very raiment glistened." And if we would make mention of the promise to Moses, we shall find it accomplished here. For when Moses desired to see the Lord, saying, "If therefore I have found grace in Thy sight, manifest Thyself to me, that I may see Thee distinctly," the sight which he desired to have was of that condition which he was to assume as man, and which as a prophet he knew was to occur. Respecting the face of God, however, he had already heard, "No man shall see me, and live." "This thing," said He, "which thou hast spoken, will I do unto thee." Then Moses said, "Show me Thy glory." And the Lord, with like reference to the future, replied, "I will pass before thee in my glory," etc. Then at the last He says, "And then thou shalt see my back." Not loins, or calves of the legs, did he want to behold, but the glory which was to be revealed in the latter days. He had promised that He would make Himself thus face to face visible to him, when He said to Aaron, "If there shall be a prophet among you, I will make myself known to him by vision, and by vision will I speak with him; but not so is my manner to Moses; with him will I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently" (that is to say, in the form of man which He was to assume), "and not in dark speeches." Now, although Marcion has denied that he is here represented as speaking with the Lord, but only as standing, yet, inasmuch as he stood "mouth to mouth," he must also have stood "face to face" with him, to use his words, not far from him, in His very glory — not to say, in His presence. And with this glory he went away enlightened from Christ, just as he used to do from the Creator; as

then to dazzle the eyes of the children of Israel, so now to smite those of the blinded Marcion, who has failed to see how this argument also makes against him.

Chap. XXIII. — Impossible That Marcion's Christ Should Reprove The Faithless Generation. Such Loving Consideration For Infants As The True Christ Was Apt To Show, Also Impossible For The Other. On The Three Different Characters Confronted And Instructed By Christ Samaria.

I take on myself the character of Israel. Let Marcion's Christ stand forth, and exclaim, "O faithless generation! how long shall I be with you? how long shall I suffer you?" He will immediately have to submit to this remonstrance from me: "Whoever you are, O stranger, first tell us who you are, from whom you come, and what right you have over us. Thus far, all you possess belongs to the Creator. Of course, if you come from Him, and are acting for Him, we will bear your reproof. But if you come from some other god, I should wish you to tell us what you have ever committed to us belonging to yourself, which it was our duty to believe, seeing that you are upbraiding us with 'faithlessness,' who have never yet revealed to us your own self. How long ago did you begin to treat with us, that you should be complaining of the delay? On what points have you borne with us, that you should adduce your patience? Like AEsop's ass, you are just come from the well, and are filling every place with your braying." I assume, besides, the person of the disciple, against whom he has inveighed: "O perverse nation! how long shall I be with you? how long shall I suffer you?" This outburst of his I might, of course, retort upon him most justly in such words as these: "Whoever you are, O stranger, first tell us who you are, from whom you come, what right you have over us. Thus far, I suppose, you belong to the Creator, and so we have followed you, recognising in you all things, which are His. Now, if you come from Him, we will bear your reproof. If, however, you are acting for another, prythee tell us what you have ever conferred upon us that is simply your own, which it had become our duty to believe, seeing that you reproach us with 'faithlessness,' although up to this moment you show us no credentials. How long since did you begin to plead with us, that you are charging us with delay? Wherein have you borne with us, that you should even boast of your patience? The ass has only just arrived from AEsop's well, and he is already braying." Now who would not thus have rebutted the unfairness of the rebuke, if he had

supposed its author to belong to him who had had no right as yet to complain? Except that not even He would have inveighed against them, if He had not dwelt among them of old in the law and by the prophets, and with mighty deeds and many mercies, and had always experienced them to be “faithless.” But, behold, Christ takes infants, and teaches how all ought to be like them, if they ever wish to be greater. The Creator, on the contrary, let loose bears against children, in order to avenge His prophet Elisha, who had been mocked by them. This antithesis is impudent enough, since it throws together things so different as infants and children, — an age still innocent, and one already capable of discretion — able to mock, if not to blaspheme. As therefore God is a just God, He spared not impious children, exacting as He does honour for every time of life, and especially, of course, from youth. And as God is good, He so loves infants as to have blessed the midwives in Egypt, when they protected the infants of the Hebrews which were in peril from Pharaoh’s command. Christ therefore shares this kindness with the Creator. As indeed for Marcion’s god, who is an enemy to marriage, how can he possibly seem to be a lover of little children, which are simply the issue of marriage? He who hates the seed most needs also detest the fruit. Yea, he ought to be deemed more ruthless than the king of Egypt. For whereas Pharaoh forbade infants to be brought up, he will not allow them even to be born, depriving them of their ten months’ existence in the womb. And how much more credible it is, that kindness to little children should be attributed to Him who blessed matrimony for the procreation of mankind, and in such benediction included also the promise of connubial fruit itself, the first of which is that of infancy! The Creator, at the request of Elias, inflicts the blow of fire from heaven in the case of that false prophet (of Baalzebub). I recognise herein the severity of the Judge. And I, on the contrary, the severe rebuke of Christ on His disciples, when they were for inflicting a like visitation on that obscure village of the Samaritans. The heretic, too, may discover that this gentleness of Christ was promised by the selfsame severest Judge. “He shall not contend,” says He, “nor shall His voice be heard in the street; a bruised reed shall He not crush, and smoking flax shall He not quench.” Being of such a character, He was of course much the less disposed to burn men. For even at that time the Lord said to Elias, “He was not in the fire, but in the still small voice.” Well, but why does this most humane and merciful God reject the man who offers himself to

Him as an inseparable companion? If it were from pride or from hypocrisy that he had said, "I will follow Thee whithersoever Thou goest," then, by judicially reproofing an act of either pride or hypocrisy as worthy of rejection, He performed the office of a Judge. And, of course, him whom He rejected He condemned to the loss of not following the Saviour. For as He calls to salvation him whom He does not reject, or him whom He voluntarily invites, so does He consign to perdition him whom He rejects. When, however, He answers the man, who alleged as an excuse his father's burial, "Let the dead bury their dead, but go thou and preach the kingdom of God," He gave a clear confirmation to those two laws of the Creator — that in Leviticus, which concerns the sacerdotal office, and forbids the priests to be present at the funerals even of their parents. "The priest," says He, "shall not enter where there is any dead person; and for his father he shall not be defiled"; as well as that in Numbers, which relates to the (Nazarite) vow of separation; for there he who devotes himself to God, among other things, is bidden "not to come at any dead body," not even of his father, or his mother, or his brother. Now it was, I suppose, for the Nazarite and the priestly office that He intended this man whom He had been inspiring to preach the kingdom of God. Or else, if it be not so, he must be pronounced impious enough who, without the intervention of any precept of the law, commanded that burials of parents should be neglected by their sons. When, indeed, in the third case before us, (Christ) forbids the man "to look back" who wanted first "to bid his family farewell," He only follows out the rule of the Creator. For this (retrospection) He had been against their making, whom He had rescued out of Sodom.

Chap. XXIV. — On The Mission Of The Seventy Disciples, And Christ's Charge To Them. Precedents Drawn From The Old Testament. Absurdity Of Supposing That Marcion's Christ Could Have Given The Power Of Treading On Serpents And Scorpions.

He chose also seventy other missionaries besides the twelve. Now why, if the twelve followed the number of the twelve fountains of Elim, should not the seventy correspond to the like number of the palms of that place? Whatever be the Antitheses of the comparison, it is a diversity in the causes, not in the powers, which has mainly produced them. But if one does not keep in view the diversity of the causes, he is very apt to infer a difference of powers. When the children of Israel went out of Egypt, the Creator brought them forth laden with their spoils of gold and silver vessels, and with loads besides of raiment and unleavened dough; whereas Christ commanded His disciples not to carry even a staff for their journey. The former were thrust forth into a desert, but the latter were sent into cities. Consider the difference presented in the occasions, and you will understand how it was one and the same power which arranged the mission of His people according to their poverty in the one case, and their plenty in the other. He cut down their supplies when they could be replenished through the cities, just as He had accumulated" them when exposed to the scantiness of the desert. Even shoes He forbade them to carry. For it was He under whose very protection the people wore not out a shoe, even in the wilderness for the space of so many years. "No one," says He, "shall ye salute by the way." What a destroyer of the prophets, forsooth, is Christ, seeing it is from them that He received his precept also! When Elisha sent on his servant Gehazi before him to raise the Shunammite's son from death, I rather think he gave him these instructions: "Gird up thy loins, and take my staff in thine hand, and go thy way: if thou meet any man, salute him not; and if any salute thee, answer him not again." For what is a wayside blessing but a mutual salutation as men meet? So also the Lord commands: "Into whatsoever house they enter, let them say, Peace be to it." Herein He follows the very same example. For Elisha enjoined upon his servant the same salutation when he met the Shunammite; he was to say to her: "Peace to thine husband, peace to thy child." Such will be rather our Antitheses; they compare

Christ with, instead of sundering Him from, the Creator. "The labourer is worthy of his hire." Who could better pronounce such a sentence than the Judge? For to decide that the workman deserves his wages, is in itself a judicial act. There is no award which consists not in process of judgment. The law of the Creator on this point also presents us with a corroboration, for He judges that labouring oxen are as labourers worthy of their hire: "Thou shall not muzzle," says He. "the ox when he treadeth out the corn." Now, who so good to man as He who is also merciful to cattle? Now, when Christ pronounced labourers to be worthy of their hire, He, in fact, exonerated from blame that precept of the Creator about depriving the Egyptians of their gold and silver vessels. For they who had built for the Egyptians their houses and cities, were surely workmen worthy of their hire, and were not instructed in a fraudulent act, but only set to claim compensation for their hire, which they were unable in any other way to exact from their masters. That the kingdom of God was neither new nor unheard of, He in this way affirmed, whilst at the same time He bids them announce that it was near at hand. Now it is that which was once far off, which can be properly said to have become near. If, however, a thing had never existed previous to its becoming near, it could never have been said to have approached, because it had never existed at a distance. Everything which is new and unknown is also sudden. Everything which is sudden, then, first receives the accident of time when it is announced, for it then first puts on appearance of form. Besides it will be impossible for a thing either to have been tardy all the while it remained unannounced, or to have approached from the time it shall begin to be announced.

He likewise adds, that they should say to such as would not receive them: "Notwithstanding be ye sure of this, that the kingdom of God is come nigh unto you." If He does not enjoin this by way of a commination, the injunction is a most useless one. For what mattered it to them that the kingdom was at hand, unless its approach was accompanied with judgment? — even for the salvation of such as received the announcement thereof. How, if there can be a threat without its accomplishment, can you have in a threatening god, one that executes also, and in both, one that is a judicial being? So, again, He commands that the dust be shaken off against them, as a testimony, — the very particles of their ground which might cleave to the sandal, not to mention any other sort of communication with them. But if their churlishness and

inhospitality were to receive no vengeance from Him, for what purpose does He premise a testimony, which surely forbodes some threats? Furthermore, when the Creator also, in the book of Deuteronomy, forbids the reception of the Ammonites and the Moabites into the church, because, when His people came from Egypt, they fraudulently withheld provisions from them with inhumanity and inhospitality, it will be manifest that the prohibition of intercourse descended to Christ from Him. The form of it which He uses—“He that despiseth you, despiseth me” — the Creator had also addressed to Moses: “Not against thee have they murmured, but against me.” Moses, indeed, was as much an apostle as the apostles were prophets. The authority of both offices will have to be equally divided, as it proceeds from one and the same Lord, (the God) of apostles and prophets. Who is He that shall bestow “the power of treading on serpents and scorpions?” Shall it be He who is the Lord of all living creatures or he who is not god over a single lizard? Happily the Creator has promised by Isaiah to give this power even to little children, of putting their hand in the cockatrice den and on the hole of the young asps without at all receiving hurt. And, indeed, we are aware (without doing violence to the literal sense of the passage, since even these noxious animals have actually been unable to do hurt where there has been faith) that under the figure of scorpions and serpents are portended evil spirits, whose very prince is described by the name of serpent, dragon, and every other most conspicuous beast in the power of the Creator. This power the Creator conferred first of all upon His Christ, even as the ninetieth Psalm says to Him: “Upon the asp and the basilisk shall Thou tread; the lion and the dragon shall Thou trample under foot.” So also Isaiah: “In that day the Lord God shall draw His sacred, great, and strong sword” (even His Christ) “against that dragon, that great and tortuous serpent; and He shall slay him in that day.” But when the same prophet says, “The way shall be called a clean and holy way; over it the unclean thing shall not pass, nor shall be there any unclean way; but the dispersed shall pass over it, and they shall not err therein; no lion shall be there, nor any ravenous beast shall go up thereon; it shall not be found there,” he points out the way of faith, by which we shall reach to God; and then to this way of faith he promises this utter crippling and subjugation of all noxious animals. Lastly, you may discover the suitable times of the promise, if you read what precedes the passage: “Be strong, ye weak hands and ye

feeble knees: then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall hear; then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb shall be articulate.” When, therefore, He proclaimed the benefits of His cures, then also did He put the scorpions and the serpents under the feet of His saints — even He who had first received this power from the Father, in order to bestow it upon others and then manifested it forth conformably to the order of prophecy.

**Chap. XXV. — Christ Thanks The Father For Revealing
To Babes What He Had Concealed From The Wise. This
Concealment Judiciously Effected By The Creator.
Other Points In St. Luke's Shown To Be Only Possible
To The Creator's Christ.**

Who shall be invoked as the Lord of heaven, that does not first show Himself to have been the maker thereof? For He says, "I thank thee, (O Father,) and own Thee, Lord of heaven, because those things which had been hidden from the wise and prudent, Thou has revealed unto babes." What things are these? And whose? And by whom hidden? And by whom revealed? If it was by Marcion's god that they were hidden and revealed, it was an extremely iniquitous proceeding; for nothing at all had he ever produced in which anything could have been hidden — no prophecies, no parables, no visions, no evidences of things, or words, or names, obscured by allegories and figures, or cloudy enigmas, but he had concealed the greatness even of himself, which he was with all his might revealing by his Christ. Now in what respect had the wise and prudent done wrong, that God should be hidden from them, when their wisdom and prudence had been insufficient to come to the knowledge of Him? No way had been provided by himself, by any declaration of his works, or any vestiges whereby they might become wise and prudent. However, if they had even failed in any duty towards a god whom they knew not, suppose him now at last to be known still they ought not to have found a jealous god in him who is introduced as unlike the Creator. Therefore, since he had neither provided any materials in which he could have hidden anything, nor had any offenders from whom he could have hidden himself: since, again, even if he had had any, he ought not to have hidden himself from them, he will not now be himself the revealer, who was not previously the concealer; so neither will any be the Lord of heaven nor the Father of Christ but He in whom all these attributes consistently meet. For He conceals by His preparatory apparatus of prophetic obscurity, the understanding of which is open to faith (for "if ye will not believe, ye shall not understand"; and He had offenders in those wise and prudent ones who would not seek after God, although He was to be discovered in His so many and mighty works, or who rashly philosophized about Him, and thereby furnished to heretics their arts;

and lastly, He is a jealous God. Accordingly, that which Christ thanks God for doing, He long ago announced by Isaiah: "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and the understanding of the prudent will I hide." So in another passage He intimates both that He has concealed, and that He will also reveal: "I will give unto them treasures that have been hidden, and secret ones will I discover to them." And again: "Who else shall scatter the tokens of ventriloquists, and the devices of those who divine out of their own heart; turning wise men backward, and making their counsels foolish?" Now, if He has designated His Christ as an enlightener of the Gentiles, saying, "I have set thee for a light of the Gentiles;" and if we understand these to be meant in the word babes — as having been once dwarfs in knowledge and infants in prudence, and even now also babes in their lowliness of faith — we shall of course more easily understand how He who had once hidden "these things," and promised a revelation of them through Christ, was the same God as He who had now revealed them unto babes. Else, if it was Marcion's god who revealed the things which had been formerly hidden by the Creator, it follows that he did the Creator's work by setting forth His deeds. But he did it, say you, for His destruction, that he might refute them. Therefore he ought to have refuted them to those from whom the Creator had hidden them, even the wise and prudent. For if he had a kind intention in what he did, the gift of knowledge was due to those from whom the Creator had detained it, instead of the babes, to whom the Creator had grudged no gift. But after all, it is, I presume, the edification rather than the demolition of the law and the prophets which we have thus far found effected in Christ. "All things," He says, "are delivered unto me of my Father." you may believe Him, if He is the Christ of the Creator to whom all things belong; because the Creator has not delivered to a Son who is less than Himself all things, which He created by Him, that is to say, by His Word. If, on the contrary, he is the notorious stranger, what are the "all things" which have been delivered to him by the Father? Are they the Creator's? Then the things which the Father delivered to the Son are good. and the Creator is therefore good, since all His "things" are good; whereas he is no longer good who has invaded another's good (domains) to deliver it to his son, thus teaching robbery of another's goods. Surely e must be a most mendacious being, who had no other means of enriching his son than by helping himself to another's property! Or else, if nothing of the Creator's has

been delivered to him by the Father, by what right does he claim for himself (authority over) man? Or again, if man has been delivered to him, and man alone, then man is not “all things.” But Scripture clearly says that a transfer of all things has been made to the Son. If, however, you should interpret this “all” of the whole human race, that is, all nations, then the delivery of even these to the Son is within the purpose of the Creator: “I will give Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for Thy possession.” If, indeed, he has some things of his own, the whole of which he might give to his son, along with the man of the Creator, then show some one thing of them all, as a sample, that I may believe; lest I should have as much reason not to believe that all things belong to him, of whom I see nothing, as I have ground for believing that even the things which I see not are His, to whom belongs the universe, which I see. But “no man knoweth who the Father is, but the Son; and who the Son is, but the Father, and he to whom the Son will reveal Him.” And so it was an unknown god that Christ preached! And other heretics, too, prop themselves up by this passage; alleging in opposition to it that the Creator was known to all, both to Israel by familiar intercourse, and to the Gentiles by nature. Well, how is it He Himself testifies that He was not known to Israel? “But Israel cloth not know me, and my people doth not consider me;” nor to the Gentiles: “For, behold,” says He, “of the nations I have no man.” Therefore He reckoned them “as the drop of a bucket,” while “Sion He left as a look-out in a vineyard.” See, then, whether there be not here a confirmation of the prophet’s word, when he rebukes that ignorance of man toward God which continued to the days of the Son of man. For it was on this account that he inserted the clause that the Father is known by him to whom the Son has revealed Him, because it was even He who was announced as set by the Father to be a light to the Gentiles, who of course required to be enlightened concerning God, as well as to Israel, even by imparting to it a fuller knowledge of God. Arguments, therefore, will be of no use for belief in the rival god which may be suitable for the Creator, because it is only such as are unfit for the Creator which will be able to advance belief in His rival. If you look also into the next words, “Blessed are the eyes which see the things which ye see, for I tell you that prophets have not seen the things which ye see,” you will find that they follow from the sense above, that no man indeed had come to the knowledge of God as he ought to have done,

since even the prophets had not seen the things which were being seen under Christ. Now if He had not been my Christ, He would not have made any mention of the prophets in this passage. For what was there to wonder at, if they had not seen the things of a god who had been unknown to them, and was only revealed a long time after them? What blessedness, however, could theirs have been, who were then seeing what others were naturally unable to see, since it was of things which they had never predicted that they had not obtained the sight; if it were not because they might justly have seen the things pertaining to their God, which they had even predicted, but which they at the same time had not seen? This, however, will be the blessedness of others, even of such as were seeing the things which others had only foretold. We shall by and by show, nay, we have already shown, that in Christ those things were seen which had been foretold, but yet had been hidden from the very prophets who foretold them, in order that they might be hidden also from the wise and the prudent. In the true Gospel, a certain doctor of the law comes to the Lord and asks, "What shall I do to inherit life?" In the heretical gospel life only is mentioned, without the attribute eternal; so that the lawyer seems to have consulted Christ simply about the life which the Creator in the law promises to prolong, and the Lord to have therefore answered him according to the law, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength," since the question was concerning the conditions of mere life. But the lawyer of course knew very well in what way the life which the law meant was to be obtained, so that his question could have had no relation to the life whose rules he was himself in the habit of teaching. But seeing that even the dead were now raised by Christ, and being himself excited to the hope of an eternal life by these examples of a restored one, he would lose no more time in merely looking on (at the wonderful things which had made him) so high in hope. He therefore consulted him about the attainment of eternal life. Accordingly, the Lord, being Himself the same, and introducing no new precept other than that which relates above all others to (man's) entire salvation, even including the present and the future life, places before him the very essence of the law — that he should in every possible way love the Lord his God. If, indeed, it were only about a lengthened life, such as is at the Creator's disposal, that he inquired and Christ answered, and not about the eternal life, which is at the disposal of Marcion's

god, how is he to obtain the eternal one? Surely not in the same manner as the prolonged life. For in proportion to the difference of the reward must be supposed to be also the diversity of the services. Therefore your disciple, Marcion, will not obtain his eternal life in consequence of loving your God, in the same way as the man who loves the Creator will secure the lengthened life. But how happens it that, if He is to be loved who promises the prolonged I life, He is not much more to be loved who offers the eternal life? Therefore both one and the other life will be at the disposal of one and the same Lord; because one and the same discipline is to be followed for one and the other life. What the Creator teaches to be loved, that must He necessarily maintain also by Christ, for that rule holds good here, which prescribes that greater things ought to be believed of Him who has first lesser proofs to show, than of him for whom no preceding smaller presumptions have secured a claim to be believed in things of higher import. It matters not then, whether the word eternal has been interpolated by us. It is enough for me, that the Christ who invited men to the eternal — not the lengthened — life, when consulted about the temporal life which he was destroying, did not choose to exhort the man rather to that eternal life which he was introducing. Pray, what would the Creator's Christ have done. if He who had made man for loving the Creator did not belong to the Creator? I suppose He would have said that the Creator was not to be loved!

**Chap. XXVI. — From St. Luke's Eleventh Chapter
Other Evidence That Christ Comes From The Creator.
The Lord's Prayer And Other Words Of Christ. The
Dumb Spirit And Christ's Discourse On Occasion Of
The Expulsion. The Exclamation Of The Woman In The
Crowd.**

When in a certain place he had been praying to that Father above, looking up with insolent and audacious eyes to the heaven of the Creator, by whom in His rough and cruel nature he might have been crushed with hail and lightning — just as it was by Him contrived that he was (afterwards) attached to a cross at Jerusalem — one of his disciples came to him and said, “Master, teach us to pray, as John also taught his disciples.” This he said, forsooth, because he thought that different prayers were required for different gods! Now, he who had advanced such a conjecture as this should first show that another god had been proclaimed by Christ. For nobody would have wanted to know how to pray, before he had learned whom he was to pray to. If, however, he had already learned this, prove it. If you find nowhere any proof, let me tell you that it was to the Creator that he asked for instruction in prayer, to whom John's disciples also used to pray. But, inasmuch as John had introduced some new order of prayer, this disciple had not improperly presumed to think that he ought also to ask of Christ whether they too must not (according to some special rule of their Master) pray, not indeed to another god, but in another manner. Christ accordingly would not have taught His disciple prayer before He had given him the knowledge of God Himself. Therefore what He actually taught was prayer to Him whom the disciple had already known. In short, you may discover in the import of the prayer what God is addressed therein. To whom can I say, “Father?” To him who had nothing to do with making me, from whom I do not derive my origin? Or to Him, who, by making and fashioning me, became my parent? Of whom can I ask for His Holy Spirit? Of him who gives not even the mundane spirit; or of Him “who maketh His angels spirits,” and whose Spirit it was which in the beginning hovered upon the waters. Whose kingdom shall I wish to come — his, of whom I never heard as the king of glory; or His, in whose hand are even the hearts of kings? Who shall give me my daily bread? Shall it be he who produces for me not a

grain of millet-seed; or He who even from heaven gave to His people day by day the bread of angels? Who shall forgive me my trespasses? He who, by refusing to judge them, does not retain them; or He who, unless He forgives them, will retain them, even to His judgment? Who shall suffer us not to be led into temptation? He before whom the tempter will never be able to tremble; or He who from the beginning has beforehand condemned the angel tempter? If any one, with such a form, invokes another god and not the Creator, he does not pray; he only blasphemes. In like manner, from whom must I ask that I may receive? Of whom seek, that I may find? To whom knock, that it may be opened to me? Who has to give to him that asks, but He to whom all things belong, and whose am I also that am the asker? What, however, have I lost before that other god, that I should seek of him and find it. If it be wisdom and prudence, it is the Creator who has hidden them. Shall I resort to him, then, in quest of them? If it be health and life, they are at the disposal of the Creator. Nor must anything be sought and found anywhere else than there, where it is kept in secret that it may come to light. So, again, at no other door will I knock than at that out of which my privilege has reached me. In fine, if to receive, and to find, and to be admitted, is the fruit of labour and earnestness to him who has asked, and sought, and knocked, understand that these duties have been enjoined, and results promised, by the Creator. As for that most excellent god of yours, coming as he professes gratuitously to help man, who was not his (creature), he could not have imposed upon him any labour, or (endowed him with) any earnestness. For he would by this time cease to be the most excellent god, were he not spontaneously to give to every one who does not ask, and permit every one who seeks not to find, and open to every one who does not knock. The Creator, on the contrary, was able to proclaim these duties and rewards by Christ, in order that man, who by sinning had offended his God, might toil on (in his probation), and by his perseverance in asking might receive, and in seeking might find, and in knocking might enter. Accordingly, the preceding similitude represents the man who went at night and begged for the loaves, in the light of a friend and not a stranger, and makes him knock at a friend's house and not at a stranger's. But even if he has offended, man is more of a friend with the Creator than with the god of Marcion. At His door, therefore, does he knock to whom he had the right of access; whose gate he had found; whom he knew

to possess bread; in bed now with His children, whom He had willed to be born. Even though the knocking is late in the day, it is yet the Creator's time. To Him belongs the latest hour who owns an entire age and the end thereof. As for the new god, however, no one could have knocked at his door late, for he has hardly yet seen the light of morning. It is the Creator, who once shut the door to the Gentiles, which was then knocked at by the Jews, that both rises and gives, if not now to man as a friend, yet not as a stranger, but, as He says, "because of his importunity." Important, however, the recent god could not have permitted any one to be in the short time (since his appearance). Him, therefore, whom you call the Creator recognise also as "Father." It is even He who knows what His children require. For when they asked for bread, He gave them manna from heaven; and when they wanted flesh, He sent them abundance of quails — not a serpent for a fish, nor for an egg a scorpion. It will, however, appertain to Him not to give evil instead of good, who has both one and the other in His power. Marcion's god, on the contrary, not having a scorpion, was unable to refuse to give what he did not possess; only He (could do so), who, having a scorpion, yet gives it not. In like manner, it is He who will give the Holy Spirit, at whose command is also the unholy spirit. When He cast out the "demon which was dumb" (and by a cure of this sort verified Isaiah), and having been charged with casting out demons by Beelzebub, He said, "If I by Beelzebub cast out demons, by whom do your sons cast them out?" By such a question what does He otherwise mean, than that He ejects the spirits by the same power by which their sons also did — that is, by the power of the Creator? For if you suppose the meaning to be, "If I by Beelzebub, etc., by whom your sons?" — as if He would reproach them with having the power of Beelzebub, — you are met at once by the preceding sentence, that "Satan cannot be divided against himself." So that it was not by Beelzebub that even they were casting out demons, but (as we have said) by the power of the Creator; and that He might make this understood, He adds: "But if I with the finger of God cast out demons, is not the kingdom of God come near unto you?" For the magicians who stood before Pharaoh and resisted Moses called the power of the Creator "the finger of God." It was the finger of God, because it was a sign that even a thing of weakness was yet abundant in strength. This Christ also showed, when, recalling to notice (and not obliterating) those ancient wonders which were really His own, He said

that the power of God must be understood to be the finger of none other God than Him, under whom it had received this appellation. His kingdom, therefore, was come near to them, whose power was called His “finger.” Well, therefore, did He connect” with the parable of “the strong man armed,” whom “a stronger man still overcame, the prince of the demons, whom He had already called Beelzebub and Satan; signifying that it was he who was overcome by the finger of God, and not that the Creator had been subdued by another god. Besides, how could His kingdom be still standing, with its boundaries, and laws, and functions, whom, even if the whole world were left entire to Him, Marcion’s god could possibly seem to have overcome as “the stronger than He,” if it were not in consequence of His law that even Marcionites were constantly dying, by returning in their dissolution to the ground, and were so often admonished by even a scorpion, that the Creator had by no means been overcome? “A (certain) mother of the company exclaims, ‘Blessed is the womb that bare Thee, and the paps which Thou hast sucked;’ but the Lord said, ‘Yea, rather, blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it.’” Now He had in precisely similar terms rejected His mother or His brethren, whilst preferring those who heard and obeyed God. His mother, however, was not here present with Him. On that former occasion, therefore, He had not denied that He was her son by birth. On hearing this (salutation) the second time, He the second time transferred, as He had done before, the “blessedness” to His disciples from the womb and the paps of His mother, from whom, however, unless He had in her (a real mother) He could not have transferred it.

Chap. XXVII. — Christ's Reprehension Of The Pharisees Seeking A Sign. His Censure Of Their Love Of Outward Show Rather Than Inward Holiness. Scripture Abounds With Admonitions Of A Similar Purport, Proofs Of His Mission From The Creator.

I prefer elsewhere refuting the faults which the Marcionites find in the Creator. It is here enough that they are also found in Christ. Behold how unequal, inconsistent, and capricious he is! Teaching one thing and doing another, he enjoins "giving to every one that seeks;" and yet he himself refuses to give to those "who seek a sign." For a vast age he hides his own light from men, and yet says that a candle must not be hidden, but affirms that it ought to be set upon a candlestick, that it may give light to all. He forbids cursing again, and cursing much more of course; and yet he heaps his woe upon the Pharisees and doctors of the law. Who so closely resembles my God as: His own Christ? We have often already laid it down for certain, that He could not have been branded as the destroyer of the law if He had promulged another god. Therefore even the Pharisee, who invited Him to dinner in the passage before us, expressed some surprise in His presence that He had not washed before He sat down to meat, in accordance with the law, since it was the God of the law that He was proclaiming. Jesus also interpreted the law to him when He told him that they "made clean the outside of the cup and the platter, whereas their inward part was full of ravening and wickedness." This He said, to signify that by the cleansing of vessels was to be understood before God the purification of men, inasmuch as it was about a man, and not about an unwashed vessel, that even this Pharisee had been treating in His presence. He therefore said: "You wash the outside of the cup," that is, the flesh, "but you do not cleanse your inside part," that is, the soul; adding: "Did not He that made the outside," that is, the flesh, "also make the inward part," that is to say, the soul? — by which assertion He expressly declared that to the same God belongs the cleansing of a man's external and internal nature, both alike being in the power of Him who prefers mercy not only to man's washing, but even to sacrifice. For He subjoins the command: "Give what ye possess as alms, and all things shall be clean unto you." Even if another god could have enjoined mercy, he could not have done so previous to his

becoming known. Furthermore, it is in this passage evident that they were not reproved concerning their God, but concerning a point of His instruction to them, when He prescribed to them figuratively the cleansing of their vessels, but really the works of merciful dispositions. In like manner, He upbraids them for tithing paltry herbs, but at the same time “passing over hospitality and the love of God. The vocation and the love of what God, but Him by whose law of tithes they used to offer their rue and mint? For the whole point of the rebuke lay in this, that they cared about small matters in His service of course, to whom they failed to exhibit their weightier duties when He commanded them: “Thou shalt love with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, the Lord thy God, who hath called thee out of Egypt.” Besides, time enough had not yet passed to admit of Christ’s requiring so premature — nay, as yet so distasteful — a love towards a new and recent, not to say a hardly i yet developed, deity. When, again, He upbraids those who caught at the uppermost places and the honour of public salutations, He only follows out the Creator’s course, who calls ambitious persons of this character “rulers of Sodom” who forbids us “to put confidence even in princes,” and pronounces him to be altogether wretched who places his confidence in man. But whoever aims at high position, because he would glory in the officious attentions of other people, (in every such case,) inasmuch as He forbade such attentions (in the shape) of placing hope and confidence in man, He at the same time censured all who were ambitious of high positions. He also inveighs against the doctors of the law themselves, because they were “lading men with burdens grievous to be borne, which they did not venture to touch with even a finger of their own;” but not as if He made a mock of the burdens of the law with any feeling of detestation towards it. For how could He have felt aversion to the law, who used with so much earnestness to upbraid them for passing over its weightier matters, alms — giving, hospitality, and the love of God? Nor, indeed, was it only these great things (which He recognized), but even the tithes of rue and the cleansing of cups. But, in truth, He would rather have deemed them excusable for being unable to carry burdens which could not be borne. What, then, are the burdens which He censures? None but those which they were accumulating of their own accord, when they taught for commandments the doctrines of men; for the sake of private advantage joining house to house, so as to deprive their neighbour of his own; cajoling

the people, loving gifts, pursuing rewards, robbing the poor of the rights of judgment, that they might have the widow for a prey and the fatherless for a spoil. Of these Isaiah also says, "Woe unto them that are strong in Jerusalem!" and again, "They that demand you shall rule over you." And who did this more than the lawyers? Now, if these offended Christ, it was as belonging to Him that they offended Him. He would have aimed no blow at the teachers of an alien law. But why is a "woe" pronounced against them for "building the sepulchres of the prophets whom their fathers had killed?" They rather deserved praise, because by such an act of piety they seemed to show that they did not allow the deeds of their fathers. Was it not because (Christ) was jealous of such a disposition as the Marcionites denounce, visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the fourth generation? What "key," indeed, was it which these lawyers had, but the interpretation of the law? Into the perception of this they neither entered themselves, even because they did not believe (for "unless ye believe, ye shall not understand"); nor did they permit others to enter, because they preferred to teach them for commandments even the doctrines of men. When, therefore, He reproached those who did not themselves enter in, and also shut the door against others, must He be regarded as a disparager of the law, or as a supporter of it? If a disparager, those who were hindering the law ought to have been pleased; if a supporter, He is no longer an enemy of the law. But all these imprecations He uttered in order to tarnish the Creator as a cruel Being, against whom such as offended were destined to have a "woe." And who would not rather have feared to provoke a cruel Being, by withdrawing allegiance from Him? Therefore the more He represented the Creator to be an object of fear, the more earnestly would He teach that He ought to be served. Thus would it behove the Creator's Christ to act.

Chap. XXVIII. — Examples From The Old Testament, Balaam, Moses, And Hezekiah, To Show How Completely The Instruction And Conduct Of Christ Are In Keeping With The Will And Purpose Of The Creator.

Justly, therefore, was the hypocrisy of the Pharisees displeasing to Him, loving God as they did with their lips, but not with their heart. “Beware,” He says to the disciples, “of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy,” not the proclamation of the Creator. The Son hates those who refused obedience to the Father; nor does He wish His disciples to show such a disposition towards Him — not (let it be observed) towards another god, against whom such hypocrisy indeed might have been admissible, as that which He wished to guard His disciples against. It is the example of the Pharisees which He forbids. It was in respect of Him against whom the Pharisees were sinning that (Christ) now forbade His disciples to offend. Since, then, He had censured their hypocrisy, which covered the secrets of the heart, and obscured with superficial offices the mysteries of unbelief, because (while holding the key of knowledge) it would neither enter in itself, nor permit others to enter in, He therefore adds, “There is nothing covered that shall not be revealed; neither hid, which shall not be known,” in order that no one should suppose that He was attempting the revelation and the recognition of an hitherto unknown and hidden god. When He remarks also on their murmurs and taunts, in saying of Him, “This man casteth out devils only through Beelzebub,” He means that all these imputations would come forth to the light of day, and be in the mouths of men in consequence of the promulgation of the Gospel. He then turns to His disciples with these words, “I say unto you, my friends, Be not afraid of them which can only kill the body, and after that have no more power over you.” They will, however, find Isaiah had already said, “See how the just man is taken away, and no man layeth it to heart.” “But I will show you whom ye shall fear: fear Him who, after He hath killed, hath power to cast into hell” (meaning, of course, the Creator); “yea, I say unto you, fear Him.” Now, it would here be enough for my purpose that He forbids offence being given to Him whom He orders to be feared; and that He orders Him to be respected whom He forbids to be offended; and that He who gives these commands belongs to that very God for whom He procures this fear, this absence of

offence, and this respect. But this conclusion I can draw also from the following words: "For I say unto you, Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before God." Now they who shall confess Christ will have to be slain before men, but they will have nothing more to suffer after they have been put to death by them. These therefore will be they whom He forewarns above not to be afraid of being only killed; and this forewarning He offers, in order that He might subjoin a clause on the necessity of confessing Him: "Every one that denieth me before men shall be denied before God" — by Him, of course, who would have confessed him, if he had only confessed God. Now, He who will confess the confessor is the very same God who will also deny the denier of Himself. Again, if it is the confessor who will have nothing to fear after his violent death, it is the denier to whom everything will become fearful after his natural death. Since, therefore, that which will have to be feared after death, even the punishment of hell, belongs to the Creator, the denier, too, belongs to the Creator. As with the denier, however, so with the confessor: if he should deny God, he will plainly have to suffer from God, although from men he had nothing more to suffer after they had put him to death. And so Christ is the Creator's, because He shows that all those who deny Him ought to fear the Creator's hell. After deterring disciples from denial of Himself, He adds an admonition to fear blasphemy: "Whosoever shall speak against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him; but whosoever shall speak against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him." Now, if both the remission and the retention of sin savour of a judicial God, the Holy Ghost, who is not to be blasphemed, will belong to Him, who will not forgive the, blasphemy; just as He who, in the preceding passage, was not to be denied, belonged to, Him who would, after He had killed, also cast into hell. Now, since it is Christ who averts blasphemy from the Creator, I am at a loss to know in what manner His adversary. could have come. Else, if by these sayings He throws a black cloud of censure over the severity of Him who will not forgive blasphemy and will kill even to hell, it follows that the very spirit of that rival god may be blasphemed with impunity, and his Christ denied; and that there is no difference, in fact, between worshipping and despising him; but that, as there is no punishment for the contempt, so there is no reward for the worship, which men need expect. When "brought before magistrates," and examined, He forbids them "to take thought how they shall answer;" "for,"

says He, "the Holy Ghost shall teach you in that very hour what ye ought to say." If such an injunction as this comes from the Creator, the precept will only be His by whom an example was previously given. The prophet Balaam, in Numbers, when sent forth by king Balak to curse Israel, with whom he was commencing war, was at the same moment filled with the Spirit. Instead of the curse which he was come to pronounce, he uttered the blessing which the Spirit at that very hour inspired him with; having previously declared to the king's messengers, and then to the king himself, that he could only speak forth that which God should put into his mouth. The novel doctrines of the new Christ are such as the Creator's servants initiated long before! But see how clear a difference there is between the example of Moses and of Christ. Moses voluntarily interferes with brothers who were quarrelling, and chides the offender: "Wherefore smitest thou thy fellow?" He is, however, rejected by him: "Who made thee a prince or a judge over us?" Christ, on the contrary, when requested by a certain man to compose a strife between him and his brother about dividing an inheritance, refused His assistance, although in so honest a cause. Well, then, my Moses is better than your Christ, aiming as he did at the peace of brethren, and obviating their wrong. But of course the case must be different with Christ, for he is the Christ of the simply good and non-judicial god. "Who," says he, "made me a judge over you?" No other word of excuse was he able to find, without using that with which the wicked, man and impious brother had rejected the defender of probity and piety! In short, he approved of the excuse, although a bad one, by his use of it; and of the act, although a bad one, by his refusal to make peace between brothers. Or rather, would He not show His resentment at the rejection of Moses with such a word? And therefore did He not wish in a similar case of contentious brothers, to confound them with the recollection of so harsh a word? Clearly so. For He had Himself been present in Moses, who heard such a rejection — even He, the Spirit of the Creator. I think that we have already, in another passage, sufficiently shown that the glory of riches is condemned by our God, "who putteth down the mighty from their throne, and exalts the poor from the dunghill." From Him, therefore, will proceed the parable of the rich man, who flattered himself about the increase of his fields, and to Whom God said: "Thou fool, this night shall they require thy soul of thee; then whose shall those things be which thou hast provided?" It was just in the like manner that

the king Hezekiah heard from Isaiah the sad doom of his kingdom, when he gloried, before the envoys of Babylon, in his treasures and the deposits of his precious things.

**Chap. XXIX. — Parallels From The Prophets To
Illustrate Christ's Teaching In The Rest Of This Chapter
Of St. Luke. The Sterner Attributes Of Christ, In His
Judicial Capacity, Show Him To Have Come From The
Creator. Incidental Rebukes Of Marcion's Doctrine Of
Celibacy, And Of His Altering Of The Text Of The
Gospel.**

Who would be unwilling that we should distress ourselves about sustenance for our life, or clothing for our body, but He who has provided these things already for man; and who, therefore, while distributing them to us, prohibits all anxiety respecting them as an outrage against his liberality? — who has adapted the nature of “life” itself to a condition “better than meat,” and has fashioned the material of “the body,” so as to make it “more than raiment;” whose “ravens, too, neither sow nor reap, nor gather into storehouses, and are yet fed” by Himself; whose “lilies and grass also toil not, nor spin, and yet are clothed” by Him; whose “Solomon, moreover, was transcendent in glory, and yet was not arrayed like” the humble flower. Besides, nothing can be more abrupt than that one God should be distributing His bounty, while the other should bid us take no thought about (so kindly a) distribution — and that, too, with the intention of derogating (from his liberality). Whether, indeed, it is as depreciating the Creator that he does not wish such trifles to be thought of, concerning which neither the crows nor the lilies labour, because, forsooth, they come spontaneously to hand by reason of their very worthlessness, will appear a little further on. Meanwhile, how is it that He chides them as being “of little faith?” What faith? Does He mean that faith which they were as yet unable to manifest perfectly in a god who has hardly yet revealed, and whom they were in process of learning as well as they could; or that faith which they for this express reason owed to the Creator, because they believed that He was of His own will supplying these wants of the human race, and therefore took no thought about them? Now, when He adds, “For all these things do the nations of the world seek after,” even by their not believing in God as the Creator and Giver of all things, since He was unwilling that they should be like these nations, He therefore upbraided them as being defective of faith in the same God, in whom He remarked that the Gentiles were quite wanting in

faith. When He further adds, "But your Father knoweth that ye have need of these things," I would first ask, what Father Christ would have to be here understood? If He points to their own Creator, He also affirms Him to be good, who knows what His children have need of; but if He refers to that other god, how does he know that food and raiment are necessary to man, seeing that he has made no such provision for him? For if he had known the want, he would have made the provision. If, however, he knows what things man has need of, and yet has failed to supply them, he is in the failure guilty of either malignity or weakness. But when he confessed that these things are necessary to man, he really affirmed that they are good. For nothing that is evil is necessary. So that he will not be any longer a depreciator of the works and the indulgences of the Creator, that I may here complete the answer which I deferred giving above. Again, if it is another god who has foreseen man's wants, and is supplying them, how is it that Marcion's Christ himself promises them? Is he liberal with another's property? "Seek ye," says he, "the kingdom of God, and all these things shall be added unto you" — by himself, of course. But if by himself, what sort of being is he, who shall bestow the things of another? If by the Creator, whose all things are, then who is he that promises what belongs to another? If these things are "additions" to the kingdom, they must be placed in the second rank; and the second rank belongs to Him to whom the first also does; His are the food and raiment, whose is the kingdom. Thus to the Creator belongs the entire promise, the full reality of its parables, the perfect equalization of its similitudes; for these have respect to none other than Him to whom they have a parity of relation in every point. We are servants because we have a Lord in our God. We ought "to have our loins girded:" in other words, we are to be free from the embarrassments of a perplexed and much occupied life; "to have our lights burning," that is, our minds kindled by faith, and resplendent with the works of truth. And thus "to wait for our Lord," that is, Christ. Whence "returning?" If "from the wedding," He is the Christ of the Creator, for the wedding is His. If He is not the Creator's, not even Marcion himself would have gone to the wedding, although invited, for in his god he discovers one who hates the nuptial bed. The parable would therefore have failed in the person of the Lord, if He were not a Being to whom a wedding is consistent. In the next parable also he makes a flagrant mistake, when he assigns to the person of the Creator that

“thief, whose hour, if the father of the family had only known, he would not have suffered his house to be broken through.” How can the Creator wear in any way the aspect of a thief, Lord as He is of all mankind? No one pilfers or plunders his own property, but he rather acts the part of one who swoops down on the things of another, and alienates man from his Lord. Again, when He indicates to us that the devil is “the thief,” whose hour at the very beginning of the world, if man had known, he would never have been broken in upon by him, He warns us “to be ready,” for this reason, because “we know not the hour when the Son of man shall come” — not as if He were Himself the thief, but rather as being the judge of those who prepared not themselves, and used no precaution against the thief. Since, then, He is the Son of man, I hold Him to be the Judge, and in the Judge I claim the Creator. If then in this passage he displays the Creator’s Christ under the title “Son of man,” that he may give us some presage of the thief, of the period of whose coming we are ignorant, you still have it ruled above, that no one is the thief of his own property; besides which, there is our principle also unimpaired — that in as far as He insists on the Creator as an object of fear, in so far does He belong to the Creator, and does the Creator’s work. When, therefore, Peter asked whether He had spoken the parable “unto them, or even to all,” He sets forth for them, and for all who should bear rule in the churches, the similitude of stewards. That steward who should treat his fellow-servants well in his Lord’s absence, would on his return be set as ruler over all his property; but he who should act otherwise should be severed, and have his portion with the unbelievers, when his lord should return on the day when he looked not for him, at the hour when he was not aware — even that Son of man, the Creator’s Christ, not a thief, but a Judge. He accordingly, in this passage, either presents to us the Lord as a Judge, and instructs us in His character, or else as the simply good god; if the latter, he now also affirms his judicial attribute, although the heretic refuses to admit it. For an attempt is made to modify this sense when it is applied to his god, — as if it were an act of serenity and mildness simply to sever the man off, and to assign him a portion with the unbelievers, under the idea that he was not summoned (before the judge), but only returned to his own state! As if this very process did not imply a judicial act! What folly! What will be the end of the severed ones? Will it not be the forfeiture of salvation, since their separation will be from

those who shall attain salvation? What, again, will be the condition of the unbelievers? Will it not be damnation? Else, if these severed and unfaithful ones shall have nothing to suffer, there will, on the other hand, be nothing for the accepted and the believers to obtain. If, however, the accepted and the believers shall attain salvation, it must needs be that the rejected and the unbelieving should incur the opposite issue, even the loss of salvation. Now here is a judgment, and He who holds it out before us belongs to the Creator. Whom else than the God of retribution can I understand by Him who shall "beat His servants with stripes," either "few or many," and shall exact from them what He had committed to them? Whom is it suitable for me to obey, but Him who remunerates? Your Christ proclaims, "I am come to send fire on the earth." That most lenient being, the lord who has no hell, not long before had restrained his disciples from demanding fire on the churlish village. Whereas He burnt up Sodom and Gomorrah with a tempest of fire. Of Him the psalmist sang, "A fire shall go out before Him, and burn up His enemies round about." By Hoses He uttered the threat, "I will send a fire upon the cities of Judah;" and by Isaiah, "A fire has been kindled in mine anger." He cannot lie. If it is not He who uttered His voice out of even the burning bush, it can be of no importance what fire you insist upon being understood. Even if it be but figurative fire, yet, from the very fact that he takes from my element illustrations for His own sense, He is mine, because He uses what is mine. The similitude of fire must belong to Him who owns the reality thereof. But He will Himself best explain the quality of that fire which He mentioned, when He goes on to say, "Suppose ye that I am come to give peace on earth? I tell you, Nay; but rather division." It is written "a sword," but Marcion makes an emendation of the word, just as if a division were not the work of the sword. He, therefore, who refused to give peace, intended also the fire of destruction. As is the combat, so is the burning. As is the sword, so is the flame. Neither is suitable for its lord. He says at last, "The father shall be divided against the son, and the son against the father; the mother against the daughter, and the daughter against the mother; the mother-in-law against the daughter-in-law, and the daughter-in-law against the mother-in-law." Since this battle among the relatives was sung by the prophet's trumpet in the very words, I fear that Micah must have predicted it to Marcion's Christ! On this account He pronounced them "hypocrites," because they could "discern the

face of the sky and the earth, but could not distinguish this time,” when of course He ought to have been recognised, fulfilling (as he was) all things which had been predicted concerning them, and teaching them so. But then who could know the times of him of whom he had no evidence to prove his existence? Justly also does He upbraid them for “not even of themselves judging what is right.” Of old does He command by Zechariah, “Execute the judgment of truth and peace;” by Jeremiah, “Execute judgment and righteousness;” by Isaiah, “Judge the fatherless, plead for the widow,” charging it as a fault upon the vine of Sorech, that when “He looked for righteousness therefrom, there was only a cry” (of oppression). The same God who had taught them to act as He commanded them, was now requiring that they should act of their own accord. He who had sown the precept, was now pressing to an abundant harvest from it. But how absurd, that he should now be commanding them to judge righteously, who was destroying God the righteous Judge! For the Judge, who commits to prison, and allows no release Out of it without the payment of “the very last mite,” they treat of in the person of the Creator, with the view of disparaging Him. Which cavil, however, I deem it necessary to meet with the same answer. For as often as the Creator’s severity is paraded before us, so often is Christ (shown to be) His, to whom He urges submission by the motive of fear.

**Chap. XXX. — Parables Of The Mustard-Seed, And Of
The Leaven. Transition To The Solemn Exclusion,
Which Will Ensnare When The Master Of The House Has
Shut The Door. This Judicial Exclusion Will Be
Administered By Christ, Who Is Shown Thereby To
Possess The Attribute Of The Creator.**

When the question was again raised concerning a cure performed on the Sabbath-day, how did He discuss it: "Doth not each of you on the Sabbath loose his ass or his ox from the stall, and lead him away to watering?" When, therefore, He did a work according to the condition prescribed by the law, He affirmed, instead of breaking, the law, which commanded that no work should be done, except what might be done for any living being; and if for any one, then how much more for a human life? In the case of the parables, it is allowed that I everywhere require a congruity. "The kingdom of God," says He, "is like a grain of mustard-seed which a man took and cast into his garden." Who must be understood as meant by the man? Surely Christ, because (although Marcion's) he was called "the Son of man." He received from the Father the seed of the kingdom, that is, the word of the gospel, and sowed it in his garden — in the world, of course — in man at the present day, for instance. Now, whereas it is said, "in his garden," but neither the world nor man is his property, but the Creator's, therefore He who sowed seed in His own ground is shown to be the Creator. Else, if, to evade this snare, they should choose to transfer the person of the man from Christ to any person who receives the seed of the kingdom and sows it in the garden of his own heart, not even this meaning would suit any other than the Creator. For how happens it, if the kingdom belong to the most lenient god, that it is closely followed up by a fervent judgment, the severity of which brings weeping? With regard, indeed, to the following similitude, I have my fears lest it should somehow presage the kingdom of the rival god! For He compared it, not to the unleavened bread which the Creator is more familiar with, but to leaven. Now this is a capital conjecture for men who are begging for arguments. I must, however, on my side, dispel one fond conceit by another," and contend with even leaven is suitable for the kingdom of the Creator, because after it comes the oven, or, if you please, the furnace of hell. How often has He already

displayed Himself as a Judge, and in the Judge the Creator? How often, indeed, has He repelled, and in the repulse condemned? In the present passage, for instance, He says, "When once the master of the house is risen up;" but in what sense except that in which Isaiah said, "When He ariseth to shake terribly the earth?" "And hath shut to the door," thereby shutting out the wicked, of course; and when these knock, He will answer, "I know you not whence ye are;" and when they recount how "they have eaten and drunk in His presence," He will further say to them, "Depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth." But where? Outside, no doubt, when they shall have been excluded with the door shut on them by Him. There will therefore be punishment inflicted by Him who excludes for punishment, when they shall behold the righteous entering the kingdom of God, but themselves detained without. By whom detained outside? If by the Creator, who shall be within receiving the righteous into the kingdom? The good God. What, therefore, is the Creator about, that He should detain outside for punishment those whom His adversary shut out, when He ought rather to have kindly received them, if they must come into His hands, for the greater irritation of His rival? But when about to exclude the wicked, he must, of course, either be aware that the Creator would detain them for punishment, or not be aware. Consequently either the wicked will be detained by the Creator against the will of the excluder, in which case he will be inferior to the Creator, submitting to Him unwillingly; or else, if the process is carried out with his will, then he himself has judicially determined its execution; and then he who is the very originator of the Creator's infamy, will not prove to be one whit better than the Creator. Now, if these ideas be incompatible with reason — of one being supposed to punish, and the other to liberate — then to one only power will appertain both the judgment and the kingdom and while they both belong to one, He who executeth judgment can be none else than the Christ of the Creator.

Chap. XXXI. — Christ's Advice To Invite The Poor In Accordance With Isaiah. The Parable Of The Great Supper A Pictorial Sketch Of The Creator's Own Dispensations Of Mercy And Grace. The Rejections Of The Invitation Paralleled By Quotations From The Old Testament. Marcion's Christ Could Not Fulfill The Conditions Indicated In This Parable. The Absurdity Of The Marcionite Interpretation.

What kind of persons does He bid should be invited to a dinner or a supper? Precisely such as he had pointed out by Isaiah: "Deal thy bread to the hungry man; and the beggars — even such as have no home — bring in to thine house," because, no doubt, they are "unable to recompense" your act of humanity. Now, since Christ forbids the recompense to be expected now, but promises it "at the resurrection," this is the very plan of the Creator, who dislikes those who love gifts and follow after reward. Consider also to which deity is better suited the parable of him who issued invitations: "A certain man made a great supper, and bade many." The preparation for the supper is no doubt a figure of the abundant provision of eternal life. I first remark, that strangers, and persons unconnected by ties of relationship, are not usually invited to a supper; but that members of the household and family are more frequently the favoured guests. To the Creator, then, it belonged to give the invitation, to whom also appertained those who were to be invited — whether considered as men, through their descent from Adam, or as Jews, by reason of their fathers; not to him who possessed no claim to them either by nature or prerogative. My next remark is, if He issues the invitations who has prepared the supper, then, in this sense the supper is the Creator's, who sent to warn the guests. These had been indeed previously invited by the fathers, but were to be admonished by the prophets. It certainly is not the feast of him who never sent a messenger to warn — who never did a thing before towards issuing an invitation, but came down himself on a sudden — only then beginning to be known, when already giving his invitation; only then inviting, when already compelling to his banquet; appointing one and the same hour both for the supper and the invitation. But when invited, they excuse themselves? And fairly enough, if the invitation came from the other god, because it was so

sudden; if, however, the excuse was not a fair one, then the invitation was not a sudden one. Now, if the invitation was not a sudden one, it must have been given by the Creator — even by Him of old time, whose call they had at last refused. They first refused it when they said to Aaron, “Make us gods, which shall go before us; and again, afterwards, when “they heard indeed with the ear, but did not understand” their calling of God. In a manner most germane to this parable, He said by Jeremiah: “Obey my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people; and ye shall walk in all my ways, which I have commanded you.” This is the invitation of God. “But,” says He, “they hearkened not, nor inclined their ear.” This is the refusal of the people. “They departed, and walked every one in the imagination of their evil heart.” “I have bought a field — and I have bought some oxen — and I have married a wife.” And still He urges them: “I have sent unto you all my servants the prophets, rising early even before day-light.” The Holy Spirit is here meant, the admonisher of the guests. “Yet my people hearkened not unto me, nor inclined their ear, but hardened their neck.” This was reported to the Master of the family. Then He was moved (He did well to be moved; for, as Marcion denies emotion to his god, He must be therefore my God), and commanded them to invite out of “the streets and lanes of the city.” Let us see whether this is not the same in purport as His words by Jeremiah: “Have I been a wilderness to the house of Israel, or a land left uncultivated?” That is to say: “Then have I none whom I may call to me; have I no place whence I may bring them?” “Since my people have said, We will come no more unto thee.” Therefore He sent out to call others, but from the same city. My third remark is this, that although the place abounded with people, He yet commanded that they gather men from the highways and the hedges. In other words, we are now gathered out of the Gentile strangers; with that jealous resentment, no doubt, which He expressed in Deuteronomy: “I will hide my face from them, and I will show them what shall happen in the last days (how that others shall possess their place); for they are a froward generation, children in whom is no faith. They have moved me to jealousy by that which is no god, and they have provoked me to anger with their idols; and I will move them to jealousy with those which are not a people: I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation” — even with us, whose hope the Jews still entertain. But this hope the Lord says they should not realize; “Sion being left as a cottages in a vineyard, as a lodge

in a garden of cucumbers,” since the nation rejected the latest invitation to Christ. (Now, I ask,) after going through all this course of the Creator’s dispensation and prophecies, what there is in it which can possibly be assigned to him who has done all his work at one hasty stroke, and possesses neither the Creator’s course nor His dispensation in harmony with the parable? Or, again in what will consist his first invitation, and what his admonition at the second stage? Some at first would surely decline; others afterwards must have accepted.” But now he comes to invite both parties promiscuously out of the city, out of the hedges, contrary to the drift of the parable. It is impossible for him now to condemn as scorers of his invitation those whom he has never yet invited, and whom he is approaching with so much earnestness. If, however, he condemns them beforehand as about to reject his call, then beforehand he also predicts the election of the Gentiles in their stead. Certainly he means to come the second time for the very purpose of preaching to the heathen. But even if he does mean to come again, I imagine it will not be with the intention of any longer inviting guests, but of giving to them their places. Meanwhile, you who interpret the call to this supper as an invitation to a heavenly banquet of spiritual satiety and pleasure, must remember that the earthly promises also of wine and oil and corn, and even of the city, are equally employed by the Creator as figures of spiritual things.

**Chap. XXXII. — A Sort Of Sorites, As The Logicians
Call It, To Show That The Parables Of The Lost Sheep
And The Lost Drachma Have No Suitable Application
To The Christ Of Marcion.**

Who sought after the lost sheep and the lost piece of silver? Was it not the loser? But who was the loser? Was it not he who once possessed them? Who, then, was that? Was it not he to whom they belonged? Since, then, man is the property of none other than the Creator, He possessed Him who owned him; He lost him who once possessed him; He sought him who lost him; He found him who sought him; He rejoiced who found him. Therefore the purport of neither parable has anything whatever to do with him to whom belongs neither the sheep nor the piece of silver, that is to say, man. For he lost him not, because he possessed him not; and he sought him not, because he lost him not; and he found him not, because he sought him not; and he rejoiced not, because he found him not. Therefore, to rejoice over the sinner's repentance — that is, at the recovery of lost man — is the attribute of Him who long ago professed that He would rather that the sinner should repent and not die.

**Chap. XXXIII. — The Marcionite Interpretation Of God
And Mammon Refuted. The Prophets Justify Christ's
Admonition Against Covetousness And Pride. John
Baptist The Link Between The Old And The New
Dispensations Of The Creator. So Said Christ — But So
Also Had Isaiah Said Long Before. One Only God, The
Creator, By His Own Will Changed The Dispensations.
No New God Had A Hand In The Change.**

What the two masters are who, He says, cannot be served, on the ground that while one is pleased the other must needs be displeased, He Himself makes clear, when He mentions God and mammon. Then, if you have no interpreter by you, you may learn again from Himself what He would have understood by mammon. For when advising us to provide for ourselves the help of friends in worldly affairs, after the example of that steward who, when removed from his office, relieves his lord's debtors by lessening their debts with a view to their recompensing him with their help, He said, "And I say unto you, Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness," that is to say, of money, even as the steward had done. Now we are all of us aware that money is the instigator of unrighteousness, and the lord of the whole world. Therefore, when he saw the covetousness of the Pharisees doing servile worship to it, He hurled this sentence against them, "Ye cannot serve God and mammon." Then the Pharisees, who were covetous of riches, derided Him, when they understood that by mammon He meant money. Let no one think that under the word mammon the Creator was meant, and that Christ called them off from the service of the Creator. What folly! Rather learn therefrom that one God was pointed out by Christ. For they were two masters whom He named, God and mammon — the Creator and money. You cannot indeed serve God — Him, of course whom they seemed to serve — and mammon to whom they preferred to devote themselves. If, however, he was giving himself out as another god, it would not be two masters, but three, that he had pointed out. For the Creator was a master, and much more of a master, to be sure, than mammon, and more to be adored, as being more truly our Master. Now, how was it likely that He who had called mammon a master, and had associated him with God, should say nothing of Him who was really the Master of even

these, that is, the Creator? Or else, by this silence respecting Him did He concede that service might be rendered to Him, since it was to Himself alone and to mammon that He said service could not be (simultaneously) rendered? When, therefore, He lays down the position that God is one, since He would have been sure to mention the Creator if He were Himself a rival to Him, He did (virtually) name the Creator, when He refrained from insisting" that He was Master alone, without a rival god. Accordingly, this will throw light upon the sense in which it was said, "If ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will commit to your trust the true riches?" "In the unrighteous mammon," that is to say, in unrighteous riches, not in the Creator; for even Marcion allows Him to be righteous: "And if ye have not been faithful in that which is another man's, who will give to you that which is mine?" For whatever is unrighteous ought to be foreign to the servants of God. But in what way was the Creator foreign to the Pharisees, seeing that He was the proper God of the Jewish nation? Forasmuch then as the words, "Who will entrust to you the truer riches?" and, "Who will give you that which is mine?" are only suitable to the Creator and not to mammon, He could not have uttered them as alien to the Creator, and in the interest of the rival god. He could only seem to have spoken them in this sense, if, when remarking their unfaithfulness to the Creator and not to mammon, He had drawn some distinctions between the Creator (in his manner of mentioning Him) and the rival god — how that the latter would not commit his own truth to those who were unfaithful to the Creator. How then can he possibly seem to belong to another god, if He be not set forth, with the express intention of being separated from the very thing which is in question. But when the Pharisees "justified themselves before men," 16) and placed their hope of reward in man, He censured them in the sense in which the prophet Jeremiah said, "Cursed is the man that trust-eth in man." Since the prophet went on to say, "But the Lord knoweth your hearts," he magnified the power of that God who declared Himself to be as a lamp, "searching the reins and the heart." When He strikes at pride in the words: "That which is highly esteemed among men is abomination in the sight of God," He recalls Isaiah: "For the day of the Lord of hosts shall be upon every one that is proud and lofty, and upon every one that is arrogant and lifted up, and they shall be brought low." I can now make out why Marcion's god was for so long an age concealed. He was, I

suppose, waiting until he had learnt all these things from the Creator. He continued his pupillage up to the time of John, and then proceeded forthwith to announce the kingdom of God, saying: "The law and the prophets were until John; since that time the kingdom of God is proclaimed." Just as if we also did not recognise in John a certain limit placed between the old dispensation and the new, at which Judaism ceased and Christianity began — without, however, supposing that it was by the power of another god that there came about a cessation of the law and the prophets and the commencement of that gospel in which is the kingdom of God, Christ Himself. For although, as we have shown, the Creator foretold that the old state of things would pass away and a new state would succeed, yet, inasmuch as John is shown to be both the forerunner and the pre-pater of the ways of that Lord who was to introduce the gospel and publish the kingdom of God, it follows from the very fact that John has come, that Christ must be that very Being who was to follow His harbinger John. So that, if the old course has ceased and the new has begun, with John intervening between them, there will be nothing wonderful in it, because it happens according to the purpose of the Creator; so that you may get a better proof for the kingdom of God from any quarter, however anomalous, than from the conceit that the law and the prophets ended in John, and a new state of things began after him. "More easily, therefore, may heaven and earth pass away — as also the law and the prophets — than that one tittle of the Lord's words should fail." "For," as says Isaiah: "the word of our God shall stand for ever." Since even then by Isaiah it was Christ, the Word and Spirit of the Creator, who prophetically described John as "the voice of one crying in the wilderness to prepare the way of the Lord," and as about to come for the purpose of terminating thenceforth the course of the law and the prophets; by their fulfilment and not their extinction, and in order that the kingdom of God might be announced by Christ, He therefore purposely added the assurance that the elements would more easily pass away than His words fail; affirming, as He did, the further fact, that what He had said concerning John had not fallen to the ground.

Chap. XXXIV. — Moses, Allowing Divorce, And Christ Prohibiting It, Explained. John Baptist And Herod. Marcion's Attempt To Discover An Antithesis In The Parable Of The Rich Man And The Poor Man In Hades Confuted. The Creator's Appointment Manifested In Both States.

But Christ prohibits divorce, saying, "Whosoever putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, committeth adultery; and whosoever marrieth her that is put away from her husband, also committeth adultery." In order to forbid divorce, He makes it unlawful to marry a woman that has been put away. Moses, however, permitted repudiation in Deuteronomy: "When a man hath taken a wife, and hath lived with her, and it come to pass that she find no favour in his eyes, because he hath found unchastity in her; then let him write her a bill of divorcement and give it in her hand, and send her away out of his house." You see, therefore, that there is a difference between the law and the gospel—between Moses and Christ? To be sure there is! But then you have rejected that other gospel which witnesses to the same verity and the same Christ. There, while prohibiting divorce, He has given us a solution of this special question respecting it: "Moses," says He, "because of the hardness of your hearts, suffered you to give a bill of divorcement; but from the beginning it was not so" — for this reason, indeed, because He who had "made them male and female" had likewise said, "They twain shall become one flesh; what therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder." Now, by this answer of His (to the Pharisees), He both sanctioned the provision of Moses, who was His own (servant), and restored to its primitive purpose the institution of the Creator, whose Christ He was. Since, however, you are to be refuted out of the Scriptures which you have received, I will meet you on your own ground, as if your Christ were mine. When, therefore, He prohibited divorce, and yet at the same time represented the Father, even Him who united male and female, must He not have rather exculpated than abolished the enactment of Moses? But, observe, if this Christ be yours when he teaches contrary to Moses and the Creator, on the same principle must He be mine if I can show that His teaching is not contrary to them. I maintain, then, that there was a condition in the prohibition which He now made of divorce; the case

supposed being, that a man put away his wife for the express purpose of marrying another. His words are: "Whosoever putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, committeth adultery; and whosoever marrieth her that is put away from her husband, also committeth adultery,"— "put away," that is, for the reason wherefore a woman ought not to be dismissed, that another wife may be obtained. For he who marries a woman who is unlawfully put away is as much of an adulterer as the man who marries one who is un-divorced. Permanent is the marriage which is not rightly dissolved; to marry, therefore, whilst matrimony is undissolved, is to commit adultery. Since, therefore, His prohibition of divorce was a conditional one, He did not prohibit absolutely; and what He did not absolutely forbid, that He permitted on some occasions, when there is an absence of the cause why He gave His prohibition. In very deed His teaching is not contrary to Moses, whose precept He partially defends, I will not say confirms. If, however, you deny that divorce is in any way permitted by Christ, how is it that you on your side destroy marriage, not uniting man and woman, nor admitting to the sacrament of baptism and of the eucharist those who have been united in marriage anywhere else, unless they should agree together to repudiate the fruit of their marriage, and so the very Creator Himself? Well, then, what is a husband to do in your sect, if his wife commit adultery? Shall he keep her? But your own apostle, you know, does not permit "the members of Christ to be joined to a harlot." Divorce, therefore, when justly deserved, has even in Christ a defender. So that Moses for the future must be considered as being confirmed by Him, since he prohibits divorce in the same sense as Christ does, if any unchastity should occur in the wife. For in the Gospel of Matthew he says, "Whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery." He also is deemed equally guilty of adultery, who marries a woman put away by her husband. The Creator, however, except on account of adultery, does not put asunder what He Himself joined together, the same Moses in another passage enacting that he who had married after violence to a damsel, should thenceforth not have it in his power to put away his wife. Now, if a compulsory marriage contracted after violence shall be permanent, how much rather shall a voluntary one, the result of agreement! This has the sanction of the prophet: "Thou shalt not forsake the wife of thy youth." Thus you have Christ following spontaneously the tracks of the Creator

everywhere, both in permitting divorce and in forbidding it. You find Him also protecting marriage, in whatever direction you try to escape. He prohibits divorce when He will have the marriage inviolable; He permits divorce when the marriage is spotted with unfaithfulness. You should blush when you refuse to unite those whom even your Christ has united; and repeat the blush when you disunite them without the good reason why your Christ would have them separated. I have now to show whence the Lord derived this decision of His, and to what end He directed it. It will thus become more fully evident that His object was not the abolition of the Mosaic ordinance by any suddenly devised proposal of divorce; because it was not suddenly proposed, but had its root in the previously mentioned John. For John reproved Herod, because he had illegally married the wife of his deceased brother, who had a daughter by her (a union which the law permitted only on the one occasion of the brother dying childless, when it even prescribed such a marriage, in order that by his own brother, and from his own wife, seed might be reckoned to the deceased husband), and was in consequence cast into prison, and finally, by the same Herod, was even put to death. The Lord having therefore made mention of John, and of course of the occurrence of his death, hurled His censure against Herod in the form of unlawful marriages and of adultery, pronouncing as an adulterer even the man who married a woman that had been put away from her husband. This he said in order the more severely to load Herod with guilt, who had taken his brother's wife, after she had been loosed from her husband not less by death than by divorce; who had been impelled thereto by his lust, not by the prescription of the (Levirate) law — for, as his brother had left a daughter, the marriage with the widow could not be lawful on that very account; and who, when the prophet asserted against him the law, had therefore put him to death. The remarks I have advanced on this case will be also of use to me in illustrating the subsequent parable of the rich man tormented in hell, and the poor man resting in Abraham's bosom. For this passage, so far as its letter goes, comes before us abruptly; but if we regard its sense and purport, it naturally fits in with the mention of John wickedly slain, and of Herod, who had been condemned by him for his impious marriage. It sets forth in bold outline the end of both of them, the "torments" of Herod and the "comfort" of John, that even now Herod might hear that warning: "They have there Moses and the prophets, let them hear them." Marcion, however,

violently turns the passage to another end, and decides that both the torment and the comfort are retributions of the Creator reserved in the next life for those who have obeyed the law and the prophets; whilst he defines the heavenly bosom and harbour to belong to Christ and his own god. Our answer to this is, that the Scripture itself which dazzles his sight expressly distinguishes between Abraham's bosom, where the poor man dwells, and the infernal place of torment. "Hell" (I take it) means one thing, and "Abraham's bosom" another. "A great gulf." is said to separate those regions, and to hinder a passage from one to the other. Besides, the rich man could not have "lifted up his eyes," and from a distance too, except to a superior height, and from the said distance all up through the vast immensity of height and depth. It must therefore be evident to every man of intelligence who has ever heard of the Elysian fields, that there is some determinate place called Abraham's bosom, and that it is designed for the reception of the souls of Abraham's children, even from among the Gentiles (since he is "the father of many nations," which must be classed amongst his family), and of the same faith as that wherewithal he himself believed God, without the yoke of the law and the sign of circumcision. This region, therefore, I call Abraham's bosom. Although it is not in heaven, it is yet higher than hell, and is appointed to afford an interval of rest to the souls of the righteous, until the consummation of all things shall complete the resurrection of all men with the "full recompense of their reward." This consummation will then be manifested in heavenly promises, which Marcion, however, claims for his own god, just as if the Creator had never announced them. Amos, however, tells us of "those stories towards heaven" which Christ "builds" — of course for His people. There also is that everlasting abode of which Isaiah asks, "Who shall declare unto you the eternal place, but He (that is, of course, Christ) who walketh in righteousness, speaketh of the straight path, hateth injustice and iniquity?" Now, although this everlasting abode is promised, and the ascending stories (or steps) to heaven are built by the Creator, who further promises that the seed of Abraham shall be even as the stars of heaven, by virtue certainly of the heavenly promise, why may it not be possible, without any injury to that promise, that by Abraham's bosom is meant some temporary receptacle of faithful souls, wherein is even now delineated an image of the future, and where is given some foresight of the glory of both judgments? If so, you have

here, O heretics, during your present lifetime, a warning that Moses and the prophets declare one only God, the Creator, and His only Christ, and how that both awards of everlasting punishment and eternal salvation rest with Him, the one only God, who kills and who makes alive. Well, but the admonition, says Marcion, of our God from heaven has commanded us not to hear Moses and the prophets, but Christ; Hear Him is the command. This is true enough. For the apostles had by that time sufficiently heard Moses and the prophets, for they had followed Christ, being persuaded by Moses and the prophets. For even Peter would not have been able to say, "Thou art the Christ," unless he had beforehand heard and believed Moses and the prophets, by whom alone Christ had been hitherto announced. Their faith, indeed, had deserved this confirmation by such a voice from heaven as should bid them hear Him, whom they had recognized as preaching peace, announcing glad tidings, promising an everlasting abode, building for them steps upwards into heaven. Down in hell, however, it was said concerning them: "They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them!" — even those who did not believe them or at least did not sincerely believe that after death there were punishments for the arrogance of wealth and the glory of luxury, announced indeed by Moses and the prophets, but decreed by that God, who deposes princes from their thrones, and raiseth up the poor from dunghills. Since, therefore, it is quite consistent in the Creator to pronounce different sentences in the two directions of reward and punishment, we shall have to conclude that there is here no diversity of gods, but only a difference in the actual matters before us.

**Chap. XXXV. — The Judicial Severity Of Christ And
The Tenderness Of The Creator, Asserted In
Contradiction To Marcion. The Cure Of The Ten Lepers.
Old Testament Analogies. The Kingdom Of God Within
You; This Teaching Similar To That Of Moses. Christ,
The Stone Rejected By The Builders. Indications Of
Severity In The Coming Of Christ. Proofs That He Is
Not The Impossible Being Marcion Imagined.**

Then, turning to His disciples, He says: "Woe unto him through whom offences come! It were better for him if he had not been born, or if a millstone were hanged about his neck and he were cast into the sea, than that he should offend one of these little ones," that is, one of His disciples. Judge, then, what the sort of punishment is which He so severely threatens. For it is no stranger who is to avenge the offence done to His disciples. Recognise also in Him the Judge, and one too, who expresses Himself on the safety of His followers with the same tenderness as that which the Creator long ago exhibited: "He that toucheth you toucheth the apple of my eye." Such identity of care proceeds from one and the same Being. A trespassing brother He will have rebuked. If one failed in this duty of reproof, he in fact sinned, either because out of hatred he wished his brother to continue in sin, or else spared him from mistaken friendship, although possessing the injunction in Leviticus: "Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart; thy neighbor thou shalt seriously rebuke, and on his account shalt not contract sin." Nor is it to be wondered at, if He thus teaches who forbids your refusing to bring back even your brother's cattle, if you find them astray in the road; much more should you bring back your erring brother to himself. He commands you to forgive your brother, should he trespass against you even "seven times." But that surely, is a small matter; for with the Creator there is a larger grace, when He sets no limits to forgiveness, indefinitely charging you "not to bear any malice against your brother," and to give not merely to him who asks, but even to him who does not ask. For His will is, not that you should forgive an offence, but forget it. The law about lepers had a profound meaning as respects the forms of the disease itself, and of the inspection by the high priest. The interpretation of this sense it will be our task to ascertain. Marcion's labour, however, is to

object to us the strictness of the law, with the view of maintaining that here also Christ is its enemy — forestalling its enactments even in His cure of the ten lepers. These He simply commanded to show themselves to the priest; “and as they went, He cleansed them” — without a touch, and without a word, by His silent power and simple will. Well, but what necessity was there for Christ, who had been once for all announced as the healer of our sicknesses and sins, and had proved Himself such by His acts, to busy Himself with inquiries into the qualities and details of cures; or for the Creator to be summoned to the scrutiny of the law in the person of Christ? If any pan of this healing was effected by Him in a way different from the law, He yet Himself did it to perfection; for surely the Lord may by Himself, or by His Son, produce after one manner, and after another manner by His servants the prophets, those proofs of His power and might especially, which (as excelling in glory and strength, because they are His own acts) rightly enough leave in the distance behind them the works which are done by His servants. But enough has been already said on this point in a former passage. Now, although He said in a preceding chapter, that “there were many lepers in Israel in the days of Eliseus the prophet, and none of them was cleansed saving Naaman the Syrian,” yet of course the mere number proves nothing towards a difference in the gods, as tending to the abasement of the Creator in curing only one, and the pre-eminence of Him who healed ten. For who can doubt that many might have been cured by Him who cured one more easily than ten by him who had never healed one before? But His main purpose in this declaration was to strike at the unbelief or the pride of Israel, in that (although there were many lepers amongst them, and a prophet was not wanting to them) not one had been moved even by so conspicuous an example to betake himself to God who was working in His prophets. Forasmuch, then, as He was Himself the veritable High Priest of God the Father, He inspected them according to the hidden purport of the law, which signified that Christ was the true distinguisher and extinguiser of the defilements of mankind. However, what was obviously required by the law He commanded should be done: “Go,” said He, “show yourselves to the priests.” Yet why this, if He meant to cleanse them first? Was it as a despiser of the law, in order to prove to them that, having been cured already on the road, the law was now nothing to them, nor even the priests? Well, the matter must of course pass as it best may, if

anybody supposes that Christ had such views as these! But there are certainly better interpretations to be found of the passage, and more deserving of belief: how that they were cleansed on this account, because they were obedient, and went as the law required, when they were commanded to go to the priests; and it is not to be believed that persons who observed the law could have found a cure from a god that was destroying the law. Why, however, did He not give such a command to the leper who first returned? Because Elisha did not in the case of Naaman the Syrian, and yet was not on that account less the Creator's agent? This is a sufficient answer. But the believer knows that there is a profounder reason. Consider, therefore, the true motives. The miracle was performed in the district of Samaria, to which country also belonged one of the lepers. Samaria, however, had revolted from Israel, carrying with it the disaffected nine tribes, which, having been alienated by the prophet Ahijah, Jeroboam settled in Samaria. Besides, the Samaritans were always pleased with the mountains and the wells of their ancestors. Thus, in the Gospel of John, the woman of Samaria, when conversing with the Lord at the well, says, "No doubt Thou art greater," etc.; and again, "Our fathers worshipped in this mountain; but ye say, that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship." Accordingly, He who said, "Woe unto them that trust in the mountain of Samaria," vouchsafing now to restore that very region, purposely requests the men "to go and show themselves to the priests," because these were to be found only there where the temple was; submitting the Samaritan to the Jew, inasmuch as "salvation was of the Jews," whether to the Israelite or the Samaritan. To the tribe of Judah, indeed, wholly appertained the promised Christ, in order that men might know that at Jerusalem were both the priests and the temple; that there also was the womb of religion, and its living fountain, not its mere "well." Seeing, therefore, that they recognised the truth that at Jerusalem the law was to be fulfilled, He healed them whose salvation was to come of faith without the ceremony of the law. Whence also, astonished that one only out of the ten was thankful for his release to the divine grace, He does not command him to offer a gift according to the law, because he had already paid his tribute of gratitude when "he glorified God; for thus did the Lord will that the law's requirement should be interpreted. And yet who was the God to whom the Samaritan gave thanks, because thus far not even had an Israelite heard of another god? Who else but He by whom

all had hitherto been healed through Christ? And therefore it was said to him, "Thy faith hath made thee whole," because he had discovered that it was his duty to render the true oblation to Almighty God — even thanksgiving — in His true temple, and before His true High Priest Jesus Christ. But it is impossible either that the Pharisees should seem to have inquired of the Lord about the coming of the kingdom of the rival god, when no other god has ever yet been announced by Christ; or that He should have answered them concerning the kingdom of any other god than Him of whom they were in the habit of asking Him. "The kingdom of God," He says, "cometh not with observation; neither do they say, La here! or, lo there! for, behold, the kingdom of God is within you." Now, who will not interpret the words "within you" to mean in your hand, within your power, if you hear, and do the commandment of God? If, however, the kingdom of God lies in His commandment, set before your mind Moses on the other side, according to our antitheses, and you will find the self-same view of the case. "The commandment is not a lofty one, neither is it far off from thee. It is not in heaven, that thou shouldest say, 'Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it, and do it?' nor is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say, 'Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it, and do it?' But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, and in thy hands, to do it." This means, "Neither in this place nor that place is the kingdom of God; for, behold, it is within you." And if the heretics, in their audacity, should contend that the Lord did not give an answer about His own kingdom, but only about the Creator's kingdom, concerning which they had inquired, then the following words are against them. For He tells them that "the Son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected," before His coming, at which His kingdom will be really revealed. In this statement He shows that it was His own kingdom which His answer to them had contemplated, and which was now awaiting His own sufferings and rejection. But having to be rejected and afterwards to be acknowledged, and taken up and glorified, He borrowed the very word "rejected" from the passage, where, under the figure of a stone, His twofold manifestation was celebrated by David — the first in rejection, the second in honour: "The stone," says He, "which the builders rejected, is become the head-stone of the corner. This is the Lord's doing." Now it would be idle, if we believed that

God had predicted the humiliation, or even the glory, of any Christ at all, that He could have signed His prophecy for any but Him whom He had foretold under the figure of a stone, and a rock, and a mountain. If, however, He speaks of His own coming, why does He compare it with the days of Noe and of Lot, which were dark and terrible — a mild and gentle God as He is? Why does He bid us “remember Lot’s wife,” who despised the Creator’s command, and was punished for her contempt, if He does not come with judgment to avenge the infraction of His precepts? If He really does punish, like the Creator, if He is my Judge, He ought not to have adduced examples for the purpose of instructing me from Him whom He yet destroys, that He might not seem to be my instructor. But if He does not even here speak of His own coming, but of the coming of the Hebrew Christ, let us still wait in expectation that He will vouchsafe to us some prophecy of His own advent; meanwhile we will continue to believe that He is none other than He whom He reminds us of in every passage.

Chap. XXXVI. — The Parables Of The Importunate Widow, And Of The Pharisee And The Publican. Christ's Answer To The Rich Ruler, The Cure Of The Blind Man. His Salutation — Son Of David. All Proofs Of Christ's Relation To The Creator, Marcion's Antithesis Between David And Christ Confuted.

When He recommends perseverance and earnestness in prayer, He sets before us the parable of the judge who was compelled to listen to the widow, owing to the earnestness and importunity of her requests. He show us that it is God the judge whom we must importune with prayer, and not Himself, if He is not Himself the judge. But He added, that "God would avenge His own elect." Since, then, He who judges will also Himself be the avenger, He proved that the Creator is on that account the specially good God, whom He represented as the avenger of His own elect, who cry day and night to Him, And yet, when He introduces to our view the Creator's temple, and describes two men worshipping therein with diverse feelings — the Pharisee in pride, the publican in humility — and shows us how they accordingly went down to their homes, one rejected, the other justified, He surely, by thus teaching us the proper discipline of prayer, has determined that that God must be prayed to from whom men were to receive this discipline of prayer — whether condemnatory of pride, or justifying in humility. I do not find from Christ any temple, any suppliants, any sentence (of approval or condemnation) belonging to any other god than the Creator. Him does He enjoin us to worship in humility, as the lifter-up of the humble, not in pride, because He brings down the proud. What other god has He manifested to me to receive my supplications? With what formula of worship, with what hope (shall I approach him?) I trow, none. For the prayer which He has taught us suits, as we have proved, none but the Creator. It is, of course, another matter if He does not wish to be prayed to, because He is the supremely and spontaneously good God! But who is this good God? There is, He says, "none but one." It is not as if He had shown us that one of two gods was the supremely good; but He expressly asserts that there is one only good God, who is the only good, because He is the only God. Now, undoubtedly, He is the good God who "sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust, and maketh His sun to rise on the

evil and on the good;" sustaining and nourishing and assisting even Marcionites themselves! When afterwards "a certain man asked him, 'Good Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?'" (Jesus) inquired whether he knew (that is, in other words, whether he kept) the commandments of the Creator, in order to testify that it was by the Creator's precepts that eternal life is acquired. Then, when he affirmed that from his youth up he had kept all the principal commandments, I (Jesus) said to him: "One thing thou yet lackest: sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me." Well now, Marcion, and all ye who are companions in misery, and associates in hatred with that heretic, what will you dare say to this? Did Christ rescind the forementioned commandments: "Do not kill, Do not commit adultery, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Honour thy father and thy mother?" Or did He both keep them, and then add what was wanting to them? This very precept, however, about giving to the poor, was very largely diffused through the pages of the law and the prophets. This vainglorious observer of the commandments was therefore convicted of holding money in much higher estimation (than charity). This verity of the gospel then stands unimpaired: "I am not come to destroy the law and the prophets, but rather to fulfil them." He also dissipated other doubts, when He declared that the name of God and of the Good belonged to one and the same being, at whose disposal were also the everlasting life and the treasure in heaven and Himself too — whose commandments He both maintained and augmented with His own supplementary precepts. He may likewise be discovered in the following passage of Micah, saying: "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to be ready to follow the Lord thy God?" Now Christ is the man who tells us what is good, even the knowledge of the law. "Thou knowest," says He, "the commandments." "To do justly"— "Sell all that thou hast;" "to love mercy"— "Give to the poor:" "and to be ready to walk with God"— "And come," says He, "follow me." The Jewish nation was from its beginning so carefully divided into tribes and clans, and families and houses, that no man could very well have been ignorant of his descent — even from the recent assessments of Augustus, which were still probably extant at this time. But the Jesus of Marcion (although there could be no doubt of a person's having been born, who was seen to be a man), as being unborn, could not, of

course, have possessed any public testimonial of his descent, but was to be regarded as one of that obscure class of whom nothing was in any way known. Why then did the blind man, on hearing that He was passing by, exclaim, “Jesus, Thou Son of David, have mercy on me?” unless he was considered, in no uncertain manner, to be the Son of David (in other words, to belong to David’s family) through his mother and his brethren, who at some time or other had been made known to him by public notoriety? “Those, however, who went before rebuked the blind man, that he should hold his peace.” And properly enough; because he was very noisy, not because he was wrong about the son of David. Else you must show me, that those who rebuked him were aware that Jesus was not the Son of David, in order that they may be supposed to have had this reason for imposing silence on the blind man. But even if you could show me this, still (the blind man) would more readily have presumed that they were ignorant, than that the Lord could possibly have permitted an untrue exclamation about Himself. But the Lord “stood patient.” Yes; but not as confirming the error, for, on the contrary, He rather displayed the Creator. Surely He could not have first removed this man’s blindness, in order that he might afterwards cease to regard Him as the Son of David! However, that you may not slander His patience, nor fasten on Him any charge of dissimulation, nor deny Him to be the Son of David, He very pointedly confirmed the exclamation of the blind man — both by the actual gift of healing, and by bearing testimony to his faith: “Thy faith,” say Christ, “hath made thee whole.” What would you have the blind man’s faith to have been? That Jesus was descended from that (alien) god (of Marcion), to subvert the Creator and overthrow the law and the prophets? That He was not the destined offshoot from the root of Jesse, and the fruit of David’s loins, the restorer also of the blind? But I apprehend there were at that time no such stone-blind persons as Marcion, that an opinion like this could have constituted the faith of the blind man, and have induced him to confide in the mere named of Jesus, the Son of David. He, who knew all this of Himself, and wished others to know it also, endowed the faith of this man — although it was already gifted with a better sight, and although it was in possession of the true light — with the external vision likewise, in order that we too might learn the rule of faith, and at the same time find its recompense. Whosoever wishes to see Jesus the Son of David must believe in Him; through the Virgin’s birth.

He who will not believe this will not hear from Him the salutation, “Thy faith hath saved thee.” And so he will remain blind, falling into Antithesis after Antithesis, which mutually destroy each other, just as “the blind man leads the blind down into the ditch.” For (here is one of Marcion’s Antitheses): whereas David in old time, in the capture of Sion, was offended by the blind who opposed his admission (into the stronghold) — in which respect (I should rather say) that they were a type of people equally blind, who in after-times would not admit Christ to be the son of David — so, on the contrary, Christ succoured the blind man, to show by this act that He was not David’s son, and how different in disposition He was, kind to the blind, while David ordered them to be slain. If all this were so, why did Marcion allege that the blind man’s faith was of so worthless a stamp? The fact is, the Son of David so acted, that the Antithesis must lose its point by its own absurdity. Those persons who offended David were blind, and the man who now presents himself as a suppliant to David’s son is afflicted with the same infirmity. Therefore the Son of David was appeased with some sort of satisfaction by the blind man when He restored him to sight, and added His approval of the faith which had led him to believe the very truth, that he must win to his help the Son of David by earnest entreaty. But, after all, I suspect that it was the audacity (of the old Jebusites), which offended David, and not their malady.

Chap. XXXVII. — Christ And Zacchaeus. The Salvation Of The Body As Denied By Marcion. The Parable Of The Ten Servants Entrusted With Ten Pounds. Christ A Judge, Who Is To Administer The Will Of The Austere Man, I.E., The Creator.

“Salvation comes to the house” of Zacchaeus even. For what reason? Was it because he also believed that Christ came by Marcion? But the blind man’s cry was still sounding in the ears of all: “Jesus, Thou Son of David, have mercy on me.” And “all the people gave praise unto God” — not Marcion’s, but David’s. Now, although Zacchaeus was probably a Gentile, he yet from his intercourse with Jews had obtained a smattering of their Scriptures, and, more than this, had, without knowing it, fulfilled the precepts of Isaiah: “Deal thy bread,” said the prophet, “to the hungry, and bring the poor that are cast out into thine house.” This he did in the best possible way, by receiving the Lord, and entertaining Him in his house. “When thou seest the naked cover him.” This he promised to do, in an equally satisfactory way, when he offered the half of his goods for all works of mercy. So also “he loosened the bands of wickedness. undid the heavy burdens, let the oppressed go free, and broke every yoke,” when he said, “If I have taken anything from any man by false accusation, I restore him fourfold.” Therefore the Lord said, “This day is salvation come to this house.” Thus did He give His testimony, that the precepts of the Creator spoken by the prophet tended to salvation. But when He adds, “For the Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost,” my present contention is not whether He was come to save what was lost, to whom it had once belonged, and from whom what He came to save had fallen away; but I approach a different question. Man, there can be no doubt of it, is here the subject of consideration. Now, since he consists of two pans, body and soul, the point to be inquired into is, in which of these two man would seem to have been lost? If in his body, then it is his body, not his soul, which is lost. What, however, is lost, the Son of man saves. The body, therefore, has the salvation. If, (on the other hand,) it is in his soul that man is lost, salvation is designed for the lost soul; and the body, which is not lost is safe. If, (to take the only other supposition,) man is wholly lost, in both his natures, then it necessarily follows that salvation is appointed for the entire

man; and then the opinion of the heretics is shivered to pieces, who say that there is no salvation of the flesh. And this affords a confirmation that Christ belongs to the Creator, who followed the Creator in promising the salvation of the whole man. The parable also of the (ten) servants, who received their several recompenses according to the manner in which they had increased their lord's money by trading? proves Him to be a God of judgment — even a God who, in strict account, not only bestows honour, but also takes away what a man seems to have. Else, if it is the Creator whom He has here delineated as the “austere man,” who “takes up what he laid not down, and reaps what he did not sow,” my instructor even here is He, (whoever He may be,) to whom belongs the money He teaches me fruitfully to expend.

**Chap. XXXVIII. — Christ's Refutations Of The
Pharisees. Rendering Dues To Caesar And To God. Next
Of The Sadducees, Respecting Marriage In the
Resurrection. These Prove Him Not To Be Marcion's But
The Creator's Christ. Marcion's Tamperings In Order
To Make Room For His Second God, Exposed And
Confuted.**

Christ knew "the baptism of John, whence it was." Then why did He ask them, as if He knew not? He knew that the Pharisees would not give Him an answer; then why did He ask in vain? Was it that He might judge them out of their own mouth, or their own heart? Suppose you refer these points to an excuse of the Creator, or to His comparison with Christ; then consider what would have happened if the Pharisees had replied to His question. Suppose their answer to have been, that John's baptism was "of men," they would have been immediately stoned to death. Some Marcion, in rivalry to Marcion, would have stood up and said: O most excellent God; how different are his ways from the Creator's! Knowing that men would rush down headlong over it, He placed them actually on the very precipice. For thus do men treat of the Creator respecting His law of the tree. But John's baptism was "from heaven." "Why, therefore," asks Christ, "did ye not believe him?" He therefore who had wished men to believe John, purposing to censure them because they had not believed him, belonged to Him whose sacrament John was administering. But, at any rate, when He actually met their refusal to say what they thought, with such reprisals as, "Neither tell I you by what authority I do these things," He returned evil for evil! "Render unto Caesar the things which be Caesar's, and unto God the things which be God's." What will be "the things which are God's?" Such things as are like Caesar's denarius — that is to say, His image and similitude. That, therefore, which he commands to be "rendered unto God," the Creator, is man, who has been stamped with His image, likeness, name, and substance. Let Marcion's god look after his own mint. Christ bids the denarius of man's imprint to be rendered to His Caesar, (His Caesar I say,) not the Caesar of a strange god. The truth, however, must be confessed, this god has not a denarius to call his own! In every question the just and proper rule is, that the meaning of the answer ought to be adapted to the proposed

inquiry. But it is nothing short of madness to return an answer altogether different from the question submitted to you. God forbid, then, that we should expect from Christ conduct which would be unfit even to an ordinary man! The Sadducees, who said there was no resurrection, in a discussion on that subject, had proposed to the Lord a case of law touching a certain woman, who, in accordance with the legal prescription, had been married to seven brothers who had died one after the other. The question therefore was, to which husband must she be reckoned to belong in the resurrection? This, (observe,) was the gist of the inquiry, this was the sum and substance of the dispute. And to it Christ was obliged to return a direct answer. He had nobody to fear; that it should seem advisable for Him either to evade their questions, or to make them the occasion of indirectly mooring a subject which He was not in the habit of teaching publicly at any other time. He therefore gave His answer, that “the children of this world marry.” You see how pertinent it was to the case in point. Because the question concerned the next world, and He was going to declare that no one marries there, He opens the way by laying down the principles that here, where there is death, there is also marriage. “But they whom God shall account worthy of the possession of that world and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry nor are given in marriage; forasmuch as they cannot die any more, since they become equal to the angels, being made the children of God and of the resurrection.” If, then, the meaning of the answer must not turn on any other point than on the proposed question, and since the question proposed is fully understood from this sense of the answer, then the Lord’s reply admits of no other interpretation than that by which the question is clearly understood. You have both the time in which marriage is permitted, and the time in which it is said to be unsuitable, laid before you, not on their own account, but in consequence of an inquiry about the resurrection. You have likewise a confirmation of the resurrection itself, and the whole question, which the Sadducees mooted, who asked no question about another god, nor inquired about the proper law of marriage. Now, if you make Christ answer questions, which were not submitted to Him, you, in fact, represent Him as having been unable to solve the points on which He was really consulted, and entrapped of course by the cunning of the Sadducees. I shall now proceed, by way of supererogation, and after the rule (I have laid down about questions and answers), to deal with the arguments which have

any consistency in them. They procured then a copy of the Scripture, and made short work with its text, by reading it thus: "Those whom the god of that world shall account worthy." They add the phrase "of that world" to the word "god," whereby they make another god "the god of that world;" whereas the passage ought to be read thus: "Those whom God shall account worthy of the possession of that world" (removing the distinguishing phrase "of this world" to the end of the clause, in other words, "Those whom God shall account worthy of obtaining and rising to that world." For the question submitted to Christ had nothing to do with the god, but only with the state, of that world. It was: "Whose wife should this woman be in that world after the resurrection?" They thus subvert His answer respecting the essential question of marriage, and apply His words, "The children of this world marry and are given in marriage," as if they referred to the Creator's men, and His permission to them to marry; whilst they themselves whom the god of that world — that is, the rival god — accounted worthy of the resurrection, do not marry even here, because they are not children of this world. But the fact is, that, having been consulted about marriage in that world, not in this present one, He had simply declared the non-existence of that to which the question related. They, indeed, who had caught the very force of His voice, and pronunciation, and expression, discovered no other sense than what had reference to the matter of the question. Accordingly, the Scribes exclaimed, "Master, Thou hast well said." For He had affirmed the resurrection, by describing the form thereof in opposition to the opinion of the Sadducees. Now, He did not reject the attestation of those who had assumed His answer to bear this meaning. If, however, the Scribes thought Christ was David's Son, whereas (David) himself calls Him Lord, what relation has this to Christ? David did not literally confute an error of the Scribes, yet David asserted the honour of Christ, when he more prominently affirmed that He was his Lord than his Son, — an attribute which was hardly suitable to the destroyer of the Creator. But how consistent is the interpretation on our side of the question! For He, who had been a little while ago invoked by the blind man as "the Son of David," then made no remark on the subject, not having the Scribes in His presence; whereas He now purposely moots the point before them, and that of His own accord, in order that He might show Himself whom the Mind man, following the doctrine of the Scribes, had simply declared to be the Son of David, to be

also his Lord. He thus honoured the blind man's faith, which had acknowledged His Sonship to David; but at the same time He struck a blow at the tradition of the Scribes, which prevented them from knowing that He was also (David's) Lord. Whatever had relation to the glory of the Creator's Christ, no other would thus guard and maintain but Himself the Creator's Christ.

Chap. XXXIX. — Concerning Those Who Come In The Name Of Christ. The Terrible Signs Of His Coming. He Whose Coming Is So Grandly Described Both In The Old Testament And The New Testament, Is None Other Than The Christ Of The Creator. This Proof Enhanced By The Parable Of The Fig-Tree And All The Trees.

Parallel Passages Of Prophecy.

As touching the propriety of His names, it has already been seen that both of them” are suitable to Him who was the first both to announce His Christ to mankind, and to give Him the further name of Jesus. The impudence, therefore, of Marcion’s Christ will be evident, when he says that many will come in his name, whereas this name does not at all belong to him, since he is not the Christ and Jesus of the Creator, to whom these names do properly appertain; and more especially when he prohibits those to be received whose very equal in imposture he is, inasmuch as he (equally with them) comes in a name which belongs to another — unless it was his business to warn off from a mendaciously assumed name the disciples (of One) who, by reason of His name being properly given to Him, possessed also the verity thereof. But when “they shall by and by come and say, I am Christ,” they will be received by you, who have already received one altogether like them. Christ, however, comes in His own name. What will you do, then, when He Himself comes who is the very Proprietor of these names, the Creator’s Christ and Jesus? Will you reject Him? But how iniquitous, how unjust and disrespectful to the good God, that you should not receive Him who comes in His own name, when you have received another in His name! Now, let us see what are the signs, which He ascribes to the times. “Wars,” I observe, “and kingdom against kingdom, and nation against nation, and pestilence, and famines, and earthquakes, and fearful sights, and great signs from heaven” — all which things are suitable for a severe and terrible God. Now, when He goes on to say that “all these things must needs come to pass,” what does He represent Himself to be? The Destroyer, or the Defender of the Creator? For He affirms that these appointments of His must fully come to pass; but surely as the good God, He would have frustrated rather than advanced events so sad and terrible, if they had not been His own (decrees). “But before all these,” He

foretells that persecutions and sufferings were to come upon them, which indeed were “to turn for a testimony to them,” and for their salvation. Hear what is predicted in Zechariah: “The Lord of hosts shall protect them; and they shall devour them, and subdue them with sling-stones; and they shall drink their blood like wine, and they shall fill the bowls as it were of the altar. And the Lord shall save them in that day, even His people, like sheep; because as sacred stones they roll,” etc. And that you may not suppose that these predictions refer to such sufferings as await them from so many wars with strangers, consider the nature (of the sufferings). In a prophecy of wars, which were to be waged with legitimate arms, no one would think of enumerating stones as weapons, which are better known in popular crowds and unarmed tumults. Nobody measures the copious streams of blood, which flow in war by bowlfuls, nor limits it to what is shed upon a single altar. No one gives the name of sheep to those who fall in battle with arms in hand, and while repelling force with force, but only to those who are slain, yielding themselves up in their own place of duty and with patience, rather than fighting in self-defence. In short, as he says, “they roll as sacred stones,” and not like soldiers fight. Stones are they, even foundation stones, upon which we are ourselves edified— “built,” as St. Paul says, “upon the foundation of the apostles,” who, like “consecrated stones,” were rolled up and down exposed to the attack of all men. And therefore in this passage He forbids men “to meditate before what they answer” when brought before tribunals, even as once He suggested to Balaam the message which he had not thought of, nay, contrary to what he had thought; and promised “a mouth” to Moses, when he pleaded in excuse the slowness of his speech, and that wisdom which, by Isaiah, He showed to be irresistible: “One shall say, I am the Lord’s, and shall call himself by the name of Jacob, and another shall subscribe himself by the name of Israel.” Now, what plea is wiser and more irresistible than the simple and open” confession made in a martyr’s cause, who “prevails with God” — which is what “Israel” means? Now, one cannot wonder that He forbade “premeditation,” who actually Himself received from the Father the ability of uttering words in season: “The Lord hath given to me the tongue of the learned, that I should know how to speak a word in season (to him that is weary);” except that Marcion introduces to us a Christ who is not subject to the Father. That persecutions from one’s nearest friends are predicted, and

calumny out of hatred to His name, I need not again refer to. But “by patience,” says He, “ye shall yourselves be saved.” Of this very patience the Psalm says, “The patient endurance of the just shall not perish for ever;” because it is said in another Psalm, “Precious (in the sight of the Lord) is the death of the just” — arising, no doubt, out of their patient endurance, so that Zechariah declares: “A crown shall be to them that endure.” But that you may not boldly contend that it was as announcers of another god that the apostles were persecuted by the Jews, remember that even the prophets suffered the same treatment of the Jews, and that they were not the heralds of any other god than the Creator. Then, having shown what was to be the period of the destruction, even “when Jerusalem should begin to be compassed with armies,” He described the signs of the end of all things: “portents in the sun, and the moon, and the stars, and upon the earth distress of nations in perplexity — like the sea roaring — by reason of their expectation of the evils which are coming on the earth.” That “the very powers also of heaven have to be shaken,” you may find in Joel: “And I will show wonders in the heavens and in the earth — blood and fire, and pillars of smoke; the sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and terrible day of the Lord come.” In Habakkuk also you have this statement: “With rivers shall the earth be cleaved; the nations shall see thee, and be m pangs. Thou shalt disperse the waters with thy step; the deep uttered its voice; the height of its fear was raised; the sun and the moon stood still in their course; into light shall thy coruscations go; and thy shield shall be (like) the glittering of the lightning’s flash; in thine anger thou shalt grind the earth, and shalt thresh the nations in thy wrath.” There is thus an agreement, I apprehend, between the sayings of the Lord and of the prophets touching the shaking of the earth, and the elements, and the nations thereof. But what does the Lord say afterwards? “And then shall they see the Son of man coming from the heavens with very great power. And when these things shall come to pass, ye shall look up, and raise your heads; for your redemption hath come near,” that is, at the time of the kingdom, of which the parable itself treats. “So likewise ye, when ye shall see these things come to pass, know ye that the kingdom of God is nigh at hand.” This will be the great day of the Lord, and of the glorious coming of the Son of man from heaven, of which Daniel wrote: “Behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven,” etc. “And

there was given unto Him the kingly power,” which (in the parable) “He went away into a far country to receive for Himself,” leaving money to His servants wherewithal to trade and get increase — even (that universal kingdom of) all nations, which in the Psalm the Father had promised to give to Him: Ask of me, and I will give Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance.” “And all that glory shall serve Him; His dominion shall be an everlasting one, which shall not be taker from Him, and His kingdom that which shall not be destroyed,” because in it “men shall not die, neither shall they marry, but be like the angels.” It is about the same advent of the Son of man and the benefits thereof that we read in Habakkuk: “Thou wentest forth for the salvation of Thy people, even to save Thine anointed ones, — in other words, those who shall look up and lift their heads, being redeemed in the time of His kingdom. Since, therefore, these descriptions of the promises, on the one hand, agree together, as do also those of the great catastrophes, on the other — both in the predictions of the prophets and the declarations of the Lord, it will be impossible for you to interpose any distinction between them, as if the catastrophes could be referred to the Creator, as the terrible God, being such as the good god (of Marcion) ought not to permit, much less expect — whilst the promises should be ascribed to the good god, being such as the Creator, in His ignorance of the said god, could not have predicted. If, however, He did predict these promises as His own, since they differ in no respect from the promises of Christ, He will be a match in the freeness of His gifts with the good god himself; and evidently no more will have been promised by your Christ than by my Son of man. (If you examine) the whole passage of this Gospel Scripture, from the inquiry of the disciples down to the parable of the fig-tree you will find the sense in its connection suit in every point the Son of man, so that it consistently ascribes to Him both the sorrows and the joys, and the catastrophes and the promises; nor can you separate them from Him in either respect. Forasmuch, then, as there is but one Son of man whose advent is placed between the two issues of catastrophe and promise, it must needs follow that to that one Son of man belong both the judgments upon the nations, and the prayers of the saints. He who thus comes in midway so as to be common to both issues, will terminate one of them by inflicting judgment on the nations at His coming; and will at the same time commence the other by fulfilling the prayers of His saints: so that if (on the one hand) you grant

that the coming of the Son of man is (the advent) of my Christ, then, when you ascribe to Him the infliction of the judgments which precede His appearance, you are compelled also to assign to Him the blessings which issue from the same. If (on the other hand) you will have it that it is the coming of your Christ, then, when you ascribe to him the blessings, which are to be the result of his advent, you are obliged to impute to him likewise the infliction of the evils, which precede his appearance. For the evils, which precede, and the blessings which immediately follow, the coming of the Son of man, are both alike indissolubly connected with that event. Consider, therefore, which of the two Christs you choose to place in the person of the Son of man, to whom you may refer the execution of the two dispensations. You make either the Creator a most beneficent God, or else your own god terrible in his nature! Reflect, in short, on the picture presented in the parable: "Behold the fig-tree, and all the trees; when they produce their fruit, men know that summer is at hand. So likewise ye, when ye see these things come to pass, know ye that the kingdom of God is very near." Now, if the fructification of the common trees be an antecedent sign of the approach of summer, so in like manner do the great conflicts of the world indicate the arrival of that kingdom which they precede. But every sign is His, to whom belong the thing of which it is the sign; and to everything is appointed its sign by Him to whom the thing belongs. If, therefore, these tribulations are the signs of the kingdom, just as the maturity of the trees is of the summer, it follows that the kingdom is the Creator's to whom are ascribed the tribulations which are the signs of the kingdom. Since the beneficent Deity had premised that these things must needs come to pass, although so terrible and dreadful, as they had been predicted by the law and the prophets, therefore He did not destroy the law and the prophets, when He affirmed that what had been foretold therein must be certainly fulfilled. He further declares, "that heaven and earth shall not pass away till all things be fulfilled." What things, pray, are these? Are they the things, which the Creator made? Then the elements will tractably endure the accomplishment of their Maker's dispensation. If, however, they emanate from your excellent god, I much doubt whether the heaven and earth will peaceably allow the completion of things which their Creator's enemy has determined! If the Creator quietly submits to this, then He is no "jealous God." But let heaven and earth pass away, since their Lord has so determined; only let His word

remain for evermore! And so Isaiah predicted that it should. Let the disciples also be warned, “lest their hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness, and cares of this world; and so that day come upon them unawares, like a snare “ — if indeed they should forget God amidst the abundance and occupation of the world. Like this will be found the admonition of Moses, — so that He who delivers from “the snare” of that day is none other than He who so long before addressed to men the same admonition? Some places there were in Jerusalem where to teach; other places outside Jerusalem whither to retire— “in the day-time He was teaching in the temple;” just as He had foretold by Hosea: “In my house did they find me, and there did I speak with them.” “But at night He went out to the Mount of Olives.” For thus had Zechariah pointed out: “And His feet shall stand in that day on the Mount of Olives.” Fit hours for an audience there also were. “Early in the morning” must they resort to Him, who (having said by Isaiah, “The Lord giveth me the tongue of the learned”) added, “He hath appointed me the morning, and hath also given me an ear to hear.” Now if this is to destroy the prophets, what will it be to fulfil them?

Chap. XL. — How The Steps In The Passion Of The Saviour Were Predetermined In Prophecy. The Passover. The Treachery Of Judas. The Institution Of The Lord's Supper. The Docetic Error Of Marcion Confuted By The Body And The Blood Of The Lord Jesus Christ.

In like manner does He also know the very time it behoved Him to suffer, since the law prefigures His passion. Accordingly, of all the festal days of the Jews He chose the passover. In this Moses had declared that there was a sacred mystery: "It is the Lord's passover." How earnestly, therefore, does He manifest the bent of His soul: "With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer." What a destroyer of the law was this, who actually longed to keep its passover! Could it be that He was so fond of Jewish lamb? But was it not because He had to be "led like a lamb to the slaughter; and because, as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so was He not to open His mouth," that He so profoundly wished to accomplish the symbol of His own redeeming blood? He might also have been betrayed by any stranger, did I not find that even here too He fulfilled a Psalm: "He who did eat bread with me hath lifted up his heel against me." And without a price might He have been betrayed. For what need of a traitor was there in the case of one who offered Himself to the people openly, and might quite as easily have been captured by force as taken by treachery? This might no doubt have been well enough for another Christ, but would not have been suitable in One who was accomplishing prophecies. For it was written, "The righteous one did they sell for silver." The very amount and the destination of the money, which on Judas' remorse was recalled from its first purpose of a fee, and appropriated to the purchase of a potter's field, as narrated in the Gospel of Matthew, were clearly foretold by Jeremiah: "And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of Him who was valued? and gave them for the potter's field." When He so earnestly expressed His desire to eat the passover, He considered it His own feast; for it would have been unworthy of God to desire to partake of what was not His own. Then, having taken the bread and given it to His disciples, He made it His own body, by saying, "This is my body," that is, the figure of my body. A figure, however, there could not have been, unless there were first a veritable body. An empty thing, or phantom, is incapable of a

figure. If, however, (as Marcion might say,) He pretended the bread was His body, because He lacked the truth of bodily substance, it follows that He must have given bread for us. It would contribute very well to the support of Marcion's theory of a phantom body, that bread should have been crucified! But why call His body bread, and not rather (some other edible thing, say) a melon, which Marcion must have had in lieu of a heart! He did not understand how ancient was this figure of the body of Christ, who said Himself by Jeremiah: "I was like a lamb or an ox that is brought to the slaughter, and I knew not that they devised a device against me, saying, Let us cast the tree upon His bread," which means, of course, the cross upon His body. And thus, casting light, as He always did, upon the ancient prophecies, He declared plainly enough what He meant by the bread, when He called the bread His own body. He likewise, when mentioning the cup and making the new testament to be sealed "in His blood," affirms the reality of His body. For no blood can belong to a body which is not a body of flesh. If any sort of body were presented to our view, which is not one of flesh, not being fleshly, it would not possess blood. Thus, from the evidence of the flesh, we get a proof of the body, and a proof of the flesh from the evidence of the blood. In order, however, that you may discover how anciently wine is used as a figure for blood, turn to Isaiah, who asks, "Who is this that cometh from Edom, from Bosor with garments dyed in red, so glorious in His apparel, in the greatness of his might? Why are thy garments red, and thy raiment as his who cometh from the treading of the full winepress?" The prophetic Spirit contemplates the Lord as if He were already on His way to His passion, clad in His fleshly nature; and as He was to suffer therein, He represents the bleeding condition of His flesh under the metaphor of garments dyed in red, as if reddened in the treading and crushing process of the wine-press, from which the labourers descend reddened with the wine-juice, like men stained in blood. Much more clearly still does the book of Genesis foretell this, when (in the blessing of Judah, out of whose tribe Christ was to come according to the flesh) it even then delineated Christ in the person of that patriarch, saying, "He washed His garments in wine, and His clothes in the blood of grapes" — in His garments and clothes the prophecy pointed out his flesh, and His blood in the wine. Thus did He now consecrate His blood in wine, who then (by the patriarch) used the figure of wine to describe His blood.

Chap. XLI. — The Woe Pronounced On The Traitor A Judicial Act, Which Disproves Christ To Be Such As Marcion Would Have Him To Be. Christ's Conduct Before The Council Explained. Christ Even Then Directs The Minds Of His Judges To The Prophetic Evidences Of His Own Mission. The Moral Responsibility Of These Men Asserted.

“Woe,” says He, “to that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed!” Now it is certain that in this woe must be understood the imprecation and threat of an angry and incensed Master, unless Judas was to escape with impunity after so vast a sin. If he were meant to escape with impunity, the was an idle word; if not, he was of course to be punished by Him against whom he had committed the sin of treachery. Now, if He knowingly permitted the man, whom He deliberately elected to be one of His companions, to plunge into so great a crime, you must no longer use an argument against the Creator in Adam’s case, which may now recoil on your own God: either that he was ignorant, and had no foresight to hinder the future sinner; or that he was unable to hinder him, even if he was ignorant; or else that he was unwilling, even if he had the foreknowledge and the ability; and so deserved the stigma of maliciousness, in having permitted the man of his own choice to perish in his sin. I advise you therefore (willingly) to acknowledge the Creator in that god of yours, rather than against your will to be assimilating your excellent god to Him. For in the case of Peter, too, he gives you proof that he is a jealous God, when he destined the apostle, after his presumptuous protestations of zeal, to a flat denial of him, rather than prevent his fall. The Christ of the prophets was destined, moreover, to be betrayed with a kiss, for He was the Son indeed of Him who was “honoured with the lips” by the people. When led before the council, He is asked whether He is the Christ. Of what Christ could the Jews have inquired but their own? Why, therefore, did He not, even at that moment, declare to them the rival (Christ)? You reply, In order that He might be able to suffer. In other words, that this most excellent god might plunge men into crime, whom he was still keeping in ignorance. But even if he had told them, he would yet have to suffer. For he said, “If I tell you, ye will not believe.” And refusing to believe, they would have continued to insist on his death. And

would he not even more probably still have had to suffer, if had announced himself as sent by the rival god, and as being, therefore, the enemy of the Creator? It was not, then, in order that He might suffer, that He at that critical moment refrained from proclaiming Himself the other Christ, but because they wanted to extort a confession from His mouth, which they did not mean to believe even if He had given it to them, whereas it was their bounden duty to have acknowledged Him in consequence of His works, which were fulfilling their Scriptures. It was thus plainly His course to keep Himself at that moment unrevealed, because a spontaneous recognition was due to Him. But yet for all this, He with a solemn gesture says, "Hereafter shall the Son of man sit on the right hand of the power of God." For it was on the authority of the prophecy of Daniel that He intimated to them that He was "the Son of man," and of David's Psalm, that He would "sit at the right hand of God." Accordingly, after He had said this, and so suggested a comparison of the Scripture, a ray of light did seem to show them whom He would have them understand Him to be; for they say: "Art thou then the Son of God?" Of what God, but of Him whom alone they knew? Of what God but of Him whom they remembered in the Psalm as having said to His Son, "Sit Thou on my right hand?" Then He answered, "Ye say that I am;" as if He meant: It is ye who say this — not I. But at the same time He allowed Himself to be all that they had said, in this their second question. By what means, however, are you going to prove to us that they pronounced the sentence "Ergo tu filius Dei es" inter-rogatively, and not affirmatively? Just as, (on the one hand,) because He had shown them in an indirect manner, by passages of Scripture, that they ought to regard Him as the Son of God, they therefore meant their own words, "Thou art then the Son of God," to be taken in a like (indirect) sense, as much as to say, "You do not wish to say this of yourself plainly, so, (on the other hand,) He likewise answered them, "Ye say that I am," in a sense equally free from doubt, even affirmatively; and so completely was His statement to this effect, that they insisted on accepting that sense which His statement indicated.

**Chap. XLII. — Other Incidents Of The Passion
Minutely Compared With Prophecy. Pilate And Herod.
Barabbas Preferred To Jesus. Details Of The
Crucifixion. The Earthquake And The Mid-Day
Darkness. All Wonderfully Foretold In The Scriptures
Of The Creator. Christ's Giving Up The Ghost No
Evidence Of Marcion's Docetic Opinions. In His
Sepulchre There Is A Refutation Thereof.**

For when He was brought before Pilate, they proceeded to urge Him with the serious charge, of declaring Himself to be Christ the King; that is, undoubtedly, as the Son of God, who was to sit at God's right hand. They would, however, have burdened Him with some other title, if they had been uncertain whether He had called Himself the Son of God — if He had not pronounced the words, "Ye say that I am," so as (to admit) that He was that which they said He was. Likewise, when Pilate asked Him, "Art thou Christ (the King)?" He answered, as He had before (to the Jewish council) "Thou sayest that I am" in order that He might not seem to have been driven by a fear of his power to give him a fuller answer. "And so the Lord hath stood on His trial." And he placed His people on their trial. The Lord Himself comes to a trial with "the elders and rulers of the people," as Isaiah predicted. And then He fulfilled all that had been written of His passion. At that time "the heathen raged, and the people imagined vain things; the kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers gathered themselves together against the Lord and against His Christ." The heathen were Pilate and the Romans; the people were the tribes of Israel; the kings were represented in Herod, and the rulers in the chief priests. When, indeed, He was sent to Herod gratuitously by Pilate, the words of Hosea were accomplished, for he had prophesied of Christ: "And they shall carry Him bound as a present to the king." Herod was "exceeding glad" when he saw Jesus, but he heard not a word from Him. For, "as a lamb before the shearer is dumb, so He opened not His mouth," because "the Lord had given to Him a disciplined tongue, that he might know how and when it behoved Him to speak" — even that "tongue which clove to His jaws," as the Psalm said it should, through His not speaking. Then Barabbas, the most abandoned criminal, is released, as if he were the innocent man; while the

most righteous Christ is delivered to be put to death, as if he were the murderer. Moreover two malefactors are crucified around Him, in order that He might be reckoned amongst the transgressors. Although His raiment was, without doubt, parted among the soldiers, and partly distributed by lot, yet Marcion has erased it all (from his Gospel), for he had his eye upon the Psalm: "They parted my garments amongst them, and cast lots upon my vesture." You may as well take away the cross itself! But even then the Psalm is not silent concerning it: "They pierced my hands and my feet." Indeed, the details of the whole event are therein read: "Dogs compassed me about; the assembly of the wicked enclosed me around. All that looked upon me laughed me to scorn; they did shoot out their lips and shake their heads, (saying,) He hoped in God, let Him deliver Him." Of what use now is (your tampering with) the testimony of His garments? If you take it as a booty for your false Christ, still all the Psalm (compensates) the vesture of Christ. But, behold, the very elements are shaken. For their Lord was suffering. If, however, it was their enemy to whom all this injury was done, the heaven would have gleamed with light, the sun would have been even more radiant, and the day would have prolonged its course — gladly gazing at Marcion's Christ suspended on his gibbet! These proofs would still have been suitable for me, even if they had not been the subject of prophecy. Isaiah says: "I will clothe the heavens with blackness." This will be the day, concerning which Amos also writes: And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the Lord, that the sun shall go down at noon and the earth shall be dark in the clear day." (At noon) the veil of the temple was rent" by the escape of the cherubim, which "left the daughter of Sion as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers." With what constancy has He also, in Psalm xxx., laboured to present to us the very Christ! He calls with a loud voice to the Father, "Into Thine hands I commend my spirit," that even when dying He might expend His last breath in fulfilling the prophets. Having said this, He gave up the ghost." Who? Did the spirit give itself up; or the flesh the spirit? But the spirit could not have breathed itself out. That which breathes is one thing, that which is breathed is another. If the spirit is breathed it must needs be breathed by another. If, however, there had been nothing there but spirit, it would be said to have departed rather than expired. What, however, breathes out spirit but the flesh, which both breathes the spirit whilst it has it, and breathes it out

when it loses it? Indeed, if it was not flesh (upon the cross), but a phantom of flesh (and a phantom is but spirit, and so the spirit breathed its own self out, and departed as it did so), no doubt the phantom departed, when the spirit which was the phantom departed: and so the phantom and the spirit disappeared together, and were nowhere to be seen. Nothing therefore remained upon the cross, nothing hung there, after “the giving up of the ghost;” there was nothing to beg of Pilate, nothing to take down from the cross, nothing to wrap in the linen, nothing to lay in the new sepulchre. Still it was not nothing that was there. What was there, then? If a phantom Christ was yet there. If Christ had departed, He had taken away the phantom also. The only shift left to the impudence of the heretics, is to admit that what remained there was the phantom of a phantom! But what if Joseph knew that it was a body which he treated with so much piety? That same Joseph “who had not consented” with the Jews in their crime? The “happy man who walked not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners, nor sat in the seat of the scornful.”

Chap. XLIII. — Conclusions. Jesus As The Christ Of The Creator Proved From The Events Of The Last Chapter Of St. Luke. The Pious Women At The Sepulchre. The Angels At The Resurrection. The Manifold Appearances Of Christ After The Resurrection. His Mission Of The Apostles Amongst All Nations. All Shown To Be In Accordance With The Wisdom Of The Almighty Father, As Indicated In Prophecy. The Body Of Christ After Death No Mere Phantom. Marcion's Manipulation Of The Gospel On This Point.

It was very meet that the man who buried the Lord should thus be noticed in prophecy, and thenceforth be "blessed;" since prophecy does not omit the (pious) office of the women who resorted before day-break to the sepulchre with the spices which they had prepared. For of this incident it is said by Hosea: "To seek my face they will watch till day-light, saying unto me, Come, and let us return to the Lord: for He hath taken away, and He will heal us; He hath smitten, and He will bind us up; after two days will He revive us: in the third day He will raise us up." For who can refuse to believe that these words often revolved in the thought of those women between the sorrow of that desertion with which at present they seemed to themselves to have been smitten by the Lord, and the hope of the resurrection itself, by which they rightly supposed that all would be restored to them? But when "they found not the body (of the Lord Jesus)," "His sepulture was removed from the midst of them," according to the prophecy of Isaiah. "Two angels however, appeared there." For just so many honorary companions were required by the word of God, which usually prescribes "two witnesses." Moreover, the women, returning from the sepulchre, and from this vision of the angels, were foreseen by Isaiah, when he says, "Come, ye women, who return from the vision;" that is, "come," to report the resurrection of the Lord. It was well, however, that the unbelief of the disciples was so persistent, in order that to the last we might consistently maintain that Jesus revealed Himself to the disciples as none other than the Christ of the prophets. For as two of them were taking a walk, and when the Lord had joined their company, without its appearing that

it was He, and whilst He dissembled His knowledge of what had just taken place, they say: "But we trusted that it had been He which should have redeemed Israel," — meaning their own, that is, the Creator's Christ. So far had He been from declaring Himself to them as another Christ! They could not, however, deem Him to be the Christ of the Creator; nor, if He was so deemed by them, could He have tolerated this opinion concerning Himself, unless He were really He whom He was supposed to be. Otherwise He would actually be the author of error, and the prevaricator of truth, contrary to the character of the good; God. But at no time even after His resurrection did He reveal Himself to them as any other than what, on their own showing, they had always thought Him to be. He pointedly reproached them: "O fools, and slow of heart in not believing that which He spake unto you." By saying this, He proves that He does not belong to the rival god, but to the same God. For the same thing was said by the angels to the women: "Remember how He spake unto you when He was yet in Galilee, saying, The Son of man must be delivered up, and be crucified, and on the third day rise again." "Must be delivered up; "and why, except that it was so written by God the Creator? He therefore upbraided them, because they were offended solely at His passion, and because they doubted of the truth of the resurrection, which had been reported to them by the women, whereby (they showed that) they had not believed Him to have been the very same as they had thought Him to be. Wishing, therefore, to be believed by them in this wise, He declared Himself to be just what they had deemed Him to be — the Creator's Christ, the Redeemer of Israel. But as touching the reality of His body, what can be plainer? When they were doubting whether He were not a phantom — nay, were supposing that He was one — He says to them, "Why are ye troubled, and why do thoughts arise in your hearts? See my hands and my feet, that it is I myself; for a spirit hath not bones, as ye see me have." Now Marcion was unwilling to expunge from his Gospel some statements which even made against him — I suspect, on purpose, to have it in his power from the passages which he did not suppress, when he could have done so, either to deny that he had expunged anything, or else to justify his suppressions, if he made any. But he spares only such passages as he can subvert quite as well by explaining them away as by expunging them from the text. Thus, in the passage before us, he would have the words, "A spirit hath not bones, as ye see me have," so

transposed, as to mean, “A spirit, such as ye see me to be, hath not bones;” that is to say, it is not the nature of a spirit to have bones. But what need of so tortuous a construction, when He might have simply said, “A spirit hath not bones, even as you observe that I have not?” Why, moreover, does He offer His hands and His feet for their examination — limbs which consist of bones — if He had no bones? Why, too, does He add, “Know that it is I myself,” when they had before known Him to be corporeal? Else, if He were altogether a phantom, why did He upbraid them for supposing Him to be a phantom? But whilst they still believed not, He asked them for some meat, for the express purpose of showing them that He had teeth.

And now, as I would venture to believe, we have accomplished our undertaking. We have set forth Jesus Christ as none other than the Christ of the Creator. Our proofs we have drawn from His doctrines, maxims, affections, feelings, miracles, sufferings, and even resurrection — as foretold by the prophets. Even to the last He taught us (the same truth of His mission), when He sent forth His apostles to preach His gospel “among all nations;” for He thus fulfilled the psalm: “Their sound is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world.” Marcion, I pity you; your labour has been in vain. For the Jesus Christ who appears in your Gospel is mine.

BOOK V

Wherein Tertullian Proves, With Respect To St. Paul's Epistles, What He Had Proved In The Preceding Book With Respect To St. Luke's Gospel. Far From Being At Variance, They Were In Perfect Unison With The Writings Of The Old Testament, And Therefore Testified That The Creator Was The Only God, And That The Lord Jesus Was His Christ. As In The Preceding Books, Tertullian Supports His Argument With Profound Reasoning, And Many Happy Illustrations Of Holy Scripture.

Chap. I. — Introductory. The Apostle Paul Himself Not The Preacher Of A New God. Called By Jesus Christ, Although After The Other Apostles, His Mission Was From The Creator. States How. The Argument, As Is The Case Of The Gospel, Confining Proofs To Such Portions Of St. Paul's Writings As Marcion Allowed.

There is nothing without a beginning but God alone. Now, inasmuch as the beginning: occupies the first place in the condition of all things, so it must necessarily take precedence in the treatment of them, if a clear knowledge is to be arrived at concerning their condition; for you could not find the means of examining even the quality of anything, unless you were certain of its existence, and that after discovering its origin. Since therefore I am brought, in the course of my little work, to this point, I require to know of Marcion the origin of his apostles even — I, who am to some degree a new disciple? the follower of no other master; who at the same time can believe nothing, except that nothing ought to be believed hastily (and that I may further say is hastily believed, which is believed without any examination of its beginning); in short, I who have the best reason possible for bringing this inquiry to a most careful solution, since a man is affirmed to me to be an apostle whom I do not find mentioned in the Gospel in the catalogue, of the apostles. Indeed, when I hear that this man was chosen by the Lord after He had attained His rest in heaven, I feel that a kind of improvidence is imputable to Christ, for not knowing before that this man was necessary to Him; and because He thought that he must be added to the apostolic body in the way of a fortuitous encounter rather than a deliberate selection; by necessity (so to speak), and not voluntary choice, although the members of the apostolate had been duly ordained, and were now dismissed to their several missions. Wherefore, O shipmaster of Pontus, if you have never taken on board your small craft any contraband goods or smuggler's cargo, if you have never thrown overboard or tampered with a freight, you are still more careful and conscientious, I doubt not, in divine things; and so I should be glad if you would inform us under what bill of lading you admitted the Apostle Paul on board, who ticketed him, what owner forwarded him, who handed him to you, that so you may land him without any misgiving, lest he should turn out to belong to him, who can

substantiate his claim to him by producing all his apostolic writings. He professes himself to be “an apostle” — to use his own, words— “not of men, nor by man, but by Jesus Christ.” Of course, any one may make a profession concerning himself; but his profession is only rendered valid by the authority of a second person. One man signs, another countersigns; one man appends his seal, another registers in the public records. No one is at once a proposer and a seconder to himself. Besides, you have read, no doubt, that “many shall come, saying, I am Christ.” Now if any one can pretend that he is Christ, how much more might a man profess to be an apostle of Christ! But still, for my own part, I appear in the character of a disciple and an inquirer; that so I may even thus both refute your belief, who have nothing to support it, and confound your shamelessness, who make claims without possessing the means of establishing them. Let there be a Christ, let there be an apostle, although of another god; but what matter? since they are only to draw their proofs out of the Testament of the Creator. Because even the book of Genesis so long ago promised me the Apostle Paul. For among the types and prophetic blessings which he pronounced over his sons, Jacob, when he turned his attention to Benjamin, exclaimed, “Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf; in the morning He shall devour the prey, and at night he shall impart nourishment.” He foresaw that Paul would arise out of the tribe of Benjamin, a voracious wolf, devouring his prey in the morning: in other words, in the early period of his life he would devastate the Lord’s sheep, as a persecutor of the churches; but in the evening he would give them nourishment, which means that in his declining years he would educate the fold of Christ, as the teacher of the Gentiles. Then, again, in Saul’s conduct towards David, exhibited first in violent persecution of him, and then in remorse and reparation, on his receiving from him good for evil, we have nothing else than an anticipation of Paul in Saul — belonging, too, as they did, to the same tribe — and of Jesus in David, from whom He descended according to the Virgin’s genealogy. Should you, however, disapprove of these types, the Acts of the Apostles,” at all events, have handed down to me this career of Paul, which you must not refuse to accept. Thence I demonstrate that from a persecutor he became “an apostle, not of men, neither by man;” thence am I led to believe the Apostle himself; thence do I find reason for rejecting your defence of him, and for bearing fearlessly your taunt. “Then you deny the Apostle Paul.” I do not

calumniate him whom I defend. I deny him, to compel you to the proof of him. I deny him, to convince you that he is mine. If you have regard to our belief you should admit the particulars which comprise it. If you challenge us to your belief, (pray) tell us what things constitute its basis. Either prove the truth of what you believe, or failing in your proof, (tell us) how you believe. Else what conduct is yours, believing in opposition to Him from whom alone comes the proof of that which you believe? Take now from my point of view the apostle, in the same manner as you have received the Christ — the apostle shown to be as much mine as the Christ is. And here, too, we will fight within the same lines, and challenge our adversary on the mere ground of a simple rule, that even an apostle who is said not to belong to the Creator-nay, is displayed as in actual hostility to the Creator — can be fairly regarded as teaching nothing, knowing nothing, wishing nothing in favour of the Creator whilst it would be a first principle with him to set forth another god with as much eagerness as he would use in withdrawing us from the law of the Creator. It is not at all likely that he would call men away from Judaism without showing them at the same time what was the god in whom he invited them to believe; because nobody could possibly pass from allegiance to the Creator without knowing to whom he had to cross over. For either Christ had already revealed another god — in which case the apostle's testimony would also follow to the same effect, for fear of his not being else regarded as an apostle of the god whom Christ had revealed, and because of the impropriety of his being concealed by the apostle who had been already revealed by Christ — or Christ had made no such revelation concerning God; then there was all the greater need why the apostle should reveal a God who could now be made known by no one else, and who would undoubtedly be left without any belief at all, if he were revealed not even by an apostle. We have laid down this as our first principle, because we wish at once to profess that we shall pursue the same method here in the apostle's case as we adopted before in Christ's case, to prove that he proclaimed no new god; that is, we shall draw our evidence from the epistles of St. Paul himself. Now, the garbled form in which we have found the heretic's Gospel will have already prepared us to expect to find the epistles also mutilated by him with like perverseness — and that even as respects their number.

Chap. II. — On The Epistle To The Galatians. The Abolition Of The Ordinances Of The Mosaic Law No Proof Of Another. God. The Divine Lawgiver, The Creator Himself, Was The Abrogator. The Apostle's Doctrine In The First Chapter Shown To Accord With The Teaching Of The Old Testament. The Acts Of The Apostles Shown To Be Genuine Against Marcion. This Book Agrees With The Pauline Epistles.

The epistle which we also allow to be the most decisive against Judaism, is that wherein the apostle instructs the Galatians. For the abolition of the ancient law we fully admit, and hold that it actually proceeds from the dispensation of the Creator, — a point which we have already often treated in the course of our discussion, when we showed that the innovation was foretold by the prophets of our God. Now, if the Creator indeed promised that “the ancient things should pass any,” to be superseded by a new course of things which should arise, whilst Christ marks the period of the separation when He says, “The law and the prophets were until John” — thus making the Baptist the limit between the two dispensations of the old things then terminating — and the new things then beginning, the apostle cannot of course do otherwise, (coming as he does) in Christ, who was revealed after John, than invalidate “the old things” and confirm “the new,” and yet promote thereby the faith of no other god than the Creator, at whose instance it was foretold that the ancient things should pass away. Therefore both the abrogation of the law and the establishment of the gospel help my argument even in this epistle, wherein they both have reference to the fond assumption of the Galatians, which led them to suppose that faith in Christ (the Creator's Christ, of course) was obligatory, but without annulling the law, because it still appeared to them a thing incredible that the law should be set aside by its own author. Again, if they had at all heard of any other god from the apostle, would they not have concluded at once, of themselves, that they must give up the law of that God whom they had left, in order to follow another? For what man would be long in learning, that he ought to pursue a new discipline, after he had taken up with a new god? Since, however, the same God was declared in the gospel which had always been so well known in the law, the only

change being in the dispensation, the sole point of the question to be discussed was, whether the law of the Creator ought by the gospel to be excluded in the Christ of the Creator? Take away this point, and the controversy falls to the ground. Now, since they would all know of themselves, on the withdrawal of this point, that they must of course renounce all submission to the Creator by reason of their faith in another god, there could have been no call for the apostle to teach them so earnestly that which their own belief must have spontaneously suggested to them. Therefore the entire purport of this epistle is simply to show us that the supersession of the law comes from the appointment of the Creator — a point, which we shall still have to keep in mind. Since also he makes mention of no other god (and he could have found no other opportunity of doing so, more suitable than when his purpose was to set forth the reason for the abolition of the law — especially as the prescription of a new god would have afforded a singularly good and most sufficient reason), it is clear enough in what sense he writes, “I marvel that ye are so soon removed from Him who hath called you to His grace to another gospel” — He means) “another” as to the conduct it prescribes, not in respect of its worship; “another” as to the discipline it teaches, not in respect of its divinity; because it is the office of Christ’s gospel to call men from the law to grace, not from the Creator to another god. For nobody had induced them to apostatize from the Creator, that they should seem to “be removed to another gospel,” simply when they return again to the Creator. When he adds, too, the words, “which is not another,” he confirms the fact that the gospel which he maintains is the Creator’s. For the Creator Himself promises the gospel, when He says by Isaiah: “Get thee up into the high mountain, thou that bringest to Sion good tidings; lift up thy voice with strength, thou that bringest the gospel to Jerusalem.” Also when, with respect to the apostles personally, He says, “How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the gospel of peace, that bring good tidings of good” — even proclaiming the gospel to the Gentiles, because He also says, “In His name shall the Gentiles trust;” that is, in the name of Christ, to whom He says, “I have given thee as a light of the Gentiles.” However, you will have it that it is the gospel of a new god which was then set forth by the apostle. So that there are two gospels for two gods; and the apostle made a great mistake when he said that “there is not another” gospel,” since there is (on the hypothesis) another; and so he might have made a better

defence of his gospel, by rather demonstrating this, than by insisting on its being but one. But perhaps, to avoid this difficulty, you will say that he therefore added just afterwards, “Though an angel from heaven preach any other gospel, let him be accursed,” because he was aware that the Creator was going to introduce a gospel! But you thus entangle yourself still more. For this is now the mesh in which you are caught. To affirm that there are two gospels, is not the part of a man who has already denied that there is another. His meaning, however, is clear, for he has mentioned himself first (in the anathema): “But though we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel.” It is by way of an example that he has expressed himself. If even he himself might not preach any other gospel, then neither might an angel. He said “angel” in this way, that he might show how much more men ought not to be believed, when neither an angel nor an apostle ought to be; not that he meant to apply an angel to the gospel of the Creator. He then cursorily touches on his own conversion from a persecutor to an apostle — confirming thereby the Acts of the Apostles, in which book may be found the very subject of this epistle, how that certain persons interposed, and said that men ought to be circumcised, and that the law of Moses was to be observed; and how the apostles, when consulted, determined, by the authority of the Holy Ghost, that “a yoke should not be put upon men’s necks which their fathers even had not been able to bear.” Now, since the Acts of the Apostles thus agree with Paul, it becomes apparent why you reject them. It is because they declare no other God than the Creator, and prove Christ to belong to no other God than the Creator; whilst the promise of the Holy Ghost is shown to have been fulfilled in no other document than the Acts of the Apostles. Now, it is not very likely that these should be found in agreement with the apostle, on the one hand, when they described his career in accordance with his own statement; but should, on the other hand, be at variance with him when they announce the (attribute of) divinity in the Creator’s Christ — as if Paul did not follow the preaching of the apostles when he received from them the prescription of not teaching the Law.

Chap. III. — St. Paul Quite In Accordance With St. Peter And Other Apostles Of The Circumcision. His Censure Of St. Peter Explained, And Rescued From Marcion's Misapplication. The Strong Protests Of This Epistle Against Judaizers, Yet Its Teaching Is Shown To Be In Keeping With The Law And The Prophets, Marcion's Tampering With St. Paul's Writings Censured.

But with regard to the countenance of Peter and the rest of the apostles, he tells us that “fourteen years after he went up to Jerusalem,” in order to confer with them about the rule which he followed in his gospel, lest perchance he should all those years have been running, and be running still, in vain, (which would be the case,) of course, if his preaching of the gospel fell short of their method. So great had been his desire to be approved and supported by those whom you wish on all occasions to be understood as in alliance with Judaism! When indeed he says, that “neither was Titus circumcised,” he for the first time shows us that circumcision was the only question connected with the maintenance of the law, which had been as yet agitated by those whom he therefore calls “false brethren unawares brought in.” These persons went no further than to insist on a continuance of the law, retaining unquestionably a sincere belief in the Creator. They perverted the gospel in their teaching, not indeed by such a tampering with the Scripture as should enable them to expunge the Creator's Christ, but by so retaining the ancient regime as not to exclude the Creator's law. Therefore he says: “Because of false brethren unawares brought in, who came in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ, that they might bring us into bondage, to whom we gave place by subjection not even for an hour.” Let us only attend to the clear sense and to the reason of the thing, and the perversion of the Scripture will be apparent. When he first says, “Neither Titus, who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised,” and then adds, “And that because of false brethren unawares brought in,” etc., he gives us an insight into his reason for acting in a clean contrary way, showing us wherefore he did that which he would neither have done nor shown to us, if that had not happened which induced him to act as he did. But then I want you

to tell us whether they would have yielded to the subjection that was demanded, if these false brethren had not crept in to spy out their liberty? I apprehend not. They therefore gave way (in a partial concession), because there were persons whose weak faith required consideration. For their rudimentary belief, which was still in suspense about the observance of the law, deserved this concessive treatment, when even the apostle himself had some suspicion that he might have run, and be still running, in vain. Accordingly, the false brethren who were the spies of their Christian liberty must be thwarted in their efforts to bring it under the yoke of their own Judaism before that Paul discovered whether his labour had been in vain, before that those who preceded him in the apostolate gave him their right hands of fellowship, before that he entered on the office of preaching to the Gentiles, according to their arrangement with him. He therefore made some concession, as was necessary, for a time; and this was the reason why he had Timothy circumcised, and the Nazarites introduced into the temple, which incidents are described in the Acts. Their truth may be inferred from their agreement with the apostle's own profession, how "to the Jews he became as a Jew, that he might gain the Jews, and to them that were under the law, as under the law," — and so here with respect to those who come in secretly, — "and lastly, how he became all things to all men, that he might gain all." Now, inasmuch as the circumstances require such an interpretation as this, no one will refuse to admit that Paul preached that God and that Christ whose law he was excluding all the while, however much he allowed it, owing to the times, but which he would have had summarily to abolish if he had published a new god. Rightly, then, did Peter and James and John give their right hand of fellowship to Paul, and agree on such a division of their work, as that Paul should go to the heathen, and themselves to the circumcision. Their agreement, also, "to remember the poor" was in complete conformity with the law of the Creator, which cherished the poor and needy, as has been shown in our observations on your Gospel. It is thus certain that the question was one which simply regarded the law, while at the same time it is apparent what portion of the law it was convenient to have observed. Paul, however, censures Peter for not walking straightforwardly according to the truth of the gospel. No doubt he blames him; but it was solely because of his inconsistency in the matter of "eating," which he varied according to the sort

of persons (whom he associated with) “fearing them which were of the circumcision,” but not on account of any perverse opinion touching another god. For if such a question had arisen, others also would have been “resisted face to face” by the man who had not even spared Peter on the comparatively small matter of his doubtful conversation. But what do the Marcionites wish to have believed (on the point)? For the rest, the apostle must (be permitted to) go on with his own statement, wherein he says that “a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by faith:” faith, however, in the same God to whom belongs the law also. For of course he would have bestowed no labour on severing faith from the law, when the difference of the god would, if there had only been any, have of itself produced such a severance. Justly, therefore, did he refuse to “build up again (the structure of the law) which he had overthrown.” The law, indeed, had to be overthrown, from the moment when John “cried in the wilderness, Prepare ye the ways of the Lord,” that valleys and hills and mountains may be filled up and levelled, and the crooked and the rough ways be made straight and smooth — in other words, that the difficulties of the law might be changed into the facilities of the gospel. For he remembered that the time was come of which the Psalm spake, “Let us break their bands asunder, and cast off their yoke from us;” since the time when “the nations became tumultuous, and the people imagined vain counsels;” when “the kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord, and against His Christ,” in order that thenceforward man might be justified by the liberty of faith, not by servitude to the law, “because the just shall live by his faith.” Now, although the prophet Habakkuk first said this, yet you have the apostle here confirming the prophets, even as Christ did. The object, therefore, of the faith whereby the just man shall live, will be that same God to whom likewise belongs the law, by doing which no man is justified. Since, then, there equally are found the curse in the law and the blessing in faith, you have both conditions set forth by the Creator: “Behold,” says He, “I have set before you a blessing and a curse.” You cannot establish a diversity of authors because there happens to be one of things; for the diversity is itself proposed by one and the same author. Why, however, “Christ was made a curse for us,” is declared by the apostle himself in a way which quite helps our side, as being the result of the Creator’s appointment. But yet it by no means follows, because the Creator said of old, “Cursed is every one

that hangeth on a tree,” that Christ belonged to another god, and on that account was accursed even then in the law. And how, indeed, could the Creator have cursed by anticipation one whom He knew not of? Why, however, may it not be more suitable for the Creator to have delivered His own Son to His own curse, than to have submitted Him to the malediction of that god of yours, — in behalf, too, of man, who is an alien to him? Now, if this appointment of the Creator respecting His Son appears to you to be a cruel one, it is equally so in the case of your own god; if, on the contrary, it be in accordance with reason in your god, it is equally so — nay, much more so — in mine. For it would be more credible that that God had provided blessing for man, through the curse of Christ, who formerly set both a blessing and a curse before man, than that he had done so, who, according to you, never at any time pronounced either. “We have received therefore, the promise of the Spirit,” as the apostle says, “through faith,” even that faith by which the just man lives, in accordance with the Creator’s purpose. What I say, then, is this, that that God is the object of faith who prefigured the grace of faith. But when he also adds, “.For ye are all the children of faith,” it becomes dear that what the heretic’s industry erased was the mention of Abraham’s name; for by faith the apostle declares us to be “children of Abraham,” and after mentioning him he expressly called us “children of faith” also. But how are we children of faith? and of whose faith, if not Abraham’s? For since “Abraham believed God, and it was accounted to him for righteousness;” since, also, he deserved for that reason to be called “the father of many nations,” whilst we, who are even more like him in believing in God, are thereby justified as Abraham was, and thereby also obtain life — since the just lives by his faith, — it therefore happens that, as he in the previous passage called us “sons of Abraham,” since he is in faith our (common) father, so here also he named us “children of faith,” for it was owing to his faith that it was promised that Abraham should be the father of (many) nations. As to the fact itself of his calling off faith from circumcision, did he not seek thereby to constitute us the children of Abraham, who had believed previous to his circumcision in the flesh? In short, faith in one of two gods cannot possibly admit us to the dispensation of the other, so that it should impute righteousness to those who believe in him, and make the just live through him, and declare the Gentiles to be his children through faith. Such a dispensation as this belongs wholly to Him through

whose appointment it was already made known by the call of this self-same Abraham, as is conclusively shown' by the natural meaning.

Chap. IV. — Another Instance Of Marcion's Tampering With St. Paul's Text. The Fulness Of Time, Announced By The Apostle, Foretold By The Prophets. Mosaic Rites Abrogated By The Creator Himself. Marcion's Tricks About Abraham's Name. The Creator, By His Christ, The Fountain Of The Grace And The Liberty Which St. Paul Announced. Marcion's Docetism Refuted.

"But," says he, "I speak after the manner of men: when we were children, we were placed in bondage under the elements of the world." This, however, was not said "after the manner of men." For there is no figure here, but literal truth. For (with respect to the latter clause of this passage), what child (in the sense, that is, in which the Gentiles are children) is not in bondage to the elements of the world, which he looks up to in the light of a god? With regard, however, to the former clause, there was a figure (as the apostle wrote it); because after he had said, "I speak after the manner of men," he adds, "Though it be but a man's covenant, no man disannulleth, or addeth thereto." For by the figure of the permanency of a human covenant he was defending the divine testament. "To Abraham were the promises made, and to his seed. He said not 'to seeds,' as of many; but as of one, 'to thy seed,' which is Christ." Fie on Marcion's sponge! But indeed it is superfluous to dwell on what he has erased, when he may be more effectually confuted from that which he has retained. "But when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth His Son" — the God, of course, who is the Lord of that very succession of times which constitutes an age; who also ordained, as "signs" of time, suns and moons and constellations and stars; who furthermore both predetermined and predicted that the revelation of His Son should be postponed to the end of the times. "It shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain (of the house) of the Lord shall be manifested"; "and in the last days I will. pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh" as Joel says. It was characteristic of Him (only) to wait patiently for the fulness of time, to whom belonged the end of time no less than the beginning. But as for that idle god, who has neither any work nor any prophecy, nor accordingly any time, to show for himself what has he ever done to bring about the fulness of time, or to wait patiently its completion? If nothing, what an impotent state to have to wait for the Creator's time, in

servility to the Creator! But for what end did He send His Son? “To redeem them that were under the law,” in other words, to “make the crooked ways straight, and the rough places smooth,” as Isaiah says — in order that old things might pass away, and a new course begin, even “the new law out of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem,” and “that we might receive the adoption of sons,” that is, the Gentiles, who once were not sons. For He is to be “the light of the Gentiles,” and “in His name shall the Gentiles trust.” That we may have, therefore the assurance that we are the children of God, “He hath sent forth His Spirit into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father.” For “in the last days,” saith He,” I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh.” Now, from whom comes this grace, but from Him who proclaimed the promise thereof? Who is (our) Father, but He who is also our Maker? Therefore, after such affluence (of grace), they should not have returned “to weak and beggarly elements.” By the Romans, however, the rudiments of learning are wont to be called elements. He did not therefore seek, by any depreciation of the mundane elements, to turn them away from their god, although, when he said just before, “Howbeit, then, ye serve them which by nature are no gods,” he censured the error of that physical or natural superstition which holds the elements to be god; but at the God of those elements he aimed not in this censure. He tells us himself clearly enough what he means by “elements,” even the rudiments of the law: “Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years” — the sabbaths, I suppose, and “the preparations,” and the fasts, and the “high days.” For the cessation of even these, no less than of circumcision, was appointed by the Creator’s decrees, who had said by Isaiah, “Your new moons, and your sabbaths, and your high days I cannot bear; your fasting, and feasts, and ceremonies my soul hateth;” also by Amos, “I hate, I despise your feast-days, and I will not smell in your solemn assemblies;” and again by Hosea, “I will cause to cease all her mirth, and her feast-days, and her sabbaths, and her new moons, and all her solemn assemblies.” The institutions which He set up Himself, you ask, did He then destroy? Yes, rather than any other. Or if another destroyed them, he only helped on the purpose of the Creator, by removing what even He had condemned. But this is not the place to discuss the question why the Creator abolished His own laws. It is enough for us to have proved that He intended such an abolition, that so it may be affirmed that the apostle determined nothing to the prejudice of the Creator,

since the abolition itself proceeds from the Creator. But as, in the case of thieves, something of the stolen goods is apt to drop by the way, as a clue to their detection; so, as it seems to me, it has happened to Marcion: the last mention of Abraham's name he has left untouched (in the epistle), although no passage required his erasure more than this, even his partial alteration of the text. "For (it is written) that Abraham had two sons, the one by a bond maid, the other by a free woman; but he who was of the bond maid was born after the flesh, but he of the free woman was by promise: which things are allegorized" (that is to say, they presaged something besides the literal history); "for these are the two covenants," or the two exhibitions (of the divine plans), as we have found the word interpreted," the one from the Mount Sinai," in relation to the synagogue of the Jews, according to the law, "which gendereth to bondage"— "the other gendereth" (to liberty, being raised) above all principality, and power, and dominion, and every name that is I named, not only in this world, but in that which is to come, "which is the mother of us all," in which we have the promise of (Christ's) holy church; by reason of which he adds in conclusion: "So then, brethren, we are not children of the bond woman, but of the free." In this passage he has undoubtedly shown that Christianity had a noble birth, being sprung, as the mystery of the allegory indicates, from that son of Abraham who was born of the free woman; whereas from the son of the bond maid came the legal bondage of Judaism. Both dispensations, therefore, emanate from that same God by whom, as we have found, they were both sketched out beforehand. When he speaks of "the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free," does not the very phrase indicate that He is the Liberator who was once the Master? For Galba himself never liberated slaves which were not his own, even when about to restore free men to their liberty. By Him, therefore, will liberty be bestowed, at whose command lay the enslaving power of the law. And very properly. It was not meet that those who had received liberty should be "entangled again with the yoke of bondage" — that is, of the law; now that the Psalm had its prophecy accomplished: "Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us, since the rulers have gathered themselves together against the Lord and against His Christ." All those, therefore, who had been delivered from the yoke of slavery he would earnestly have to obliterate the very mark of slavery — even circumcision, on the authority of the prophet's prediction.

He remembered how that Jeremiah had said, "Circumcise the foreskins of your heart;" as Moses likewise had enjoined, "Circumcise your hard hearts" — not the literal flesh. If, now, he were for excluding circumcision, as the messenger of a new god, why does he say that "in Christ neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision? For it was his duty to prefer the rival principle of that which he was abolishing, if he had a mission from the god who was the enemy of circumcision. Furthermore, since both circumcision and uncircumcision were attributed to the same Deity, both lost their power in Christ, by reason of the excellency of faith — of that faith concerning which it had been written, "And in His name shall the Gentiles trust?" — of that faith "which," he says "worketh by love." By this saying he also shows that the Creator is the source of that grace. For whether he speaks of the love which is due to God, or that which is due to one's neighbor — in either case, the Creator's grace is meant: for it is He who enjoins the first in these words, "Thou shalt love God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength;" and also the second in another passage: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." "But he that troubleth you shall have to bear judgment." From what God? From (Marcion's) most excellent god? But he does not execute judgment. From the Creator? But neither will He condemn the maintainer of circumcision. Now, if none other but the Creator shall be found to execute judgment, it follows that only He, who has determined on the cessation of the law, shall be able to condemn the defenders of the law; and what, if he also affirms the law in that portion of it where it ought (to be permanent)? "For," says he, "all the law is fulfilled in you by this: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' " If, indeed, he will have it that by the words "it is fulfilled" it is implied that the law no longer has to be fulfilled, then of course he does not mean that I should any more love my neighbour as myself, since this precept must have ceased together with the law. But no! we must evermore continue to observe this commandment. The Creator's law, therefore, has received the approval of the rival god, who has, in fact, bestowed upon it not the sentence of a summary dismissal, but the favour of a compendious acceptance; the gist of it all being concentrated in this one precept! But this condensation of the law is, in fact, only possible to Him who is the Author of it. When, therefore, he says, "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfill the law of Christ," since this cannot be accomplished except a

man love his neighbour as himself, it is evident that the precept, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" (which, in fact, underlies the injunction, 'Bear ye one another's burdens'), is really "the law of Christ," though literally the law of the Creator. Christ, therefore, is the Creator's Christ, as Christ's law is the Creator's law. "Be not deceived, God is not mocked." But Marcion's god can be mocked; for he knows not how to be angry, or how to take vengeance. "For whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." It is then the God of recompense and judgment who threatens this. "Let us not be weary in well-doing;" and "as we have opportunity, let us do good." Deny now that the Creator has given a commandment to do good, and then a diversity of precept may argue a difference of gods. If, however, He also announces recompense, then from the same God must come the harvest both of death and of life. But "in due time we shall reap;" because in Ecclesiastes it is said, "For everything there will be a time." Moreover, "the world is crucified unto me," who am a servant of the Creator— "the world," (I say,) but not the God who made the world— "and I unto the world," not unto the God who made the world. The world, in the apostle's sense, here means life and conversation according to worldly principles; it is in renouncing these that we and they are mutually crucified and mutually slain. He calls them "persecutors of Christ." But when he adds, that "he bare in his body the scars of Christ" — since scars, of course, are accidents of body — he therefore expressed the truth, that the flesh of Christ is not putative, but real and substantial, the scars of which he represents as borne upon his body.

Chap. V. — The First Epistle To The Corinthians. The Pauline Salutation Of Grace And Peace Shown To Be Anti-Marcionite. The Cross Of Christ Purposed By The Creator. Marcion Only Perpetuates The Offence And Foolishness Of Christ's Cross By His Impious Severance Of The Gospel From The Creator. Analogies Between The Law And The Gospel In The Matter Of Weak Things, And Foolish Things And Base Things.

My preliminary remarks on the preceding epistle called me away from treating of its superscription, for I was sure that another opportunity would occur for considering the matter, it being of constant recurrence, and in the same form too, in every epistle. The point, then, is, that it is not (the usual) health which the apostle prescribes for those to whom he writes, but “grace and peace.” I do not ask, indeed, what a destroyer of Judaism has to do with a formula which the Jews still use. For to this day they salute each other with the greeting of “peace,” and formerly in their Scriptures they did the same. But I understand him by his practice plainly enough to have corroborated the declaration of the Creator: “How beautiful are the feet of them that bring glad tidings of good, who preach the gospel of peace!” For the herald of good, that is, of God’s “grace” was well aware that along with it “peace” also was to be proclaimed. Now, when he announces these blessings as “from God the Father and the Lord Jesus,” he uses titles that are common to both, and which are also adapted to the mystery of our faith; and I suppose it to be impossible accurately to determine what God is declared to be the Father and the Lord Jesus, unless (we consider) which of their accruing attributes are more suited to them severally. First, then, I assert that none other than the Creator and Sustainer of both man and the universe can be acknowledged as Father and Lord; next, that to the Father also the title of Lord accrues by reason of His power, and that the Son too receives the same through the Father; then that “grace and peace” are not only His who had them published, but His likewise to whom offence had been given. For neither does grace exist, except after offence; nor peace, except after war. Now, both the people (of Israel) by their transgression of His laws, and the whole race of mankind by their neglect of natural duty, had both sinned and rebelled against the Creator. Marcion’s god,

however, could not have been offended, both because he was unknown to everybody, and because he is incapable of being irritated. What grace, therefore, can be had of a god who has not been offended? What peace from one who has never experienced rebellion? "The cross of Christ," he says, "is to them that perish foolishness; but unto such as shall obtain salvation, it is the power of God and the wisdom of God." And then, that we may know from whence this comes, he adds: "For it is written, 'I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent.'" Now, since these are the Creator's words, and since what pertains to the doctrine of the cross he accounts as foolishness, therefore both the cross, and also Christ by reason of the cross, will appertain to the Creator, by whom were predicted the incidents of the cross. But if the Creator, as an enemy, took away their wisdom in order that the cross of Christ, considered as his adversary, should be accounted foolishness, how by any possibility can the Creator have foretold anything about the cross of a Christ who is not His own, and of whom He knew nothing, when He published the prediction? But, again, how happens it, that in the system of a Lord who is so very good, and so profuse in mercy, some carry off salvation, when they believe the cross to be the wisdom and power of God, whilst others incur perdition, to whom the cross of Christ is accounted folly; — (how happens it, I repeat,) unless it is in the Creator's dispensation to have punished both the people of Israel and the human race, for some great offence committed against Him, with the loss of wisdom and prudence? What follows will confirm this suggestion, when he asks, "Hath not God infatuated the wisdom of this world?" and when he adds the reason why: "For after that, in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe." But first a word about the expression "the world;" because in this passage particularly, the heretics expend a great deal of their subtlety in showing that by world is meant the lord of the world. We, however, understand the term to apply to any person that is in the world, by a simple idiom of human language, which often substitutes that which contains for that which is contained. "The circus shouted," "The forum spoke," and "The basilica murmured," are well-known expressions, meaning that the people in these places did so. Since then the man, not the god, of the world in his wisdom knew not God, whom indeed he ought to have known (both the Jew

by his knowledge of the Scriptures, and all the human race by their knowledge of God's works), therefore that God, who was not acknowledged in His wisdom, resolved to smite men's knowledge with His foolishness, by saving all those who believe in the folly of the preached cross. "Because the Jews require signs," who ought to have already made up their minds about God, "and the Greeks seek after wisdom," who rely upon their own wisdom, and not upon God's. If, however, it was a new god that was being preached, what sin had the Jews committed, in seeking after signs to believe; or the Greeks, when they hunted after a wisdom which they would prefer to accept? Thus the very retribution which overtook both Jews and Greeks proves that God is both a jealous God and a Judge, inasmuch as He infatuated the world's wisdom by an angry and a judicial retribution. Since, then, the causes are in the hands of Him who gave us the Scriptures which we use, it follows that the apostle, when treating of the Creator, (as Him whom both Jew and Gentile as yet have) not known, means undoubtedly to teach us, that the God who is to become known (in Christ) is the Creator. The very "stumbling-block" which he declares Christ to be "to the Jews," points unmistakeably to the Creator's prophecy respecting Him, when by Isaiah He says: "Behold I lay in Sion a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence." This rock or stone is Christ. This stumbling-stone Marcion retains still. Now, what is that "foolishness of God which is wiser than men," but the cross and death of Christ? What is that "weakness of God which is stronger than men," but the nativity and incarnation of God? If, however, Christ was not born of the Virgin, was not constituted of human flesh, and thereby really suffered neither death nor the cross there was nothing in Him either of foolishness or weakness; nor is it any longer true, that "God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise;" nor, again, hath "God chosen the weak things of the world to confound the mighty;" nor "the base things" and the least things "in the world, and things which are despised, which are even as nothing" (that is, things which really are not), "to bring to nothing things which are" (that is, which really are). For nothing in the dispensation of God is found to be mean, and ignoble, and contemptible. Such only occurs in man's arrangement. The very Old Testament of the Creators itself, it is possible, no doubt, to charge with foolishness, and weakness, and dishonour and meanness, and contempt. What is more foolish and more weak than God's requirement of bloody sacrifices

and of savoury holocausts? What is weaker than the cleansing of vessels and of beds? What more dishonourable than the discoloration of the reddening skin? What so mean as the statute of retaliation? What so contemptible as the exception in meats and drinks? The whole of the Old Testament, the heretic, to the best of my belief, holds in derision. For God has chosen the foolish things of the world to confound its wisdom. Marcion's god has no such discipline, because he does not take after (the Creator) in the process of confusing opposites by their opposites, so that "no flesh shall glory; but, as it is written, He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord." In what Lord? Surely in Him who gave this precept. Unless, forsooth, the Creator en-joined us to glory in the god of Marcion.

Chap. VI. — The Divine Way Of Wisdom, And Greatness, And Might. God's Hiding Of Himself, And Subsequent Revelation. To Marcion's God Such A Concealment And Manifestation Impossible. God's Predestination. No Such Prior System Of Intention Possible To A God Previously Unknown As Was Marcion's. The Powers Of The World, Which Crucified Christ. St. Paul, As A Wise Master-BUILDER, Associated With Prophecy. Sundry Injunctions Of The Apostle Parallel With The Teaching Of The Old Testament.

By all these statements, therefore, does he show us what God he means, when he says, "We speak the wisdom of God among them that are perfect." It is that God who has confounded the wisdom of the wise, who has brought to nought the understanding of the prudent, who has reduced to folly the world's wisdom, by choosing its foolish things, and disposing them to the attainment of salvation. This wisdom, he says, once lay hidden in things that were foolish, weak, and lacking in honour; once also was latent under figures, allegories, and enigmatical types; but it was afterwards to be revealed in Christ, who was set "as a light to the Gentiles," by the Creator who promised through the mouth of Isaiah that He would discover "the hidden treasures, which eye had not seen." Now, that that god should have ever hidden anything who had never made a cover wherein to practise concealment, is in itself a wholly incredible idea. If he existed, concealment of himself was out of the question — to say nothing of any of his religious ordinances. The Creator, on the contrary, was as well known in Himself as His ordinances were. These, we know, were publicly instituted in Israel; but they lay overshadowed with latent meanings, in which the wisdom of God was concealed to be brought to light by and by amongst "the perfect," when the time should come, but "pre-ordained in the counsels of God before the ages." But whose ages, if not the Creator's? For because ages consist of times, and times are made up of days, and months, and years; since also days, and months, and years are measured by suns, and moons, and stars, which He ordained for this purpose (for "they shall be," says He, "for signs of the months and the years"), it clearly follows that the ages belong to the Creator, and that nothing of what was fore-ordained

before the ages can be said to be the property of any other being than Him who claims the ages also as His own. Else let Marcion show that the ages belong to his god. He must then also claim the world itself for him; for it is in it that the ages are reckoned, the vessel as it were of the times, as well as the signs thereof, or their order. But he has no such demonstration to show us. I go back therefore to the point, and ask him this question: Why did (his god) fore-ordain our glory before the ages of the Creator? I could understand his having predetermined it before the ages, if he had revealed it at the commencement of time. But when he does this almost at the very expiration of all the ages of the Creator, his predestination before the ages, and not rather within the ages, was in vain, because he did not mean to make any revelation of his purpose until the ages had almost run out their course. For it is wholly inconsistent in him to be so forward in planning purposes, who is so backward in revealing them. In the Creator, however, the two courses were perfectly compatible — both the predestination before the ages and the revelation at the end thereof, because that which He both fore-ordained and revealed He also in the intermediate space of time announced by the pre-ministration of figures, and symbols, and allegories. But because (the apostle) subjoins, on the subject of our glory, that “none of the princes of this world knew it for had they known it they would not have crucified the Lord of glory,” the heretic argues that the princes of this world crucified the Lord (that is, the Christ of the rival god) in order that this blow might even recoil on the Creator Himself. Any one, however, who has seen from what we have already said how our glory must be regarded as issuing from the Creator, will already have come to the conclusion that, inasmuch as the Creator settled it in His own secret purpose, it properly enough was unknown to all the princes and powers of the Creator, on the principle that servants are not permitted to know their masters’ plans, much less the fallen angels and the leader of transgression himself, the devil; for I should contend that these, on account of their fall, were greater strangers still to any knowledge of the Creator’s dispensations. But it is no longer open to me even to interpret the princes and powers of this world as the Creator’s, since the apostle imputes ignorance to them, whereas even the devil according to our Gospel recognised Jesus in the temptation, and, according to the record which is common to both (Marcionites and ourselves) the evil spirit knew that Jesus was the Holy One of God, and that Jesus was His name, and that He was

come to destroy them. The parable also of the strong man armed, whom a stronger than he overcame and seized his goods, is admitted by Marcion to have reference to the Creator: therefore the Creator could not have been ignorant any longer of the God of glory, since He is overcome by him; nor could He have crucified him whom He was unable to cope with. The inevitable inference, therefore, as it seems to me, is that we must believe that the princes and powers of the Creator did knowingly crucify the God of glory in His Christ, with that desperation and excessive malice with which the most abandoned slaves do not even hesitate to slay their masters. For it is written in my Gospel that "Satan entered into Judas." According to Marcion, however, the apostle in the passage under consideration does not allow the imputation of ignorance, with respect to the Lord of glory, to the powers of the Creator; because, indeed, he will have it that these are not meant by "the princes of this world." But (the apostle) evidently did not speak of spiritual princes; so that he meant secular ones, those of the princely people, (chief in the divine dispensation, although) not, of course, amongst the nations of the world, and their rulers, and king Herod, and even Pilate, and, as represented by him, that power of Rome which was the greatest in the world, and then presided over by him. Thus the arguments of the other side are pulled down, and our own proofs are thereby built up. But you still maintain that our glory comes from your god, with whom it also lay in secret. Then why does your god employ the self-same Scripture which the apostle also relies on? What has your god to do at all with the sayings of the prophets? "Who hath discovered the mind of the Lord, or who hath been His counsellor?" So says Isaiah. What has he also to do with illustrations from our God? For when (the apostle) calls himself "a wise master-builder," we find that the Creator by Isaiah designates the teacher who sketches out the divine discipline by the same title, "I will take away from Judah the cunning artificer," etc. And was it not Paul himself who was there foretold, destined "to be taken away from Judah" — that is, from Judaism — for the erection of Christianity, in order "to lay that only foundation, which is Christ?" Of this work the Creator also by the same prophet says, "Behold, I lay in Sion for a foundation a precious stone and honourable; and he that resteth thereon shall not be confounded." Unless it be, that God professed Himself to be the builder up of an earthly work, that so He might not give any sign of His Christ, as destined to be the foundation of such

as believe in Him, upon which every man should build at will the superstructure of either sound or worthless doctrine; forasmuch as it is the Creator's function, when a man's work shall be tried by fire,(or) when a reward shall be recompensed to him by fire; because it is by fire that the test is applied to the building which you erect upon the foundation which is laid by Him, that is, the foundation of His Christ. "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?" Now, since man is the property, and the work, and the image and likeness of the Creator, having his flesh, formed by Him of the ground, and his soul of His afflatus, it follows that Marcion's god wholly dwells in a temple which belongs to another, if so be we are not the Creator's temple. But "if any man defile the temple of God, he shall be himself destroyed" — of course, by the God of the temple. If you threaten an avenger, you threaten us with the Creator. "Ye must become fools, that ye may be wise." Wherefore? "Because the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God." With what God? Even if the ancient Scriptures have contributed nothing in support of our view thus far, an excellent testimony turns up in what (the apostle) here adjoins: "For it is written, He taketh the wise in their own craftiness; and again, The Lord knoweth the thoughts of the wise, that they are vain." For in general we may conclude for certain that he could not possibly have cited the authority of that God whom he was bound to destroy, since he would not teach for Him. "Therefore," says he, "let no man glory in man;" an injunction which is in accordance with the teaching of the Creator, "wretched is the man that trusteth in man;" again, "It is better to trust in the Lord than to confide in man;" and the same thing is said about glorying (in princes).

Chap. VII. — St. Paul's Phraseology Often Suggested By The Jewish Scriptures. Christ Our Passover — A Phrase Which Introduces Us To The Very Heart Of The Ancient Dispensation. Christ's True Corporeity. Married And Unmarried States. Meaning Of The Time Is Short. In His Exhortations And Doctrine, The Apostle Wholly Teaches According To The Mind And Purposes Of The God Of The Old Testament. Prohibition Of Meats And Drinks Withdrawn By The Creator.

"And the hidden things of darkness He will Himself bring to light," even by Christ; for He has promised Christ to be a Light, and Himself He has declared to be a lamp, "searching the hearts and reins." From Him also shall "praise be had by every man," from whom proceeds, as from a judge, the opposite also of praise. But here, at least, you say he interprets the world to be the God thereof, when he says: "We are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men." For if by world he had meant the people thereof, he would not have afterwards specially mentioned "men." To prevent, however, your using such an argument as this, the Holy Ghost has providentially explained the meaning of the passage thus: "We are made a spectacle to the world," i.e. "both to angels," who minister therein, "and to men," who are the objects of their ministration. Of course, a man of the noble courage of our apostle (to say nothing of the Holy Ghost) was afraid, when writing to the children whom he had begotten in the gospel, to speak freely of the God of the world; for against Him he could not possibly seem to have a word to say, except only in a straightforward manner! I quite admit, that, according to the Creator's law, the man was an offender" who had his father's wife." He followed, no doubt, the principles of natural and public law. When, however, he condemns the man "to be delivered unto Satan," he becomes the herald of an avenging God. It does not matter that he also said, "For the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord," since both in the destruction of the flesh and in the saving of the spirit there is, on His part, judicial process; and when he bade "the wicked person be put away from the midst of them," he only mentioned what is a very frequently recurring sentence of the Creator. "Purge out the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump,

as ye are unleavened.” The unleavened bread was therefore, in the Creator’s ordinance, a figure of us (Christians). “For even Christ our passover is sacrificed for us.” But why is Christ our passover, if the passover be not a type of Christ, in the similitude of the blood which saves, and of the Lamb, which is Christ? Why does (the apostle) clothe us and Christ with symbols of the Creator’s solemn rites, unless they had relation to ourselves? When, again, he warns us against fornication, he reveals the resurrection of the flesh. “The body,” says he, “is not for fornication, but for the Lord; and the Lord for the body,” just as the temple is for God, and God for the temple. A temple will therefore pass away with its god, and its god with the temple. You see, then, how that “He who raised up the Lord will also raise us up.” In the body will He raise us, because the body is for the Lord, and the Lord for the body. And suitably does he add the question: “Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ?” What has the heretic to say? That these members of Christ will not rise again, for they are no longer our own? “For,” he says, “ye are bought with a price.” A price! surely none at all was paid, since Christ was a phantom, nor had He any corporeal substance which He could pay for our bodies! But, in truth, Christ had wherewithal to redeem us; and since He has redeemed, at a great price, these bodies of ours, against which fornication must not be committed (because they are now members of Christ, and not our own), surely He will secure, on His own account, the safety of those whom He made His own at so much cost! Now, how shall we glorify, how shall we exalt, God in our body, which is doomed to perish? We must now encounter the subject of marriage, which Marcion, more continent than the apostle, prohibits. For the apostle, although preferring the grace of continence, yet permits the contraction of marriage and the enjoyment of it, and advises the continuance therein rather than the dissolution thereof. Christ plainly forbids divorce, Moses unquestionably permits it. Now, when Marcion wholly prohibits all carnal intercourse to the faithful (for we will say nothing about his catechumens), and when he prescribes repudiation of all engagements before marriage, whose teaching does he follow, that of Moses or of Christ? Even Christ, however, when He here commands “the wife not to depart from her husband, or if she depart, to remain unmarried or be reconciled to her husband,” both permitted divorce, which indeed He never absolutely prohibited, and confirmed (the sanctity) of marriage, by first forbidding its

dissolution; and, if separation had taken place, by wishing the nuptial bond to be resumed by reconciliation. But what reasons does (the apostle) allege for continence? Because “the time is short.” I had almost thought it was because in Christ there was another god! And yet He from whom emanates this shortness of the time, will also send what suits the said brevity. No one makes provision for the time which is another’s. You degrade your god, O Marcion, when you make him circumscribed at all by the Creator’s time. Assuredly also, when (the apostle) rules that marriage should be “only in the Lord,” that no Christian should intermarry with a heathen, he maintains a law of the Creator, who everywhere prohibits marriage with strangers. But when he says, “although there be that are called gods, whether in l heaven or in earth,” the meaning of his words is clear — not as if there were gods in reality, but as if there were some who are called gods, without being truly so. He introduces his discussion about meats offered to idols with a statement concerning idols (themselves): “We know that an idol is nothing in the world.” Marcion, however, does not say that the Creator is not God; so that the apostle can hardly be thought to have ranked the Creator amongst those who are called gods, without being so; since, even if they had been gods, “to us there is but one God, the Father.” Now, from whom do all things come to us, but from Him to whom all things belong? And pray, what things are these? You have them in a preceding part of the epistle: “All things are yours; whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come.” He makes the Creator, then the God of all things, from whom proceed both the world and life and death, which. cannot possibly belong to the other god. From Him, therefore, amongst the “all things” comes also Christ. When he teaches that every man ought to live of his own industry, he begins with a copious induction of examples — of soldiers, and shepherds, and husbandmen. But he wanted divine authority. What was the use, however, of adducing the Creator’s, which he was destroying? It was vain to do so; for his god had no such authority! (The apostle) says: “Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn,” and adds: “Doth God take care of oxen?” Yes, of oxen, for the sake of men! For, says he, “it is written for our sakes.” Thus he showed that the law had a symbolic reference to ourselves, and that it gives its sanction in favour of those who live of the gospel. (He showed) also, that those who preach the gospel are on this account sent by no other god but Him

to whom belongs the law, which made provision for them, when he says: “For our sakes was this writ. ten.” Still he declined to use this power which the law gave him, because he preferred working without any restraint. Of this he boasted, and suffered no man to rob him of such glory — certainly with no view of destroying the law, which he proved that another man might use. For behold Marcion, in his blindness, stumbled at the rock whereof our fathers drank in the wilderness. For since “that rock was Christ,” it was, of course, the Creator’s, to whom also belonged the people. But why resort to the figure of a sacred sign given by an extraneous god? Was it to teach the very truth, that ancient things prefigured the Christ who was to be educed out of them? For, being about to take a cursory view of what befell the people (of Israel) he begins with saying: “Now these things happened as examples for us.” Now, tell me, were these examples given by the Creator to men belonging to a rival god? Or did one god borrow examples from another, and a hostile one too? He withdraws me to himself in alarm from Him from whom he transfers my allegiance. Will his antagonist make me better disposed to him? Should I now commit the same sins as the people, shall I have to suffer the same penalties, or not? But if not the same, how vainly does he propose to me terrors which I shall not have to endure! From whom, again, shall I have to endure them? If from the Creator, What evils does it appertain to Him to inflict? And how will it happen that, jealous God as He is, He shall punish the man who offends His rival, instead of rather encouraging him. If, however, from the other god — but he knows not how to punish. So that the whole declaration of the apostle lacks a reasonable basis, if it is not meant to relate to the Creator’s discipline. But the fact is, the apostle’s conclusion corresponds to the beginning: “Now all these things happened unto them for ensamples; and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come.” What a Creator! how prescient already, and considerate in warning Christians who belong to another god! Whenever cavils occur the like to those which have been already dealt with, I pass them by; certain others I despatch briefly. A great argument for another god is the permission to eat of all kinds of meats, contrary to the law. Just as if we did not ourselves allow that the burdensome ordinances of the law were abrogated — but by Him who imposed them, who also promised the new condition of things. The same, therefore, who prohibited meats, also restored the use of them, just as He had indeed allowed them from the

beginning. If, however, some strange god had come to destroy our God, his foremost prohibition would certainly have been, that his own votaries should abstain from supporting their lives on the resources of his adversary.

Chap. VIII. — Man The Image Of The Creator And Christ The Head Of The Man. Spiritual Gifts. The Sevenfold Spirit Described By Isaiah. The Apostle And The Prophet Compared. Marcion Challenged To Produce Anything Like These Gifts Of The Spirit Foretold In Prophecy His God.

“The head of every man is Christ.” What Christ, if He is not the author of man? The head he has here put for authority; now “authority” will accrue to none else than the “author.” Of what man indeed is He the head? Surely of him concerning whom he adds soon afterwards: “The man ought not to cover his head, forasmuch as he is the image of God.” Since then he is the image of the Creator (for He, when looking on Christ His Word, who was to become man, said, “Let us make man in our own image, after our likeness”), how can I possibly have another head but Him whose image I am? For if I am the image of the Creator there is no room in me for another head But wherefore “ought the woman to have power over her head, because of the angels?” If it is because “she was created for the man,” and taken out of the man, according to the Creator’s purpose, then in this way too has the apostle maintained the discipline of that God from whose institution he explains the reasons of His discipline. He adds: “Because of the angels.” What angels? In other words, whose angels? If he means the fallen angels of the Creator, there is great propriety in his meaning. It is right that that face which was a snare to them should wear some mark of a humble guise and obscured beauty. If, however, the angels of the rival god are referred to, what fear is there for them? for not even Marcion’s disciples, (to say nothing of his angels,) have any desire for women. We have often shown before now, that the apostle classes heresies as evil among “works of the flesh,” and that he would have those persons accounted estimable who shun heresies as an evil thing. In like manner, when treating of the gospel, we have proved from the sacrament of the bread and the cup the verity of the Lord’s body and blood in opposition to Marcion’s phantom; whilst throughout almost the whole of my work it has been contended that all mention of judicial attributes points conclusively to the Creator as to a God who judges. Now, on the subject of “spiritual gifts,” I have to remark that these also were promised by the Creator through Christ;

and I think that we may derive from this a very just conclusion that the bestowal of a gift is not the work of a god other than Him who is proved to have given the promise. Here is a prophecy of Isaiah "There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a flower shall spring up from his root; and upon Him shall rest the Spirit of the Lord." After which he enumerates the special gifts of the same "The spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of religion. And with the fear of the Lord shall the Spirit fill Him." In this figure of a flower he shows that Christ was to arise out of the rod which sprang from the stem of Jesse; in other words, from the virgin of the race of David, the son of Jesse. In this Christ the whole substantia of the Spirit would have to rest, not meaning that it would be as it were some subsequent acquisition accruing to Him who was always, even before His incarnation, the Spirit of God; so that you cannot argue from this that the prophecy has reference to that Christ who (as mere man of the race only of David) was to obtain the Spirit of his God. (The prophet says,) on the contrary, that from the time when (the true Christ) should appear in the flesh as the flower predicted, rising from the root of Jesse, there would have to rest upon Him the entire operation of the Spirit of grace, which, so far as the Jews were concerned, would cease and come to an end. This result the case itself shows; for after this time the Spirit of the Creator never breathed amongst them. From Judah were taken away "the wise man, and the cunning artificer, and the counsellor, and the prophet;" that so it might prove true that "the law and the prophets were until John." Now hear how he declared that by Christ Himself, when returned to heaven, these spiritual gifts were to be sent: "He ascended up. on high," that is, into heaven; "He led captivity captive," meaning death or slavery of man; "He gave gifts to the sons of men," that is, the gratuities, which we call charismata. He says specifically "sons of men," and not men promiscuously; thus exhibiting to us those who were the children of men truly so called, choice men, apostles. "For," says he, "I have begotten you through the gospel;" and "Ye are my children, of whom I travail again in birth." Now was absolutely fulfilled that promise of the Spirit which was given by the word of Joel: "In the last days will I pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh, and their sons and their daughters shall prophesy; and upon my servants and upon my handmaids will I pour out of my Spirit." Since, then, the Creator promised the gift of His Spirit in the

latter days; and since Christ has in these last days appeared as the dispenser of spiritual gifts (as the apostle says, "When the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth His Son;" and again, "This I say, brethren, that the time is short"), it evidently follows in connection with this prediction of the last days, that this gift of the Spirit belongs to Him who is the Christ of the predictors. Now compare the Spirit's specific graces, as they are described by the apostle, and promised by the prophet Isaiah. "To one is given," says he, "by the Spirit the word of wisdom;" this we see at once is what Isaiah declared to be "the spirit of wisdom." "To another, the word of knowledge;" this will be "the (prophet's) spirit of understanding and counsel." "To another, faith by the same Spirit;" this will be "the spirit of religion and the fear of the Lord." "To another, the gifts of healing, and to another the working of miracles;" this will be "the spirit of might." "To another prophecy, to another discerning of spirits, to another divers kinds of tongues, to another the interpretation of tongues;" this will be "the spirit of knowledge." See how the apostle agrees with the prophet both in making the distribution of the one Spirit, and in interpreting His special graces. This, too, I may confidently say: he who has likened the unity of our body throughout its manifold and divers members to the compacting together of the various gifts of the Spirit, shows also that there is but one Lord of the human body and of the Holy Spirit. This Spirit, (according to the apostle's showing,) meant not that the service of these gifts should be in the body, nor did He place them in the human body); and on the subject of the superiority of love above all these gifts, He even taught the apostle that it was the chief commandment, just as Christ has shown it to be: "Thou shalt love the Lord with all thine heart and soul, with all thy strength, and with all thy mind, and thy neighbour as thine own self." When he mentions the fact that "it is written in the law," how that the Creator would speak with other tongues and other lips, whilst confirming indeed the gift of tongues by such a mention, he yet cannot be thought to have affirmed that the gift was that of another god by his reference to the Creator's prediction. In precisely the same manner, when enjoining on women silence in the church, that they speak not for the mere sake of learning (although that even they have the right of prophesying, he has already shown when he covers the woman that prophesies with a veil), he goes to the law for his sanction that woman should be under obedience. Now this law, let me say once for all, he ought to have made no other

acquaintance with, than to destroy it. But that we may now leave the subject of spiritual gifts, facts themselves will be enough to prove which of us acts rashly in claiming them for his God, and whether it is possible that they are opposed to our side, even if the Creator promised them for His Christ who is not yet revealed, as being destined only for the Jews, to have their operations in His time, in His Christ, and among His people. Let Marcion then exhibit, as gifts of his god, some prophets, such as have not spoken by human sense, but with the Spirit of God, such as have both predicted things to come, and have made manifest the secrets of the heart; let him produce a psalm, a vision, a prayer — only let it be by the Spirit, in an ecstasy, that is, in a rapture, whenever an interpretation of tongues has occurred to him; let him show to me also, that any woman of boastful tongue in his community has ever prophesied from amongst those specially holy sisters of his. Now all these signs (of spiritual gifts) are forthcoming from my side without any difficulty, and they agree, too, with the rules, and the dispensations, and the instructions of the Creator; therefore without doubt the Christ, and the Spirit, and the apostle, belong severally to my God. Here, then, is my frank avowal for any one who cares to require it.

Chap. IX. — The Doctrine Of The Resurrection. The Body Will Rise Again. Christ's Judicial Character. Jewish Perversions Of Prophecy Exposed And Confuted. Messianic Psalms Vindicated. Jewish And Rationalistic Interpretations On This Point Similar. Jesus — Not Hezekiah Or Solomon — The Subject Of These Prophecies In The Psalms. None But He Is The Christ Of The Old And The New Testaments.

Meanwhile the Marcionite will exhibit nothing of this kind; he is by this time afraid to say which side has the better right to a Christ who is not yet revealed. Just as my Christ is to be expected, who was predicted from the beginning, so his Christ therefore has no existence, as not having been announced from the beginning. Ours is a better faith, which believes in a future Christ, than the heretic's, which has none at all to believe in. Touching the resurrection of the dead, let us first inquire how some persons then denied it. No doubt in the same way in which it is even now denied, since the resurrection of the flesh has at all times men to deny it. But many wise men claim for the soul a divine nature, and are confident of its undying destiny, and even the multitude worship the dead in the presumption which they boldly entertain that their souls survive. As for our bodies, however, it is manifest that they perish either at once by fire or the wild beasts, or even when most carefully kept by length of time. When, therefore, the apostle refutes those who deny the resurrection of the flesh, he indeed defends, in opposition to them, the precise matter of their denial, that is, the resurrection of the body. You have the whole answer wrapped up in this. All the rest is superfluous. Now in this very point, which is called the resurrection of the dead, it is requisite that the proper force of the words should be accurately maintained. The word dead expresses simply what has lost the vital principle, by means of which it used to live. Now the body is that which loses life, and as the result of losing it becomes dead. To the body, therefore, the term dead is only suitable. Moreover, as resurrection accrues to what is dead, and dead is a term applicable only to a body, therefore the body alone has a resurrection incidental to it. So again the word Resurrection, or (rising affairs), embraces only that which has fallen down. "To rise," indeed, can be predicated of that which has never fallen down, but had already been

always lying down. But “to rise again” is predicable only of that which has fallen down; because it is by rising again, in consequence of its having fallen down, that it is said to have re-risen. For the syllable RE always implies iteration (or happening again). We say, therefore, that the body falls to the ground by death, as indeed facts themselves show, in accordance with the law of God. For to the body it was said, (“Till thou return to the ground, for out of it wast thou taken; for) dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.” That, therefore, which came from the ground shall return to the ground. Now that falls down which returns to the ground; and that rises again which falls down. “Since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection.” Here in the word man, who consists of bodily substance, as we have often shown already, is presented to me the body of Christ. But if we are all so made alive in Christ, as we die in Adam, it follows of necessity that we are made alive in Christ as a bodily substance, since we died in Adam as a bodily substance. The similarity, indeed, is not complete, unless our revival in Christ concur in identity of substance with our mortality in Adam. But at this point (the apostle) has made a parenthetical statement concerning Christ, which, bearing as it does on our present discussion, must not pass unnoticed. For the resurrection of the body will receive all the better proof, in proportion as I shall succeed in showing that Christ belongs to that God who is believed to have provided this resurrection of the flesh in His dispensation. When he says, “For He must reign, till He hath put all enemies under His feet,” we can see at once from this statement that he speaks of a God of vengeance, and therefore of Him who made the following promise to Christ: “Sit Thou at my right hand, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool. The rod of Thy strength shall the Lord send forth from Sion, and He shall rule along with Thee in the midst of Thine enemies.” It is necessary for me to lay claim to those Scriptures which the Jews endeavour to deprive us of, and to show that they sustain my view. Now they say that this Psalm was a chant in honour of Hezekiah, because “he went up to the house of the Lord,” and God turned back and removed his enemies. Therefore, (as they further hold,) those other words, “Before the morning star did I beget thee from the womb,” are applicable to Hezekiah, and to the birth of Hezekiah. We on our side have published Gospels (to the credibility of which we have to thank them for having given some confirmation, indeed, already in so great a subject); and these declare

that the Lord was born at night, that so it might be “before the morning star,” as is evident both from the star especially, and from the testimony of the angel, who at night announced to the shepherds that Christ had at that moment been born, and again from the place of the birth, for it is towards night that persons arrive at the (eastern)” inn.” Perhaps, too, there was a mystic purpose in Christ’s being born at night, destined, as He was, to be the light of the truth amidst the dark shadows of ignorance. Nor, again, would God have said, “I have begotten Thee,” except to His true Son. For although He says of all the people (Israel), “I have begotten children,” yet He added not “from the womb.” Now, why should He have added so superfluously this phrase “from the womb” (as if there could be any doubt about any one’s having been born from the womb), unless the Holy Ghost had wished the words to be with especial care understood of Christ? “I have begotten Thee from the womb,” that is to say, from a womb only, without a man’s seed, making it a condition of a fleshly body that it should come out of a womb. What is here added (in the Psalm), “Thou art a priest for ever,” relates to (Christ) Himself. Hezekiah was no priest; and even if he had been one, he would not have been a priest for ever. “After the order,” says He, “of Melchizedek.” Now what had Hezekiah to do with Melchizedek, the priest of the most high God, and him uncircumcised too, who blessed the circumcised Abraham, after receiving from him the offering of tithes? To Christ, however, “the order of Melchizedek” will be very suitable; for Christ is the proper and legitimate High Priest of God. He is the Pontiff of the priesthood of the uncircumcision, constituted such, even then, for the Gentiles, by whom He was to be more fully received, although at His last coming He will favour with His acceptance and blessing the circumcision also, even the race of Abraham, which by and by is to acknowledge Him. Well, then, there is also another Psalm, which begins with these words: “Give Thy judgments, O God, to the King,” that is, to Christ who was to come as King, “and Thy righteousness unto the King’s son,” that is, to Christ’s people; for His sons are they who are born again in Him. But it will here be said that this Psalm has reference to Solomon. However, will not those portions of the Psalm which apply to Christ alone, be enough to teach us that all the rest, too, relates to Christ, and not to Solomon? “He shall come down,” says He, “like rain upon a fleece, and like dropping showers upon the earth,” describing His descent from heaven to the flesh as

gentle and unobserved. Solomon, however, if he had indeed any descent at all, came not down like a shower, because he descended not from heaven. But I will set before you more literal points. "He shall have dominion," says the Psalmist, "from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth." To Christ alone was this given; whilst Solomon reigned over only the moderately-sized kingdom of Judah. "Yea, all kings shall fall down before Him." Whom, indeed, shall they all thus worship, except Christ? "All nations shall serve Him." To whom shall all thus do homage, but Christ? "His name shall endure for ever." Whose name has this eternity of fame, but Christ's? "Longer than the sun shall His name remain," for longer than the sun shall be the Word of God, even Christ. "And in Him shall all nations be blessed." In Solomon was no nation blessed; in Christ every nation. And what if the Psalm proves Him to be even God? "They shall call Him blessed." (On what ground?) Because blessed Is the Lord God of Israel, who only doeth wonderful things." "Blessed also is His glorious name, and with His glory shall all the earth be filled." On the contrary, Solomon (as I make bold to affirm) lost even the glory which he had from God, seduced by his love of women even into idolatry. And thus, the statement which occurs in about the middle of this Psalm, "His enemies shall lick the dust" (of course, as having been, (to use the apostle's phrase,) "put under His feet"), will bear upon the very object which I had in view, when I both introduced the Psalm, and insisted on my opinion of its sense, — namely, that I might demonstrate both the glory of His kingdom and the subjection of His enemies in pursuance of the Creator's own plans, with the view of laying down this conclusion, that none but He can be believed to be the Christ of the Creator.

Chap. X. — Doctrine Of The Resurrection Of The Body, Continued. How Are The Dead Raised? And With Whay Body Do They Come? These Questions Answered In Such A Sense As To Maintain The Truth Of The Raised Body, Against Marcion. Christ As The Second Adam Connected With The Creator Of The First Man. Let Us Bear The Image Of The Heavenly. The Triumph Over Death In Accordance With The Prophets. Hosea And St. Paul Compared.

Let us now return to the resurrection, to the defence of which against heretics of all sorts we have given indeed sufficient attention in another work of ours. But we will not be wanting (in some defence of the doctrine) even here, in consideration of such persons as are ignorant of that little treatise. "What," asks he, "shall they do who are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not?" Now, never mind that practice, (whatever it may have been.) The Februarian lustrations will perhaps answer him (quite as well), by praying for the dead. Do not then suppose that the apostle here indicates some new god as the author and advocate of this (baptism for the dead. His only aim in alluding to it was) that he might all the more firmly insist upon the resurrection of the body, in proportion as they who were vainly baptized for the dead resorted to the practice from their belief of such a resurrection. We have the apostle in another passage defining "but one baptism." To be "baptized for the dead" therefore means, in fact, to be baptized for the body; for, as we have shown, it is the body which becomes dead. What, then, shall they do who are baptized for the body, if the body rises not again? We stand, then, on firm ground (when we say) that the next question which the apostle has discussed equally relates to the body. But "some man will say, 'How are the dead raised up? With what body do they come?'" Having established the doctrine of the resurrection which was denied, it was natural to discuss what would be the sort of body (in the resurrection), of which no one had an idea. On this point we have other opponents with whom to engage, For Marcion does not in any wise admit the resurrection of the flesh, and it is only the salvation of the soul which he promises; consequently the question which he raises is not concerning the sort of body, but the very substance thereof. Notwithstanding,

he is most plainly refuted even from what the apostle advances respecting the quality of the body, in answer to those who ask, "How are the dead raised up? with what body do they come?" For as he treated of the sort of body, he of course ipso facto proclaimed in the argument that it was a body which would rise again. Indeed, since he proposes as his examples "wheat grain, or some other grain, to which God giveth a body, such as it hath pleased Him;" since also he says, that "to every seed is its own body;" that, consequently, "there is one kind of flesh of men, whilst there is another of beasts, and (another) of birds; that there are also celestial bodies and bodies terrestrial; and that there is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars" — does he not therefore intimate that there is to be a resurrection of the flesh or body, which he illustrates by fleshly and corporeal samples? Does he not also guarantee that the resurrection shall be accomplished by that God from whom proceed all the (creatures which have served him for) examples? "So also," says he, "is the resurrection of the dead." How? Just as the grain, which is sown a body, springs up a body. This sowing of the body he called the dissolving thereof in the ground, "because it is sown in corruption," (but "is raised) to honour and power." Now, just as in the case of the grain, so here: to Him will belong the work in the revival of the body, who ordered the process in the dissolution thereof. If, however, you remove the body from the resurrection which you submitted to the dissolution, what becomes of the diversity in the issue? Likewise, "although it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body." Now, although the natural principle of life and the spirit have each a body proper to itself, so that the "natural body" may fairly be taken to signify the soul, and "the spiritual body" the spirit, yet that is no reason for supposing the apostle to say that the soul is to become spirit in the resurrection, but that body (which, as being born along with the soul, and as retaining its life by means of the soul, admits of being called animal (or natural) will become spiritual, since it rises through the Spirit to an eternal life. In short, since it is not the soul, but the flesh which is "sown in corruption," when it turns to decay in the ground, it follows that (after such dissolution) the soul is no longer the natural body, but the flesh, which was the natural body, (is the subject of the future change), forasmuch as of a natural body it is made a spiritual body, as he says further down, "That was not first which is spiritual." For to this effect he just before remarked of Christ

Himself: "The first man Adam was made a living soul, the last Adam was made a quickening spirit." Our heretic, however, in the excess of his folly, being unwilling that the statement should remain in this shape, altered "last Adam" into "last Lord;" because he feared, of course, that if he allowed the Lord to be the last (or second) Adam, we should contend that Christ, being the second Adam, must needs belong to that God who owned also the first Adam. But the falsification is transparent. For why is there a first Adam, unless it be that there is also a second Adam? For things are not classed together unless they be severally alike, and have an identity of either name, or substance, or origin. Now, although among things which are even individually diverse, one must be first and another last, yet they must have one author. If, however, the author be a different one, he himself indeed may be called the last. But the thing which he introduces is the first, and that only can be the last, which is like this first in nature. It is, however, not like the first in nature, when it is not the work of the same author. In like manner (the heretic) will be refuted also with the word "man:" "The first man is of the earth, earthy; the second man is the Lord from heaven." Now, since the first was a how can there be a second, unless he is a man also? Or, else, if the second is "Lord," was the first "Lord" also? It is, however, quite enough for me, that in his Gospel he admits the Son of man to be both Christ and Man; so that he will not be able to deny Him (in this passage), in the "Adam" and the "man" (of the apostle). What follows will also be too much for him. For when the apostle says, "As is the earthy," that is, man, "such also are they that are earthy"—men again, of course; "therefore as is the heavenly," meaning the Man, from heaven, "such are the men also that are heavenly." For he could not possibly have opposed to earthly men any heavenly beings that were not men also; his object being the more accurately to distinguish their state and expectation by using this name in common for them both. For in respect of their present state and their future expectation he calls men earthly and heavenly, still reserving their parity of name, according as they are reckoned (as to their ultimate conditions) in Adam or in Christ. Therefore, when exhorting them to cherish the hope of heaven, he says: "As we have borne the image of the earthy, so let us also bear the image of the heavenly," — language which relates not to any condition of resurrection life, but to the rule of the present time. He says, Let us bear, as a precept; not We shall bear, in the sense of a promise — wishing us to walk

even as he himself was walking, and to put off the likeness of the earthly, that is, of the old man, in the works of the flesh. For what are this next words? “Now this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God.” He means the works of the flesh and blood, which, in his Epistle to the Galatians, deprive men of the kingdom of God. In other passages also he is accustomed to put the natural condition instead of the works that are done therein, as when he says, that “they who are in the flesh cannot please God.” Now, when shall we be able to please God except whilst we are in this flesh? There is, I imagine, no other time wherein a man can work. If, however, whilst we are even naturally living in the flesh, we yet eschew the deeds of the flesh, then we shall not be in the flesh; since, although we are not absent from the substance of the flesh, we are notwithstanding strangers to the sin thereof. Now, since in the word flesh we are enjoined to put off, not the substance, but the works of the flesh, therefore in the use of the same word the kingdom of God is denied to the works of the flesh, not to the substance thereof. For not that is condemned in which evil is done, but only the evil which is done in it. To administer poison is a crime, but the cup in which it is given is not guilty. So the body is the vessel of the works of the flesh, whilst the soul which is within it mixes the poison of a wicked act. How then is it, that the soul, which is the real author of the works of the flesh, shall attain to the kingdom of God, after the deeds done in the body have been stoned for, whilst the body, which was nothing but (the soul’s) ministering agent, must remain in condemnation? Is the cup to be punished, but the poisoner to escape? Not that we indeed claim the kingdom of God for the flesh: all we do is, to assert a resurrection for the substance thereof, as the gate of the kingdom through which it is entered. But the resurrection is one thing, and the kingdom is another. The resurrection is first, and afterwards the kingdom. We say, therefore, that the flesh rises again, but that when changed it obtains the kingdom. “For the dead shall be raised incorruptible,” even those who had been corruptible when their bodies fell into decay; “and we shall be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye. For this corruptible” — and as he spake, the apostle seemingly pointed to his own flesh—” must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality.” in order, indeed, that it may be rendered a fit substance for the kingdom of God. “For we shall be like the angels.” This will be the perfect change of our flesh — only after its resurrection. Now if, on the

contrary, there is to be no flesh, how then shall it put on incorruption and immortality? Having then become something else by its change, it will obtain the kingdom of God, no longer the (old) flesh and blood, but the body which God shall have given it. Rightly then does the apostle declare, “Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God;” for this (honour) does he ascribe to the changed condition which ensues on the resurrection. Since, therefore, shall then be accomplished the word which was written by the Creator, “O death, where is thy victory” — or thy struggle? “O death, where is thy sting?” — written, I say, by the Creator, for He wrote them by His prophet — to Him will belong the gift, that is, the kingdom, who proclaimed the word which is to be accomplished in the kingdom. And to none other God does he tell us that “thanks” are due, for having enabled us to achieve “the victory” even over death, than to Him from whom he received the very expression of the exulting and triumphant challenge to the mortal foe.

**Chap. XI. — The Second Epistle To The Corinthians.
The Creator The Father Of Mercies. Shown To Be Such
In The Old Testament, And Also In Christ. The Newness
Of The New Testament. The Veil Of Obdurate Blindness
Upon Israel, Not Reprehensible On Marcion's
Principles. The Jews Guilty In Rejecting The Christ Of
The Creator. Satan, The God Of This World. The
Treasure In Earthen Vessels Explained Against Marcion.
The Creator's Relation To These Vessels, I.E., Our
Bodies.**

If, owing to the fault of human error, the word God has become a common name (since in the world there are said and believed to be “gods many”), yet “the blessed God,” (who is “the Father”) of our Lord Jesus Christ, will be understood to be no other God than the Creator, who both blessed all things (that He had made), as you find in Genesis, and is Himself “blessed by all things,” as Daniel tells us. Now, if the title of Father may be claimed for (Marcion's) sterile god, how much more for the Creator? To none other than Him is it suitable, who is also “the Father of mercies,” and (in the prophets) has been described as “full of compassion, and gracious, and plenteous in mercy.” In Jonah you find the signal act of His mercy, which He showed to the praying Ninevites. How inflexible was He at the tears of Hezekiah! How ready to forgive Ahab, the husband of Jezebel, the blood of Naborb, when he deprecated His anger. How prompt in pardoning David on his confession of his sin — preferring, indeed, the sinner's repentance to his death, of course because of His gracious attribute of mercy. Now, if Marcion's god has exhibited or proclaimed any such thing as this, I will allow him to be “the Father of mercies.” Since, however, he ascribes to him this title only from the time he has been revealed, as if he were the father of mercies from the time only when he began to liberate the human race, then we on our side, too, adopt the same precise date of his alleged revelation; but it is that we may deny him! It is then not competent to him to ascribe any quality to his god, whom indeed he only promulged by the fact of such an ascription; for only if it were previously evident that his god had an existence, could he be permitted to ascribe an attribute to him. The ascribed attribute is only an accident; but

accidents are preceded by the statement of the thing itself of which they are predicated, especially when another claims the attribute which is ascribed to him who has not been previously shown to exist. Our denial of his existence will be all the more peremptory, because of the fact that the attribute which is alleged in proof of it belongs to that God who has been already revealed. Therefore “the New Testament” will appertain to none other than Him who promised it — if not “its letter, yet its spirit;” and herein will lie its newness. Indeed, He who had engraved its letter in stones is the same as He who had said of its spirit, “I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh.” Even if “the letter killeth, yet the Spirit giveth life;” and both belong to Him who says: “I kill, and I make alive; I wound, and I heal.” We have already made good the Creator’s claim to this twofold character of judgment and goodness— “killing in the letter” through the law, and “quickenings in the Spirit” through the Gospel. Now these attributes, however different they be, cannot possibly make two gods; for they have already (in the prevenient dispensation of the Old Testament) been found to meet in One. He alludes to Moses’ veil, covered with which “his face could not be stedfastly seen by the children of Israel.” Since he did this to maintain the superiority of the glory of the New Testament, which is permanent in its glory, over that of the Old, “which was to be done away,” this fact gives support to my belief which exalts the Gospel above the law and you must look well to it that it does not even more than this. For only there is superiority possible where was previously the thing over which superiority can be affirmed. But then he says, “But their minds were blinded” — of the world; certainly not the Creator’s mind, but the minds of the people which are in the world. Of Israel he says, Even unto this day the same veil is upon their heart;” showing that the veil which was on the face of Moses was a figure of the veil which is on the heart of the nation still; because even now Moses is not seen by them in heart, just as he was not then seen by them in eye. But what concern has Paul with the veil which still obscures Moses from their view, if the Christ of the Creator, whom Moses predicted, is not yet come? How are the hearts of the Jews represented as still covered and veiled, if the predictions of Moses relating to Christ, in whom it was their duty to believe through him, are as yet unfulfilled? What had the apostle of a strange Christ to complain of, if the Jews failed in understanding the mysterious announcements of their own God, unless the veil which was upon

their hearts had reference to that blindness which concealed from their eyes the Christ of Moses? Then, again, the words which follow, But when it shall turn to the Lord, the evil shall be taken away,” properly refer to the Jew, over whose gaze Moses’ veil is spread, to the effect that, when he is turned to the faith of Christ, he will understand how Moses spoke of Christ. But how shall the veil of the Creator be taken away by the Christ of another god, whose mysteries the Creator could not possibly have veiled — unknown mysteries, as they were of an unknown god? So he says that “we now with open face” (meaning the candour of the heart, which in the Jews had been covered with a veil), “beholding Christ, are changed into the same image, from that glory” (wherewith Moses was transfigured as by the glory of the Lord) “to another glory.” By thus setting forth the glory which illumined the person of Moses from his interview with God, and the veil which concealed the same from the infirmity of the people, and by superinducing thereupon the revelation and the glory of the Spirit in the person of Christ — “even as,” to use his words, “by the Spirit. of the Lord” — he testifies that the whole MOsaic system was a figure of Christ, of whom the Jews indeed were ignorant, but who is known to us Christians. We are quite aware that some passages are open to ambiguity, from the way in which they are read, or else from their punctuation, when there is room for these two causes of ambiguity. The latter method has been adopted by Marcion, by reading the passage which follows, “in whom the God of this world,” as if it described the Creator as the God of this world, in order that he may, by these words, imply that there is another God for the other world. We, however, say that the passage ought to be punctuated with a comma after God, to this effect: “In whom God hath blinded the eyes of the unbelievers of this world.” “In whom” means the Jewish unbelievers, from some of whom the gospel is still hidden under Moses’ veil. Now it is these whom God had threatened for “loving Him indeed with the lip, whilst their heart was far from Him,” in these angry words: “Ye shall hear with your ears, and not understand; and see with your eyes, but not perceive;” and, “If ye will not believe, ye shall not understand;” and again, “I will take away the wisdom of their wise men, and bring to nought the understanding of their prudent ones.” But these words, of course, He did not pronounce against them for concealing the gospel of the unknown God. At any rate, if there is a God of this world, He blinds the heart of the unbelievers of this world, because they

have not of their own accord recognised His Christ, who ought to be understood from His Scriptures. Content with my advantage, I can willingly refrain from noticing to any greater length this point of ambiguous punctuation, so as not to give my adversary any advantage, indeed, I might have wholly omitted the discussion. A simpler answer I shall find ready to hand in interpreting “the god of this world” of the devil, who once said, as the prophet describes him: “I will be like the Most High; I will exalt my throne in the clouds.” The whole superstition, indeed, of this world has got into his hands, so that he blinds effectually the hearts of unbelievers, and of none more than the apostate Marcion’s. Now he did not observe how much this clause of the sentence made against him: “For God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to (give) the light of the knowledge (of His glory) in the face of (Jesus) Christ.” Now who was it that said; “Let there be light?” And who was it that said to Christ concerning giving light to the world: “I have set Thee as a light to the Gentiles” — to them, that is, “who sit in darkness and in the shadow of death?” (None else, surely, than He), to whom the Spirit in the Psalm answers, in His foresight of the future, saying, “The light of Thy countenance, O Lord, hath been displayed upon us.” Now the countenance (or person) of the Lord here is Christ. Wherefore the apostle said above: Christ, who is the image of God.” Since Christ, then, is the person of the Creator, who said, “Let there be light,” it follows that Christ and the apostles, and the gospel, and the veil, and Moses — nay, the whole of the dispensations — belong to the God who is the Creator of this world, according to the testimony of the clause (above adverted to), and certainly not to him who never said, “Let there be light.” I here pass over discussion about another epistle, which we hold to have been written to the Ephesians, but the heretics to the Laodiceans. In it he tells them to remember, that at the time when they were Gentiles they were without Christ, aliens from (the commonwealth of) Israel, without intercourse, without the covenants and any hope of promise, nay, without God, even in his own world, as the Creator thereof. Since therefore he said, that the Gentiles were without God, whilst their god was the devil, not the Creator, it is clear that he must be understood to be the lord of this world, whom the Gentiles received as their god — not the Creator, of whom they were in ignorance. But how does it happen, that “the treasure which we have in these earthen vessels of ours” should not be

regarded as belonging to the God who owns the vessels? Now since God's glory is, that so great a treasure is contained in earthen vessels, and since these earthen vessels are of the Creator's make, it follows that the glory is the Creator's; nay, since these vessels of His smack so much of the excellency of the power of God, that power itself must be His also! Indeed, all these things have been consigned to the said "earthen vessels" for the very purpose that His excellence might be manifested forth. Henceforth, then, the rival god will have no claim to the glory, and consequently none to the power. Rather, dishonour and weakness will accrue to him, because the earthen vessels with which he had nothing to do have received all the excellency! Well, then, if it be in these very earthen vessels that he tells us we have to endure so great sufferings, in which we bear about with us the very dying of God, (Marcion's) god is really ungrateful and unjust, if he does not mean to restore this same I substance of ours at the resurrection, wherein so much has been endured in loyalty to him, in which Christ's very death is borne about, wherein too the excellency of his power is treasured. For he gives prominence to the statement, "That the life also of Christ may be manifested in our body," as a contrast to the preceding, that His death is borne about in our body. Now of what life of Christ does he here speak? Of that which we are now living? Then how is it, that in the words which follow he exhorts us not to the things which are seen and are temporal, but to those which are not seen and are eternal — in other words, not to the present, but to the future? But if it be of the future life of Christ that he speaks, intimating that it is to be made manifest in our body, then he has clearly predicted the resurrection of the flesh. He says, too, that "our outward man perishes," not meaning by an eternal perdition after death, but by labours and sufferings, in reference to which he previously said, "For which cause we will not faint." Now, when he adds of "the inward man" also, that it "is renewed day by day," he demonstrates both issues here — the wasting away of the body by the wear and tear of its trials, and the renewal of the soul by its contemplation of the promises.

Chap. XII. — The Eternal Home In Heaven. Beautiful Exposition By Tertullian Of The Apostle's Consolatory Teaching Against The Fear Of Death, So Apt To Arise Under Anti-Christian Oppression. The Judgment-Seat Of Christ — The Idea, Anti-Marcionite. Paradise. Judicial Characteristics Of Christ, Which Are Inconsistent With The Heretical Views About Him; The Apostle's Sharpness, Or Severity, Shows Him To Be A Fit Preacher Of The Creator's Christ.

As to the house of this our earthly dwelling-place, when he says that “we have an eternal home in heaven, not made with hands,” he by no means would imply that, because it was built by the Creator's hand, it must perish in a perpetual dissolution after death. He treats of this subject in order to offer consolation against the fear of death and the dread of this very dissolution, as is even more manifest from what follows, when he adds, that “in this tabernacle of our earthly body we do groan, earnestly desiring to be clothed upon with the vesture which is from heaven, if so be, that having been unclothed, we shall not be found naked;” in other words, shall regain that of which we have been divested, even our body. And again he says: “We that are in this tabernacle do groan, not as if we were oppressed with an unwillingness to be unclothed, but (we wish) to be clothed upon.” He here says expressly, what he touched but lightly in his first epistle, where he wrote: “The dead shall be raised Incorruptible (meaning those who had undergone mortality), “and we shall be changed”(whom God shall find to be yet in the flesh). Both those shall be raised incorruptible, because they shall regain their body — and that a renewed one, from which shall come their incorruptibility; and these also shall, in the crisis of the last moment, and from their instantaneous death, whilst encountering the oppressions of anti-christ, undergo a change, obtaining therein not so much a divestiture of body as “a clothing upon” with the vesture which is from heaven. So that whilst these shall put on over their (changed) body this, heavenly raiment, the dead also shall for their part recover their body, over which they too have a supervesture to put on, even the incorruption of heaven; because of these it was that he said: “This corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on

immortality.” The one put on this (heavenly) apparel, when they recover their bodies; the others put it on as a supervesture, when they indeed hardly lose them (in the suddenness of their change). It was accordingly not without good reason that he described them as “not wishing indeed to be unclothed,” but (rather as wanting) “to be clothed upon;” in other words, as wishing not to undergo death, but to be surprised into life, “that this mortal (body) might be swallowed up of life,” by being rescued from death in the supervesture of its changed state. This is why he shows us how much better it is for us not to be sorry, if we should be surprised by death, and tells us that we even hold of God “the earnest of His Spirit” (pledged as it were thereby to have “the clothing upon,” which is the object of our hope), and that “so long as we are in the flesh, we are absent from the Lord;” moreover, that we ought on this account to prefer “rather to be absent from the body and to be present with the Lord,” and so to be ready to meet even death with joy. In this view it is that he informs us how “we must all appear before the judgement-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according as he hath done either good or bad.” Since, however, there is then to be a retribution according to men’s merits, how will any be able to reckon with God? But by mentioning both the judgment-seat and the distinction between works good and bad, he sets before us a Judge who is to award both sentences, and has thereby affirmed that all will have to be present at the tribunal in their bodies. For it will be impossible to pass sentence except on the body, for what has been done in the body. God would be unjust, if any one were not punished or else rewarded in that very condition, wherein the merit was itself achieved. “If therefore any man be in Christ, he is a new creature; old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new;” and so is accomplished the prophecy of Isaiah. When also he (in a later passage) enjoins us “to cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of flesh and blood” (since this substance enters not the kingdom of Gods); when, again, he “espouses the church as a chaste virgin to Christ,” a spouse to a spouse in very deed, an image cannot be combined and compared with what is opposed to the real nature the thing (with which it is compared). when he designates “false apostles, deceitful workers transforming themselves” into likenesses of himself, of course by their hypocrisy, he charges them with the guilt of disorderly conversation, rather than of false doctrine. The contrariety, therefore, was one of conduct,

not of gods. If “Satan himself, too, is transformed into an angel of light,” such an assertion must not be used to the prejudice of the Creator. The Creator is not an angel, but God. Into a god of light, and not an angel of light, must Satan then have been said to be transformed, if he did not mean to call him “the angel,” which both we and Marcion know him to be. Paradise is the title of a treatise of ours, in which is discussed all that the subject admits of. I shall here simply wonder, in connection with this matter, whether a god who has no dispensation of any kind on earth could possibly have a paradise to call his own — without perchance availing himself of the paradise of the Creator, to use it as he does His world — much in the character of a mendicant. And yet of the removal of a man from earth to heaven we have an instance afforded us by the Creator in Elijah. But what will excite my surprise still more is the case (next supposed by Marcion), that a God so good and gracious, and so averse to blows and cruelty, should have suborned the angel Satan — not his own either, but the Creator’s— “to buffet” the apostle, and then to have refused his request, when thrice entreated to liberate him! It would seem, therefore, that Marcion’s god imitates the Creator’s conduct, who is an enemy to the proud, even “putting down the mighty from their seats.” Is he then the same God as He who gave Satan power over the person of Job that his “strength might be made perfect in weakness?” How is it that the censurer of the Galatians still retains the very formula of the law: “In the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established?” How again is it that he threatens sinners “that he will not spare” them — he, the preacher of a most gentle god? Yea, he even declares that “the Lord hath given to him the power of using sharpness in their presence!” Deny now, O heretic, (at your cost,) that your god is an object to be feared, when his apostle was for making himself so formidable!

Chap. XIII. — The Epistle To The Romans. St. Paul Cannot Help Using Phrases, Which Bespeak The Justice Of God, Even When He Is Eulogizing The Mercies Of The Gospel. Marcion Particularly Hard In Mutilation Of This Epistle Yet Our Author Argues On Common Ground. The Judgment At Last Will Be In Accordance With The Gospel. The Justified By Faith Exhorted To Have Peace With God. The Administration Of The Old And The New Dispensations In One And The Same Hand.

Since my little work is approaching its termination, I must treat but briefly the points which still occur, whilst those which have so often turned up must be put aside. I regret still to have to contend about the law — after I have so often proved that its replacement (by the gospel) affords no argument for another god, predicted as it was indeed in Christ, and in the Creator's own plans ordained for His Christ. (But I must revert to that discussion) so far as (the apostle leads me, for) this very epistle looks very much as if it abrogated the law. We have, however, often shown before now that God is declared by the apostle to be a Judge; and that in the Judge is implied an Avenger; area in the Avenger, the Creator. And so in the passage where he says: "I am not ashamed of the gospel (of Christ): for it is the power of god unto salvation to every one that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek; for therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith," he undoubtedly ascribes both the gospel and salvation to Him whom (in accordance with our heretic's own distinction) I have called the just God, not the good one. It is He who removes (men) from confidence in the law to faith in the gospel — that is to say, His own law and His own gospel. When, again, he declares that "the wrath (of God) is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness," (I ask) the wrath of what God? Of the Creator certainly. The truth, therefore, will be His, whose is also the wrath, which has to be revealed to avenge the truth. Likewise, when adding, "We are sure that the judgment of God is according to truth," he both vindicated that wrath from which comes this judgment for the truth, and at the same time afforded another proof that the truth emanates from

the same God whose wrath he attested, by witnessing to His judgment. Marcion's averment is quite a different matter, that the Creator in anger avenges Himself on the truth of the rival god which had been detained in unrighteousness. But what serious gaps Marcion has made in this epistle especially, by withdrawing whole passages at his will, will be clear from the unmedullated text of our own copy. It is enough for my purpose to accept in evidence of its truth what he has seen fit to leave unerased, strange instances as they are also of his negligence and blindness. If, then, God will judge the secrets of men — both of those who have sinned in the law, and of those who have sinned without law (inasmuch as they who know not the law yet do by nature the things contained in the law) — surely the God who shall judge is He to whom belong both the law, and that nature which is the rule to them who know not the law. But how will He conduct this judgment? "According to my gospel," says (the apostle), "by (Jesus) Christ." So that both the gospel and Christ must be His, to whom appertain the law and the nature which are to be vindicated by the gospel and Christ — even at that judgment of God which, as he previously said, was to be according to truth. The wrath, therefore, which is to vindicate truth, can only be revealed from heaven by the God of wrath; so that this sentence, which is quite in accordance with that previous one wherein the judgment is declared to be the Creator's, cannot possibly be ascribed to another god who is not a judge, and is incapable of wrath. It is only consistent in Him amongst whose attributes are found the judgment and the wrath of which I am speaking, and to whom of necessity must also appertain the media whereby these attributes are to be carried into effect. even the gospel and Christ. Hence his invective against the transgressors of the law, who teach that men should not steal, and yet practise theft themselves. (This invective he utters) in perfect homage to the law of God, not as if he meant to ten sure the Creator Himself with having commanded a fraud to be practised against the Egyptians to get their gold and silver at the very time when He was forbidding men to steal, — adopting such methods as they are apt (shamelessly) to charge upon Him in other particulars also. Are we then to suppose that the apostle abstained through fear from openly calumniating God, from whom notwithstanding He did not hesitate to withdraw men? Well, but he had gone so far in his censure of the Jews, as to point against them the denunciation of the prophet, "Through you the name of

God is blasphemed (among the Gentiles).” But how absurd, that he should himself blaspheme Him for blaspheming whom he upbraids them as evil-doers! He prefers even circumcision of heart to neglect of it in the flesh. Now it is quite within the purpose of the God of the law that circumcision should be that of the heart, not in the flesh; in the spirit, and not in the letter. Since this is the circumcision recommended by Jeremiah: “Circumcise (yourselves to the Lord, and take away) the foreskins of your heart;” and even of Moses: “Circumcise, therefore, the hardness of your heart,”-the Spirit which circumcises the heart will proceed from Him who presented the letter also which clips the flesh; and “the Jew which is one inwardly” will be a subject of the self-same God as he also is who is “a Jew outwardly;” because the apostle would have preferred not to have mentioned a Jew at all, unless he were a servant of the God of the Jews. It was once the law; now it is “the righteousness of God which is by the faith of (Jesus) Christ.” What means this distinction? Has your god been subserving the interests of the Creator’s dispensation, by affording time to Him and to His law? Is the “Now” in the hands of Him to whom belonged the “That”? Surely, then, the law was His, whose is now the righteousness of God. It is a distinction of dispensations, not of gods. He enjoins those who are justified by faith in Christ and not by the law to have peace with God. With what God? Him whose enemies we have never, in any dispensation, been? Or Him against whom we have rebelled, both in relation to His written law and His law of nature? Now, as peace is only possible towards Him with whom there once was war, we shall be both justified by Him, and to Him also will belong the Christ, in whom we are justified by faith, and through whom alone God’s enemies can ever be reduced to peace. “Moreover,” says he, “the law entered, that the offence might abound.” And wherefore this? “In order,” he says, “that (where sin abounded), grace might much more abound.” Whose grace, if not of that God from whom also came the law? Unless it be, forsooth, that the Creator intercalated His law for the mere purpose of producing some employment for the grace of a rival god, an enemy to Himself (I had almost said, a god unknown to Him), “that as sin had” in His own dispensation “reigned unto death, even so might grace reign through righteousness unto (eternal) life by Jesus Christ,” His own antagonist! For this (I suppose it was, that) the law of the Creator had “concluded all under sin,” and had brought in “all the world

as guilty (before God),” and had “stopped every mouth, so that none could glory through it, in order that grace might be maintained to the glory of the Christ, not of the Creator, but of Marcion! I may here anticipate a remark about the substance of Christ, in the prospect of a question which will now turn up. For he says that “we are dead to the law.” It may be contended that Christ’s body is indeed a body, but not exactly flesh. Now, whatever may be the substance, since he mentions “the body of Christ,” whom he immediately after states to have been “raised from the dead,” none other body can be understood than that of the flesh, in respect of which the law was called (the law) of death. But, behold, he bears testimony to the law, and excuses it on the ground of sin: “What shall we say, therefore? Is the law sin? God forbid.” Fie on you, Marcion. “God forbid!” (See how) the apostle recoils from all impeachment of the law. I, however, have no acquaintance with sin except through the law. But how high an encomium of the law (do we obtain) from this fact, that by it there comes to light the latent presence of sin! It was not the law, therefore, which led me astray, but “sin, taking occasion by the commandment.” Why then do you, (O Marcion,) impute to the God of the law what His apostle dares not impute even to the law itself? Nay, he adds a climax: “The law is holy, and its commandment just and good.” Now if he thus reverences the Creator’s law, I am at a loss to know how he can destroy the Creator Himself. Who can draw a distinction, and say that there are two gods, one just and the other when He ought to be believed to be both one and the other, whose commandment is both “just and good?” Then, again, when affirming the law to be “spiritual” he thereby implies that it is prophetic, and that it is figurative. Now from even this circumstance I am bound to conclude that Christ was predicted by the law but figuratively, so that indeed He could not be recognised by all the Jews.

Chap. XIV. — The Divine Power Shown In Christ's Incarnation. Meaning Of St. Paul's Phrase. Likeness Of Sinful Flesh. No Docetism In It. Resurrection Of Our Real Bodies. A Wide Chasm Made In The Epistle By Marcion's Erasure. When The Jews Are Upbraided By The Apostle For Their Misconduct To God; Inasmuch As That God Was The Creator, A Proof Is In Fact Given That St. Paul's God Was The Creator. The Precepts At The End Of The Epistle, Which Marcion Allowed, Shown To Be In Exact Accordance With The Creator's Scriptures.

If the Father "sent His Son in the likeness of sinful flesh," it must not therefore be said that the flesh which He seemed to have was but a phantom. For he in a previous verse ascribed sin to the flesh, and made it out to be "the law of sin dwelling in his members," and "warring against the law of the mind." On this account, therefore, (does he mean to say that) the Son was sent in the likeness of sinful flesh, that He might redeem this sinful flesh by a like substance, even a fleshly one, which bare a resemblance to sinful flesh, although it was itself free from sin. Now this will be the very perfection of divine power to effect the salvation (of man) in a nature like his own, For it would be no great matter if the Spirit of God remedied the flesh; but when a flesh, which is the very copy of the sinning substance itself flesh also-only without sin, (effects the remedy, then doubtless it is a great thing). The likeness, therefore, will have reference to the quality of the sinfulness, and not to any falsity of the substance. Because he would not have added the attribute "sinful," if he meant the "likeness" to be so predicated of the substance as to deny the verity thereof; in that case he would only have used the word "flesh," and omitted the "sinful." But inasmuch as he has put the two together, and said "sinful flesh," (or "flesh of sin,") he has both affirmed the substance, that is, the flesh and referred the likeness to the fault of the substance, that is, to its sin. But even suppose that the likeness was predicated of the substance, the truth of the said substance will not be thereby denied. Why then call the true substance like? Because it is indeed true, only not of a seed of like condition with our own; but true still, as being of a nature 15 not really unlike ours. And

again, in contrary things there is no likeness. Thus the likeness of flesh would not be called spirit, because flesh is not susceptible of any likeness to spirit; but it would be called phantom, if it seemed to be that which it really was not. It is, however, called likeness, since it is what it seems to be. Now it is (what it seems to be), because it is on a par with the other thing (with which it is compared). But a phantom, which is merely such and nothing else, is not a likeness. The apostle, however, himself here comes to our aid; for, while explaining in what sense he would not have us “live in the flesh,” although in the flesh — even by not living in the works of the flesh — he shows that when he wrote the words, “Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God,” it was not with the view of condemning the substance (of the flesh), but the works thereof; and because it is possible for these not to be committed by us whilst we are still in the flesh, they will therefore be properly chargeable, not on the substance of the flesh, but on its conduct. Likewise, if “the body indeed is dead because of sin” (from which statement we see that not the death of the soul is meant, but that of the body), “but the spirit is life because of righteousness,” it follows that this life accrues to that which incurred death because of sin, that is, as we have just seen, the body. Now the body is only restored to him who had lost it; so that the resurrection of the dead implies the resurrection of their bodies. He accordingly subjoins: “He that raised up Christ from the dead, shall also quicken your mortal bodies.” In these words he both affirmed the resurrection of the flesh (without which nothing can rightly be called body, nor can anything be properly regarded as mortal), and proved the bodily substance of Christ; inasmuch as our own mortal bodies will be quickened in precisely the same way as He was raised; and that was in no other way than in the body. I have here a very wide gulf of expunged Scripture to leap across; however, I alight on the place where the apostle bears record of Israel “that they have a zeal of God”—their own God, of course — “but not according to knowledge. For,” says he, “being ignorant of (the righteousness of) God, and going about to establish their own righteousness, they have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God; for Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth.” Hereupon we shall be confronted with an argument of the heretic, that the Jews were ignorant of the superior God, since, in opposition to him, they set up their own righteousness — that is, the righteousness of their law — not receiving Christ,

the end (or finisher) of the law. But how then is it that he bears testimony to their zeal for their own God, if it is not in respect of the same God that he upbraids them for their ignorance? They were affected indeed with zeal for God, but it was not an intelligent zeal: they were, in fact, ignorant of Him, because they were ignorant of His dispensations by Christ, who was to bring about the consummation of the law; and in this way did they maintain their own righteousness in opposition to Him. But so does the Creator Himself testify to their ignorance concerning Him: "Israel hath not known me; my people have not understood me;" and as to their preferring the establishment of their own righteousness, (the Creator again describes them as) "teaching for doctrines the commandments of men;" moreover, as "having gathered themselves together against the Lord and against His Christ" — from ignorance of Him, of course. Now nothing can be expounded of another god which is applicable to the Creator; otherwise the apostle would not have been just in reproaching the Jews with ignorance in respect of a god of whom they knew nothing. For where had been their sin, if they only maintained the righteousness of their own God against one of whom they were ignorant? But he exclaims: "O the depth of the riches and the wisdom of God; how unsearchable also are His ways!" Whence this outburst of feeling? Surely from the recollection of the Scriptures, which he had been previously turning over, as well as from his contemplation of the mysteries which he had been setting forth above, in relation to the faith of Christ coming from the law. If Marcion had an object in his erasures, why does his apostle utter such an exclamation, because his god has no riches for him to contemplate? So poor and indigent was he, that he created nothing, predicted nothing — in short, possessed nothing; for it was into the world of another God that he descended. The truth is, the Creator's resources and riches, which once had been hidden, were now disclosed. For so had He promised: "I will give to them treasures which have been hidden, and which men have not seen will I open to them." Hence, then, came the exclamation, "O the depth of the riches and the wisdom of God!" For His treasures were now opening out. This is the purport of what Isaiah said, and of (the apostle's own) subsequent quotation of the self-same passage, of the prophet: "Who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been His counsellor? Who hath first given to Him, and it shall be recompensed to him again?" Now, (Marcion,) since you have expunged so

much from the Scriptures, why did you retain these words, as if they too were not the Creator's words? But come now, let us see without mistake the precepts of your new god: "Abhor that which is evil, and cleave to that which is good." Well, is the precept different in the Creator's teaching? "Take away the evil from you, depart from it, and be doing good." Then again: "Be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love." Now is not this of the same import as: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy self?" (Again, your apostle says:) "Rejoicing in hope;" that is, of God. So says the Creator's Psalmist: "It is better to hope in the Lord, than to hope even in princes." "Patient in tribulation." You have (this in) the Psalm: "The Lord hear thee in the day of tribulation." "Bless, and curse not," (says your apostle.) But what better teacher of this will you find than Him who created all things, and blessed them? "Mind not high things, but condescend to men of low estate. Be not wise in your own conceits." For against such a disposition Isaiah pronounces a woe. "Recompense to no man evil for evil." (Like unto which is the Creator's precept:) "Thou shalt not remember thy brother's evil against thee." (Again:) "Avenge not yourselves; " for it is written, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord." "Live peaceably with all men." The retaliation of the law, therefore, permitted not retribution for an injury; it rather repressed any attempt thereat by the fear of a recompense. Very properly, then, did he sum up the entire teaching of the Creator in this precept of His: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." Now, if this is the recapitulation of the law from the very law itself, I am at a loss to know who is the God of the law. I fear He must be Marcion's god (after all). If also the gospel of Christ is fulfilled in this same precept, but not the Creator's Christ, what is the use of our contending any longer whether Christ did or did not say, "I am not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil it? " In vain has (our man of) Pontus laboured to deny this statement. If the gospel has not fulfilled the law, then all I can say is, the law has fulfilled the gospel. But it is well that in a later verse he threatens us with "the judgment-seat of Christ," — the Judge, of course, and the Avenger, and therefore the Creator's (Christ). This Creator, too, however much he may preach up another god, he certainly sets forth for us as a Being to be served, if he holds Him thus up as an object to be feared.

**Chap. XV. — The First Epistle To The Thessalonians.
The Shorter Epistles Pungent In Sense And Very
Valuable. St. Paul Upbraids The Jews For The Death
First Of Their Prophets And Then Of Christ. This A
Presumption That Both Christ And The Prophets
Pertained To The Same God. The Law Of Nature, Which
Is In Fact The Creator's Discipline, And The Gospel Of
Christ Both Enjoin Chastity. The Resurrection Provided
For In The Old Testament By Christ. Man's Compound
Nature.**

I shall not be sorry to bestow attention on the shorter epistles also. Even in brief works there is much pungency? The Jews had slain their prophets. I may ask, What has this to do with the apostle of the rival god, one so amiable withal, who could hardly be said to condemn even the failings of his own people; and who, moreover, has himself some hand in making away with the same prophets whom he is destroying? What injury did Israel commit against him in slaying those whom he too has reprobated, since he was the first to pass a hostile sentence on them? But Israel sinned against their own God. He upbraided their iniquity to whom the injured God pertains; and certainly he is anything but the adversary of the injured Deity. Else he would not have burdened them with the charge of killing even the Lord, in the words, "Who both killed the Lord Jesus and their own prophets," although (the pronoun) their own be an addition of the heretics. Now, what was there so very acrimonious in their killing Christ the proclaimer of the new god, after they had put to death also the prophets of their own god? The fact, however, of their having slain the Lord and His servants, is put as a case of climax. Now, if it were the Christ of one god and the prophets of another god whom they slew, he would certainly have placed the impious crimes on the same level, instead of mentioning them in the way of a climax; but they did not admit of being put on the same level: the climax, therefore, was only possible by the sin having been in fact committed against one and the same Lord in the two respective circumstances. To one and the same Lord, then, belonged Christ and the prophets. What that "sanctification of ours" is, which he declares to be "the will of God," you may discover from the opposite conduct which he

forbids. That we should “abstain from fornication,” not from marriage; that every one “should know how to possess his vessel in honour.” In what way? “Not in the lust of concupiscence, even as the Gentiles.” Concupiscence, however, is not ascribed to marriage even among the Gentiles, but to extravagant, unnatural, and enormous sins. The law of nature is opposed to luxury as well as to grossness and uncleanness; it does not forbid connubial intercourse, but concupiscence; and it takes care of our vessel by the honourable estate of matrimony. This passage (of the apostle) I would treat in such a way as to maintain the superiority of the other and higher sanctity, preferring continence and virginity to marriage, but by no means prohibiting the latter. For my hostility is directed against” those who are for destroying the God of marriage, not those who follow after chastity. He says that those who “remain unto the coming of Christ,” along with “the dead in Christ, shall rise first,” being “caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air.” I find it was in their foresight of all this, that the heavenly intelligences gazed with admiration on “the Jerusalem which is above,” and by the mouth of Isaiah said long ago: “Who are these that fly as clouds, and as doves with their young ones, unto me?” Now, as Christ has prepared for us this ascension into heaven, He must be the Christ of whom Amos spoke: “It is He who builds His ascent up to the heavens,” even for Himself and His people. Now, from whom shall I expect (the fulfil-merit of) all this, except from Him whom I have heard give the promise thereof? What “spirit” does he forbid us to “quench,” and what “prophesyings” to “despise?” Not the Creator’s spirit, nor the Creator’s prophesyings, Marcion of course replies. For he has already quenched and despised the thing which he destroys, and is unable to forbid what he has despised. It is then incumbent on Marcion now to display in his church that spirit of his god which must not be quenched, and the prophesyings which must not be despised. And since he has made such a display as he thinks fit, let him know that we shall challenge it whatever it may be to the rule of the grace and power of the Spirit and the prophets — namely, to foretell the future, to reveal the secrets of the heart, and to explain mysteries. And when he shall have failed to produce and give proof of any such criterion, we will then on our side bring out both the Spirit and the prophecies of the Creator, which utter predictions according to His will. Thus it will be clearly seen of what the apostle spoke, even of those things which

were to happen in the church of his God; and as long as He endures, so long also does His Spirit work, and so long are His promises repeated. Come now, you who deny the salvation of the flesh, and who, whenever there occurs the specific mention of body in a case of this sort, interpret it as meaning anything rather than the substance of the flesh, (tell me) how is it that the apostle has given certain distinct names to all (our faculties), and has comprised them all in one prayer for their safety, desiring that our “spirit and soul and body may be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord and Saviour (Jesus) Christ?” Now he has here pro-pounded the soul and the body as two several and distinct things. For although the soul has a kind of body of a quality of its own, just as the spirit has, yet as the soul and the body are distinctly named, the soul has its own peculiar appellation, not requiring the common designation of body. This is left for “the flesh,” which having no proper name (in this passage), necessarily makes use of the common designation. Indeed, I see no other substance in man, after spirit and soul, to which the term body can be applied except “the flesh.” This, therefore, I understand to be meant by the word “body “ — as often as the latter is not specifically named. Much more do I so understand it in the present passage, where the flesh is expressly called by the name “body.”

**Chap. XVI. — The Second Epistle To The Thessalonians.
An Absurd Erasure Of Marcion; Its Object Transparent.
The Final Judgment On The Heathen As Well As The
Jews Could Not Be Administered By Marcion's Christ.
The Man Of Sin — What? Inconsistency Of Marcion's
View. The Antichrist. The Great Events Of The Last
Apostasy Within The Providence And Intention Of The
Creator, Whose Are All Things From The Beginning.
Similarity Of The Pauline Precepts With Those Of The
Creator.**

We are obliged from time to time to recur to certain topics in order to affirm truths which are connected with them. We repeat then here, that as the Lord is by the apostle proclaimed as the awarder of both weal and woe, He must be either the Creator, or (as Marcion would be loth to admit) One like the Creator — “with whom it is a righteous thing to recompense tribulation to them who afflict us, and to ourselves, who are afflicted, rest, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed as coming from heaven with the angels of His might and in flaming fire.” The heretic, however, has erased the flaming fire, no doubt that he might extinguish all traces herein of our own God. But the folly of the obliteration is clearly seen. For as the apostle declares that the Lord will come “to take vengeance on them that know not God and that obey not the gospel, who,” he says, “shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of His power” — it follows that, as He comes to inflict punishment, He must require “the flaming fire.” Thus on this consideration too we must, notwithstanding Marcion's opposition, conclude that Christ belongs to a God who kindles the flames (of vengeance), and therefore to the Creator, inasmuch as He takes vengeance on such as know not the Lord, that is, on the heathen. For he has mentioned separately “those who obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ,” whether they be sinners among Christians or among Jews. Now, to inflict punishment on the heathen, who very likely have never heard of the Gospel, is not the function of that God who is naturally unknown, and who is revealed nowhere else than in the Gospel, and therefore cannot be known by all men. The Creator, however, ought to be known even by (the light of) nature, for He may be understood

from His works, and may thereby become the object of a more widely spread knowledge. To Him, therefore, does it appertain to punish such as know not God, for none ought to be ignorant of Him. In the (apostle's) phrase, "From the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of His power," he uses the words of Isaiah who for the express reason makes the self-same Lord "arise to shake terribly the earth." Well, but who is the man of sin, the son of perdition," who must first be revealed before the Lord comes; "who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; who is to sit in the temple of God, and boast himself as being God?" According indeed to our view, he is Antichrist; as it is taught us in both the ancient and the new prophecies, and especially by the Apostle John, who says that "already many false prophets are gone out into the world," the fore-runners of Antichrist, who deny that Christ is come in the flesh, and do not acknowledge Jesus (to be the Christ), meaning in God the Creator. According, however, to Marcion's view, it is really hard to know whether He might not be (after all) the Creator's Christ; because according to him He is not yet come. But whichever of the two it is, I want to know why he comes "in all power, and with lying signs and wonders?" "Because," he says, "they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved; for which cause God shall send them an instinct of delusion (to believe a lie), that they all might be judged who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness." If therefore he be Antichrist, (as we hold), and comes according to the Creator's purpose, it must be God the Creator who sends him to fasten in their error those who did not believe the truth, that they might be saved; His likewise must be the truth and the salvation, who avenges (the contempt of) them by sending error as their substitute — that is, the Creator, to whom that very wrath is a fitting attribute, which deceives with a lie those who are not captivated with truth. If, however, he is not Antichrist, as we suppose (him to be) then He is the Christ of the Creator, as Marcion will have it. In this case how happens it that he can suborn the Creator's Christ to avenge his truth? But should he after all agree with us, that Antichrist is here meant, I must then likewise ask how it is that he finds Satan, an angel of the Creator, necessary to his purpose? Why, too, should Antichrist be slain by Him, whilst commissioned by the Creator to execute the function of inspiring men with their love of untruth? In short, it is incontestable that the emissary, and the truth, and the salvation belong to Him

to whom also appertain the wrath, and the jealousy, and “the sending of the strong delusion,” on those who despise and mock, as well as upon those who are ignorant of Him; and therefore even Marcion will now have to come down a step, and concede to us that his god is “a jealous god.” (This being then an unquestionable position, I ask) which God has the greater right to be angry? He, as I suppose, who from the beginning of all things has given to man, as primary witnesses for the knowledge of Himself, nature in her (manifold) works, kindly providences, plagues, and indications (of His divinity), but who in spite of all this evidence has not been acknowledged; or he who has been brought out to view once for all in one only copy of the gospel — and even that without any sure authority — which actually makes no secret of proclaiming another god? Now He who has the right of inflicting the vengeance, has also sole claim to that which occasions the vengeance, I mean the Gospel; (in other words,) both the truth and (its accompanying) salvation. The charge, that “if any would not work, neither should he eat,” is in strict accordance with the precept of Him who ordered that “the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn should not be muzzled.”

Chap. XVII. — The Epistle To The Laodiceans. The Proper Designation Is To The Ephesians. Recapitulation Of All Things In Christ From The Beginning Of The Creation. No Room For Marcion's Christ Here. Numerous Parallels Between This Epistle And Passages In The Old Testament. The Prince Of The Power Of The Air, And The God Of This World — Who Creation And Regeneration The Work Of One God. How Christ Has Made The Law Obsolete. A Vain Erasure Of Marcion's. The Apostles As Well As The Prophets From The Creator.

We have it on the true tradition of the Church, that this epistle was sent to the Ephesians, not to the Laodiceans. Marcion, however, was very desirous of giving it the new rifle (of Laodicean), as if he were extremely accurate in investigating such a point. But of what consequence are the titles, since in writing to a certain church the apostle did in fact write to all? It is certain that, whoever they were to whom he wrote, he declared Him to be God in Christ with whom all things agree which are predicted. Now, to what god will most suitably belong all those things which relate to “that good pleasure, which God hath purposed in the mystery of His will, that in the dispensation of the fulness of times He might recapitulate” (if I may so say, according to the exact meaning of the Greek word) “all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth,” but to Him whose are all things from their beginning, yea the beginning itself too; from whom issue the times and the dispensation of the fulness of times, according to which all things up to the very first are gathered up in Christ? What beginning, however, has the other god; that is to say, how can anything proceed from him, who has no work to show? And if there be no beginning, how can there be times? If no times, what fulness of times can there be? And if no fulness, what dispensation? Indeed, what has he ever done on earth, that any long dispensation of times to be fulfilled can be put to his account, for the accomplishment of all things in Christ, even of things in heaven? Nor can we possibly suppose that any things whatever have been at any time done in heaven by any other God than Him by whom, as all men allow, all things have been done on earth. Now, if it is impossible for all

these things from the beginning to be reckoned to any other God than the Creator, who will believe that an alien god has recapitulated them in an alien Christ, instead of their own proper Author in His own Christ? If, again, they belong to the Creator, they must needs be separate from the other god; and if separate, then opposed to him. But then how can opposites be gathered together into him by whom they are in short destroyed? Again, what Christ do the following words announce, when the apostle says: “That we should be to the praise of His glory, who first trusted in Christ?” Now who could have first trusted — i.e. previously trusted — in God, before His advent, except the Jews to whom Christ was previously announced, from the beginning? He who was thus foretold, was also foretrusted. Hence the apostle refers the statement to himself, that is, to the Jews, in order that he may draw a distinction with respect to the Gentiles, (when he goes on to say:) “In whom ye also trusted, after that ye heard the word of truth, the gospel (of your salvation); in whom ye believed, and were sealed with His Holy Spirit of promise.” Of what promise? That which was made through Joel: “In the last days will I pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh,” that is, on all nations. Therefore the Spirit and the Gospel will be found in the Christ, who was foretrusted, because foretold. Again, “the Father of glory” is He whose Christ, when ascending to heaven, is celebrated as “the King of Glory” in the Psalm: “Who is this King of Glory? the Lord of Hosts, He is the King of Glory.” From Him also is besought “the spirit of wisdom,”⁴⁴ at whose disposal is enumerated that sevenfold distribution of the spirit of grace by Isaiah. He likewise will grant “the enlightenment of the eyes of the understanding,” who has also enriched our natural eyes with light; to whom, moreover, the blindness of the people is offensive: “And who is blind, but my servants?... yea, the servants of God have become blind.” In His gift, too, are “the riches (of the glory) of His inheritance in the saints,” who promised such an inheritance in the call of the Gentiles: “Ask of me, and I will give Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance.” It was He who “wrought in Christ His mighty power, by raising Him from the dead, and setting Him at His own right hand, and putting all things under His feet” — even the same who said: “Sit Thou on my right hand, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool.” For in another passage the Spirit says to the Father concerning the Son: “Thou hast put all things under His feet.” Now, if from all these facts which are found in the Creator there is yet to be deduced

another god and another Christ, let us go in quest of the Creator. I suppose, forsooth, we find Him, when he speaks of such as “were dead in trespasses and sins, wherein they had walked according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, who worketh in the children of disobedience.” But Marcion must not here interpret the world as meaning the God of the world? For a creature bears no resemblance to the Creator; the thing made, none to its Maker; the world, none to God. He, moreover, who is the Prince of the power of the ages must not be thought to be called the prince of the power of the air; for He who is chief over the higher powers derives no title from the lower powers, although these, too, may be ascribed to Him. Nor, again, can He possibly seem to be the instigator of that unbelief which He Himself had rather to endure at the hand of the Jews and the Gentiles alike. We may therefore simply conclude that these designations are unsuited to the Creator. There is another being to whom they are more applicable — and the apostle knew very well who that was. Who then is he? Undoubtedly he who has raised up “children of disobedience” against the Creator Himself ever since he took possession of that “air” of His; even as the prophet makes him say: “I will set my throne above the stars; ... will go up above the clouds; I will be like the Most High.” This must mean the devil, whom in another passage (since such will they there have the apostle’s meaning to be) we shall recognize in the appellation the god of this world. For he has filled the whole world with the lying pretence of his own divinity. To be sure, if he had not existed, we might then possibly have applied these descriptions to the Creator. But the apostle, too, had lived in Judaism; and when he parenthetically observed of the sins (of that period of his life), “in which also we all had our conversation in times past,” he must not be understood to indicate that the Creator was the lord of sinful men, and the prince of this air; but as meaning that in his Judaism he had been one of the children of disobedience, having the devil as his instigator — when he persecuted the church and the Christ of the Creator. Therefore he says: “We also were the children of wrath,” but “by nature.” Let the heretic, however, not contend that, because the Creator called the Jews children, therefore the Creator is the lord of wrath. For when (the apostle) says, “We were by nature the children of wrath,” inasmuch as the Jews were not the Creator’s children by nature, but by the election of their fathers, he (must have) referred their being children of wrath to nature, and

not to the Creator, adding this at last” even as others,” who, of course, were not children of God. It is manifest that sins, and lusts of the flesh, and unbelief, and anger, are ascribed to the common nature of all mankind, the devil [however leading that nature astray, which he has already infected with the implanted germ of sin. “We,” says he, “are His workmanship, created in Christ.” It is one thing to make (as a workman), another thing to create. But he assigns both to One. Man is the workmanship of the Creator. He therefore who made man (at first), created him also in Christ. As touching the substance of nature, He “made” him; as touching the work of grace, He “created” him. Look also at what follows in connection with these words: “Wherefore remember, that ye being in time past Gentiles in the flesh, who are called uncircumcision by that which has the name of circumcision in the flesh made by the hand — that at that time ye were without Christ, being aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenants of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world.” Now, without what God and without what Christ were these Gentiles? Surely, without Him to whom the commonwealth of Israel belonged, and the covenants and the promise. “But now in Christ,” says he, “ye who were sometimes far off are made nigh by His blood.” From whom were they far off before? From the privileges) whereof he speaks above, even from the Christ of the Creator, from the commonwealth of Israel, from the covenants, from the hope of the promise, from God Himself. Since this is the case, the Gentiles are consequently now in Christ made nigh to these (blessings), from which they were once far off. But if we are in Christ brought so very nigh to the commonwealth of Israel, which comprises the religion of the divine Creator, and to the covenants and to the promise, yea to their very God Himself, it is quite ridiculous (to suppose that) the Christ of the other god has brought us to this proximity to the Creator from afar. The apostle had in mind that it had been predicted concerning the call of the Gentiles from their distant alienation in words like these: “They who were far off from me have come to my righteousness.” For the Creator’s righteousness no less than His peace was announced in Christ, as we have often shown already. Therefore he says: “He is our peace, who hath made both one” — that is, the Jewish nation and the Gentile world. What is near, and what was far off now that “the middle wall has been broken down” of their “enmity,” (are made one) “in His flesh.” But Marcion erased the pronoun His, that he might

make the enmity refer to flesh, as if (the apostle spoke) of a carnal enmity, instead of the enmity which was a rival to Christ. And thus you have (as I have said elsewhere) exhibited the stupidity of Pontus, rather than the adroitness of a Marrucinian, for you here deny him flesh to whom in the verse above you allowed blood! Since, however, He has made the law obsolete by His own precepts, even by Himself fulfilling the law (for superfluous is, "Thou shalt not commit adultery," when He says, "Thou shalt not look on a woman to lust after her;" superfluous also is, "Thou shalt do no murder," when He says, "Thou shalt not speak evil of thy neighbour,") it is impossible to make an adversary of the law out of one who so completely promotes it. "For to create in Himself of twain," for He who had made is also the same who creates (just as we have found it stated above: "For we are His workmanship, created in Christ Jesus"), "one new man, making peace" (really new, and really man — no phantom — but new, and newly born of a virgin by the Spirit of God), "that He might reconcile both unto God" (even the God whom both races had offended — both Jew and Gentile), "in one body," says he, "having in it slain the enmity by the cross." Thus we find from this passage also, that there was in Christ a fleshly body, such as was able to endure the cross. "When, therefore, He came and preached peace to them that were near and to them which were afar off," we both obtained "access to the Father," being "now no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God" (even of Him from whom, as we have shown above, we were aliens, and placed far off), "built upon the foundation of the apostles" — (the apostle added), "and the prophets;" these words, however, the heretic erased, forgetting that the Lord had set in His Church not only apostles, but prophets also. He feared, no doubt, that our building was to stand in Christ upon the foundation of the ancient prophets, since the apostle himself never fails to build us up everywhere with (the words of) the prophets. For whence did he learn to call Christ "the chief corner-stone," but from the figure given him in the Psalm: "The stone which the builders rejected is become the head (stone) of the corner?"

Chap. XVIII. — Another Foolish Erasure Of Marcion's Exposed. Certain Figurative Expressions Of The Apostle, Suggested By The Language Of The Old Testament. Collation Of Many Passages Of This Epistle, With Precepts And Statements In The Pentateuch, The Psalms, And The Prophets. All Alike Teach Us The Will And Purpose Of The Creator.

As our heretic is so fond of his pruning-knife, I do not wonder when syllables are expunged by his hand, seeing that entire pages are usually the matter on which he practises his effacing process. The apostle declares that to himself, "less than the least of all saints, was the grace given" of enlightening all men as to "what was the fellowship of the mystery, which during the ages had been hid in God, who created all things." The heretic erased the preposition in, and made the clause run thus: ("what is the fellowship of the mystery) which hath for ages been hidden from the God who created all things." The falsification, however, is flagrantly absurd. For the apostle goes on to infer (from his own statement): "in order that unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might become known through the church the manifold wisdom of God." Whose principalities and powers does he mean? If the Creator's, how does it come to pass that such a God as He could have meant His wisdom to be displayed to the principalities and powers, but not to Himself? For surely no principalities could possibly have understood anything without their sovereign Lord. Or if (the apostle) did not mention God in this passage, on the ground that He (as their chief) is Himself reckoned among these (principalities), then he would have plainly said that the mystery had been hidden from the principalities and powers of Him who had created all things, including Him amongst them. But if he states that it was hidden from them, he must needs be understood as having meant that it was manifest to Him. From God, therefore, the mystery was not hidden; but it was hidden in God, the Creator of all things, from His principalities and powers. For "who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been His counsellor?" Caught in this trap, the heretic probably changed the passage, with the view of saying that his god wished to make known to his principalities and powers the fellowship of his own mystery, of which God, who created all things, had

been ignorant. But what was the use of his obtruding this ignorance of the Creator, who was a stranger to the superior god, and far enough removed from him, when even his own servants had known nothing about him? To the Creator, however, the future was well known. Then why was not that also known to Him, which had to be revealed beneath His heaven, and on His earth? From this, therefore, there arises a confirmation of what we have already laid down. For since the Creator was sure to know, some time or other, that hidden mystery of the superior god, even on the supposition that the true reading was (as Marcion has it)—“hidden from the God who created all things” — he ought then to have expressed the conclusion thus: “in order that the manifold wisdom of God might be made known to Him, and then to the principalities and powers of God, whosoever He might be, with whom the Creator was destined to share their knowledge.” So palpable is the erasure in this passage, when thus read, consistently with its own true bearing. I, on my part, now wish to engage with you in a discussion on the allegorical expressions of the apostle. What figures of speech could the novel god have found in the prophets (fit for himself)? “He led captivity captive,” says the apostle. With what arms? In what conflicts? From the devastation of what Country? From the overthrow of what city? What women, what children, what princes did the Conqueror throw into chains? For when by David Christ is sung as “girded with His sword upon His thigh,” or by Isaiah as “taking away the spoils of Samaria and the power of Damascus,” you make Him out to be really and truly a warrior confest to the eye. Learn then now, that His is a spiritual armour and warfare, since you have already discovered that the captivity is spiritual, in order that you may further learn that this also belongs to Him, even because the apostle derived the mention of the captivity from the same prophets as suggested to him his precepts likewise: “Putting away lying,” (says he,) “speak every man truth with his neighbour;” and again, using the very words in which the Psalm expresses his meaning, (he says,) “Be ye angry, and sin not;” “Let not the sun go down upon your wrath.” “Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness;” for (in the Psalm it is written,) “With the holy man thou shalt be holy, and with the perverse thou shalt be perverse;” and, “Thou shalt put away evil from among you.” Again, “Go ye out from the midst of them; touch not the unclean thing; separate yourselves, ye that bear the vessels of the Lord.” (The apostle says

further:) "Be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess," — a precept which is suggested by the passage (of the prophet), where the seducers of the consecrated (Nazarites) to drunkenness are rebuked: "Ye gave wine to my holy ones to drink." This prohibition from drink was given also to the high priest Aaron and his sons, "when they went into the holy place." The command, to "sing to the Lord with psalms and hymns," comes suitably from him who knew that those who "drank wine with drums and psalteries" were blamed by God. Now, when I find to what God belong these precepts, whether in their germ or their development, I have no difficulty in knowing to whom the apostle also belongs. But he declares that "wives ought to be in subjection to their husbands:" what reason does he give for this? "Because," says he, "the husband is the head of the wife." Pray tell me, Marcion, does your god build up the authority of his law on the work of the Creator? This, however, is a comparative trifle; for he actually derives from the same source the condition of his Christ and his Church; for he says: "even as Christ is the head of the Church;" and again, in like manner: "He who loveth his wife, loveth his own flesh, even as Christ loved the Church." You see how your Christ and your Church are put in comparison with the work of the Creator. How much honour is given to the flesh in the name of the church! "No man," says the apostle, "ever yet hated his own flesh" (except, of course, Marcion alone), "but nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as the Lord doth the Church." But you are the only man that hates his flesh, for you rob it of its resurrection. It will be only right that you should hate the Church also, because it is loved by Christ on the same principle. Yea, Christ loved the flesh even as the Church. For no man will love the picture of his wife without taking care of it, and honouring it and crowning it. The likeness partakes with the reality in the privileged honour. I shall now endeavour, from my point of view, to prove that the same God is (the God) of the man and of Christ, of the woman and of the Church, of the flesh and the spirit, by the apostle's help who applies the Creator's injunction, and adds even a comment on it: "For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother, (and shall be joined unto his wife), and they two shall be one flesh. This is a great mystery." In passing, (I would say that) it is enough for me that the works of the Creator are great mysteries in the estimation of the apostle, although they are so vilely esteemed by the heretics. "But I am speaking," says he, "of Christ and the Church." This he

says in explanation of the mystery, not for its disruption. He shows us that the mystery was prefigured by Him who is also the author of the mystery. Now what is Marcion's opinion? The Creator could not possibly have furnished figures to an unknown god, or, if a known one, an adversary to Himself. The superior god, in fact, ought to have borrowed nothing from the inferior; he was bound rather to annihilate Him. "Children should obey their parents." Now, although Marcion has erased (the next clause), "which is the first commandment with promise," still the law says plainly, "Honour thy father and thy mother." Again, (the apostle writes:) "Parents, bring up your children in the fear and admonition of the Lord." For you have heard how it was said to them of old time: "Ye shall relate these things to your children; and your children in like manner to their children." Of what use are two gods to me, when the discipline is but one? If there must be two, I mean to follow Him who was the first to teach the lesson. But as our struggle lies against "the rulers of this world," what a host of Creator Gods there must be! For why should I not insist upon this point here, that he ought to have mentioned but one "ruler of this world," if he meant only the Creator to be the being to whom belonged all the powers which he previously mentioned? Again, when in the preceding verse he bids us "put on the whole armour of God, that we may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil," does he not show that all the things which he mentions after the devil's name really belong to the devil — "the principalities and the powers, and the tillers of the darkness of this world," which we also ascribe to the devil's authority? Else, if "the devil" means the Creator, who will be the devil in the Creator's dispensation? As there are two gods, must there also be two devils, and a plurality of powers and rulers of this world? But how is the Creator both a devil and a god at the same time, when the devil is not at once both god and devil? For either they are both of them gods, if both of them are devils; or else He who is God is not also devil, as neither is he god who is the devil. I want to know indeed by what perversion the word devil is at all applicable to the Creator. Perhaps he perverted some purpose of the superior god — conduct such as He experienced Himself from the archangel, who lied indeed for the purpose. For He did not forbid (our first parents) a taste of the miserable tree, from any apprehension that they would become gods; His prohibition was meant to prevent their dying after the transgression. But "the spiritual wickedness" did

not signify the Creator, because of the apostle's additional description, "in heavenly places;" for the apostle was quite aware that "spiritual wickedness" had been at work in heavenly places, when angels were entrapped into sin by the daughters of men. But how happened it that (the apostle) resorted to ambiguous descriptions, and I know not what obscure enigmas, for the purpose of disparaging the Creator, when he displayed to the Church such constancy and plainness of speech in "making known the mystery of the gospel for which he was an ambassador in bonds," owing to his liberty in preaching — and actually requested (the Ephesians) to pray to God that this "open-mouthed utterance" might be continued to him?

Chap. XIX. — The Epistle To The Colossians. Time The Criterion Of Truth And Heresy. Application Of The Canon. The Image Of The Invisible God Explained. Pre-Existence Of Our Christ In The Creator's Ancient Dispensations. What Is Included In The Fulness Of Christ. The Epicurean Character Of Marcion's God. The Catholic Truth In Opposition Thereto. The Law Is To Christ What The Shadow Is To The Substance.

I am accustomed in my prescription against all heresies, to fix my compendious criterion (of truth) in the testimony of time; claiming priority therein as our rule, and alleging lateness to be the characteristic of every heresy. This shall now be proved even by the apostle, when he says: "For the hope which is laid up for you in heaven, whereof ye heard before in the word of the truth of the gospel; which is come unto you, as it is unto all the world." For if, even at that time, the tradition of the gospel had spread everywhere, how much more now! Now, if it is our gospel which has spread everywhere, rather than any heretical gospel, much less Marcion's, which only dates from the reign of Antoninus, then ours will be the gospel of the apostles. But should Marcion's gospel succeed in filling the whole world, it would not even in that case be entitled to the character of apostolic. For this quality, it will be evident, can only belong to that gospel which was the first to fill the world; in other words, to the gospel of that God who of old declared this of its promulgation: "Their sound is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world." He calls Christ "the image of the invisible God." We in like manner say that the Father of Christ is invisible, for we know that it was the Son who was seen in ancient times (whenever any appearance was vouchsafed to men in the name of God) as the image of (the Father) Himself. He must not be regarded, however, as making any difference between a visible and an invisible God; because long before he wrote this we find a description of our God to this effect: "No man can see the Lord, and live." If Christ is not "the first-begotten before every creature," as that "Word of God by whom all things were made, and without whom nothing was made;" if "all things were" not "in Him created, whether in heaven or on earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones or dominions, or principalities, or powers;"

if “all things were” not “created by Him and for Him” (for these truths Marcion ought not to allow concerning Him), then the apostle could not have so positively laid it down, that “He is before all.” For how is He before all, if He is not before all things? How, again, is He before all things, if He is not “the first-born of every creature” — if He is not the Word of the Creator? Now how will he be proved to have been before all things, who appeared after all things? Who can tell whether he had a prior existence, when he has found no proof that he had any existence at all? In what way also could it have “pleased (the Father) that in Him should all fulness dwell?” For, to begin with, what fulness is that which is not comprised of the constituents which Marcion has removed from it, — even those that were “created in Christ, whether in heaven or on earth,” whether angels or men? which is not made of the things that are visible and invisible? which consists not of thrones and dominions and principalities and powers? If, on the other hand, our false apostles and Judaizing gospellers have intraduced all these things out of their own stores, and Martian has applied them to constitute the fulness of his own god, (this hypothesis, absurd though it be, alone would justify him;) for how, on any other supposition, could the rival and the destroyer of the Creator have been willing that His fulness should dwell in his Christ? To whom, again, does He “reconcile all things by Himself, making peace by the blood of His cross,” but to Him whom those very things had altogether offended, against whom they had rebelled by transgression, (but) to whom they had at last returned? Conciliated they might have been to a strange god; but reconciled they could not possibly have been to any other than their own God. Accordingly, ourselves “who were sometime alienated and enemies in our mind by wicked works” does He reconcile to the Creator, against whom we had committed offence — worshipping the creature to the prejudice of the Creator. As, however, he says elsewhere, that the Church is the body of Christ, so here also (the apostle) declares that he “fills up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in his flesh for His body’s sake, which is the Church.” But you must not on this account suppose that on every mention of His body the term is only a metaphor, instead of meaning real flesh. For he says above that we are “reconciled in His body through death;” meaning, of course, that He died in that body wherein death was possible through the flesh: (therefore he adds,) not through the Church (per ecclesiam), but expressly far the sake of the

Church (proper ecclesiam), exchanging body for body — one of flesh for a spiritual one. When, again, he warns them to “beware of subtle words and philosophy,” as being “a vain deceit,” such as is “after the rudiments of the world” (not understanding thereby the mundane fabric of sky and earth, but worldly learning, and “the tradition of men,” subtle in their speech and their philosophy), it would be tedious, and the proper subject of a separate work, to show how in this sentence (of the apostle’s) all heresies are condemned, on the ground of their consisting of the resources of subtle speech and the rules of philosophy. But (once for all) let Marcion know that the principle term of his creed comes from the school of Epicurus, implying that the Lord is stupid and indifferent; wherefore he refuses to say that He is an object to be feared. Moreover, from the porch of the Stoics he brings out matter, and places it on a par with the Divine Creator. He also denies the resurrection of the flesh, — a truth which none of the schools of philosophy agreed together to hold. But how remote is our (Catholic) verity from the artifices of this heretic, when it dreads to arouse the anger of God, and firmly believes that He produced all things out of nothing, and promises to us a restoration from the grave of the same flesh (that died) and holds without a blush that Christ was born of the virgin’s womb! At this, philosophers, and heretics, and the very heathen, laugh and jeer. For “God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise” — that God, no doubt, who in reference to this very dispensation of His threatened long before that He would “destroy the wisdom of the wise.” Thanks to this simplicity of truth, so opposed to the subtlety and vain deceit of philosophy, we cannot possibly have any relish for such perverse opinions. Then, if God “quickens us together with Christ, forgiving us our trespasses,” we cannot suppose that sins are forgiven by Him against whom, as having been all along unknown, they could not have been committed. Now tell me, Marcion, what is your opinion of the apostle’s language, when he says, “Let no man judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a holy day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath, which is a shadow of things to come, but the body is of Christ?” We do not now treat of the law, further than (to remark) that the apostle here teaches clearly how it has been abolished, even by passing from shadow to substance — that is, from figurative types to the reality, which is Christ. The shadow, therefore, is His to whom belongs the body also; in other words, the law is His, and so is

Christ. If you separate the law and Christ, assigning one to one god and the other to another, it is the same as if you were to attempt to separate the shadow from the body of which it is the shadow. Manifestly Christ has relation to the law, if the body has to its shadow. But when he blames those who alleged visions of angels as their authority for saying that men must abstain from meats— “you must not touch, you must not taste”-in a voluntary humility, (at the same time) “vainly puffed up in the fleshly mind, and not holding the Head,” (the apostle) does not in these terms attack the law or Moses, as if it was at the suggestion of superstitious angels that he had enacted his prohibition of sundry aliments. For Moses had evidently received the law from God. When, therefore, he speaks of their “following the commandments and doctrines of men,” he refers to the conduct of those persons who “held not the Head,” even Him in whom all things are gathered together; for they are all recalled to Christ, and concentrated in Him as their initiating principle — even the meats and drinks which were indifferent in their nature. All the rest of his precepts, as we have shown sufficiently, when treating of them as they occurred in another epistle, emanated from the Creator, who, while predicting that “old things were to pass away,” and that He would “make all things new,” commanded men “to break up fresh ground for themselves,” and thereby taught them even then to put off the old man and put on the new.

**Chap. XX. — The Epistle To The Philippians. The
Variances Amongst The Preachers Of Christ No
Argument That There Was More Than One Only Christ.
St. Paul's Phrases — Form Of A Servant, Likeness, And
Fashion Of A Man — No Sanction Of Docetism. No
Antithesis (Such As Marcion Alleged) In The God Of
Judaism And The God Of The Gospel Deducible From
Certain Contrasts Mentioned In This Epistle. A Parallel
With A Passage In Genesis. The Resurrection Of The
Body, And The Change Thereof.**

When (the apostle) mentions the several motives of those who were preaching the gospel, how that some, "waxing confident by his bonds, were more fearless in speaking the word," while others "preached Christ even out of envy and strife, and again others out of good-will" many also "out of love," and certain "out of contention," and some "in rivalry to himself," he had a favourable opportunity, no doubt, of taxing what they preached with a diversity of doctrine, as if it were no less than this which caused so great a variance in their tempers. But while he exposes these tempers as the sole cause of the diversity, he avoids inculcating the regular mysteries of the faith, and affirms that there is, notwithstanding, but one Christ and His one God, whatever motives men had in preaching Him. Therefore, says he, it matters not to me "whether it be in pretence or in truth that Christ is preached," because one Christ alone was announced, whether in their "pretentious" or their "truthful" faith. For it was to the faithfulness of their preaching that he applied the word truth, not to the rightness of the rule itself, because there was indeed but one rule; whereas the conduct of the preachers varied: in some of them it was true, i. e. single-minded, while in others it was sophisticated with over-much learning. This being the case, it is manifest that that Christ was the subject of their preaching who was always the theme of the prophets. Now, if it were a completely different Christ that was being introduced by the apostle, the novelty of the thing would have produced a diversity (in belief.). For there would not have been wanting, in spite of the novel teaching, men to interpret the preached gospel of the Creator's Christ, since the majority of persons everywhere now-a-days are of our way of

thinking, rather than on the heretical side. So that the apostle would not in such a passage as the present one have refrained from remarking and censuring the diversity. Since, however, there is no blame of a diversity, there is no proof of a novelty. Of course the Marcionites suppose that they have the apostle on their side in the following passage in the matter of Christ's substance — that in Him there was nothing but a phantom of flesh. For he says of Christ, that, "being in the form of God, He thought it not robbery to be equal with God; but emptied Himself, and took upon Him the form of a servant," not the reality, "and was made in the likeness of man," not a man, "and was found in fashion as a man," not in his substance, that is to say, his flesh; just as if to a substance there did not accrue both form and likeness and fashion. It is well for us that in another passage (the apostle) calls Christ "the image of the invisible God." For will it not follow with equal force from that passage, that Christ is not truly God, because the apostle places Him in the image of God, if, (as Marcion contends,) He is not truly man because of His having taken on Him the form or image of a man? For in both cases the true substance will have to be excluded, if image (or "fashion") and likeness and form shall be claimed for a phantom. But since he is truly God, as the Son of the Father, in His fashion and image, He has been already by the force of this conclusion determined to be truly man, as the Son of man, "found in the fashion "and image" of a man." For when he propounded Him as thus "found" in the manners of a man, he in fact affirmed Him to be most certainly human. For what is found, manifestly possesses existence. Therefore, as He was found to be God by His mighty power, so was He found to be man by reason of His flesh, because the apostle could not have pronounced Him to have "become obedient unto death," if He had not been constituted of a mortal substance. Still more plainly does this appear from the apostle's additional words, "even the death of the cross." For he could hardly mean this to be a climax to the human suffering, to extol the virtue of His obedience, if he had known it all to be the imaginary process of a phantom, which rather eluded the cross than experienced it, and which displayed no virtue in the suffering, but only illusion. But "those things which he had once accounted gain," and which he enumerates in the preceding verse— "trust in the flesh," the sign of "circumcision," his origin as "an Hebrew of the Hebrews," his descent from "the tribe of Benjamin," his dignity in the honours of the Pharisee — he now

reckons to be only "loss" to himself; (in other words,) it was not the God of the Jews, but their stupid obduracy, which he repudiates. These are also the things "which he counts but dung for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ" (but by no means for the rejection of God the Creator); "whilst he has not his own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through Him," i.e. Christ, "the righteousness which is of God." Then, say you, according to this distinction the law did not proceed from the God of Christ. Subtle enough! But here is something still more subtle for you. For when (the apostle) says, "Not (the righteousness) which is of the law, but that which is through Him," he would not have used the phrase through Him of any other than Him to whom the law belonged. "Our conversation," says he, "is in heaven." I here recognise the Creator's ancient promise to Abraham: "I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven." Therefore "one star differeth from another star in glory." If, again, Christ in His advent from heaven "shall change the body of our humiliation, that it may be fashioned like unto His glorious body," it follows that this body of ours shall rise again, which is now in a state of humiliation in its sufferings and according to the law of mortality drops into the ground. But how shall it be changed, if it shall have no real existence? If, however, this is only said of those who shall be found in the flesh at the advent of God, and who shall have to be changed," what shall they do who will rise first? They will have no substance from which to undergo a change. But he says (elsewhere), "We shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord (in the air)." Then, if we are to be caught up alone with them, surely we shall likewise be changed together with them.

Chap. XXI. — The Epistle To Philemon. This Epistle Not Mutilated. Marcion's Inconsistency In Accepting This, And Rejecting Three Other Epistles Addressed To Individuals. Conclusions. Tertullian Vindicates The Symmetry And Deliberate Purpose Of His Work Against Marcion.

To this epistle alone did its brevity avail to protect it against the falsifying hands of Marcion. I wonder, however, when he received (into his Apostolicon) this letter which was written but to one man, that he rejected the two epistles to Timothy and the one to Titus, which all treat of ecclesiastical discipline. His aim, was, I suppose, to carry out his interpolating process even to the number of (St. Paul's) epistles. And now, reader, I beg you to remember that we have here adduced proofs out of the apostle, in support of the subjects which we previously had to handle, and that we have now brought to a close the topics which we deferred to this (portion of our) work. (This favour I request of you,) that you may not think that any repetition here has been superfluous, for we have only fulfilled our former engagement to you; nor look with suspicion on any postponement there, where we merely set forth the essential points (of the argument). If you carefully examine the entire work, you will acquit us of either having been redundant here, or diffident there, in your own honest judgment.

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De Anima (On the Soul)



Translated by Peter Holmes

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Chapter 1. It is Not to the Philosophers that We Resort for Information About the Soul But to God.

Having discussed with Hermogenes the single point of the origin of the soul, so far as his assumption led me, that the soul consisted rather in an adaptation of matter than of the inspiration of God, I now turn to the other questions incidental to the subject; and (in my treatment of these) I shall evidently have mostly to contend with the philosophers. In the very prison of Socrates they skirmished about the state of the soul. I have my doubts at once whether the time was an opportune one for their (great) master — (to say nothing of the place), although *that* perhaps does not much matter. For what could the soul of Socrates then contemplate with clearness and serenity? The sacred ship had returned (from Delos), the hemlock draft to which he had been condemned had been drunk, death was now present before him: (his mind) was, as one may suppose, naturally excited at every emotion; or if nature had lost her influence, it must have been deprived of all power of thought. Or let it have been as placid and tranquil so you please, inflexible, in spite of the claims of natural duty, at the tears of her who was so soon to be his widow, and at the sight of his thenceforward orphan children, yet his soul must have been moved even by its very efforts to suppress emotion; and his constancy itself must have been shaken, as he struggled against the disturbance of the excitement around him. Besides, what other thoughts could any man entertain who had been unjustly condemned to die, but such as should solace him for the injury done to him? Especially would this be the case with that glorious creature, the philosopher, to whom injurious treatment would not suggest a craving for consolation, but rather the feeling of resentment and indignation. Accordingly, after his sentence, when his wife came to him with her effeminate cry, O Socrates, you are unjustly condemned! He seemed already to find joy in answering, Would you then wish me justly condemned? It is therefore not to be wondered at, if even in his prison, from a desire to break the foul hands of Anytus and Melitus, he, in the face of death itself, asserts the immortality of the soul by a strong assumption such as was wanted to frustrate the wrong (they had inflicted upon him). So that all the wisdom of Socrates, at that moment, proceeded from the affectation of an assumed composure, rather than the firm conviction of ascertained truth. For by whom has truth ever been

discovered without God? By whom has God ever been found without Christ? By whom has Christ ever been explored without the Holy Spirit? By whom has the Holy Spirit ever been attained without the mysterious gift of faith? Socrates, as none can doubt, was actuated by a different spirit. For they say that a demon clave to him from his boyhood — the very worst teacher certainly, notwithstanding the high place assigned to it by poets and philosophers — even next to, (nay, along with) the gods themselves. The teachings of the power of Christ had not yet been given — (that power) which alone can confute this most pernicious influence of evil that has nothing good in it, but is rather the author of all error, and the seducer from all truth. Now if Socrates was pronounced the wisest of men by the oracle of the Pythian demon, which, you may be sure, neatly managed the business for his friend, of how much greater dignity and constancy is the assertion of the Christian wisdom, before the very breath of which the whole host of demons is scattered! This wisdom of the school of heaven frankly and without reserve denies the gods of this world, and shows no such inconsistency as to order a cock to be sacrificed to Æsculapius: no new gods and demons does it introduce, but expels the old ones; it corrupts not youth, but instructs them in all goodness and moderation; and so it bears the unjust condemnation not of one city only, but of all the world, in the cause of that truth which incurs indeed the greater hatred in proportion to its fullness: so that it tastes death not out of a (poisoned) cup almost in the way of jollity; but it exhausts it in every kind of bitter cruelty, on gibbets and in holocausts. Meanwhile, in the still gloomier prison of the world among your Cebes and Phædos, in every investigation concerning (man's) soul, it directs its inquiry according to the rules of God. At all events, you can show us no more powerful expounder of the soul than the Author thereof. From God you may learn about that which you hold of God; but from none else will you get this knowledge, if you get it not from God. For who is to reveal that which God has hidden? To that quarter must we resort in our inquiries whence we are most safe even in deriving our ignorance. For it is really better for us not to know a thing, because He has not revealed it to us, than to know it according to man's wisdom, because *he* has been bold enough to assume it.

Chapter 2. The Christian Has Sure and Simple Knowledge Concerning the Subject Before Us

Of course we shall not deny that philosophers have sometimes thought the same things as ourselves. The testimony of truth is the issue thereof. It sometimes happens even in a storm, when the boundaries of sky and sea are lost in confusion, that some harbour is stumbled on (by the labouring ship) by some happy chance; and sometimes in the very shades of night, through blind luck alone, one finds access to a spot, or egress from it. In nature, however, most conclusions are suggested, as it were, by that common intelligence wherewith God has been pleased to endow the soul of man. This intelligence has been caught up by philosophy, and, with the view of glorifying her own art, has been inflated (it is not to be wondered at that I use this language) with straining after that facility of language which is practised in the building up and pulling down of everything, and which has greater aptitude for persuading men by speaking than by teaching. She assigns to things their forms and conditions; sometimes makes them common and public, sometimes appropriates them to private use; on certainties she capriciously stamps the character of uncertainty; she appeals to precedents, as if all things are capable of being compared together; she describes all things by rule and definition, allotting diverse properties even to similar objects; she attributes nothing to the divine permission, but assumes as her principles the laws of nature. I could bear with her pretensions, if only she were herself true to nature, and would prove to me that she had a mastery over nature as being associated with its creation. She thought, no doubt, that she was deriving her mysteries from sacred sources, as men deem them, because in ancient times most authors were supposed to be (I will not say godlike, but) actually gods: as, for instance, the Egyptian Mercury, to whom Plato paid very great deference; and the Phrygian Silenus, to whom Midas lent his long ears, when the shepherds brought him to him; and Hermotimus, to whom the good people of Clazomenæ built a temple after his death; and Orpheus; and Musæus; and Pherecydes, the master of Pythagoras. But why need we care, since these philosophers have also made their attacks upon those writings which are condemned by us under the title of apocryphal, certain as we are that nothing ought to be received which does not agree with the true system of prophecy,

which has arisen in this present age; because we do not forget that there have been false prophets, and long previous to them fallen spirits, which have instructed the entire tone and aspect of the world with cunning knowledge of this (*philosophic*) cast? It is, indeed, not incredible that any man who is in quest of wisdom may have gone so far, as a matter of curiosity, as to consult the very prophets; (*but be this as it may*), if you take the philosophers, you would find in them more diversity than agreement, since even in their agreement their diversity is discoverable. Whatever things are true *in their systems*, and agreeable to prophetic wisdom, they either recommend as emanating from some other source, or else perversely apply in some other sense. This process is attended with very great detriment to the truth, when they pretend that it is either helped by falsehood, or else that falsehood derives support from it. The following circumstance must needs have set ourselves and the philosophers by the ears, especially in this present matter, that they sometimes clothe sentiments which are common to both sides, in arguments which are peculiar to themselves, but contrary in some points to our rule and standard of faith; and at other times defend opinions which are especially their own, with arguments which both sides acknowledge to be valid, and occasionally conformable to their system of belief. The truth has, at this rate, been nearly excluded by the philosophers, through the poisons with which they have infected it; and thus, if we regard both the modes of coalition *which we have now mentioned*, and which are equally hostile to the truth, we feel the urgent necessity of freeing, on the one hand, the sentiments held by us in common with them from the arguments of the philosophers, and of separating, on the other hand, the arguments which both parties employ from the opinions of the same philosophers. *And this we may do* by recalling all questions to God's inspired standard, with the obvious exception of such simple cases as being free from the entanglement of any preconceived conceits, one may fairly admit on mere *human* testimony; because plain evidence of this sort we must sometimes borrow from opponents, when our opponents have nothing to gain from it. Now I am not unaware what a vast mass of literature the philosophers have accumulated concerning the subject before us, in their own commentaries thereon — what various schools of principles there are, what conflicts of opinion, what prolific sources of questions, what perplexing methods of solution. Moreover, I have looked into Medical Science also, the

sister (as they say) of Philosophy, which claims as her function to cure the body, and thereby to have a special acquaintance with the soul. From this circumstance she has great differences with her sister, pretending as the latter does to know more about the soul, through the more obvious treatment, as it were, of her in her domicile *of the body*. But never mind all this contention between them for pre-eminence! For extending their several researches on the soul, Philosophy, on the one hand, has enjoyed the full scope of her genius; while Medicine, on the other hand, has possessed the stringent demands of her art and practice. Wide are men's inquiries into uncertainties; wider still are their disputes about conjectures. However great the difficulty of adducing proofs, the labour of producing conviction is not one whit less; so that the gloomy Heraclitus was quite right, when, observing the thick darkness which obscured the researches of the inquirers about the soul, and wearied with their interminable questions, he declared that he had certainly not explored the limits of the soul, although he had traversed every road *in her domains*. To the Christian, however, but few words are necessary for the clear understanding of the whole subject. But in the few words there always arises certainty to him; nor is he permitted to give his inquiries a wider range than is compatible with their solution; for endless questions the apostle forbids. 1 Timothy 1:4 It must, however, be added, that no solution may be found by any man, but such as is learned from God; and that which is learned of God is the sum and substance of the whole thing.

Chapter 3. The Soul's Origin Defined Out of the Simple Words of Scripture

Would to God that no heresies had been ever necessary, in order that they which are approved may be made manifest! 1 Corinthians 10:19 We should then be never required to try our strength in contests about the soul with philosophers, those patriarchs of heretics, as they may be fairly called. The apostle, so far back as his own time, foresaw, indeed, that philosophy would do violent injury to the truth. Colossians 2:8 This admonition *about false philosophy* he was induced to offer after he had been at Athens, had become acquainted with that *loquacious* city, and had there had a taste of its huckstering wiseacres and talkers. In like manner is the treatment of the soul according to the sophistical doctrines of men which mix their wine with water. Isaiah 1:22 Some of them deny the immortality of the soul; others affirm that it is immortal, and something more. Some raise disputes about its substance; others about its form; others, again, respecting each of its several faculties. One school of philosophers derives its state from various sources, while another ascribes its departure to different destinations. *The various schools reflect the character of their masters*, according as they have received their impressions from the dignity of Plato, or the vigour of Zeno, or the equanimity of Aristotle, or the stupidity of Epicurus, or the sadness of Heraclitus, or the madness of Empedocles. The fault, I suppose, of the divine doctrine lies in its springing from Judæa Isaiah 2:3 rather than from Greece. Christ made a mistake, too, in sending forth fishermen to preach, rather than the sophist. Whatever noxious vapours, accordingly, exhaled from philosophy, obscure the clear and wholesome atmosphere of truth, it will be for Christians to clear away, both by shattering to pieces the arguments which are drawn from the principles of things — I mean those of the philosophers — and by opposing to them the maxims of heavenly wisdom — that is, such as are revealed by the Lord; in order that both the pitfalls wherewith philosophy captivates the heathen may be removed, and the means employed by heresy to shake the faith of Christians may be repressed. We have already decided one point in our controversy with Hermogenes, as we said at the beginning of this treatise, when we claimed the soul to be formed by the breathing of God, and not out of matter. We relied even there on the clear direction of the inspired

statement which informs us how that the Lord God breathed on man's face the breath of life, so that man became a living soul Genesis 2:7 — by that inspiration of God, of course. On this point, therefore, nothing further need be investigated or advanced by us. It has its own treatise, and its own heretic. I shall regard it as my introduction to the other branches of the subject.

Chapter 4. In Opposition to Plato, the Soul Was Created and Originated at Birth

After settling the origin of the soul, its condition or state comes up next. For when we acknowledge that the soul originates in the breath of God, it follows that we attribute a beginning to it. This Plato, indeed, refuses to assign to it, for he will have the soul to be unborn and unmade. We, however, from the very fact of its having had a beginning, as well as from the nature thereof, teach that it had both birth and creation. And when we ascribe both birth and creation to it, we have made no mistake: for being *born*, indeed, is one thing, and being *made* is another — the former being the term which is best suited to living beings. When distinctions, however, have places and times of their own, they occasionally possess also reciprocity of application among themselves. Thus, the being made admits of being taken in the sense of being brought forth; inasmuch as everything which receives *being* or *existence*, in any way whatever, is in fact generated. For the maker may really be called the parent of the thing that is made: in this sense Plato also uses the phraseology. So far, therefore, as concerns our belief in the souls being made or born, the opinion of the philosopher is overthrown by the authority of prophecy even.

Chapter 5. Probable View of the Stoics, that the Soul Has a Corporeal Nature

Suppose one summons a Eubulus to his assistance, and a Critolaus, and a Zenocrates, and on this occasion Plato's friend Aristotle. They may very possibly hold themselves ready for stripping the soul of its corporeity, unless they happen to see other philosophers opposed to them in their purpose — and this, too, in greater numbers — asserting for the soul a corporeal nature. Now I am not referring merely to those who mould the soul out of manifest bodily substances, as Hipparchus and Heraclitus (do) out of fire; as Hippon and Thales (do) out of water; as Empedocles and Critias (do) out of blood; as Epicurus (does) out of atoms, since even atoms by their coherence form corporeal masses; as Critolaus and his Peripatetics (do) out of a certain indescribable *quintessence*, if that may be called a body which rather includes and embraces bodily substances; — but I call on the Stoics also to help me, who, while declaring almost in our own terms that the soul is a spiritual essence (inasmuch as breath and spirit are in their nature very near akin to each other), will yet have no difficulty in persuading (us) that the soul is a corporeal substance. Indeed, Zeno, defining the soul to be a spirit generated with (the body,) constructs his argument in this way: That substance which by its departure causes the living being to die is a corporeal one. Now it is by the departure of the spirit, which is generated with (the body,) that the living being dies; therefore the spirit which is generated with (the body) is a corporeal substance. But this spirit which is generated with (the body) is the soul: it follows, then, that the soul is a corporeal substance. Cleanthes, too, will have it that family likeness passes from parents to their children not merely in bodily features, but in characteristics of the soul; as if it were out of a mirror of (a man's) manners, and faculties, and affections, that bodily likeness and unlikeness are caught and reflected by the soul also. It is therefore as being corporeal that it is susceptible of likeness and unlikeness. Again, there is nothing in common between things corporeal and things incorporeal as to their susceptibility. But the soul certainly sympathizes with the body, and shares in its pain, whenever it is injured by bruises, and wounds, and sores: the body, too, suffers with the soul, and is united with it (whenever it is afflicted with anxiety, distress, or love) in the loss of vigour which its

companion sustains, whose shame and fear it testifies by its own blushes and paleness. The soul, therefore, is (proved to be) corporeal from this inter-communion of susceptibility. Chrysippus also joins hands in fellowship with Cleanthes when he lays it down that it is not at all possible for things which are endued with body to be separated from things which have not body; because they have no such relation as mutual contact or coherence. Accordingly Lucretius says:

Tangere enim et tangi nisi corpus nulla potest res.

For nothing but body is capable of touching or of being touched.

(Such severance, however, is quite natural between the soul and the body); for when the body is deserted by the soul, it is overcome by death. The soul, therefore, is endued with a body; for if it were not corporeal, it could not desert the body.

Chapter 6. The Arguments of the Platonists for the Soul's Incorporeality, Opposed, Perhaps Frivolously

These conclusions the Platonists disturb more by subtlety than by truth. Every body, they say, has necessarily either an animate nature or an inanimate one. If it has the inanimate nature, it receives motion externally to itself; if the animate one, internally. Now the soul receives motion neither externally nor internally: not externally, since it has not the inanimate nature; nor internally, because it is itself rather the giver of motion to the body. It evidently, then, is not a bodily substance, inasmuch as it receives motion neither way, according to the nature and law of corporeal substances. Now, what first surprises us here, is the unsuitableness of a definition which appeals to objects which have no affinity with the soul. For it is impossible for the soul to be called either an animate body or an inanimate one, inasmuch as it is the soul itself which makes the body either animate, if it be present to it, or else inanimate, if it be absent from it. That, therefore, which produces a result, cannot itself be the result, so as to be entitled to the designation of an animate thing or an inanimate one. The soul is so called in respect of its own substance. If, then, that which is the soul admits not of being called an animate body or an inanimate one, how can it challenge comparison with the nature and law of animate and inanimate bodies? Furthermore, since it is characteristic of a body to be moved externally by something else, and as we have already shown that the soul receives motion from some other thing when it is swayed (from the outside, of course, by something else) by prophetic influence or by madness, therefore I must be right in regarding that as bodily substance which, according to the examples we have quoted, is moved by some other object from without. Now, if to receive motion from some other thing is characteristic of a body, how much more is it so to impart motion to something else! But the soul moves the body, all whose efforts are apparent externally, and from without. It is the soul which gives motion to the feet for walking, and to the hands for touching, and to the eyes for sight, and to the tongue for speech — a sort of internal image which moves and animates the surface. Whence could accrue such power to the soul, if it were incorporeal? How could an unsubstantial thing propel solid objects? But in what way do the senses in man seem to be divisible into the corporeal and the intellectual

classes? They tell us that the qualities of things corporeal, such as earth and fire, are indicated by the bodily senses — of touch and sight; while (the qualities) of incorporeal things — for instance, benevolence and malignity — are discovered by the intellectual faculties. And from this (they deduce what is to them) the manifest conclusion, that the soul is incorporeal, its properties being comprehended by the perception not of bodily organs, but of intellectual faculties. Well, (I shall be much surprised) if I do not at once cut away the very ground on which their argument stands. For I show them how incorporeal things are commonly submitted to the bodily senses — sound, for instance, to the organ of hearing; color, to the organ of sight; smell, to the olfactory organ. And, just as in these instances, the soul likewise has its contact with the body; not to say that the incorporeal objects are reported to us through the bodily organs, for the express reason that they come into contact with the said organs. Inasmuch, then, as it is evident that even incorporeal objects are embraced and comprehended by corporeal ones, why should not the soul, which is corporeal, be equally comprehended and understood by incorporeal faculties? It is thus certain that their argument fails. Among their more conspicuous arguments will be found this, that in their judgment every bodily substance is nourished by bodily substances; whereas the soul, as being an incorporeal essence, is nourished by incorporeal aliments — for instance, by the studies of wisdom. But even this ground has no stability in it, since Soranus, who is a most accomplished authority in medical science, affords us as answer, when he asserts that the soul is even nourished by corporeal aliments; that in fact it is, when failing and weak, actually refreshed oftentimes by food. Indeed, when deprived of all food, does not the soul entirely remove from the body? Soranus, then, after discoursing about the soul in the amplest manner, filling four volumes with his dissertations, and after weighing well all the opinions of the philosophers, defends the corporeality of the soul, although in the process he has robbed it of its immortality. For to all men it is not given to believe the truth which Christians are privileged to hold. As, therefore, Soranus has shown us from facts that the soul is nourished by corporeal aliments, let the philosopher (adopt a similar mode of proof, and) show that it is sustained by an incorporeal food. But the fact is, that no one has even been able to quench this man's doubts and difficulties about the condition of the soul with the honey-water of Plato's subtle eloquence, nor to

surfeit them with the crumbs from the minute nostrums of Aristotle. But what is to become of the souls of all those robust barbarians, which have had no nurture of philosopher's lore indeed, and yet are strong in untaught practical wisdom, and which although very starvelings in philosophy, without your Athenian academies and porches, and even the prison of Socrates, do yet contrive to live? For it is not the soul's actual substance which is benefited by the aliment of learned study, but only its conduct and discipline; such ailment contributing nothing to increase its bulk, but only to enhance its grace. It is, moreover, a happy circumstance that the Stoics affirm that even the arts have corporeality; since at the rate the soul too must be corporeal, since it is commonly supposed to be nourished by the arts. Such, however, is the enormous preoccupation of the philosophic mind, that it is generally unable to see straight before it. Hence (the story of) Thales falling into the well. It very commonly, too, through not understanding even its own opinions, suspects a failure of its own health. Hence (the story of) Chrysippus and the hellebore. Some such hallucination, I take it, must have occurred to him, when he asserted that two bodies could not possibly be contained in one: he must have kept out of mind and sight the case of those pregnant women who, day after day, bear not one body, but even two and three at a time, within the embrace of a single womb. One finds likewise, in the records of the civil law, the instance of a certain Greek woman who gave birth to a quint of children, the mother of all these at one parturition, the manifold parent of a single brood, the prolific produce from a single womb, who, guarded by so many bodies — I had almost said, a people — was herself no less than the sixth person! The whole creation testifies how that those bodies which are naturally destined to issue from bodies, are already (included) in that from which they proceed. Now that which proceeds from some other thing must needs be second to it. Nothing, however, proceeds out of another thing except by the process of generation; but then they are two (things).

Chapter 7. The Soul's Corporeality Demonstrated Out of the Gospels

So far as the philosophers are concerned, we have said enough. As for our own teachers, indeed, our reference to them is *ex abundanti* — a surplusage of authority: in the Gospel itself they will be found to have the clearest evidence for the corporeal nature of the soul. In hell the soul of a certain man is in torment, punished in flames, suffering excruciating thirst, and imploring from the finger of a happier soul, for his tongue, the solace of a drop of water. Luke 16:23-24 Do you suppose that this end of the blessed poor man and the miserable rich man is only imaginary? Then why the name of Lazarus in this narrative, if the circumstance is not in (the category of) a real occurrence? But even if it is to be regarded as imaginary, it will still be a testimony to truth and reality. For unless the soul possessed corporeality, the image of a soul could not possibly contain a finger of a bodily substance; nor would the Scripture feign a statement about the limbs of a body, if these had no existence. But what is that which is removed to Hades after the separation of the body; which is there detained; which is reserved until the day of judgment; to which Christ also, on dying, descended? I imagine it is the souls of the patriarchs. But wherefore (all this), if the soul is nothing in its subterranean abode? For *nothing* it certainly is, if it is not a bodily substance. For whatever is incorporeal is incapable of being kept and guarded in any way; it is also exempt from either punishment or refreshment. That must be a body, by which punishment and refreshment can be experienced. Of this I shall treat more fully in a more fitting place. Therefore, whatever amount of punishment or refreshment the soul tastes in Hades, in its prison or lodging, in the fire or in Abraham's bosom, it gives proof thereby of its own corporeality. For an incorporeal thing suffers nothing, not having that which makes it capable of suffering; else, if it has such capacity, it must be a bodily substance. For in *as* far as every corporeal thing is capable of suffering, in *so* far is that which is capable of suffering also corporeal.

Chapter 8. Other Platonist Arguments Considered

Besides, it would be a harsh and absurd proceeding to exempt anything from the class of corporeal beings, on the ground that it is not exactly like the other constituents of that class. And where individual creatures possess various properties, does not this variety in works of the same class indicate the greatness of the Creator, in making them at the same time different and yet like, amicable yet rivals? Indeed, the philosophers themselves agree in saying that the universe consists of harmonious oppositions, according to Empedocles' (theory of) friendship and enmity. Thus, then, although corporeal essences are opposed to incorporeal ones, they yet differ from each other in such sort as to amplify their species by their variety, without changing their genus, remaining all alike corporeal; contributing to God's glory in their manifold existence by reason of their variety; so various, by reason of their differences; so diverse, in that some of them possess one kind of perception, others another; some feeding on one kind of aliment, others on another; some, again, possessing visibility, while others are invisible; some being weighty, others light. They are in the habit of saying that the soul must be pronounced incorporeal on this account, because the bodies of the dead, after its departure from them, become heavier, whereas they ought to be lighter, being deprived of the weight of a body — since the soul is a bodily substance. But what, says Soranus (in answer to this argument), if men should deny that the sea is a bodily substance, because a ship out of the water becomes a heavy and motionless mass? How much truer and stronger, then, is the soul's corporeal essence, which carries about the body, which eventually assumes so great a weight with the nimblest motion! Again, even if the soul is invisible, it is only in strict accordance with the condition of its own corporeality, and suitably to the property of its own essence, as well as to the nature of even those beings to which its destiny made it to be invisible. The eyes of the owl cannot endure the sun, while the eagle is so well able to face his glory, that the noble character of its young is determined by the unblinking strength of their gaze; while the eaglet, which turns away its eye from the sun's ray, is expelled from the nest as a degenerate creature! So true is it, therefore, than to one eye an object is invisible, which may be quite plainly seen by another — without implying any incorporeality in that which is not endued with an equally strong

power (of vision). The sun is indeed a bodily substance, because it is (composed of) fire; the object, however, which the eaglet at once admits the existence of, the owl denies, without any prejudice, nevertheless, to the testimony of the eagle. There is the selfsame difference in respect of the soul's corporeality, which is (perhaps) invisible to the flesh, but perfectly visible to the spirit. Thus John, being in the Spirit of God, Revelation 1:10 beheld plainly the souls of the martyrs. Revelation 6:9

Chapter 9. Particulars of the Alleged Communication to a Montanist Sister

When we aver that the soul has a body of a quality and kind peculiar to itself, in this special condition of it we shall be already supplied with a decision respecting all the other accidents of its corporeity; how that they belong to it, because we have shown it to be a body, but that even they have a quality peculiar to themselves, proportioned to the special nature of the body (to which they belong); or else, if any accidents (of a body) are remarkable in this instance for their absence, then this, too, results from the peculiarity of the condition of the soul's corporeity, from which are absent sundry qualities which are present to all other corporeal beings. And yet, notwithstanding all this, we shall not be at all inconsistent if we declare that the more usual characteristics of a body, such as invariably accrue to the corporeal condition, belong also to the soul — such as form and limitation; and that triad of dimensions — I mean length, and breadth and height — by which philosophers gauge all bodies. What now remains but for us to give the soul a figure? Plato refuses to do this, as if it endangered the soul's immortality. For everything which has figure is, according to him, compound, and composed of parts; whereas the soul is immortal; and being immortal, it is therefore indissoluble; and being indissoluble, it is figureless: for if, on the contrary, it had figure, it would be of a composite and structural formation. He, however, in some other manner frames for the soul an effigy of intellectual forms, beautiful for its just symmetry and tuitions of philosophy, but misshapen by some contrary qualities. As for ourselves, indeed, we inscribe on the soul the lineaments of corporeity, not simply from the assurance which reasoning has taught us of its corporeal nature, but also from the firm conviction which divine grace impresses on us by revelation. For, seeing that we acknowledge spiritual *charismata*, or gifts, we too have merited the attainment of the prophetic gift, although coming after John (the Baptist). We have now among us a sister whose lot it has been to be favoured with sundry gifts of revelation, which she experiences in the Spirit by ecstatic vision amidst the sacred rites of the Lord's day in the church: she converses with angels, and sometimes even with the Lord; she both sees and hears mysterious communications; some men's hearts she understands, and to them who are in need she distributes

remedies. Whether it be in the reading of Scriptures, or in the chanting of psalms, or in the preaching of sermons, or in the offering up of prayers, in all these religious services matter and opportunity are afforded to her of seeing visions. It may possibly have happened to us, while this sister of ours was rapt in the Spirit, that we had discoursed in some ineffable way about the soul. After the people are dismissed at the conclusion of the sacred services, she is in the regular habit of reporting to us whatever things she may have seen in vision (for all her communications are examined with the most scrupulous care, in order that their truth may be probed). Amongst other things, says she, there has been shown to me a soul in bodily shape, and a spirit has been in the habit of appearing to me; not, however, a void and empty illusion, but such as would offer itself to be even grasped by the hand, soft and transparent and of an ethereal color, and in form resembling that of a human being in every respect. This was her vision, and for her witness there was God; and the apostle most assuredly foretold that there were to be spiritual gifts in the church. Now, can you refuse to believe this, even if indubitable evidence on every point is forthcoming for your conviction? Since, then, the soul is a corporeal substance, no doubt it possesses qualities such as those which we have just mentioned, among them the property of *color*, which is inherent in every bodily substance. Now what color would you attribute to the soul but an ethereal transparent one? Not that its substance is actually the ether or air (although this was the opinion of Ænesidemus and Anaximenes, and I suppose of Heraclitus also, as some say of him), nor transparent light (although Heraclides of Pontus held it to be so). Thunder-stones, indeed, are not of igneous substance, because they shine with ruddy redness; nor are beryls composed of aqueous matter, because they are of a pure wavy whiteness. How many things also besides these are there which their color would associate in the same class, but which nature keeps widely apart! Since, however, everything which is very attenuated and transparent bears a strong resemblance to the air, such would be the case with the soul, since in its material nature it is wind and breath, (or spirit); whence it is that the belief of its corporeal quality is endangered, in consequence of the extreme tenuity and subtlety of its essence. Likewise, as regards the figure of the human soul from your own conception, you can well imagine that it is none other than the human form; indeed, none other than the shape of that body which each

individual soul animates and moves about. This we may at once be induced to admit from contemplating man's original formation. For only carefully consider, after God has breathed upon the face of man the breath of life, and man had consequently become a living soul, surely that breath must have passed through the face at once into the interior structure, and have spread itself throughout all the spaces of the body; and as soon as by the divine inspiration it had become condensed, it must have impressed itself on each internal feature, which the condensation had filled in, and so have been, as it were, congealed in shape, (or stereotyped). Hence, by this densifying process, there arose a fixing of the soul's corporeity; and by the impression its figure was formed and moulded. This is the inner man, different from the outer, but yet one in the twofold condition. It, too, has eyes and ears of its own, by means of which Paul must have heard and seen the Lord; 2 Corinthians 12:2-4 it has, moreover all the other members of the body by the help of which it effects all processes of thinking and all activity in dreams. Thus it happens that the rich man in hell has a tongue and poor (Lazarus) a finger and Abraham a bosom. Luke 16:23-24 By these features also the souls of the martyrs under the altar are distinguished and known. The soul indeed which in the beginning was associated with Adam's body, which grew with its growth and was moulded after its form proved to be the germ both of the entire substance (of the human soul) and of that (part of) creation.

Chapter 10. The Simple Nature of the Soul is Asserted with Plato. The Identity of Spirit and Soul

It is essential to a firm faith to declare with Plato that the soul is simple; in other words uniform and uncompounded; simply that is to say in respect of its substance. Never mind men's artificial views and theories, and away with the fabrications of heresy! Some maintain that there is within the soul a natural substance — the spirit — which is different from it: as if to have life — the function of the soul — were one thing; and to emit breath — the alleged function of the spirit — were another thing. Now it is not in all animals that these two functions are found; for there are many which only live but do not breathe in that they do not possess the organs of respiration — lungs and windpipes. But of what use is it, in an examination of the soul of man, to borrow proofs from a gnat or an ant, when the great Creator in His divine arrangements has allotted to every animal organs of vitality suited to its own disposition and nature, so that we ought not to catch at any conjectures from comparisons of this sort? Man, indeed, although organically furnished with lungs and windpipes, will not on that account be proved to *breathe* by one process, and to *live* by another; nor can the ant, although defective in these organs, be on that account said to be without respiration, as if it lived and that was all. For by whom has so clear an insight into the works of God been really attained, as to entitle him to assume that these organic resources are wanting to any living thing? There is that Herophilus, the well-known surgeon, or (as I may almost call him) butcher, who cut up no end of persons, in order to investigate the secrets of nature, who ruthlessly handled human creatures to discover (their form and make): I have my doubts whether he succeeded in clearly exploring all the internal parts of their structure, since death itself changes and disturbs the natural functions of life, especially when the death is not a natural one, but such as must cause irregularity and error amidst the very processes of dissection. Philosophers have affirmed it to be a certain fact, that gnats, and ants, and moths have no pulmonary or arterial organs. Well, then, tell me, you curious and elaborate investigator of these mysteries, have they eyes for seeing withal? But yet they proceed to whatever point they wish, and they both shun and aim at various objects by processes of sight: point out their eyes to me, show me their pupils. Moths also gnaw and

eat: demonstrate to me their mandibles, reveal their jaw-teeth. Then, again, gnats hum and buzz, nor even in the dark are they unable to find their way to our ears: point out to me, then, not only the noisy tube, but the stinging lance of that mouth of theirs. Take any living thing whatever, be it the tiniest you can find, it must needs be fed and sustained by some food or other: show me, then, their organs for taking into their system, digesting, and ejecting food. What must we say, therefore? If it is by such instruments that life is maintained, these instrumental means must of course exist in all things which are to live, even though they are not apparent to the eye or to the apprehension by reason of their minuteness. You can more readily believe this, if you remember that God manifests His creative greatness quite as much in small objects as in the very largest. If, however, you suppose that God's wisdom has no capacity for forming such infinitesimal corpuscles, you can still recognise His greatness, in that He has furnished even to the smallest animals the functions of life, although in the absence of the suitable organs — securing to them the power of sight, even without eyes; of eating, even without teeth; and of digestion, even without stomachs. Some animals also have the ability to move forward without feet, as serpents, by a gliding motion; or as worms, by vertical efforts; or as snails and slugs, by their slimy crawl. Why should you not then believe that respiration likewise may be effected without the bellows of the lungs, and without arterial canals? You would thus supply yourself with a strong proof that the spirit or breath is an adjunct of the human soul, for the very reason that some creatures lack breath, and that they lack it because they are not furnished with organs of respiration. You think it possible for a thing to live without breath; then why not suppose that a thing might breathe without lungs? Pray, tell me, what is it to breathe? I suppose it means to emit breath from yourself. What is it not to live? I suppose it means not to emit breath from yourself. This is the answer which I should have to make, if to breathe is not the same thing as to live. It must, however, be characteristic of a dead man not to respire: to respire, therefore, is the characteristic of a living man. But to respire is likewise the characteristic of a breathing man: therefore also to breathe is the characteristic of a living man. Now, if both one and the other could possibly have been accomplished without the soul, to breathe might not be a function of the soul, but merely to live. But indeed to live is to breathe, and to breathe is to live. Therefore this entire process, both of

breathing and living, belongs to that to which living belongs — that is, to the soul. Well, then, since you separate the spirit (or breath) and the soul, separate their operations also. Let both of them accomplish some act apart from one another — the soul apart, the spirit apart. Let the soul live without the spirit; let the spirit breathe without the soul. Let one of them quit men's bodies, let the other remain; let death and life meet and agree. If indeed the soul and the spirit are two, they may be divided; and thus, by the separation of the one which departs from the one which remains, there would accrue the union and meeting together of life and of death. But such a union never will accrue: therefore they are not two, and they cannot be divided; but divided they might have been, if they had been (two). Still two things may surely coalesce in growth. But the two in question never will coalesce, since to live is one thing, and to breathe is another. Substances are distinguished by their operations. How much firmer ground have you for believing that the soul and the spirit are but one, since you assign to them no difference; so that the soul is itself the spirit, respiration being the function of that of which life also is! But what if you insist on supposing that the day is one thing, and the light, which is incidental to the day, is another thing, whereas day is only the light itself? There must, of course, be also different kinds of light, as (appears) from the ministry of fires. So likewise will there be different sorts of spirits, according as they emanate from God or from the devil. Whenever, indeed, the question is about soul and spirit, the soul will be (understood to be) itself the spirit, just as the day is the light itself. For a thing is itself identical with that by means of which itself exists.

Chapter 11. Spirit — A Term Expressive of an Operation of the Soul, Not of Its Nature. To Be Carefully Distinguished from the Spirit of God

But the nature of my present inquiry obliges me to call the soul spirit or breath, because to breathe is ascribed to another substance. We, however, claim this (operation) for the soul, which we acknowledge to be an indivisible simple substance, and therefore we must call it spirit in a definitive sense — not because of its condition, but of its action; not in respect of its nature, but of its operation; because it *respires*, and not because it is spirit in any special sense. For to blow or breathe is to respire. So that we are driven to describe, by (the term which indicates this respiration — that is to say) *spirit* — the soul which we hold to be, by the propriety of its action, breath. Moreover, we properly and especially insist on calling it breath (or spirit), in opposition to Hermogenes, who derives the soul from matter instead of from the *afflatus* or breath of God. He, to be sure, goes flatly against the testimony of Scripture, and with this view converts breath into spirit, because he cannot believe that the (creature on which was breathed the) Spirit of God fell into sin, and then into condemnation; and therefore he would conclude that the soul came from matter rather than from the Spirit or breath of God. For this reason, we on our side even from that passage, maintain the soul to be breath and not the spirit, in the scriptural and distinctive sense of the spirit; and here it is with regret that we apply the term spirit at all in the lower sense, in consequence of the identical action of respiring and breathing. In that passage, the only question is about the natural substance; to respire being an act of nature. I would not tarry a moment longer on this point, were it not for those heretics who introduce into the soul some spiritual germ which passes my comprehension: (they make it to have been) conferred upon the soul by the secret liberality of her mother Sophia (*Wisdom*), without the knowledge of the Creator. But (Holy) Scripture, which has a better knowledge of the soul's Maker, or rather God, has told us nothing more than that God breathed on man's face the breath of life, and that man became a living soul, by means of which he was both to live and breathe; at the same time making a sufficiently clear distinction between the spirit and the soul, in such passages as the following, wherein God Himself declares: My Spirit went forth from me, and I made the

breath of each. And the breath of my Spirit became soul. And again: He gives breath unto the people that are on the earth, and Spirit to them that walk thereon. Isaiah 42:5 First of all there comes the (natural) soul, that is to say, the breath, to the people that are on the earth — in other words, to those who act carnally in the flesh; then afterwards comes the Spirit to those who walk thereon — that is, who subdue the works of the flesh; because the apostle also says, that that is not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural, (or in possession of the natural soul,) and afterward that which is spiritual. 1 Corinthians 15:46 For, inasmuch as Adam straightway predicted that great mystery of Christ and the church, Ephesians 5:31-32 when he said, This now is bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh; therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they two shall become one flesh, Genesis 2:24-25 he experienced the influence of the Spirit. For there fell upon him that ecstasy, which is the Holy Ghost's operative virtue of prophecy. And even the evil spirit too is an influence which comes upon a man. Indeed, the Spirit of God not more really turned Saul into another man, 1 Samuel 10:6 that is to say, into a prophet, when people said one to another, What is this which has come to the son of Kish? Is Saul also among the prophets? 1 Samuel 10:11 than did the evil spirit afterwards turn him into another man — in other words, into an apostate. Judas likewise was for a long time reckoned among the elect (apostles), and was even appointed to the office of their treasurer; he was not yet the traitor, although he was become fraudulent; but afterwards the devil entered into him. Consequently, as the spirit neither of God nor of the devil is naturally planted with a man's soul at his birth, this soul must evidently exist apart and alone, previous to the accession to it of either spirit: if thus apart and alone, it must also be simple and uncompounded as regards its substance; and therefore it cannot respire from any other cause than from the actual condition of its own substance.

Chapter 12. Difference Between the Mind and the Soul, and the Relation Between Them

In like manner the mind also, or *animus*, which the Greeks designate ΝΟΥΣ, is taken by us in no other sense than as indicating that faculty or apparatus which is inherent and implanted in the soul, and naturally proper to it, whereby it acts, whereby it acquires knowledge, and by the possession of which it is capable of a spontaneity of motion within itself, and of thus appearing to be impelled by the mind, as if it were another substance, as is maintained by those who determine the soul to be the moving principle of the universe — the god of Socrates, Valentinus' only-begotten of his father *Bythus*, and his mother *Sige*. How confused is the opinion of Anaxagoras! For, having imagined the mind to be the initiating principle of all things, and suspending on its axis the balance of the universe; affirming, moreover, that the mind is a simple principle, unmixed, and incapable of admixture, he mainly on this very consideration separates it from all amalgamation with the soul; and yet in another passage he actually incorporates it with the soul. This (inconsistency) Aristotle has also observed: but whether he meant his criticism to be constructive, and to fill up a system of his own, rather than destructive of the principles of others, I am hardly able to decide. As for himself, indeed, although he postpones his definition of the mind, yet he begins by mentioning, as one of the two natural constituents of the mind, that divine principle which he conjectures to be impassible, or incapable of emotion, and thereby removes from all association with the soul. For whereas it is evident that the soul is susceptible of those emotions which it falls to it naturally to suffer, it must needs suffer either by the mind or with the mind. Now if the soul is by nature associated with the mind, it is impossible to draw the conclusion that the mind is impassible; or again, if the soul suffers not either by the mind or with the mind, it cannot possibly have a natural association with the mind, with which it suffers nothing, and which suffers nothing itself. Moreover, if the soul suffers nothing by the mind and with the mind, it will experience no sensation, nor will it acquire any knowledge, nor will it undergo any emotion through the agency of the mind, as they maintain it will. For Aristotle makes even the senses passions, or states of emotion. And rightly too. For to exercise the senses is to suffer emotion, because to

suffer is to feel. In like manner, to acquire knowledge is to exercise the senses; and to undergo emotion is to exercise the senses; and the whole of this is a state of suffering. But we see that the soul experiences nothing of these things, in such a manner as that the mind also is affected by the emotion, by which, indeed, and with which, all is effected. It follows, therefore, that the mind is capable of admixture, in opposition to Anaxagoras; and passible or susceptible of emotion, contrary to the opinion of Aristotle. Besides, if a separate condition between the soul and mind is to be admitted, so that they be two things in substance, then of one of them, emotion and sensation, and every sort of taste, and all action and motion, will be the characteristics; while of the other the natural condition will be calm, and repose, and stupor. There is therefore no alternative: either the mind must be useless and void, or the soul. But if these affections may certainly be all of them ascribed to both, then in that case the two will be one and the same, and Democritus will carry his point when he suppresses all distinction between the two. The question will arise how two can be one — whether by the confusion of two substances, or by the disposition of one? We, however, affirm that the mind coalesces with the soul — not indeed as being distinct from it in substance, but as being its natural function and agent.

Chapter 13. The Soul's Supremacy

It next remains to examine where lies the supremacy; in other words, which of the two is superior to the other, so that with which the supremacy clearly lies shall be the essentially superior substance; while that over which this essentially superior substance shall have authority shall be considered as the natural functionary of the superior substance. Now who will hesitate to ascribe this entire authority to the soul, from the name of which the whole man has received his own designation in common phraseology? How many *souls*, says the rich man, do I maintain? Not how many *minds*. The pilot's desire, also, is to rescue so many *souls* from shipwreck, not so many minds; the labourer, too, in his work, and the soldier on the field of battle, affirms that he lays down his soul (or life), not his mind. Which of the two has its perils or its vows and wishes more frequently on men's lips — the mind or the soul? Which of the two are dying persons, said to have to do with the mind or the soul? In short, philosophers themselves, and medical men, even when it is their purpose to discourse about the mind, do in every instance inscribe on their title-page and table of contents, *De Anima* (*A treatise on the soul*). And that you may also have God's voucher on the subject, it is the soul which He addresses; it is the soul which He exhorts and counsels, to turn the mind and intellect to Him. It is the soul which Christ came to save; it is the soul which He threatens to destroy in hell; it is the soul (or life) which He forbids being made too much of; it is His soul, too (or life), which the good Shepherd Himself lays down for His sheep. It is to the soul, therefore, that you ascribe the supremacy; in *it* also you possess that union of substance, of which you perceive the mind to be the instrument, not the ruling power.

Chapter 14. The Soul Variousy Divided by the Philosophers; This Division is Not a Material Dissection

Being thus single, simple, and entire in itself, it is as incapable of being composed and put together from external constituents, as it is of being divided in and of itself, inasmuch as it is indissoluble. For if it had been possible to construct it and to destroy it, it would no longer be immortal. Since, however, it is not mortal, it is also incapable of dissolution and division. Now, to be divided means to be dissolved, and to be dissolved means to die. Yet (philosophers) have divided the soul into parts: Plato, for instance, into two; Zeno into three; Panætius, into five or six; Soranus, into seven; Chrysippus, into as many as eight; and Apollophanes, into as many as nine; while certain of the Stoics have found as many as twelve parts in the soul. Posidonius makes even two more than these: he starts with two leading faculties of the soul — the *directing* faculty, which they designate ἡγεμονικόν; and the *rational* faculty, which they call λογικόν — and ultimately subdivided these into seventeen parts. Thus variousy is the soul dissected by the different schools. Such divisions, however, ought not to be regarded so much as parts of the soul, as powers, or faculties, or operations thereof, even as Aristotle himself has regarded some of them as being. For they are not portions or organic parts of the soul's substance, but functions of the soul — such as those of motion, of action, of thought, and whatsoever others they divide in this manner; such, likewise, as the five senses themselves, so well known to all — seeing, hearing, tasting, touching, smelling. Now, although they have allotted to the whole of these respectively certain parts of the body as their special domiciles, it does not from that circumstance follow that a like distribution will be suitable to the sections of the soul; for even the body itself would not admit of such a partition as they would have the soul undergo. But of the whole number of the limbs one body is made up, so that the arrangement is rather a concretion than a division. Look at that very wonderful piece of organic mechanism by Archimedes — I mean his hydraulic organ, with its many limbs, parts, bands, passages for the notes, outlets for their sounds, combinations for their harmony, and the array of its pipes; but yet the whole of these details constitute only one instrument. In like manner the wind, which breathes throughout this organ at the impulse of the hydraulic engine, is not

divided into separate portions from the fact of its dispersion through the instrument to make it play: it is whole and entire in its substance, although divided in its operation. This example is not remote from (the illustration) of Strato, and Ænesidemus, and Heraclitus: for these philosophers maintain the unity of the soul, as diffused over the entire body, and yet in every part the same. Precisely like the wind blown in the pipes throughout the organ, the soul displays its energies in various ways by means of the senses, being not indeed divided, but rather distributed in natural order. Now, under what designations these energies are to be known, and by what divisions of themselves they are to be classified, and to what special offices and functions in the body they are to be severally confined, the physicians and the philosophers must consider and decide: for ourselves, a few remarks only will be proper.

Chapter 15. The Soul's Vitality and Intelligence. Its Character and Seat in Man

In the first place, (we must determine) whether there be in the soul some supreme principle of vitality and intelligence which they call the ruling power of the soul — τὸ ἡγεμονικόν for if this be not admitted, the whole condition of the soul is put in jeopardy. Indeed, those men who say that there is no such directing faculty, have begun by supposing that the soul itself is simply a nonentity. One Dicæarchus, a Messenian, and among the medical profession Andreas and Asclepiades, have thus destroyed the (soul's) directing power, by actually placing in the mind the senses, for which they claim the ruling faculty. Asclepiades rides rough-shod over us with even this argument, that very many animals, after losing those parts of their body in which the soul's principle of vitality and sensation is thought mainly to exist, still retain life in a considerable degree, as well as sensation: as in the case of flies, and wasps, and locusts, when you have cut off their heads; and of she-goats, and tortoises, and eels, when you have pulled out their hearts. (He concludes), therefore, that there is no special principle or power of the soul; for if there were, the soul's vigour and strength could not continue when it was removed with its domiciles (or corporeal organs). However, Dicæarchus has several authorities against him — and philosophers too — Plato, Strato, Epicurus, Democritus, Empedocles, Socrates, Aristotle; while in opposition to Andreas and Asclepiades (may be placed their brother) physicians Herophilus, Erasistratus, Diocles, Hippocrates, and Soranus himself; and better than all others, there are our Christian authorities. We are taught by God concerning both these questions — viz. that there is a ruling power in the soul, and that it is enshrined in one particular recess of the body. For, when one reads of God as being the searcher and witness of the heart; Wisdom 1:6 when His prophet is reproved by His discovering to him the secrets of the heart; Proverbs 24:12 when God Himself anticipates in His people the thoughts of their heart, Why do you think evil in your hearts? Matthew 9:4 when David prays Create in me a clean heart, O God, and Paul declares, With the heart man believes unto righteousness, Romans 10:10 and John says, By his own heart is each man condemned; 1 John 3:20 when, lastly, he who looks on a woman so as to lust after her, has already committed adultery with her in his heart, Matthew 5:28

— then both points are cleared fully up, that there is a directing faculty of the soul, with which the purpose of God may agree; in other words, a supreme principle of intelligence and vitality (for where there is intelligence, there must be vitality), and that it resides in that most precious part of our body to which God especially looks: so that you must not suppose, with Heraclitus, that this sovereign faculty of which we are treating is moved by some external force; nor with Moschion, that it floats about through the whole body; nor with Plato, that it is enclosed in the head; nor with Zenophanes, that it culminates in the crown of the head; nor that it reposes in the brain, according to the opinion of Hippocrates; nor around the basis of the brain, as Herophilus thought; nor in the membranes thereof, as Strato and Erasistratus said; nor in the space between the eyebrows, as Strato the physician held; nor within the enclosure of the breast, according to Epicurus: but rather, as the Egyptians have always taught, especially such of them as were accounted the expounders of sacred truths; in accordance, too, with that verse of Orpheus or Empedocles:

Namque homini sanguis circumcordialis est sensus.

Man has his (supreme) sensation in the blood around his heart.

Even Protagoras likewise, and Apollodorus, and Chrysippus, entertain this same view, so that (our friend) Asclepiades may go in quest of his goats bleating without a heart, and hunt his flies without their heads; and let all those (worthies), too, who have predetermined the character of the human soul from the condition of brute animals, be quite sure that it is themselves rather who are alive in a heartless and brainless state.

Chapter 16. The Soul's Parts. Elements of the Rational Soul

That position of Plato's is also quite in keeping with the faith, in which he divides the soul into two parts — the rational and the irrational. To this definition we take no exception, except that we would not ascribe this twofold distinction to the nature (of the soul). It is the rational element which we must believe to be its natural condition, impressed upon it from its very first creation by its Author, who is Himself essentially rational. For how should that be other than rational, which God produced on His own prompting; nay more, which He expressly sent forth by His own *afflatus* or breath? The irrational element, however, we must understand to have accrued later, as having proceeded from the instigation of the serpent — the very achievement of (the first) transgression — which thenceforward became inherent in the soul, and grew with its growth, assuming the manner by this time of a natural development, happening as it did immediately at the beginning of nature. But, inasmuch as the same Plato speaks of the rational element only as existing in the soul of God Himself, if we were to ascribe the irrational element likewise to the nature which our soul has received from God, then the irrational element will be equally derived from God, as being a natural production, because God is the author of nature. Now from the devil proceeds the incentive to sin. All sin, however, is irrational: therefore the irrational proceeds from the devil, from whom sin proceeds; and it is extraneous to God, to whom also the irrational is an alien principle. The diversity, then, between these two elements arises from the difference of their authors. When, therefore, Plato reserves the rational element (of the soul) to God alone, and subdivides it into two departments: the *irascible*, which they call θυμικόν, and the *concupiscible*, which they designate by the term ἐπιθυμητικόν (in such a way as to make the first common to us and lions, and the second shared between ourselves and flies, while the rational element is confined to us and God) — I see that this point will have to be treated by us, owing to the facts which we find operating also in Christ. For you may behold this triad of qualities in the Lord. There was the *rational* element, by which He taught, by which He discoursed, by which He prepared the way of salvation; there was moreover *indignation* in Him, by which He inveighed against the scribes and

the Pharisees; and there was the principle of *desire*, by which He so earnestly desired to eat the passover with His disciples. Luke 22:15 In our own cases, accordingly, the irascible and the concupiscible elements of our soul must not invariably be put to the account of the irrational (nature), since we are sure that in our Lord these elements operated in entire accordance with reason. God will be angry, with perfect reason, with all who deserve His wrath; and with reason, too, will God desire whatever objects and claims are worthy of Himself. For He will show indignation against the evil man, and for the good man will He desire salvation. To ourselves even does the apostle allow the concupiscible quality. If any man, says he, desires the office of a bishop, he desires a good work. 1 Timothy 3:1 Now, by saying a good work, he shows us that the desire is a reasonable one. He permits us likewise to feel indignation. How should he not, when he himself experiences the same? I would, says he, that they were even cut off which trouble you. Galatians 5:12 In perfect agreement with reason was that indignation which resulted from his desire to maintain discipline and order. When, however, he says, We were formerly the children of wrath, Ephesians 2:3 he censures an irrational irascibility, such as proceeds not from that nature which is the production of God, but from that which the devil brought in, who is himself styled the lord or master of his own class, You cannot serve two *masters*, Matthew 6:24 and has the actual designation of father: You are of your *father* the devil. John 6:44 So that you need not be afraid to ascribe to him the mastery and dominion over that second, later, and deteriorated nature (of which we have been speaking), when you read of him as the sower of tares, and the nocturnal spoiler of the crop of grain. Matthew 13:25

Chapter 17. The Fidelity of the Senses, Impugned by Plato, Vindicated by Christ Himself

Then, again, when we encounter the question (as to the veracity of those five senses which we learn with our alphabet; since from this source even there arises some support for our heretics. They are the faculties of seeing, and hearing, and smelling, and tasting, and touching. The fidelity of these senses is impugned with too much severity by the Platonists, and according to some by Heraclitus also, and Diocles, and Empedocles; at any rate, Plato, in the *Timæus*, declares the operations of the senses to be irrational, and vitiated by our opinions or beliefs. Deception is imputed to the sight, because it asserts that oars, when immersed in the water, are inclined or bent, notwithstanding the certainty that they are straight; because, again, it is quite sure that that distant tower with its really quadrangular contour is round; because also it will discredit the fact of the truly parallel fabric of yonder porch or arcade, by supposing it to be narrower and narrower towards its end; and because it will join with the sea the sky which hangs at so great a height above it. In the same way, our hearing is charged with fallacy: we think, for instance, that that is a noise in the sky which is nothing else than the rumbling of a carriage; or, if you prefer it the other way, when the thunder rolled at a distance, we were quite sure that it was a carriage which made the noise. Thus, too, are our faculties of smell and taste at fault, because the selfsame perfumes and wines lose their value after we have used them awhile. On the same principle our touch is censured, when the identical pavement which seemed rough to the hands is felt by the feet to be smooth enough; and in the baths a stream of warm water is pronounced to be quite hot at first, and beautifully temperate afterwards. Thus, according to them, our senses deceive us, when all the while we are (the cause of the discrepancies, by) changing our opinions. The Stoics are more moderate in their views; for they do not load with the obloquy of deception every one of the senses, and at all times. The Epicureans, again, show still greater consistency, in maintaining that all the senses are equally true in their testimony, and always so — only in a different way. It is not our organs of sensation that are at fault, but our opinion. The senses only experience sensation, they do not exercise opinion; it is the soul that *opines*. They separated opinion from the senses, and sensation from the soul. Well,

but whence comes opinion, if not from the senses? Indeed, unless the eye had descried a round shape in that tower, it could have had no idea that it possessed roundness. Again, whence arises sensation if not from the soul? For if the soul had no body, it would have no sensation. Accordingly, sensation comes from the soul, and opinion from sensation; and the whole (process) is the soul. But further, it may well be insisted on that there is a something which causes the discrepancy between the report of the senses and the reality of the facts. Now, since it is possible, (as we have seen), for phenomena to be reported which exist not in the objects, why should it not be equally possible for phenomena to be reported which are caused not by the senses, but by reasons and conditions which intervene, in the very nature of the case? If so, it will be only right that they should be duly recognised. The truth is, that it was the water which was the cause of the oar seeming to be inclined or bent: out of the water, it was perfectly straight in appearance (as well as in fact). The delicacy of the substance or medium which forms a mirror by means of its luminosity, according as it is struck or shaken, by the vibration actually destroys the appearance of the straightness of a right line. In like manner, the condition of the open space which fills up the interval between it and us, necessarily causes the true shape of the tower to escape our notice; for the uniform density of the surrounding air covering its angles with a similar light obliterates their outlines. So, again, the equal breadth of the arcade is sharpened or narrowed off towards its termination, until its aspect, becoming more and more contracted under its prolonged roof, comes to a vanishing point in the direction of its farthest distance. So the sky blends itself with the sea, the vision becoming spent at last, which had maintained duly the boundaries of the two elements, so long as its vigorous glance lasted. As for the (alleged cases of deceptive) hearing, what else could produce the illusion but the similarity of the sounds? And if the perfume afterwards was less strong to the smell, and the wine more flat to the taste, and the water not so hot to the touch, their original strength was after all found in the whole of them pretty well unimpaired. In the matter, however, of the roughness and smoothness of the pavement, it was only natural and right that limbs like the hands and the feet, so different in tenderness and callousness, should have different impressions. In this way, then, there cannot occur an illusion in our senses without an adequate cause. Now if special causes, (such as we have

indicated,) mislead our senses and (through our senses) our opinions also, then we must no longer ascribe the deception to the senses, which follow the specific causes of the illusion, nor to the opinions we form; for these are occasioned and controlled by our senses, which only follow the causes. Persons who are afflicted with madness or insanity, mistake one object for another. Orestes in his sister sees his mother; Ajax sees Ulysses in the slaughtered herd; Athamas and Agave descry wild beasts in their children. Now is it their eyes or their phrenzy which you must blame for so vast a fallacy? All things taste bitter, in the redundancy of their bile, to those who have the jaundice. Is it their taste which you will charge with the physical prevarication, or their ill state of health? All the senses, therefore, are disordered occasionally, or imposed upon, but only in such a way as to be quite free of any fault in their own natural functions. But further still, not even against the specific causes and conditions themselves must we lay an indictment of deception. For, since these physical aberrations happen for stated reasons, the reasons do not deserve to be regarded as deceptions. Whatever ought to occur in a certain manner is not a deception. If, then, even these circumstantial causes must be acquitted of all censure and blame, how much more should we free from reproach the senses, over which the said causes exercise a liberal sway! Hence we are bound most certainly to claim for the senses truth, and fidelity, and integrity, seeing that they never render any other account of their impressions than is enjoined on them by the specific causes or conditions which in all cases produce that discrepancy which appears between the report of the senses and the reality of the objects. What mean you, then, O most insolent Academy? You overthrow the entire condition of human life; you disturb the whole order of nature; you obscure the good providence of God Himself: for the senses of man which God has appointed over all His works, that we might understand, inhabit, dispense, and enjoy them, (you reproach) as fallacious and treacherous tyrants! But is it not from these that all creation receives our services? Is it not by their means that a second form is impressed even upon the world? — so many arts, so many industrious resources, so many pursuits, such business, such offices, such commerce, such remedies, counsels, consolations, modes, civilizations, and accomplishments of life! All these things have produced the very relish and savour of human existence; while by these senses of man, he alone of all

animated nature has the distinction of being a rational animal, with a capacity for intelligence and knowledge — nay, an ability to form the Academy itself! But Plato, in order to disparage the testimony of the senses, in the *Phædrus* denies (in the person of Socrates) his own ability to know even himself, according to the injunction of the Delphic oracle; and in the *Theætetus* he deprives himself of the faculties of knowledge and sensation; and again, in the *Phædrus* he postpones till after death the posthumous knowledge, as he calls it, of the truth; and yet for all he went on playing the philosopher even before he died. We may not, I say, we may not call into question the truth of the (poor vilified) senses, lest we should even in Christ Himself, bring doubt upon the truth of their sensation; lest perchance it should be said that He did *not* really behold Satan as lightning fall from heaven; Luke 10:18 that He did *not* really hear the Father's voice testifying of Himself; Matthew 3:17 or that He was deceived in touching Peter's wife's mother; Matthew 8:15 or that the fragrance of the ointment which He afterwards smelled was different from that which He accepted for His burial; Matthew 26:7-12 and that the taste of the wine was different from that which He consecrated in memory of His blood. On this false principle it was that Marcion actually chose to believe that He was a phantom, denying to Him the reality of a perfect body. Now, not even to His apostles was His nature ever a matter of deception. He was truly both seen and heard upon the mount; Matthew 17:3-8 true and real was the draught of that wine at the marriage of (Cana in) Galilee; John 2:1-10 true and real also was the touch of the then-believing Thomas. John 20:27 Read the testimony of John: That which we have seen, which we have heard, which we have looked upon with our eyes, and our hands have handled, of the Word of life. 1 John 1:1 False, of course, and deceptive must have been that testimony, if the witness of our eyes, and ears, and hands be by nature a lie.

Chapter 18. Plato Suggested Certain Errors to the Gnostics. Functions of the Soul

I turn now to the department of our intellectual faculties, such as Plato has handed it over to the heretics, distinct from our bodily functions, having obtained the knowledge of them before death. He asks in the *Phædo*, What, then, (do you think) concerning the actual possession of *knowledge*? Will the body be a hindrance to it or not, if one shall admit it as an associate in the search after knowledge? I have a similar question to ask: Have the faculties of their sight and hearing any truth and reality for human beings or not? Is it not the case, that even the poets are always muttering against us, that we can never hear or see anything for certain? He remembered, no doubt, what Epicharmus the comic poet had said: It is the mind which sees, the mind that hears — all else is blind and deaf. To the same purport he says again, that man is the wisest whose mental power is the clearest; who never applies the sense of sight, nor adds to his mind the help of any such faculty, but employs the intellect itself in unmixed serenity when he indulges in contemplation for the purpose of acquiring an unalloyed insight into the nature of things; divorcing himself with all his might from his eyes and ears and (as one must express himself) from the whole of his body, on the ground of its disturbing the soul, and not allowing it to possess either truth or wisdom, whenever it is brought into communication with it. We see, then, that in opposition to the bodily senses another faculty is provided of a much more serviceable character, even the powers of the soul, which produce an understanding of that truth whose realities are not palpable nor open to the bodily senses, but are very remote from men's everyday knowledge, lying in secret — in the heights above, and in the presence of God Himself. For Plato maintains that there are certain invisible substances, incorporeal, celestial, divine, and eternal, which they call *ideas*, that is to say, (archetypal) forms, which are the patterns and causes of those objects of nature which are manifest to us, and lie under our corporeal senses: the former, (according to Plato,) are the actual verities, and the latter the images and likenesses of them. Well, now, are there not here gleams of the heretical principles of the Gnostics and the Valentinians? It is from this philosophy that they eagerly adopt the difference between the bodily senses and the intellectual faculties, — a distinction which they actually apply to the

parable of the ten virgins: making the five foolish virgins to symbolize the five bodily senses, seeing that these are so silly and so easy to be deceived; and the wise virgin to express the meaning of the intellectual faculties, which are so wise as to attain to that mysterious and supernal truth, which is placed in the pleroma. (Here, then, we have) the mystic original of the ideas of these heretics. For in this philosophy lie both their *Æons* and their genealogies. Thus, too, do they divide sensation, both into the intellectual powers from their spiritual seed, and the sensuous faculties from the animal, which cannot by any means comprehend spiritual things. From the former germ spring invisible things; from the latter, visible things which are grovelling and temporary, and which are obvious to the senses, placed as they are in palpable forms. It is because of these views that we have in a former passage stated as a preliminary fact, that the mind is nothing else than an apparatus or instrument of the soul, and that the spirit is no other faculty, separate from the soul, but is the soul itself exercised in respiration; although that influence which either God on the one hand, or the devil on the other, has breathed upon it, must be regarded in the light of an additional element. And now, with respect to the difference between the intellectual powers and the sensuous faculties, we only admit it so far as the natural diversity between them requires of us. (There is, of course, a difference) between things corporeal and things spiritual, between visible and invisible beings, between objects which are manifest to the view and those which are hidden from it; because the one class are attributed to sensation, and the other to the intellect. But yet both the one and the other must be regarded as inherent in the soul, and as obedient to it, seeing that it embraces bodily objects by means of the body, in exactly the same way that it conceives incorporeal objects by help of the mind, except that it is even exercising sensation when it is employing the intellect. For is it not true, that to employ the senses is to use the intellect? And to employ the intellect amounts to a use of the senses? What indeed can sensation be, but the understanding of that which is the object of the sensation? And what can the intellect or understanding be, but the seeing of that which is the object understood? Why adopt such excruciating means of torturing simple knowledge and crucifying the truth? Who can show me the sense which does not understand the object of its sensation, or the intellect which perceives not the object which it understands, in so clear a way as to prove to me that the

one can do without the other? If corporeal things are the objects of sense, and incorporeal ones objects of the intellect, it is the *classes* of the objects which are different, not the domicile or abode of sense and intellect; in other words, not the soul (*anima*) and the mind (*animus*). By what, in short, are corporeal things perceived? If it is by the soul, then the mind is a sensuous faculty, and not merely an intellectual power; for while it understands, it also perceives, because without the perception there is no understanding. If, however, corporeal things are perceived by the soul, then it follows that the soul's power is an intellectual one, and not merely a sensuous faculty; for while it perceives it also understands, because without understanding there is no perceiving. And then, again, by what are incorporeal things understood? If it is by the mind, where will be the soul? If it is by the soul, where will be the mind? For things which differ ought to be mutually absent from each other, when they are occupied in their respective functions and duties. It must be your opinion, indeed, that the mind is absent from the soul on certain occasions; for (you suppose) that we are so made and constituted as not to know that we have seen or heard something, on the hypothesis that the mind was absent at the time. I must therefore maintain that the very soul itself neither saw nor heard, since it was at the given moment absent with its active power — that is to say, the mind. The truth is, that whenever a man is out of his mind, it is his soul that is demented — not because the mind is absent, but because it is a fellow-sufferer (with the soul) at the time. Indeed, it is the soul which is principally affected by casualties of such a kind. Whence is this fact confirmed? It is confirmed from the following consideration: that after the soul's departure, the mind is no longer found in a man: it always follows the soul; nor does it at last remain behind it alone, after death. Now, since it follows the soul, it is also indissolubly attached to it; just as the understanding is attached to the soul, which is followed by the mind, with which the understanding is indissolubly connected. Granted now that the understanding is superior to the senses, and a better discoverer of mysteries, what matters it, so long as it is only a peculiar faculty of the soul, just as the senses themselves are? It does not at all affect my argument, unless the understanding were held to be superior to the senses, for the purpose of deducing from the allegation of such superiority its separate condition likewise. After thus combating their alleged difference, I have also to refute this question of superiority, previous

to my approaching the belief (which heresy propounds) in a superior god. On this point, however, of a (superior) god, we shall have to measure swords with the heretics on their own ground. Our present subject concerns the soul, and the point is to prevent the insidious ascription of a superiority to the intellect or understanding. Now, although the objects which are touched by the intellect are of a higher nature, since they are spiritual, than those which are embraced by the senses, since these are corporeal, it will still be only a superiority in the *objects* — as of lofty ones contrasted with humble — not in the *faculties* of the intellect against the senses. For how can the intellect be superior to the senses, when it is these which educate it for the discovery of various truths? It is a fact, that these truths are learned by means of palpable forms; in other words, invisible things are discovered by the help of visible ones, even as the apostle tells us in his epistle: For the invisible things of Him are clearly seen from the creation of the world, being understood by the things that are made; Romans 1:20 and as Plato too might inform our heretics: The things which appear are the image of the things which are concealed from view, whence it must needs follow that this world is by all means an image of some other: so that the intellect evidently uses the senses for its own guidance, and authority, and mainstay; and without the senses truth could not be attained. How, then, can a thing be superior to that which is instrumental to its existence, which is also indispensable to it, and to whose help it owes everything which it acquires? Two conclusions therefore follow from what we have said: (1) That the intellect is not to be preferred above the senses, on the (supposed) ground that the agent through which a thing exists is inferior to the thing itself; and (2) that the intellect must not be separated from the senses, since the instrument by which a thing's existence is sustained is associated with the thing itself.

Chapter 19. The Intellect Coeval with the Soul in the Human Being. An Example from Aristotle Converted into Evidence Favourable to These Views

Nor must we fail to notice those writers who deprive the soul of the intellect even for a short period of time. *They do this* in order to prepare the way of introducing the intellect — and the mind also — at a subsequent time of life, even at the time when intelligence appears in a man. They maintain that the stage of infancy is supported by the soul alone, simply to promote vitality, without any intention of acquiring knowledge also, because not all things have knowledge which possess life. Trees, for instance, to quote Aristotle's example, have vitality, but have not knowledge; and *with him agrees* every one who gives a share to all animated beings of the animal substance, which, according to our view, exists in man alone as his special property, — not because it is the work of God, which all other creatures are likewise, but because it is the breath of God, which this (human soul) alone is, which we say is born with the full equipment of its proper faculties. Well, let them meet us with the example of the trees: we will accept their challenge, (nor shall we find in it any detriment to our own argument;) for it is an undoubted fact, that while trees are yet but twigs and sprouts, and before they even reach the sapling stage, there is in them their own proper faculty of life, as soon as they spring out of their native beds. But then, as time goes on, the vigour of the tree slowly advances, as it grows and hardens into its woody trunk, until its mature age completes the condition which nature destines for it. Else what resources would trees possess in due course for the inoculation of grafts, and the formation of leaves, and the swelling of their buds, and the graceful shedding of their blossom, and the softening of their sap, were there not in them the quiet growth of the full provision of their nature, and the distribution of this life over all their branches for the accomplishment of their maturity? Trees, therefore, have ability or knowledge; and they derive it from whence they also derive vitality — that is, from the one source of vitality and knowledge which is peculiar to their nature, and *that* from the infancy which they, too, begin with. For I observe that even the vine, although yet tender and immature, still understands its own natural business, and strives to cling to some support, that, leaning on it, and lacing through it, it may so attain its

growth. Indeed, without waiting for the husbandman's training, without an espalier, without a prop, whatever its tendrils catch, it will fondly cling to, and embrace with really greater tenacity and force by its own inclination than by your volition. It longs and hastens to be secure. Take also ivy-plants, never mind how young: I observe their attempts from the very first to grasp objects above them, and outrunning everything else, to hang on to the highest thing, preferring as they do to spread over walls with their leafy web and woof rather than creep on the ground and be trodden under by every foot that likes to crush them. On the other hand, in the case of such trees as receive injury from contact with a building, how do they hang off as they grow and avoid what injures them! You can see that their branches were naturally meant to take the opposite direction, and can very well understand the vital instincts of such a tree from its avoidance of the wall. It is contented (if it be only a little shrub) with its own insignificant destiny, which it has in its foreseeing instinct thoroughly been aware of from its infancy, only it still fears even a ruined building. On my side, then, why should I not contend for these wise and sagacious natures of trees? Let them have vitality, as the philosophers permit it; but let them have knowledge too, although the philosophers disavow it. Even the infancy of a log, then, may have an intellect (suitable to it): how much more may that of a human being, whose soul (which may be compared with the nascent sprout of a tree) has been derived from Adam as its root, and has been propagated among his posterity by means of woman, to whom it has been entrusted for transmission, and thus has sprouted into life with all its natural apparatus, both of intellect and of sense! I am much mistaken if the human person, even from his infancy, when he saluted life with his infant cries, does not testify to his actual possession of the faculties of sensation and intellect by the fact of his birth, vindicating at one and the same time the use of all his senses — that of seeing by the light, that of hearing by sounds, that of taste by liquids, that of smell by the air, that of touch by the ground. This earliest voice of infancy, then, is the first effort of the senses, and the initial impulse of mental perceptions. There is also the further fact, that some persons understand this plaintive cry of the infant to be an augury of affliction in the prospect of our tearful life, whereby from the very moment of birth (the soul) has to be regarded as endued with prescience, much more with intelligence. Accordingly by this intuition the babe knows his mother, discerns

the nurse, and even recognises the waiting-maid; refusing the breast of another woman, and the cradle that is not his own, and longing only for the arms to which he is accustomed. Now from what source does he acquire this discernment of novelty and custom, if not from instinctive knowledge? How does it happen that he is irritated and quieted, if not by help of his initial intellect? It would be very strange indeed that infancy were naturally so lively, if it had not mental power; and naturally so capable of impression and affection, if it had no intellect. But (we hold the contrary): for Christ, by accepting praise out of the mouth of babes and sucklings, has declared that neither childhood nor infancy is without sensibility, — the former of which states, when meeting Him with approving shouts, proved its ability to offer Him testimony; Matthew 21:15 while the other, by being slaughtered, for His sake of course, knew what violence meant. Matthew 2:16-18

Chapter 20. The Soul, as to Its Nature Uniform, But Its Faculties Various Developed. Varieties Only Accidental

And here, therefore, we draw our conclusion, that all the natural properties of the soul are inherent in it as parts of its substance; and that they grow and develop along with it, from the very moment of its own origin at birth. Just as Seneca says, whom we so often find on our side: There are implanted within us the seeds of all the arts and periods of life. And God, our Master, secretly produces our mental dispositions; that is, from the germs which are implanted and hidden in us by means of infancy, and these are the intellect: for from these our natural dispositions are evolved. Now, even the seeds of plants have, one form in each kind, but their development varies: some open and expand in a healthy and perfect state, while others either improve or degenerate, owing to the conditions of weather and soil, and from the appliance of labour and care; also from the course of the seasons, and from the occurrence of casual circumstances. In like manner, the soul may well be uniform in its seminal origin, although multiform by the process of nativity. And here local influences, too, must be taken into account. It has been said that dull and brutish persons are born at Thebes; and the most accomplished in wisdom and speech at Athens, where in the district of Colythus children speak — such is the precocity of their tongue — before they are a month old. Indeed, Plato himself tells us, in the *Timæus*, that Minerva, when preparing to found her great city, only regarded the nature of the country which gave promise of mental dispositions of this kind; whence he himself in *The Laws* instructs Megillus and Clinias to be careful in their selection of a site for building a city. Empedocles, however, places the cause of a subtle or an obtuse intellect in the quality of the blood, from which he derives progress and perfection in learning and science. The subject of national peculiarities has grown by this time into proverbial notoriety. Comic poets deride the Phrygians for their cowardice; Sallust reproaches the Moors for their levity, and the Dalmatians for their cruelty; even the apostle brands the Cretans as liars. Titus 1:12 Very likely, too, something must be set down to the score of bodily condition and the state of the health. Stoutness hinders knowledge, but a spare form stimulates it; paralysis prostrates the mind, a decline preserves it. How much more will those accidental circumstances have to be noticed,

which, in addition to the state of one's body or one's health, tend to sharpen or to dull the intellect! It is sharpened by learned pursuits, by the sciences, the arts, by experimental knowledge, business habits, and studies; it is blunted by ignorance, idle habits, inactivity, lust, inexperience, listlessness, and vicious pursuits. Then, besides these influences, there must perhaps be added the supreme powers. Now these are the supreme powers: according to our (Christian) notions, they are the Lord God and His adversary the devil; but according to men's general opinion about providence, they are fate and necessity; and about fortune, it is man's freedom of will. Even the philosophers allow these distinctions; while on our part we have already undertaken to treat of them, on the principles of the (Christian) faith, in a separate work. It is evident how great must be the influences which so variously affect the one nature of the soul, since they are commonly regarded as separate *natures*. Still they are not different species, but casual incidents of one nature and substance — even of that which God conferred on Adam, and made the mould of all (subsequent ones). Casual incidents will they always remain, but never will they become specific differences. However great, too, at present is the variety of men's maunders, it was not so in Adam, the founder of their race. But all these discordances ought to have existed in him as the fountainhead, and thence to have descended to us in an unimpaired variety, if the variety had been due to nature.

Chapter 21. As Free-Will Actuates an Individual So May His Character Change

Now, if the soul possessed this uniform and simple nature from the beginning in Adam, previous to so many mental dispositions (being developed out of it), it is not rendered multiform by such various development, nor by the triple form predicated of it in *the Valentinian trinity* (that we may still keep the condemnation of that heresy in view), for not even this nature is discoverable in Adam. What had he that was spiritual? Is it because he prophetically declared the great mystery of Christ and the church? Ephesians 5:32 This is bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman. Therefore shall a man leave his father and mother, and he shall cleave unto his wife; and they two shall be one flesh. Genesis 2:23-24 But this (gift of prophecy) only came on him afterwards, when God infused into him the ecstasy, or spiritual quality, in which prophecy consists. If, again, the evil of sin was developed in him, this must not be accounted as a *natural* disposition: it was rather produced by the instigation of the (old) serpent as far from being incidental to his nature as it was from being *material* in him, for we have already excluded belief in Matter. Now, if neither the spiritual element, nor what the heretics call the material element, was properly inherent in him (since, if he had been created out of matter, the germ of evil must have been an integral part of his constitution), it remains that the one only original element of his nature was what is called the *animal* (the principle of vitality, the soul), which we maintain to be simple and uniform in its condition. Concerning this, it remains for us to inquire whether, as being called natural, it ought to be deemed subject to change. (The heretics whom we have referred to) deny that nature is susceptible of any change, in order that they may be able to establish and settle their threefold theory, or trinity, in all its characteristics as to the several natures, because a good tree cannot produce evil fruit, nor a corrupt tree good fruit; and nobody gathers figs of thorns, nor grapes of brambles. Luke 6:43-44 If so, then God will not be able any longer to raise up from the stones children unto Abraham; nor to make a generation of vipers bring forth fruits of repentance. Matthew 3:7-9 And if so, the apostle too was in error when he said in his epistle, You were at one time darkness, (but now are you light in the Lord:) Ephesians 5:8 and, We also were by nature children of wrath;

Ephesians 2:3 and, Such were some of you, but you are washed. 1 Corinthians 6:11 The statements, however, of holy Scripture will never be discordant with truth. A corrupt tree will never yield good fruit, unless the better nature be grafted into it; nor will a good tree produce evil fruit, except by the same process of cultivation. Stones also will become children of Abraham, if educated in Abraham's faith; and a generation of vipers will bring forth the fruits of penitence, if they reject the poison of their malignant nature. This will be the power of the grace of God, more potent indeed than nature, exercising its sway over the faculty that underlies itself within us — even the freedom of our will, which is described as ἀτεξούσιος (of independent authority); and inasmuch as this faculty is itself also natural and mutable, in whatsoever direction it turns, it inclines of its own nature. Now, that there does exist within us naturally this independent authority (τὸ ἀτεξούσιον), we have already shown in opposition both to Marcion and to Hermogenes. If, then, the natural condition has to be submitted to a definition, it must be determined to be twofold — there being the category of the born and the unborn, the made and not-made. Now that which has received its constitution by being made or by being born, is by nature capable of being changed, for it can be both born again and re-made; whereas that which is not-made and unborn will remain for ever immovable. Since, however, this state is suited to God alone, as the only Being who is unborn and not-made (and therefore immortal and unchangeable), it is absolutely certain that the nature of all other existences which are born and created is subject to modification and change; so that if the threefold state is to be ascribed to the soul, it must be supposed to arise from the mutability of its accidental circumstances, and not from the appointment of nature.

Chapter 22. Recapitulation. Definition of the Soul

Hermogenes has already heard from us what are the other natural faculties of the soul, as well as their vindication and proof; whence it may be seen that the soul is rather the offspring of God than of matter. The names of these faculties shall here be simply repeated, that they may not seem to be forgotten and passed out of sight. We have assigned, then, to the soul both that freedom of the will which we just now mentioned, and its dominion over the works of nature, and its occasional gift of divination, independently of that endowment of prophecy which accrues to it expressly from the grace of God. We shall therefore now quit this subject of the soul's disposition, in order to set out fully in order its various qualities. The soul, then, we define to be sprung from the breath of God, immortal, possessing body, having form, simple in its substance, intelligent in its own nature, developing its power in various ways, free in its determinations, subject to be changes of accident, in its faculties mutable, rational, supreme, endued with an instinct of presentiment, evolved out of one (archetypal soul). It remains for us now to consider how it is developed out of this one original source; in other words, whence, and when, and how it is produced.

Chapter 23. The Opinions of Sundry Heretics Which Originate Ultimately with Plato

Some suppose that they came down from heaven, with as firm a belief as they are apt to entertain, when they indulge in the prospect of an undoubted return there. Saturninus, the disciple of Menander, who belonged to Simon's sect, introduced this opinion: he affirmed that man was made by angels. A futile, imperfect creation at first, weak and unable to stand, he crawled upon the ground like a worm, because he wanted the strength to maintain an erect posture; but afterwards having, by the compassion of the Supreme Power (in whose image, which had not been fully understood, he was clumsily formed), obtained a slender spark of life, this roused and righted his imperfect form, and animated it with a higher vitality, and provided for its return, on its relinquishment of life, to its original principle. Carpocrates, indeed, claims for himself so extreme an amount of the supernal qualities, that his disciples set their own souls at once on an equality with Christ (not to mention the apostles); and sometimes, when it suits their fancy, even give them the superiority — deeming them, forsooth, to have partaken of that sublime virtue which looks down upon the principalities that govern this world. Apelles tells us that our souls were enticed by earthly baits down from their super-celestial abodes by a fiery angel, Israel's God and ours, who then enclosed them firmly within our sinful flesh. The hive of Valentinus fortifies the soul with the germ of *Sophia*, or Wisdom; by means of which germ they recognise, in the images of visible objects, the stories and Milesian fables of their own Æons. I am sorry from my heart that Plato has been the caterer to all these heretics. For in the *Phædo* he imagines that souls wander from this world to that, and thence back again hither; while in the *Timæus* he supposes that the children of God, to whom had been assigned the production of mortal creatures, having taken for the soul the germ of immortality, congealed around it a mortal body — thereby indicating that this world is the figure of some other. Now, to procure belief in all this — that the soul had formerly lived with God in the heavens above, sharing His *ideas* with Him, and afterwards came down to live with us on earth, and while here recollects the eternal patterns of things which it had learned before — he elaborated his new formula, μαθήσεις ἀναμνήσεις, which means that learning is reminiscence; implying that the souls which come to us

from thence forget the things among which they formerly lived, but that they afterwards recall them, instructed by the objects they see around them. Forasmuch, therefore, as the doctrines which the heretics borrow from Plato are cunningly defended by this kind of argument, I shall sufficiently refute the heretics if I overthrow the argument of Plato.

Chapter 24. Plato's Inconsistency. He Supposes the Soul Self-Existent, Yet Capable of Forgetting What Passed in a Previous State

In the first place, I cannot allow that the soul is capable of a failure of memory; because he has conceded to it so large an amount of divine quality as to put it on a par with God. He makes it *unborn*, which single attribute I might apply as a sufficient attestation of its perfect divinity; he then adds that the soul is immortal, incorruptible, incorporeal — since he believed God to be the same — invisible, incapable of delineation, uniform, supreme, rational, and intellectual. What more could he attribute to the soul, if he wanted to call it God? We, however, who allow no appendage to God (in the sense of equality), by this very fact reckon the soul as very far below God: for we suppose it to be born, and hereby to possess something of a diluted divinity and an attenuated felicity, as the breath (of God), though not His spirit; and although immortal, as this is an attribute of divinity, yet for all that passible, since this is an incident of a born condition, and consequently from the first capable of deviation from perfection and right, and by consequence susceptible of a failure in memory. This point I have discussed sufficiently with Hermogenes. But it may be further observed, that if the soul is to merit being accounted a god, by reason of all its qualities being equal to the attributes of God, it must then be subject to no passion, and therefore to no loss of memory; for this defect of oblivion is as great an injury to that of which you predicate it, as memory is the glory thereof, which Plato himself deems the very safeguard of the senses and intellectual faculties, and which Cicero has designated the treasury of all the sciences. Now we need not raise the doubt whether so divine a faculty as the soul was capable of losing memory: the question rather is, whether it is able to recover afresh that which it has lost. I could not decide whether that, which ought to have lost memory, if it once incurred the loss, would be powerful enough to recollect itself. Both alternatives, indeed, will agree very well with my soul, but not with Plato's. In the second place, my objection to him will stand thus: (Plato,) do you endow the soul with a natural competency for understanding those well-known *ideas* of yours? Certainly I do, will be your answer. Well, now, no one will concede to you that the knowledge, (which you say is) the gift of nature, of the natural

sciences can fail. But the knowledge of the sciences fails; the knowledge of the various fields of learning and of the arts of life fails; and so perhaps the knowledge of the faculties and affections of our minds fails, although they seem to be inherent in our nature, but really are not so: because, as we have already said, they are affected by accidents of place, of manners and customs, of bodily condition, of the state of man's health — by the influences of the Supreme Powers, and the changes of man's free-will. Now the instinctive knowledge of natural objects never fails, not even in the brute creation. The lion, no doubt, will forget his ferocity, if surrounded by the softening influence of training; he may become, with his beautiful mane, the plaything of some Queen Berenice, and lick her cheeks with his tongue. A wild beast may lay aside his habits, but his natural instincts will not be forgotten. He will not forget his proper food, nor his natural resources, nor his natural alarms; and should the queen offer him fishes or cakes, he will wish for flesh; and if, when he is ill, any antidote be prepared for him, he will still require the ape; and should no hunting-spear be presented against him, he will yet dread the crow of the cock. In like manner with man, who is perhaps the most forgetful of all creatures, the knowledge of everything natural to him will remain ineradicably fixed in him — but this alone, as being alone a natural instinct. He will never forget to eat when he is hungry; or to drink when he is thirsty; or to use his eyes when he wants to see; or his ears, to hear; or his nose, to smell; or his mouth, to taste; or his hand, to touch. These are, to be sure, the senses, which philosophy depreciates by her preference for the intellectual faculties. But if the natural knowledge of the sensuous faculties is permanent, how happens it that the knowledge of the intellectual faculties fails, to which the superiority is ascribed? Whence, now, arises that power of forgetfulness itself which precedes recollection? From long lapse of time, he says. But this is a shortsighted answer. Length of time cannot be incidental to that which, according to him, is unborn, and which therefore must be deemed most certainly eternal. For that which is eternal, on the ground of its being unborn, since it admits neither of beginning nor end of time, is subject to no *temporal* criterion. And that which time does not measure, undergoes no change in consequence of time; nor is long lapse of time at all influential over it. If time is a cause of oblivion, why, from the time of the soul's entrance into the body, does memory fail, as if thenceforth the soul were to be affected by time? For

the soul, being undoubtedly prior to the body, was of course not irrespective of time. Is it, indeed, immediately on the soul's entrance into the body that oblivion takes place, or some time afterwards? If immediately, where will be the long lapse of the time which is as yet inadmissible in the hypothesis? Take, for instance, the case of the infant. If some time afterwards, will not the soul, during the interval previous to the moment of oblivion, still exercise its powers of memory? And how comes it to pass that the soul subsequently forgets, and then afterwards again remembers? How long, too, must the lapse of the time be regarded as having been, during which the oblivion oppressed the soul? The whole course of one's life, I apprehend, will be insufficient to efface the memory of an age which endured so long before the soul's assumption of the body. But then, again, Plato throws the blame upon the body, as if it were at all credible that a born substance could extinguish the power of one that is unborn. There exist, however, among bodies a great many differences, by reason of their rationality, their bulk, their condition, their age, and their health. Will there then be supposed to exist similar differences in obliviousness? Oblivion, however, is uniform and identical. Therefore bodily peculiarity, with its manifold varieties, will not become the cause of an effect which is an invariable one. There are likewise, according to Plato's own testimony, many proofs to show that the soul has a divining faculty, as we have already advanced against Hermogenes. But there is not a man living, who does not himself feel his soul possessed with a presage and augury of some omen, danger, or joy. Now, if the body is not prejudicial to divination, it will not, I suppose, be injurious to memory. One thing is certain, that souls in the same body both forget and remember. If any corporeal condition engenders forgetfulness, how will it admit the opposite state of recollection? Because recollection, after forgetfulness, is actually the resurrection of the memory. Now, how should not that which is hostile to the memory at first, be also prejudicial to it in the second instance? Lastly, who have better memories than little children, with their fresh, unworn souls, not yet immersed in domestic and public cares, but devoted only to those studies the acquirement of which is itself a reminiscence? Why, indeed, do we not all of us recollect in an equal degree, since we are equal in our forgetfulness? But this is true only of philosophers! But not even of the whole of them. Amongst so many nations, in so great a crowd of sages, Plato, to be sure, is the only man who

has combined the oblivion and the recollection of ideas. Now, since this main argument of his by no means keeps its ground, it follows that its entire superstructure must fall with it, namely, that souls are supposed to be unborn, and to live in the heavenly regions, and to be instructed in the divine mysteries thereof; moreover, that they descend to this earth, and here recall to memory their previous existence, for the purpose, of course, of supplying to our heretics the fitting materials for their systems.

Chapter 25. Tertullian Refutes, Physiologically, the Notion that the Soul is Introduced After Birth

I shall now return to the cause of this digression, in order that I may explain how all souls are derived from one, when and where and in what manner they are produced. Now, touching this subject, it matters not whether the question be started by the philosopher, by the heretic, or by the crowd. Those who profess the truth care nothing about their opponents, especially such of them as begin by maintaining that the soul is not conceived in the womb, nor is formed and produced at the time that the flesh is moulded, but is impressed from without upon the infant before his complete vitality, but after the process of parturition. They say, moreover, that the human seed having been duly deposited *ex concubiterin* in the womb, and having been by natural impulse quickened, it becomes condensed into the mere substance of the flesh, which is in due time born, warm from the furnace of the womb, and then released from its heat. (This flesh) resembles the case of hot iron, which is in that state plunged into cold water; for, being smitten by the cold air (into which it is born), it at once receives the power of animation, and utters vocal sound. This view is entertained by the Stoics, along with Ænesidemus, and occasionally by Plato himself, when he tells us that the soul, being quite a separate formation, originating elsewhere and externally to the womb, is inhaled when the new-born infant first draws breath, and by and by exhaled with the man's latest breath. We shall see whether this view of his is merely fictitious. Even the medical profession has not lacked its Hicesius, to prove a traitor both to nature and his own calling. These gentlemen, I suppose, were too modest to come to terms with women on the mysteries of childbirth, so well known to the latter. But how much more is there for them to blush at, when in the end they have the women to refute them, instead of commending them. Now, in such a question as this, no one can be so useful a teacher, judge, or witness, as the sex itself which is so intimately concerned. Give us your testimony, then, you mothers, whether yet pregnant, or after delivery (let barren women and men keep silence) — the truth of your own nature is in question, the reality of your own suffering is the point to be decided. (Tell us, then,) whether you feel in the embryo within you any vital force other than your own, with which your bowels tremble, your sides shake, your entire womb throbs, and the

burden which oppresses you constantly changes its position? Are these movements a joy to you, and a positive removal of anxiety, as making you confident that your infant both possesses vitality and enjoys it? Or, should his restlessness cease, your first fear would be for him; and he would be aware of it within you, since he is disturbed at the novel sound; and you would crave for injurious diet, or would even loathe your food — all on his account; and then you and he, (in the closeness of your sympathy,) would share together your common ailments — so far that with your contusions and bruises would he actually become marked — while within you, and even on the selfsame parts of the body, taking to himself thus peremptorily the injuries of his mother! Now, whenever a livid hue and redness are incidents of the blood, the blood will not be without the vital principle, or soul; or when disease attacks the soul or vitality, (it becomes a proof of its real existence, since) there is no disease where there is no soul or principle of life. Again, inasmuch as sustenance by food, and the want thereof, growth and decay, fear and motion, are conditions of the soul or life, he who experiences them must be alive. And, so, he at last ceases to live, who ceases to experience them. And thus by and by infants are still-born; but how so, unless they had life? For how could any die, who had not previously lived? But sometimes by a cruel necessity, while yet in the womb, an infant is put to death, when lying awry in the orifice of the womb he impedes parturition, and kills his mother, if he is not to die himself. Accordingly, among surgeons' tools there is a certain instrument, which is formed with a nicely-adjusted flexible frame for opening the *uterus* first of all, and keeping it open; it is further furnished with an annular blade, by means of which the limbs within the womb are dissected with anxious but unfaltering care; its last appendage being a blunted or covered hook, wherewith the entire *fœtus* is extracted by a violent delivery. There is also (another instrument in the shape of) a copper needle or spike, by which the actual death is managed in this furtive robbery of life: they give it, from its infanticide function, the name of ἐμβρυοσφάκτης, the slayer of the infant, which was of course alive. Such apparatus was possessed both by Hippocrates, and Asclepiades, and Erasistratus, and Herophilus, that dissector of even adults, and the milder Soranus himself, who all knew well enough that a living being had been conceived, and pitied this most luckless infant state, which had first to be put to death, to escape being tortured alive. Of the

necessity of such harsh treatment I have no doubt even Hicesius was convinced, although he imported their soul into infants after birth from the stroke of the frigid air, because the very term for soul, forsooth, in Greek answered to such a refrigeration! Well, then, have the barbarian and Roman nations received souls by some other process, (I wonder;) for they have called the soul by another name than ψυχή? How many nations are there who commence life under the broiling sun of the torrid zone, scorching their skin into its swarthy hue? Whence do they get their souls, with no frosty air to help them? I say not a word of those well-warmed bed-rooms, and all that apparatus of heat which ladies in childbirth so greatly need, when a breath of cold air might endanger their life. But in the very bath almost a babe will slip into life, and at once his cry is heard! If, however, a good frosty air is to the soul so indispensable a treasure, then beyond the German and the Scythian tribes, and the Alpine and the Argæan heights, nobody ought ever to be born! But the fact really is, that population is greater within the temperate regions of the East and the West, and men's minds are sharper; while there is not a Sarmatian whose wits are not dull and humdrum. The minds of men, too, would grow keener by reason of the cold, if their souls came into being amidst nipping frosts; for as the substance is, so must be its active power. Now, after these preliminary statements, we may also refer to the case of those who, having been cut out of their mother's womb, have breathed and retained life — your Bacchuses and Scipios. If, however, there be any one who, like Plato, supposes that two souls cannot, more than two bodies could, co-exist in the same individual, I, on the contrary, could show him not merely the co-existence of two souls in one person, as also of two bodies in the same womb, but likewise the combination of many other things in natural connection with the soul — for instance, of demoniacal possession; and *that* not of one only, as in the case of Socrates' own demon; but of seven spirits as in the case of the Magdalene; Mark 16:9 and of a legion in number, as in the Gadarene. Mark 6:1-9 Now one soul is naturally more susceptible of conjunction with another soul, by reason of the identity of their substance, than an evil spirit is, owing to their diverse natures. But when the same philosopher, in the sixth book of *The Laws*, warns us to beware lest a vitiation of seed should infuse a soil into both body and soul from an illicit or debased concubinage, I hardly know whether he is more inconsistent with himself in respect of one of his previous

statements, or of that which he had just made. For he here shows us that the soul proceeds from human seed (and warns us to be on our guard about it), not, (as he had said before,) from the first breath of the new-born child. Pray, whence comes it that from similarity of soul we resemble our parents in disposition, according to the testimony of Cleanthes, if we are not produced from this seed of the soul? Why, too, used the old astrologers to cast a man's nativity from his first conception, if his soul also draws not its origin from that moment? To this (nativity) likewise belongs the inbreathing of the soul, whatever that is.

Chapter 26. Scripture Alone Offers Clear Knowledge on the Questions We Have Been Controverting

Now there is no end to the uncertainty and irregularity of human opinion, until we come to the limits which God has prescribed. I shall at last retire within our own lines and firmly hold my ground there, for the purpose of proving to the Christian (the soundness of) my answers to the Philosophers and the Physicians. Brother (in Christ), on your own foundation build up your faith. Consider the wombs of the most sainted women instinct with the life within them, and their babes which not only breathed therein, but were even endowed with prophetic intuition. See how the bowels of Rebecca are disquieted, Genesis 25:22-23 though her child-bearing is as yet remote, and there is no impulse of (vital) air. Behold, a twin offspring chafes within the mother's womb, although she has no sign as yet of the twofold nation. Possibly we might have regarded as a prodigy the contention of this infant progeny, which struggled before it lived, which had animosity previous to animation, if it had simply disturbed the mother by its restlessness within her. But when her womb opens, and the number of her offspring is seen, and their presaged condition known, we have presented to us a proof not merely of the (separate) souls of the infants, but of their hostile struggles too. He who was the first to be born was threatened with detention by him who was anticipated in birth, who was not yet fully brought forth, but whose hand only had been born. Now if he actually imbibed life, and received his soul, in Platonic style, at his first breath; or else, after the Stoic rule, had the earliest taste of animation on touching the frosty air; what was the other about, who was so eagerly looked for, who was still detained within the womb, and was trying to detain (the other) outside? I suppose he had not yet breathed when he seized his brother's heel; Genesis 25:26 and was still warm with his mother's warmth, when he so strongly wished to be the first to quit the womb. What an infant! so emulous, so strong, and already so contentious; and all this, I suppose, because even now full of life! Consider, again, those extraordinary conceptions, which were more wonderful still, of the barren woman and the virgin: these women would only be able to produce imperfect offspring against the course of nature, from the very fact that one of them was too old to bear seed, and the other was pure from the contact of man. If there was to be

bearing at all in the case, it was only fitting that they should be born without a soul, (as the philosopher would say,) who had been irregularly conceived. However, even these have life, each of them in his mother's womb. Elizabeth exults with joy, (for) John had leaped in her womb; Luke 1:41-45 Mary magnifies the Lord, (for) Christ had instigated her within. Luke 1:46 The mothers recognise each their own offspring, being moreover each recognised by their infants, which were therefore of course alive, and were not souls merely, but spirits also. Accordingly you read the word of God which was spoken to Jeremiah, Before I formed you in the belly, I knew you. Jeremiah 1:5 Since God forms us in the womb, He also breathes upon us, as He also did at the first creation, when the Lord God formed man, and breathed into him the breath of life. Genesis 2:7 Nor could God have known man in the womb, except in his entire nature: And before you came forth out of the womb, I sanctified you. Well, was it then a dead body at that early stage? Certainly not. For God is not the God of the dead, but of the living.

Chapter 27. Soul and Body Conceived, Formed and Perfected in Element Simultaneously

How, then, is a living being conceived? Is the substance of both body and soul formed together at one and the same time? Or does one of them precede the other in natural formation? We indeed maintain that both are conceived, and formed, and perfectly simultaneously, as well as born together; and that not a moment's interval occurs in their conception, so that, a prior place can be assigned to either. Judge, in fact, of the incidents of man's earliest existence by those which occur to him at the very last. As death is defined to be nothing else than the separation of body and soul, life, which is the opposite of death, is susceptible of no other definition than the conjunction of body and soul. If the severance happens at one and the same time to both substances by means of death, so the law of their combination ought to assure us that it occurs simultaneously to the two substances by means of life. Now we allow that life begins with conception, because we contend that the soul also begins from conception; life taking its commencement at the same moment and place that the soul does. Thus, then, the processes which act together to produce separation by death, also combine in a simultaneous action to produce life. If we assign priority to (the formation of) one of the natures, and a subsequent time to the other, we shall have further to determine the precise times of the semination, according to the condition and rank of each. And that being so, what time shall we give to the seed of the body, and what to the seed of the soul? Besides, if different periods are to be assigned to the seminations then arising out of this difference in time, we shall also have different substances. For although we shall allow that there are two kinds of seed — that of the body and that of the soul — we still declare that they are inseparable, and therefore contemporaneous and simultaneous in origin. Now let no one take offense or feel ashamed at an interpretation of the processes of nature which is rendered necessary (by the defense of the truth). Nature should be to us an object of reverence, not of blushes. It is lust, not natural usage, which has brought shame on the intercourse of the sexes. It is the excess, not the normal state, which is immodest and unchaste: the normal condition has received a blessing from God, and is blest by Him: Be fruitful, and multiply, (and replenish the earth.) Genesis 1:28 Excess, however, has He cursed, in

adulteries, and wantonness, and chambering. Well, now, in this usual function of the sexes which brings together the male and the female in their common intercourse, we know that both the soul and the flesh discharge a duty together: the soul supplies desire, the flesh contributes the gratification of it; the soul furnishes the instigation, the flesh affords the realization. The entire man being excited by the one effort of both natures, his seminal substance is discharged, deriving its fluidity from the body, and its warmth from the soul. Now if *the soul* in Greek is a word which is synonymous with *cold*, how does it come to pass that the body grows cold after the soul has quitted it? Indeed (if I run the risk of offending modesty even, in my desire to prove the truth), I cannot help asking, whether we do not, in that very heat of extreme gratification when the generative fluid is ejected, feel that somewhat of our soul has gone from us? And do we not experience a faintness and prostration along with a dimness of sight? This, then, must be the soul-producing seed, which arises at once from the out-drip of the soul, just as that fluid is the body-producing seed which proceeds from the drainage of the flesh. Most true are the examples of the first creation. Adam's flesh was formed of clay. Now what is clay but an excellent moisture, whence should spring the generating fluid? From the breath of God first came the soul. But what else is the breath of God than the vapour of the spirit, whence should spring that which we breathe out through the generative fluid? Forasmuch, therefore, as these two different and separate substances, the clay and the breath, combined at the first creation in forming the individual man, they then both amalgamated and mixed their proper seminal rudiments in one, and ever afterwards communicated to the human race the normal mode of its propagation, so that even now the two substances, although diverse from each other, flow forth simultaneously in a united channel; and finding their way together into their appointed seed-plot, they fertilize with their combined vigour the human fruit out of their respective natures. And inherent in this human product is his own seed, according to the process which has been ordained for every creature endowed with the functions of generation. Accordingly from the one (primeval) man comes the entire outflow and redundancy of men's souls — nature proving herself true to the commandment of God, Be fruitful, and multiply. Genesis 1:28 For in the very preamble of this one production, Let us make man, man's whole posterity was declared and described in a plural

phrase, Let *them* have dominion over the fish of the sea, etc. And no wonder: in the seed lies the promise and earnest of the crop.

Chapter 28. The Pythagorean Doctrine of Transmigration Sketched and Censured

What, then, by this time means that ancient saying, mentioned by Plato, concerning the reciprocal migration of souls; how they remove hence and go there, and then return hither and pass through life, and then again depart from this life, and afterwards become alive from the dead? Some will have it that this is a saying of Pythagoras; Albinus supposes it to be a divine announcement, perhaps of the Egyptian Mercury. But there is no divine saying, except of the one true God, by whom the prophets, and the apostles, and Christ Himself declared their grand message. More ancient than Saturn a good deal (by some nine hundred years or so), and even than his grandchildren, is Moses; and he is certainly much more divine, recounting and tracing out, as he does, the course of the human race from the very beginning of the world, indicating the several births (of the fathers of mankind) according to their names and their epochs; giving thus plain proof of the divine character of his work, from its divine authority and word. If, indeed, the sophist of Samos is Plato's authority for the eternally revolving migration of souls out of a constant alternation of the dead and the living states, then no doubt did the famous Pythagoras, however excellent in other respects, for the purpose of fabricating such an opinion as this, rely on a falsehood, which was not only shameful, but also hazardous. Consider it, you that are ignorant of it, and believe with us. He feigns death, he conceals himself underground, he condemns himself to that endurance for some seven years, during which he learns from his mother, who was his sole accomplice and attendant, what he was to relate for the belief of the world concerning those who had died since his seclusion; and when he thought that he had succeeded in reducing the frame of his body to the horrid appearance of a dead old man, he comes forth from the place of his concealment and deceit, and pretends to have returned from the dead. Who would hesitate about believing that the man, whom he had supposed to have died, had come back again to life? Especially after hearing from him facts about the recently dead, which he evidently could only have discovered in Hades itself! Thus, that men are made alive after death, is rather an old statement. But what if it be rather a recent one also? The truth does not desire antiquity, nor does falsehood shun novelty. This notable saying

I hold to be plainly false, though ennobled by antiquity. How should that not be false, which depends for its evidence on a falsehood? — How can I help believing Pythagoras to be a deceiver, who practises deceit to win my belief? How will he convince me that, before he was Pythagoras, he had been Æthalides, and Euphorbus, and the fisherman Pyrrhus, and Hermotimus, to make us believe that men live again after they have died, when he actually perjured himself afterwards as Pythagoras. In proportion as it would be easier for me to believe that he had returned once to life in his own person, than so often in the person of this man and that, in the same degree has he deceived me in things which are too hard to be credited, because he has played the impostor in matters which might be readily believed. Well, but he recognised the shield of Euphorbus, which had been formerly consecrated at Delphi, and claimed it as his own, and proved his claim by signs which were generally unknown. Now, look again at his subterranean lurking-place, and believe his story, if you can. For, as to the man who devised such a tricksty scheme, to the injury of his health, fraudulently wasting his life, and torturing it for seven years underground, amidst hunger, idleness, and darkness — with a profound disgust for the mighty sky — what reckless effort would he not make, what curious contrivance would he not attempt, to arrive at the discovery of this famous shield? Suppose now, that he found it in some of those hidden researches; suppose that he recovered some slight breath of report which survived the now obsolete tradition; suppose him to have come to the knowledge of it by an inspection which he had bribed the beadle to let him have — we know very well what are the resources of magic skill for exploring hidden secrets: there are the *catabolic* spirits, which floor their victims; and the *paredral* spirits, which are ever at their side to haunt them; and the *pythonic* spirits, which entrance them by their divination and ventriloquistic arts. For was it not likely that Pherecydes also, the master of our Pythagoras, used to divine, or I would rather say rave and dream, by such arts and contrivances as these? Might not the self-same demon have been in him, who, while in Euphorbus, transacted deeds of blood? But lastly, why is it that the man, who proved himself to have been Euphorbus by the evidence of the shield, did not also recognise any of his former Trojan comrades? For they, too, must by this time have recovered life, since men were rising again from the dead.

Chapter 29. The Pythagorean Doctrine Refuted by Its Own First Principle, that Living Men are Formed from the Dead

It is indeed, manifest that dead men are formed from living ones; but it does not follow from that, that living men are formed from dead ones. For from the beginning the living came first in the order of things, and therefore also from the beginning the dead came afterwards in order. But these proceeded from no other source except from the living. The living had their origin in any other source (you please) than in the dead; while the dead had no source whence to derive their beginning, except from the living. If, then, from the very first the living came not from the dead, why should they afterwards (be said to) come from the dead? Had that original source, whatever it was, come to an end? Was the form or law thereof a matter for regret? Then why was it preserved in the case of the dead? Does it not follow that, because the dead came from the living at the first, therefore they always came from the living? For either the law which obtained at the beginning must have continued in both of its relations, or else it must have changed in both; so that, if it had become necessary for the living afterwards to proceed from the dead, it would be necessary, in like manner, for the dead also not to proceed from the living. For if a faithful adherence to the institution was not meant to be perpetuated in each respect, then contraries cannot in due alternation continue to be re-formed from contraries. We, too, will on our side adduce against you certain contraries, of the born and the unborn, of vision and blindness, of youth and old age, of wisdom and folly. Now it does not follow that the unborn proceeds from the born, on the ground that a contrary issues from a contrary; nor, again, that vision proceeds from blindness, because blindness happens to vision; nor, again, that youth revives from old age, because after youth comes the decrepitude of senility; nor that folly is born with its obtuseness from wisdom, because wisdom may possibly be sometimes sharpened out of folly. Albinus has some fears for his (master and friend) Plato in these points, and labours with much ingenuity to distinguish different kinds of contraries; as if these instances did not as absolutely partake of the nature of contrariety as those which are expounded by him to illustrate his great master's principle — I mean, life and death. Nor is it, for the matter of that, true that life is restored

out of death, because it happens that death succeeds life.

Chapter 30. Further Refutation of the Pythagorean Theory. The State of Contemporary Civilisation

But what must we say in reply to what follows? For, in the first place, if the living come from the dead, just as the dead proceed from the living, then there must always remain unchanged one and the selfsame number of mankind, even the number which originally introduced (human) life. The living preceded the dead, afterwards the dead issued from the living, and then again the living from the dead. Now, since this process was evermore going on with the same persons, therefore they, issuing from the same, must always have remained in number the same. For they who emerged (into life) could never have become more nor fewer than they who disappeared (in death). We find, however, in the records of the Antiquities of Man, that the human race has progressed with a gradual growth of population, either occupying different portions of the earth as aborigines, or as nomad tribes, or as exiles, or as conquerors — as the Scythians in Parthia, the Temenidæ in Peloponnesus, the Athenians in Asia, the Phrygians in Italy, and the Phœnicians in Africa; or by the more ordinary methods of migration, which they call ἀποικίαι or *colonies*, for the purpose of throwing off redundant population, disgorging into other abodes their overcrowded masses. The aborigines remain still in their old settlements, and have also enriched other districts with loans of even larger populations. Surely it is obvious enough, if one looks at the whole world, that it is becoming daily better cultivated and more fully peopled than anciently. All places are now accessible, all are well known, all open to commerce; most pleasant farms have obliterated all traces of what were once dreary and dangerous wastes; cultivated fields have subdued forests; flocks and herds have expelled wild beasts; sandy deserts are sown; rocks are planted; marshes are drained; and where once were hardly solitary cottages, there are now large cities. No longer are (savage) islands dreaded, nor their rocky shores feared; everywhere are houses, and inhabitants, and settled government, and civilized life. What most frequently meets our view (and occasions complaint), is our teeming population: our numbers are burdensome to the world, which can hardly supply us from its natural elements; our wants grow more and more keen, and our complaints more bitter in all mouths, while Nature fails in affording us her usual sustenance. In very deed, pestilence, and famine, and

wars, and earthquakes have to be regarded as a remedy for nations, as the means of pruning the luxuriance of the human race; and yet, when the hatchet has once felled large masses of men, the world has hitherto never once been alarmed at the sight of a restitution of its dead coming back to life after their millennial exile. But such a spectacle would have become quite obvious by the balance of mortal loss and vital recovery, if it were true that the dead came back again to life. Why, however, is it after a thousand years, and not at the moment, that this return from death is to take place, when, supposing that the loss is not at once supplied, there must be a risk of an utter extinction, as the failure precedes the compensation? Indeed, this furlough of our present life would be quite disproportioned to the period of a thousand years; so much briefer is it, and on that account so much more easily is its torch extinguished than rekindled. Inasmuch, then, as the period which, on the hypothesis we have discussed, ought to intervene, if the living are to be formed from the dead, has not actually occurred, it will follow that we must not believe that men come back to life from the dead (in the way surmised in this philosophy).

Chapter 31. Further Exposure of Transmigration, Its Inextricable Embarrassment

Again, if this recovery of life from the dead take place at all, individuals must of course resume their own individuality. Therefore the souls which animated each several body must needs have returned separately to their several bodies. Now, whenever two, or three, or five souls are re-enclosed (as they constantly are) in one womb, it will not amount in such cases to life from the dead, because there is not the separate restitution which individuals ought to have; although at this rate, (no doubt,) the law of the primeval creation is signally kept, by the production still of several souls out of only one! Then, again, if souls depart at different ages of human life, how is it that they come back again at one uniform age? For all men are imbued with an *infant* soul at their birth. But how happens it that a man who dies in old age returns to life as an infant? If the soul, while disembodied, decreases thus by retrogression of its age, how much more reasonable would it be, that it should resume its life with a richer progress in all attainments of life after the lapse of a thousand years! At all events, it should return with the age it had attained at its death, that it might resume the precise life which it had relinquished. But even if, at this rate, they should reappear the same evermore in their revolving cycles, it would be proper for them to bring back with them, if not the selfsame forms of body, at least their original peculiarities of character, taste, and disposition, because it would be hardly possible for them to be regarded as the same, if they were deficient in those characteristics by means of which their identity should be proved. (You, however, meet me with this question): How can you possibly know, you ask, whether all is not a secret process? May not the work of a thousand years take from you the power of recognition, since they return unknown to you? But I am quite certain that such is not the case, for you yourself present Pythagoras to me as (the restored) Euphorbus. Now look at Euphorbus: he was evidently possessed of a military and warlike soul, as is proved by the very renown of the sacred shields. As for Pythagoras, however, he was such a recluse, and so unwarlike, that he shrank from the military exploits of which Greece was then so full, and preferred to devote himself, in the quiet retreat of Italy, to the study of geometry, and astrology, and music — the very opposite to Euphorbus in taste and disposition. Then, again, the

Pyrrhus (whom he represented) spent his time in catching fish; but Pythagoras, on the contrary, would never touch fish, abstaining from even the taste of them as from animal food. Moreover, Æthalides and Hermotimus had included the bean among the common esculents at meals, while Pythagoras taught his disciples not even to pass through a plot which was cultivated with beans. I ask, then, how the same souls are resumed, which can offer no proof of their identity, either by their disposition, or habits, or living? And now, after all, (we find that) only four souls are mentioned as recovering life out of all the multitudes of Greece. But limiting ourselves merely to Greece, as if no transmigrations of souls and resumptions of bodies occurred, and *that* every day, in every nation, and among all ages, ranks, and sexes, how is it that Pythagoras alone experiences these changes into one personality and another? Why should not I too undergo them? Or if it be a privilege monopolized by philosophers — and Greek philosophers only, as if Scythians and Indians had no philosophers — how is it that Epicurus had no recollection that he had been once another man, nor Chrysippus, nor Zeno, nor indeed Plato himself, whom we might perhaps have supposed to have been Nestor, from his honeyed eloquence?

Chapter 32. Empedocles Increased the Absurdity of Pythagoras by Developing the Posthumous Change of Men into Various Animals

But the fact is, Empedocles, who used to dream that he was a god, and on that account, I suppose, disdained to have it thought that he had ever before been merely some hero, declares in so many words: I once was Thamnus, and a fish. Why not rather a melon, seeing that he was such a fool; or aameleon, for his inflated brag? It was, no doubt, as a fish (and a queer one too!) that he escaped the corruption of some obscure grave, when he preferred being roasted by a plunge into Ætna; after which accomplishment there was an end for ever to his μετενσωμάτωσις or putting himself into another body — (fit only now for) a light dish after the roast-meat. At this point, therefore, we must likewise contend against that still more monstrous presumption, that in the course of the transmigration beasts pass from human beings, and human beings from beasts. Let (Empedocles') Thamnuses alone. Our slight notice of them in passing will be quite enough: (to dwell on them longer will inconvenience us,) lest we should be obliged to have recourse to raillery and laughter instead of serious instruction. Now our position is this: that the human soul cannot by any means at all be transferred to beasts, even when they are supposed to originate, according to the philosophers, out of the substances of the elements. Now let us suppose that the soul is either fire, or water, or blood, or spirit, or air, or light; we must not forget that all the animals in their several kinds have properties which are opposed to the respective elements. There are the cold animals which are opposed to fire — water-snakes, lizards, salamanders, and whatever things are produced out of the rival element of water. In like manner, those creatures are opposite to water which are in their nature dry and sapless; indeed, locusts, butterflies, and chameleons rejoice in droughts. So, again, such creatures are opposed to blood which have none of its purple hue, such as snails, worms, and most of the fishy tribes. Then opposed to spirit are those creatures which seem to have no respiration, being unfurnished with lungs and windpipes, such as gnats, ants, moths, and minute things of this sort. Opposed, moreover, to air are those creatures which always live under ground and under water, and never imbibe air — things of which you are more acquainted with the existence than

with the names. Then opposed to light are those things which are either wholly blind, or possess eyes for the darkness only, such as moles, bats, and owls. These examples (have I adduced), that I might illustrate my subject from clear and palpable natures. But even if I could take in my hand the atoms of Epicurus, or if my eye could see the numbers of Pythagoras, or if my foot could stumble against the ideas of Plato, or if I could lay hold of the entelechies of Aristotle, the chances would be, that even in these (impalpable) classes I should find such animals as I must oppose to one another on the ground of their contrariety. For I maintain that, of whichever of the before-mentioned natures the human soul is composed, it would not have been possible for it to pass for new forms into animals so contrary to each of the separate natures, and to bestow an origin by its passage on those beings, from which it would have to be excluded and rejected rather than to be admitted and received, by reason of that original contrariety which we have supposed it to possess, and which commits the bodily substance receiving it to an interminable strife; and then again by reason of the subsequent contrariety, which results from the development inseparable from each several nature. Now it is on quite different conditions that the soul of man has had assigned to it (in individual bodies) its abode, and aliment, and order, and sensation, and affection, and sexual intercourse, and procreation of children; also (on different conditions has it, in individual bodies, received special) dispositions, as well as duties to fulfil, likings, dislikes, vices, desires, pleasures, maladies, remedies — in short, its own modes of living, its own outlets of death. How, then, shall that (human) soul which cleaves to the earth, and is unable without alarm to survey any great height, or any considerable depth, and which is also fatigued if it mounts many steps, and is suffocated if it is submerged in a fish-pond — (how, I say, shall a soul which is beset with such weaknesses) mount up at some future stage into the air in an eagle, or plunge into the sea in an eel? How, again, shall it, after being nourished with generous and delicate as well as exquisite viands, feed deliberately on, I will not say husks, but even on thorns, and the wild fare of bitter leaves, and beasts of the dung-hill, and poisonous worms, if it has to migrate into a goat or into a quail? — nay, it may be, feed on carrion, even on human corpses in some bear or lion? But how indeed (shall it stoop to this), when it remembers its own (nature and dignity)? In the same way, you may submit all other instances to this criterion

of incongruity, and so save us from lingering over the distinct consideration of each of them in turn. Now, whatever may be the measure and whatever the mode of the human soul, (the question is forced upon us,) what it will do in far larger animals, or in very diminutive ones? It must needs be, that every individual body of whatever size is filled up by the soul, and that the soul is entirely covered by the body. How, therefore, shall a man's soul fill an elephant? How, likewise, shall it be contracted within a gnat? If it be so enormously extended or contracted, it will no doubt be exposed to peril. And this induces me to ask another question: If the soul is by no means capable of this kind of migration into animals, which are not fitted for its reception, either by the habits of their bodies or the other laws of their being, will it then undergo a change according to the properties of various animals, and be adapted to their life, notwithstanding its contrariety to human life — having, in fact, become contrary to its human self by reason of its utter change? Now the truth is, if it undergoes such a transformation, and loses what it once was, the human soul will not be what it was; and if it ceases to be its former self, the *metensomosis*, or adaptation of some other body, comes to nought, and is not of course to be ascribed to the soul which will cease to exist, on the supposition of its complete change. For only then can a soul be said to experience this process of the *metensomosis*, when it undergoes it by remaining unchanged in its own (primitive) condition. Since, therefore, the soul does not admit of change, lest it should cease to retain its identity; and yet is unable to remain unchanged in its original state, because it fails then to receive contrary (bodies) — I still want to know some credible reason to justify such a transformation as we are discussing. For although some men are compared to the beasts because of their character, disposition, and pursuits (since even God says, Man is like the beasts that perish), it does not on this account follow that rapacious persons become kites, lewd persons dogs, ill-tempered ones panthers, good men sheep, talkative ones swallows, and chaste men doves, as if the selfsame substance of the soul everywhere repeated its own nature in the properties of the animals (into which it passed). Besides, a substance is one thing, and the nature of that substance is another thing; inasmuch as the substance is the special property of one given thing, whereas the nature thereof may possibly belong to many things. Take an example or two. A stone or a piece of iron is the substance: the hardness of the stone and

the iron is the nature of the substance. Their hardness combines objects by a common quality; their substances keep them separate. Then, again, there is softness in wool, and softness in a feather: their natural qualities are alike, (and put them on a par;) their substantial qualities are not alike, (and keep them distinct.) Thus, if a man likewise be designated a wild beast or a harmless one, there is not for all that an identity of soul. Now the similarity of nature is even then observed, when dissimilarity of substance is most conspicuous: for, by the very fact of your judging that a man resembles a beast, you confess that their soul is not identical; for you say that they *resemble* each other, not that they are the *same*. This is also the meaning of the word of God (which we have just quoted): it likens man to the beasts in nature, but not in substance. Besides, God would not have actually made such a comment as this concerning man, if He had known him to be in substance only bestial.

Chapter 33. The Judicial Retribution of These Migrations Refuted with Raillery

Forasmuch as this doctrine is vindicated even on the principle of judicial retribution, on the pretence that the souls of men obtain as their partners the kind of animals which are suited to their life and deserts, — as if they ought to be, according to their several characters, either slain in criminals destined to execution, or reduced to hard work in menials, or fatigued and wearied in labourers, or foully disgraced in the unclean; or, again, on the same principle, reserved for honour, and love, and care, and attentive regard in characters most eminent in rank and virtue, usefulness, and tender sensibility — I must here also remark, that if souls undergo a transformation, they will actually not be able to accomplish and experience the destinies which they shall deserve; and the aim and purpose of judicial recompense will be brought to nought, as there will be wanting the sense and consciousness of merit and retribution. And there must be this want of consciousness, if souls lose their condition; and there must ensue this loss, if they do not continue in one stay. But even if they should have permanency enough to remain unchanged until the judgment — a point which Mercurius Ægyptius recognised, when he said that the soul, after its separation from the body, was not dissipated back into the soul of the universe, but retained permanently its distinct individuality, in order that it might render, to use his own words, an account to the Father of those things which it has done in the body; — (even supposing all this, I say,) I still want to examine the justice, the solemnity, the majesty, and the dignity of this reputed judgment of God, and see whether human judgment has not too elevated a throne in it — exaggerated in both directions, in its office both of punishments and rewards, too severe in dealing out its vengeance, and too lavish in bestowing its favour. What do you suppose will become of the soul of the murderer? (It will animate), I suppose, some cattle destined for the slaughter-house and the shambles, that it may itself be killed, even as it has killed; and be itself flayed, since it has fleeced others; and be itself used for food, since it has cast to the wild beasts the ill-fated victims whom it once slew in woods and lonely roads. Now, if such be the judicial retribution which it is to receive, is not such a soul likely to find more of consolation than of punishment, in the fact that it receives its *coup de grâce* from the hands of

most expert practitioners — is buried with condiments served in the most piquant styles of an Apicius or a Lurco, is introduced to the tables of your exquisite Ciceros, is brought up on the most splendid dishes of a Sylla, finds its obsequies in a banquet, is devoured by respectable (mouths) on a par with itself, rather than by kites and wolves, so that all may see how it has got a man's body for its tomb, and has risen again after returning to its own kindred race — exulting in the face of human judgments, if it has experienced them? For these barbarous sentences of death consign to various wild beasts, which are selected and trained even against their nature for their horrible office the criminal who has committed murder, even while yet alive; nay, hindered from too easily dying, by a contrivance which retards his last moment in order to aggravate his punishment. But even if his soul should have anticipated by its departure the sword's last stroke, his body at all events must not escape the weapon: retribution for his own crime is yet exacted by stabbing his throat and stomach, and piercing his side. After that he is flung into the fire, that his very grave may be cheated. In no other way, indeed, is a sepulture allowed him. Not that any great care, after all, is bestowed on his pyre, so that other animals light upon his remains. At any rate, no mercy is shown to his bones, no indulgence to his ashes, which must be punished with exposure and nakedness. The vengeance which is inflicted among men upon the homicide is really as great as that which is imposed by nature. Who would not prefer the justice of the world, which, as the apostle himself testifies, bears not the sword in vain, Romans 13:4 and which is an institute of religion when it severely avenges in defense of human life? When we contemplate, too, the penalties awarded to other crimes — gibbets, and holocausts, and sacks, and harpoons, and precipices — who would not think it better to receive his sentence in the courts of Pythagoras and Empedocles? For even the wretches whom they will send into the bodies of asses and mules to be punished by drudgery and slavery, how will they congratulate themselves on the mild labour of the mill and the water-wheel, when they recollect the mines, and the convict-gangs, and the public works, and even the prisons and black-holes, terrible in their idle, do-nothing routine? Then, again, in the case of those who, after a course of integrity, have surrendered their life to the Judge, I likewise look for rewards, but I rather discover punishments. To be sure, it must be a handsome gain for good men to be restored to life in any animals

whatsoever! Homer, so dreamt Ennius, remembered that he was once a peacock; however, I cannot for my part believe poets, even when wide awake. A peacock, no doubt, is a very pretty bird, pluming itself, at will, on its splendid feathers; but then its wings do not make amends for its voice, which is harsh and unpleasant; and there is nothing that poets like better than a good song. His transformation, therefore, into a peacock was to Homer a penalty, not an honour. The world's remuneration will bring him a much greater joy, when it lauds him as the father of the liberal sciences; and he will prefer the ornaments of his fame to the graces of his tail! But never mind! let poets migrate into peacocks, or into swans, if you like, especially as swans have a respectable voice: in what animal will you invest that righteous hero Æacus? In what beast will you clothe the chaste and excellent Dido? What bird shall fall to the lot of Patience? What animal to the lot of Holiness? What fish to that of Innocence? Now all creatures are the servants of man; all are his subjects, all his dependants. If by and by he is to become one of these creatures, he is by such a change debased and degraded, he to whom, for his virtues, images, statues, and titles are freely awarded as public honours and distinguished privileges, he to whom the senate and the people vote even sacrifices! Oh, what judicial sentences for gods to pronounce, as men's recompense after death! They are more mendacious than any human judgments; they are contemptible as punishments, disgusting as rewards; such as the worst of men could never fear, nor the best desire; such indeed, as criminals will aspire to, rather than saints — the former, that they may escape more speedily the world's stern sentence — the latter that they may more tardily incur it. How well, (forsooth), O you philosophers do you teach us, and how usefully do you advise us, that after death rewards and punishments fall with lighter weight! Whereas, if any judgment awaits souls at all, it ought rather to be supposed that it will be heavier at the conclusion of life than in the conduct thereof, since nothing is more complete than that which comes at the very last — nothing, moreover, is more complete than that which is especially divine. Accordingly, God's judgment will be more full and complete, because it will be pronounced at the very last, in an eternal irrevocable sentence, both of punishment and of consolation, (on men whose) souls are not to transmigrate into beasts, but are to return into their own proper bodies. And all this once for all, and on that day, too, of which the Father only knows;

Mark 13:32 (only knows,) in order that by her trembling expectation faith may make full trial of her anxious sincerity, keeping her gaze ever fixed on that day, in her perpetual ignorance of it, daily fearing that for which she yet daily hopes.

Chapter 34. These Vagaries Stimulated Some Profane Corruptions of Christianity. The Profanity of Simon Magus Condemned

No tenet, indeed, under cover of any heresy has as yet burst upon us, embodying any such extravagant fiction as that the souls of human beings pass into the bodies of wild beasts; but yet we have deemed it necessary to attack and refute this conceit, as a consistent sequel to the preceding opinions, in order that Homer in the peacock might be got rid of as effectually as Pythagoras in Euphorbus; and in order that, by the demolition of the *metempsychosis* and *metensomatosis* by the same blow, the ground might be cut away which has furnished no inconsiderable support to our heretics. There is the (infamous) Simon of Samaria in the Acts of the Apostles, who chaffered for the Holy Ghost: after his condemnation by *Him*, and a vain remorse that he and his money must perish together, he applied his energies to the destruction of the truth, as if to console himself with revenge. Besides the support with which his own magic arts furnished him, he had recourse to imposture, and purchased a Tyrian woman of the name of Helen out of a brothel, with the same money which he had offered for the Holy Spirit — a traffic worthy of the wretched man. He actually feigned himself to be the Supreme Father, and further pretended that the woman was his own primary conception, wherewith he had purposed the creation of the angels and the archangels; that after she was possessed of this purpose she sprang forth from the Father and descended to the lower spaces, and there anticipating the Father's design had produced the angelic powers, which knew nothing of the Father, the Creator of this world; that she was detained a prisoner by these from a (rebellious) motive very like her own, lest after her departure from them they should appear to be the offspring of another being; and that, after being on this account exposed to every insult, to prevent her leaving them anywhere after her dishonour, she was degraded even to the form of man, to be confined, as it were, in the bonds of the flesh. Having during many ages wallowed about in one female shape and another, she became the notorious Helen who was so ruinous to Priam, and afterwards to the eyes of Stesichorus, whom, she blinded in revenge for his lampoons, and then restored to sight to reward him for his eulogies. After wandering about in this way from body to

body, she, in her final disgrace, turned out a viler Helen still as a professional prostitute. This wench, therefore, was the lost sheep, upon whom the Supreme Father, even Simon, descended, who, after he had recovered her and brought her back — whether on his shoulders or loins I cannot tell — cast an eye on the salvation of man, in order to gratify his spleen by liberating them from the angelic powers. Moreover, to deceive these he also himself assumed a visible shape; and feigning the appearance of a man among men, he acted the part of the Son in Judea, and of the Father in Samaria. O hapless Helen, what a hard fate is yours between the poets and the heretics, who have blackened your fame sometimes with adultery, sometimes with prostitution! Only her rescue from Troy is a more glorious affair than her extrication from the brothel. There were a thousand ships to remove her from Troy; a thousand pence were probably more than enough to withdraw her from the stews. Fie on you, Simon, to be so tardy in seeking her out, and so inconstant in ransoming her! How different from Menelaus! As soon as he has lost her, he goes in pursuit of her; she is no sooner ravished than he begins his search; after a ten years' conflict he boldly rescues her: there is no lurking, no deceiving, no cavilling. I am really afraid that he was a much better Father, who laboured so much more vigilantly, bravely, and perseveringly, about the recovery of his Helen.

Chapter 35. The Opinions of Carpocrates, Another Offset from the Pythagorean Dogmas, Stated and Confuted

However, it is not for you alone, (Simon), that the transmigration philosophy has fabricated this story. Carpocrates also makes equally good use of it, who was a magician and a fornicator like yourself, only he had not a Helen. And why should he not? Since he asserted that souls are reinvested with bodies, in order to ensure the overthrow by all means of divine and human truth. For, (according to his miserable doctrine,) this life became consummated to no man until all those blemishes which are held to disfigure it have been fully displayed in its conduct; because there is nothing which is accounted evil by nature, but simply as men think of it. The transmigration of human souls, therefore, into any kind of heterogeneous bodies, he thought by all means indispensable, whenever any depravity whatever had not been fully perpetrated in the early stage of life's passage. Evil deeds (one may be sure) appertain to life. Moreover, as often as the soul has fallen short as a defaulter in sin, it has to be recalled to existence, until it pays the utmost farthing, Matthew 5:26 thrust out from time to time into the prison of the body. To this effect does he tamper with the whole of that allegory of the Lord which is extremely clear and simple in its meaning, and ought to be from the first understood in its plain and natural sense. Thus our adversary (therein mentioned) is the heathen man, who is walking with us along the same road of life which is common to him and ourselves. Now we must needs go out of the world, 1 Corinthians 5:10 if it be not allowed us to have conversation with them. He bids us, therefore, show a kindly disposition to such a man. Love your enemies, says He, pray for them that curse you, Luke 6:27 lest such a man in any transaction of business be irritated by any unjust conduct of yours, and deliver you to the judge of his own (nation Matthew 5:25), and you be thrown into prison, and be detained in its close and narrow cell until you have liquidated all your debt against him. Then, again, should you be disposed to apply the term adversary to the devil, you are advised by the (Lord's) injunction, while you are in the way with him, to make even with him such a compact as may be deemed compatible with the requirements of your true faith. Now the compact you have made respecting him is to renounce him,

and his pomp, and his angels. Such is your agreement in this matter. Now the friendly understanding you will have to carry out must arise from your observance of the compact: you must never think of getting back any of the things which you have abjured, and have restored to him, lest he should summon you as a fraudulent man, and a transgressor of your agreement, before God the Judge (for in this light do we read of him, in another passage, as the accuser of the brethren, Revelation 12:10 or saints, where reference is made to the actual practice of legal prosecution); and lest this Judge deliver you over to the angel who is to execute the sentence, and *he* commit you to the prison of hell, out of which there will be no dismissal until the smallest even of your delinquencies be paid off in the period before the resurrection. What can be a more fitting sense than this? What a truer interpretation? If, however, according to Carpocrates, the soul is bound to the commission of all sorts of crime and evil conduct, what must we from his system understand to be its adversary and foe? I suppose it must be that better mind which shall compel it by force to the performance of some act of virtue, that it may be driven from body to body, until it be found in none a debtor to the claims of a virtuous life. This means, that a good tree is known by its bad fruit — in other words, that the doctrine of truth is understood from the worst possible precepts. I apprehend that heretics of this school seize with special avidity the example of Elias, whom they assume to have been so reproduced in John (the Baptist) as to make our Lord's statement sponsor for their theory of transmigration, when He said, Elias has come already, and they knew him not; Matthew 17:12 and again, in another passage, And if you will receive it, this is Elias, which was for to come. Matthew 11:14 Well, then, was it really in a Pythagorean sense that the Jews approached John with the inquiry, Are you Elias? John 1:21 and not rather in the sense of the divine prediction, Behold, I will send you Elijah the Tisbite? Malachi 4:5 The fact, however, is, that their metempsychosis, or transmigration theory, signifies the recall of the soul which had died long before, and its return to some other body. But Elias is to come again, not after quitting life (in the way of dying), but after his translation (or removal without dying); not for the purpose of being restored to the body, from which he had not departed, but for the purpose of revisiting the world from which he was translated; not by way of resuming a life which he had laid aside, but of fulfilling prophecy — really and truly the same man,

both in respect of his name and designation, as well as of his unchanged humanity. How, therefore could John be Elias? You have your answer in the angel's announcement: And he shall go before the people, says he, in the spirit and power of Elias — not (observe) in his soul and his body. These substances are, in fact, the natural property of each individual; while the spirit and power are bestowed as external gifts by the grace of God and so may be transferred to another person according to the purpose and will of the Almighty, as was anciently the case with respect to the spirit of Moses. Numbers 12:2

Chapter 36. The Main Points of Our Author's Subject. On the Sexes of the Human Race

For the discussion of these questions we abandoned, if I remember rightly, ground to which we must now return. We had established the position that the soul is seminally placed in man, and by human agency, and that its seed from the very beginning is uniform, as is that of the soul also, to the race of man; (and this we settled) owing to the rival opinions of the philosophers and the heretics, and that ancient saying mentioned by Plato (to which we referred above). We now pursue in their order the points which follow from them. The soul, being sown in the womb at the same time as the body, receives likewise along with it its sex; and this indeed so simultaneously, that neither of the two substances can be alone regarded as the cause of the sex. Now, if in the semination of these substances any interval were admissible in their conception, in such wise that either the flesh or the soul should be the first to be conceived, one might then ascribe a special sex to one of the substances, owing to the difference in the time of the impregnations, so that either the flesh would impress its sex upon the soul, or the soul upon the sex; even as Apelles (the heretic, not the painter) gives the priority over their bodies to the souls of men and women, as he had been taught by Philumena, and in consequence makes the flesh, as the later, receive its sex from the soul. They also who make the soul supervene after birth on the flesh predetermine, of course, the sex of the previously formed soul to be male or female, according to (the sex of) the flesh. But the truth is, the seminations of the two substances are inseparable in point of time, and their effusion is also one and the same, in consequence of which a community of gender is secured to them; so that the course of nature, whatever that be, shall draw the line (for the distinct sexes). Certainly in this view we have an attestation of the method of the first two formations, when the male was moulded and tempered in a completer way, for Adam was first formed; and the woman came far behind him, for Eve was the later formed. So that her flesh was for a long time without specific form (such as she afterwards assumed when taken out of Adam's side); but she was even then herself a living being, because I should regard her at that time in soul as even a portion of Adam. Besides, God's *afflatus* would have animated her too, if there had not been in the woman a transmission from Adam of his soul also

as well as of his flesh.

Chapter 37. On the Formation and State of the Embryo. Its Relation with the Subject of This Treatise

Now the entire process of sowing, forming, and completing the human embryo in the womb is no doubt regulated by some power, which ministers herein to the will of God, whatever may be the method which it is appointed to employ. Even the superstition of Rome, by carefully attending to these points, imagined the goddess *Alemona* to nourish the foetus in the womb; as well as (the goddesses) *Nona* and *Decima*, called after the most critical months of gestation; and *Partula*, to manage and direct parturition; and *Lucina*, to bring the child to the birth and light of day. We, on our part, believe the angels to officiate herein for God. The embryo therefore becomes a human being in the womb from the moment that its form is completed. The law of Moses, indeed, punishes with due penalties the man who shall cause abortion, inasmuch as there exists already the rudiment of a human being, which has imputed to it even now the condition of life and death, since it is already liable to the issues of both, although, by living still in the mother, it for the most part shares its own state with the mother. I must also say something about the period of the soul's birth, that I may omit nothing incidental in the whole process. A mature and regular birth takes place, as a general rule, at the commencement of the tenth month. They who theorize respecting numbers, honour the number ten as the parent of all the others, and as imparting perfection to the human nativity. For my own part, I prefer viewing this measure of time in reference to God, as if implying that the ten months rather initiated man into the ten commandments; so that the numerical estimate of the time needed to consummate our natural birth should correspond to the numerical classification of the rules of our regenerate life. But inasmuch as birth is also completed with the seventh month, I more readily recognize in this number than in the eighth the honour of a numerical agreement with the sabbatical period; so that the month in which God's image is sometimes produced in a human birth, shall in its number tally with the day on which God's creation was completed and hallowed. Human nativity has sometimes been allowed to be premature, and yet to occur in fit and perfect accordance with an *hebdomad* or sevenfold number, as an auspice of our resurrection, and rest, and kingdom. The *ogdoad*, or eightfold number, therefore, is not

concerned in our formation; for in the time it represents there will be no more marriage. We have already demonstrated the conjunction of the body and the soul, from the concretion of their very seminations to the complete formation of the *fœtus*. We now maintain their conjunction likewise from the birth onwards; in the first place, because they both grow together, only each in a different manner suited to the diversity of their nature — the flesh in magnitude, the soul in intelligence — the flesh in material condition, the soul in sensibility. We are, however, forbidden to suppose that the soul increases in substance, lest it should be said also to be capable of diminution in substance, and so its extinction even should be believed to be possible; but its inherent power, in which are contained all its natural peculiarities, as originally implanted in its being, is gradually developed along with the flesh, without impairing the germinal basis of the substance, which it received when breathed at first into man. Take a certain quantity of gold or of silver — a rough mass as yet: it has indeed a compact condition, and one that is more compressed at the moment than it will be; yet it contains within its contour what is throughout a mass of gold or of silver. When this mass is afterwards extended by beating it into leaf, it becomes larger than it was before by the elongation of the original mass, but not by any addition thereto, because it is extended in space, not increased in bulk; although in a way it is even increased when it is extended: for it may be increased in form, but not in state. Then, again, the sheen of the gold or the silver, which when the metal was any in block was inherent in it no doubt really, but yet only obscurely, shines out in developed lustre. Afterwards various modifications of shape accrue, according to the feasibility in the material which makes it yield to the manipulation of the artisan, who yet adds nothing to the condition of the mass but its configuration. In like manner, the growth and developments of the soul are to be estimated, not as enlarging its substance, but as calling forth its powers.

Chapter 38. On the Growth of the Soul. Its Maturity Coincident with the Maturity of the Flesh in Man

Now we have already laid down the principle, that all the natural properties of the soul which relate to sense and intelligence are inherent in its very substance, and spring from its native constitution, but that they advance by a gradual growth through the stages of life and develop themselves in different ways by accidental circumstances, according to men's means and arts, their manners and customs their local situations, and the influences of the Supreme Powers; but in pursuance of that aspect of the association of body and soul which we have now to consider, we maintain that the *puberty* of the soul coincides with that of the body, and that they attain both together to this full growth at about the fourteenth year of life, speaking generally — the former by the suggestion of the senses, and the latter by the growth of the bodily members; and (we fix on this age) not because, as Asclepiades supposes, reflection then begins, nor because the civil laws date the commencement of the real business of life from this period, but because this was the appointed order from the very first. For as Adam and Eve felt that they must cover their nakedness after their knowledge of good and evil so we profess to have the same discernment of good and evil from the time that we experience the same sensation of shame. Now from the before-mentioned age (of fourteen years) sex is suffused and clothed with a special sensibility, and concupiscence employs the ministry of the eye, and communicates its pleasure to another, and understands the natural relations between male and female, and wears the fig-tree apron to cover the shame which it still excites, and drives man out of the paradise of innocence and chastity, and in its wild pruriency falls upon sins and unnatural incentives to delinquency; for its impulse has by this time surpassed the appointment of nature, and springs from its vicious abuse. But the strictly natural concupiscence is simply confined to the desire of those aliments which God at the beginning conferred upon man. Of every tree of the garden He says, you shall freely eat; Genesis 2:16 and then again to the generation which followed next after the flood He enlarged the grant: Every moving thing that lives shall be meat for you; behold, as the green herb have I given you all these things, Genesis 9:3 — where He has regard rather to the body than to the soul, although it be in the interest of the soul also. For we

must remove all occasion from the caviller, who, because the soul apparently wants ailments, would insist on the soul's being from this circumstance deemed mortal, since it is sustained by meat and drink and after a time loses its rigour when they are withheld, and on their complete removal ultimately droops and dies. Now the point we must keep in view is not merely which particular faculty it is which desires these (aliments), but also for what end; and even if it be for its own sake, still the question remains, Why this desire, and when felt, and how long? Then again there is the consideration, that it is one thing to desire by natural instinct, and another thing to desire through necessity; one thing to desire as a property of being, another thing to desire for a special object. The soul, therefore, will desire meat and drink — for itself indeed, because of a special necessity; for the flesh, however, from the nature of its properties. For the flesh is no doubt the house of the soul, and the soul is the temporary inhabitant of the flesh. The desire, then, of the lodger will arise from the temporary cause and the special necessity which his very designation suggests — with a view to benefit and improve the place of his temporary abode, while sojourning in it; not with the view, certainly, of being himself the foundation of the house, or himself its walls, or himself its support and roof, but simply and solely with the view of being accommodated and housed, since he could not receive such accommodation except in a sound and well-built house. (Now, applying this imagery to the soul,) if it be not provided with this accommodation, it will not be in its power to quit its dwelling-place, and for want of fit and proper resources, to depart safe and sound, in possession, too, of its own supports, and the aliments which belong to its own proper condition — namely immortality, rationality, sensibility, intelligence, and freedom of the will.

Chapter 39. The Evil Spirit Has Marred the Purity of the Soul from the Very Birth

All these endowments of the soul which are bestowed on it at birth are still obscured and depraved by the malignant being who, in the beginning, regarded them with envious eye, so that they are never seen in their spontaneous action, nor are they administered as they ought to be. For to what individual of the human race will not the evil spirit cleave, ready to entrap their souls from the very portal of their birth, at which he is invited to be present in all those superstitious processes which accompany childbearing? Thus it comes to pass that all men are brought to the birth with idolatry for the midwife, while the very wombs that bear them, still bound with the fillets that have been wreathed before the idols, declare their offspring to be consecrated to demons: for in parturition they invoke the aid of Lucina and Diana; for a whole week a table is spread in honour of Juno; on the last day the fates of the horoscope are invoked; and then the infant's first step on the ground is sacred to the goddess Statina. After this does any one fail to devote to idolatrous service the entire head of his son, or to take out a hair, or to shave off the whole with a razor, or to bind it up for an offering, or seal it for sacred use — in behalf of the clan, of the ancestry, or for public devotion? On this principle of early possession it was that Socrates, while yet a boy, was found by the spirit of the demon. Thus, too, is it that to all persons their *genii* are assigned, which is only another name for *demons*. Hence in no case (I mean of the heathen, of course) is there any nativity which is pure of idolatrous superstition. It was from this circumstance that the apostle said, that when either of the parents was sanctified, the children were holy; 1 Corinthians 7:14 and this as much by the prerogative of the (Christian) seed as by the discipline of the institution (by baptism, and Christian education). Else, says he, were the children unclean by birth: 1 Corinthians 7:14 as if he meant us to understand that the children of believers were designed for holiness, and thereby for salvation; in order that he might by the pledge of such a hope give his support to matrimony, which he had determined to maintain in its integrity. Besides, he had certainly not forgotten what the Lord had so definitively stated: Unless a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God; John 3:5 in other words, he cannot be holy.

Chapter 40. The Body of Man Only Ancillary to the Soul in the Commission of Evil

Every soul, then, by reason of its birth, has its nature in Adam until it is born again in Christ; moreover, it is unclean all the while that it remains without this regeneration; Romans 6:4 and because unclean, it is actively sinful, and suffuses even the flesh (by reason of their conjunction) with its own shame. Now although the flesh is sinful, and we are forbidden to walk in accordance with it, Galatians 5:16 and its works are condemned as lusting against the spirit, and men on its account are censured as carnal, Romans 8:5 yet the flesh has not such ignominy on its own account. For it is not of itself that it thinks anything or feels anything for the purpose of advising or commanding sin. How should it, indeed? It is only a ministering thing, and its ministration is not like that of a servant or familiar friend — animated and human beings; but rather that of a vessel, or something of that kind: it is body, not soul. Now a cup may minister to a thirsty man; and yet, if the thirsty man will not apply the cup to his mouth, the cup will yield no ministering service. Therefore the *differentia*, or distinguishing property, of man by no means lies in his earthy element; nor is the flesh the human person, as being some faculty of his soul, and a personal quality; but it is a thing of quite a different substance and different condition, although annexed to the soul as a chattel or as an instrument for the offices of life. Accordingly the flesh is blamed in the Scriptures, because nothing is done by the soul without the flesh in operations of concupiscence, appetite, drunkenness, cruelty, idolatry, and other works of the flesh — operations, I mean, which are not confined to sensations, but result in effects. The emotions of sin, indeed, when not resulting in effects, are usually imputed to the soul: Whosoever looks on a woman to lust after, has already in his heart committed adultery with her. Matthew 5:28 But what has the flesh alone, without the soul, ever done in operations of virtue, righteousness, endurance, or chastity? What absurdity, however, it is to attribute sin and crime to that substance to which you do not assign any good actions or character of its own! Now the party which aids in the commission of a crime is brought to trial, only in such a way that the principal offender who actually committed the crime may bear the weight of the penalty, although the abettor too does not escape indictment. Greater is the odium

which falls on the principal, when his officials are punished through his fault. He is beaten with more stripes who instigates and orders the crime, while at the same time he who obeys such an evil command is not acquitted.

Chapter 41. Notwithstanding the Depravity of Man's Soul by Original Sin, There is Yet Left a Basis Whereon Divine Grace Can Work for Its Recovery by Spiritual Regeneration

There is, then, besides the evil which supervenes on the soul from the intervention of the evil spirit, an antecedent, and in a certain sense natural, evil which arises from its corrupt origin. For, as we have said before, the corruption of our nature is another nature having a god and father of its own, namely the author of (that) corruption. Still there is a portion of good in the soul, of that original, divine, and genuine good, which is its proper nature. For that which is derived from God is rather obscured than extinguished. It can be obscured, indeed, because it is not God; extinguished, however, it cannot be, because it comes from God. As therefore light, when intercepted by an opaque body, still remains, although it is not apparent, by reason of the interposition of so dense a body; so likewise the good in the soul, being weighed down by the evil, is, owing to the obscuring character thereof, either not seen at all, its light being wholly hidden, or else only a stray beam is there visible where it struggles through by an accidental outlet. Thus some men are very bad, and some very good; but yet the souls of all form but one genus: even in the worst there is something good, and in the best there is something bad. For God alone is without sin; and the only man without sin is Christ, since Christ is also God. Thus the divinity of the soul bursts forth in prophetic forecasts in consequence of its primeval good; and being conscious of its origin, it bears testimony to God (its author) in exclamations such as: *Good God! God knows! and Good-bye!* Just as no soul is without sin, so neither is any soul without seeds of good. Therefore, when the soul embraces the faith, being renewed in its second birth by water and the power from above, then the veil of its former corruption being taken away, it beholds the light in all its brightness. It is also taken up (in its second birth) by the Holy Spirit, just as in its first birth it is embraced by the unholy spirit. The flesh follows the soul now wedded to the Spirit, as a part of the bridal portion — no longer the servant of the soul, but of the Spirit. O happy marriage, if in it there is committed no violation of the nuptial vow!

Chapter 42. Sleep, the Mirror of Death, as Introductory to the Consideration of Death

It now remains (that we discuss the subject) of death, in order that our subject-matter may terminate where the soul itself completes it; although Epicurus, indeed, in his pretty widely known doctrine, has asserted that death does not appertain to us. That, says he, which is dissolved lacks sensation; and that which is without sensation is nothing to us. Well, but it is not actually death which suffers dissolution and lacks sensation, but the human person who experiences death. Yet even *he* has admitted suffering to be incidental to the being to whom action belongs. Now, if it is in man to suffer death, which dissolves the body and destroys the senses, how absurd to say that so great a susceptibility belongs not to man! With much greater precision does Seneca say: After death all comes to an end, even (death) itself. From which position of his it must needs follow that death will appertain to its own self, since itself comes to an end; and much more to man, in the ending of whom among the *all*, itself also ends. Death, (says Epicurus) belongs not to us; then at that rate, life belongs not to us. For certainly, if that which causes our dissolution have no relation to us, that also which compacts and composes us must be unconnected with us. If the deprivation of our sensation be nothing to us, neither can the acquisition of sensation have anything to do with us. The fact, however, is, he who destroys the very soul, (as Epicurus does), cannot help destroying death also. As for ourselves, indeed, (Christians as we are), we must treat of death just as we should of the posthumous life and of some other province of the soul, (assuming) that we at all events belong to death, if it does not pertain to us. And on the same principle, even *sleep*, which is the very mirror of death, is not alien from our subject-matter.

Chapter 43. Sleep a Natural Function as Shown by Other Considerations, and by the Testimony of Scripture

Let us therefore first discuss the question of sleep, and afterwards in what way the soul encounters death. Now sleep is certainly not a supernatural thing, as some philosophers will have it be, when they suppose it to be the result of causes which appear to be above nature. The Stoics affirm sleep to be a temporary suspension of the activity of the senses; the Epicureans define it as an intermission of the animal spirit; Anaxagoras and Xenophanes as a weariness of the same; Empedocles and Parmenides as a cooling down thereof; Strato as a separation of the (soul's) connatural spirit; Democritus as the soul's indigence; Aristotle as the interruption of the heat around the heart. As for myself, I can safely say that I have never slept in such a way as to discover even a single one of these conditions. Indeed, we cannot possibly believe that sleep is a weariness; it is rather the opposite, for it undoubtedly removes weariness, and a person is refreshed by sleep instead of being fatigued. Besides, sleep is not always the result of fatigue; and even when it is, the fatigue continues no longer. Nor can I allow that sleep is a cooling or decaying of the animal heat, for our bodies derive warmth from sleep in such a way that the regular dispersion of the food by means of sleep could not so easily go on if there were too much heat to accelerate it unduly, or cold to retard it, if sleep had the alleged refrigerating influence. There is also the further fact that perspiration indicates an over-heated digestion; and digestion is predicated of us as a process of concoction, which is an operation concerned with heat and not with cold. In like manner, the immortality of the soul precludes belief in the theory that sleep is an intermission of the animal spirit, or an indigence of the spirit, or a separation of the (soul's) connatural spirit. The soul perishes if it undergoes diminution or intermission. Our only resource, indeed, is to agree with the Stoics, by determining the soul to be a temporary suspension of the activity of the senses, procuring rest for the body only, not for the soul also. For the soul, as being always in motion, and always active, never succumbs to rest — a condition which is alien to immortality: for nothing immortal admits any end to its operation; but sleep is an end of operation. It is indeed on the body, which is subject to mortality, and on the body alone, that sleep graciously bestows a cessation from work. He,

therefore, who shall doubt whether sleep is a natural function, has the dialectical experts calling in question the whole difference between things natural and supernatural — so that what things he supposed to be beyond nature he may, (if he likes,) be safe in assigning to nature, which indeed has made such a disposition of things, that they may seemingly be accounted as beyond it; and so, of course, all things are natural or none are natural, (as occasion requires.) With us (Christians), however, only that can receive a hearing which is suggested by contemplating God, the Author of all the things which we are now discussing. For we believe that nature, if it is anything, is a reasonable work of God. Now reason presides over sleep; for sleep is so fit for man, so useful, so necessary, that were it not for it, not a soul could provide agency for recruiting the body, for restoring its energies, for ensuring its health, for supplying suspension from work and remedy against labour, and for the legitimate enjoyment of which day departs, and night provides an ordinance by taking from all objects their very color. Since, then, sleep is indispensable to our life, and health, and succour, there can be nothing pertaining to it which is not reasonable, and which is not natural. Hence it is that physicians banish beyond the gateway of nature everything which is contrary to what is vital, healthful, and helpful to nature; for those maladies which are inimical to sleep — maladies of the mind and of the stomach — they have decided to be contrariant to nature, and by such decision have determined as its corollary that sleep is perfectly natural. Moreover, when they declare that sleep is not natural in the lethargic state, they derive their conclusion from the fact that it is natural when it is in its due and regular exercise. For every natural state is impaired either by defect or by excess, while it is maintained by its proper measure and amount. That, therefore, will be natural in its condition which may be rendered non-natural by defect or by excess. Well, now, what if you were to remove eating and drinking from the conditions of nature? If in them lies the chief incentive to sleep. It is certain that, from the very beginning of his nature, man was impressed with these instincts (of sleep). Genesis 2:21 If you receive your instruction from God, (you will find) that the fountain of the human race, Adam, had a taste of drowsiness before having a draught of repose; slept before he laboured, or even before he ate, nay, even before he spoke; in order that men may see that sleep is a natural feature and function, and one which has actually precedence

over all the natural faculties. From this primary instance also we are led to trace even then the image of death in sleep. For as Adam was a figure of Christ, Adam's sleep shadowed out the death of Christ, who was to sleep a mortal slumber, that from the wound inflicted on His side might, in like manner (as Eve was formed), be typified the church, the true mother of the living. This is why sleep is so salutary, so rational, and is actually formed into the model of that death which is general and common to the race of man. God, indeed, has willed (and it may be said in passing that He has, generally, in His dispensations brought nothing to pass without such types and shadows) to set before us, in a manner more fully and completely than Plato's example, by daily recurrence the outlines of man's state, especially concerning the beginning and the termination thereof; thus stretching out the hand to help our faith more readily by types and parables, not in words only, but also in things. He accordingly sets before your view the human body stricken by the friendly power of slumber, prostrated by the kindly necessity of repose immoveable in position, just as it lay previous to life, and just as it will lie after life is past: there it lies as an attestation of its form when first moulded, and of its condition when at last buried — awaiting the soul in both stages, in the former previous to its bestowal, in the latter after its recent withdrawal. Meanwhile the soul is circumstanced in such a manner as to seem to be elsewhere active, learning to bear future absence by a dissembling of its presence for the moment. We shall soon know the case of Hermotimus. But yet it dreams in the interval. Whence then its dreams? The fact is, it cannot rest or be idle altogether, nor does it confine to the still hours of sleep the nature of its immortality. It proves itself to possess a constant motion; it travels over land and sea, it trades, it is excited, it labours, it plays, it grieves, it rejoices, it follows pursuits lawful and unlawful; it shows what very great power it has even without the body, how well equipped it is with members of its own, although betraying at the same time the need it has of impressing on some body its activity again. Accordingly, when the body shakes off its slumber, it asserts before your eye the resurrection of the dead by its own resumption of its natural functions. Such, therefore, must be both the natural reason and the reasonable nature of sleep. If you only regard it as the image of death, you initiate faith, you nourish hope, you learn both how to die and how to live, you learn watchfulness, even while you sleep.

Chapter 44. The Story of Hermotimus, and the Sleeplessness of the Emperor Nero. No Separation of the Soul from the Body Until Death

With regard to the case of Hermotimus, they say that he used to be deprived of his soul in his sleep, as if it wandered away from his body like a person on a holiday trip. His wife betrayed the strange peculiarity. His enemies, finding him asleep, burnt his body, as if it were a corpse: when his soul returned too late, it appropriated (I suppose) to itself the guilt of the murder. However the good citizens of Clazomenæ consoled poor Hermotimus with a temple, into which no woman ever enters, because of the infamy of this wife. Now why this story? In order that, since the vulgar belief so readily holds sleep to be the separation of the soul from the body, credulity should not be encouraged by this case of Hermotimus. It must certainly have been a much heavier sort of slumber: one would presume it was the nightmare, or perhaps that diseased languor which Soranus suggests in opposition to the nightmare, or else some such malady as that which the fable has fastened upon Epimenides, who slept on some fifty years or so. Suetonius, however, informs us that Nero never dreamt, and Theopompus says the same thing about Thrasymedes; but Nero at the close of his life did with some difficulty dream after some excessive alarm. What indeed would be said, if the case of Hermotimus were believed to be such that the repose of his soul was a state of actual idleness during sleep, and a positive separation from his body? You may conjecture it to be anything but such a licence of the soul as admits of flights away from the body without death, and that by continual recurrence, as if habitual to its state and constitution. If indeed such a thing were told me to have happened at any time to the soul — resembling a total eclipse of the sun or the moon — I should verily suppose that the occurrence had been caused by God's own interposition, for it would not be unreasonable for a man to receive admonition from the Divine Being either in the way of warning or of alarm, as by a flash of lightning, or by a sudden stroke of death; only it would be much the more natural conclusion to believe that this process should be by a dream, because if it must be supposed to be, (as the hypothesis we are resisting assumes it to be,) not a dream, the occurrence ought rather to happen to a man while he is wide awake.

Chapter 45. Dreams, an Incidental Effect of the Soul's Activity. Ecstasy

We are bound to expound at this point what is the opinion of Christians respecting dreams, as incidents of sleep, and as no slight or trifling excitements of the soul, which we have declared to be always occupied and active owing to its perpetual movement, which again is a proof and evidence of its divine quality and immortality. When, therefore, rest accrues to human bodies, it being their own special comfort, the soul, disdaining a repose which is not natural to it, never rests; and since it receives no help from the limbs of the body, it uses its own. Imagine a gladiator without his instruments or arms, and a charioteer without his team, but still gesticulating the entire course and exertion of their respective employments: there is the fight, there is the struggle; but the effort is a vain one. Nevertheless the whole procedure seems to be gone through, although it evidently has not been really effected. There is the act, but not the effect. This power we call *ecstasy*, in which the sensuous soul stands out of itself, in a way which even resembles madness. Thus in the very beginning sleep was inaugurated by ecstasy: And God sent an ecstasy upon Adam, and he slept. Genesis 2:21 The sleep came on his body to cause it to rest, but the ecstasy fell on his soul to remove rest: from that very circumstance it still happens ordinarily (and from the order results the nature of the case) that sleep is combined with ecstasy. In fact, with what real feeling, and anxiety, and suffering do we experience joy, and sorrow, and alarm in our dreams! Whereas we should not be moved by any such emotions, by what would be the merest fantasies of course, if when we dream we were masters of ourselves, (unaffected by ecstasy.) In these dreams, indeed, good actions are useless, and crimes harmless; for we shall no more be condemned for visionary acts of sin, than we shall be crowned for imaginary martyrdom. But how, you will ask, can the soul remember its dreams, when it is said to be without any mastery over its own operations? This memory must be a special gift of the ecstatic condition of which we are treating, since it arises not from any failure of healthy action, but entirely from natural process; nor does it expel mental function — it withdraws it for a time. It is one thing to shake, it is another thing to move; one thing to destroy, another thing to agitate. That, therefore, which memory supplies betokens soundness of mind; and that

which a sound mind ecstatically experiences while the memory remains unchecked, is a kind of madness. We are accordingly not said to be mad, but to dream, in that state; to be in the full possession also of our mental faculties, if we are at any time. For although the power to exercise these faculties may be dimmed in us, it is still not extinguished; except that it may seem to be itself absent at the very time that the ecstasy is energizing in us in its special manner, in such wise as to bring before us images of a sound mind and of wisdom, even as it does those of aberration.

Chapter 46. Diversity of Dreams and Visions. Epicurus Thought Lightly of Them, Though Generally Most Highly Valued. Instances of Dreams

We now find ourselves constrained to express an opinion about the character of the dreams by which the soul is excited. And when shall we arrive at the subject of death? And on such a question I would say, When God shall permit: that admits of no long delay which must needs happen at all events. Epicurus has given it as his opinion that dreams are altogether vain things; (but he says this) when liberating the Deity from all sort of care, and dissolving the entire order of the world, and giving to all things the aspect of merest chance, casual in their issues, fortuitous in their nature. Well, now, if such be the nature of things, there must be some chance even for truth, because it is impossible for it to be the only thing to be exempted from the fortune which is due to all things. Homer has assigned two gates to dreams, — the *horny* one of truth, the *ivory* one of error and delusion. For, they say, it is possible to see through horn, whereas ivory is untransparent. Aristotle, while expressing his opinion that dreams are in most cases untrue, yet acknowledges that there is some truth in them. The people of Telmessus will not admit that dreams are in any case unmeaning, but they blame their own weakness when unable to conjecture their signification. Now, who is such a stranger to human experience as not sometimes to have perceived some truth in dreams? I shall force a blush from Epicurus, if I only glance at some few of the more remarkable instances. Herodotus relates how that Astyages, king of the Medes, saw in a dream issuing from the womb of his virgin daughter a flood which inundated Asia; and again, in the year which followed her marriage, he saw a vine growing out from the same part of her person, which overspread the whole of Asia. The same story is told prior to Herodotus by Charon of Lampsacus. Now they who interpreted these visions did not deceive the mother when they destined her son for so great an enterprise, for Cyrus both inundated and overspread Asia. Philip of Macedon, before he became a father, had seen imprinted on the pudenda of his consort Olympias the form of a small ring, with a lion as a seal. He had concluded that an offspring from her was out of the question (I suppose because the lion only becomes once a father), when Aristodemus or Aristophon happened to conjecture that nothing

of an unmeaning or empty import lay under that seal, but that a son of very illustrious character was portended. They who know anything of Alexander recognise in him the lion of that small ring. Ephorus writes to this effect. Again, Heraclides has told us, that a certain woman of Himera beheld in a dream Dionysius' tyranny over Sicily. Euphronion has publicly recorded as a fact, that, previous to giving birth to Seleucus, his mother Laodice foresaw that he was destined for the empire of Asia. I find again from Strabo, that it was owing to a dream that even Mithridates took possession of Pontus; and I further learn from Callisthenes that it was from the indication of a dream that Baraliris the Illyrian stretched his dominion from the Molossi to the frontiers of Macedon. The Romans, too, were acquainted with dreams of this kind. From a dream Marcus Tullius (Cicero) had learned how that one, who was yet only a little boy, and in a private station, who was also plain Julius Octavius, and personally unknown to (Cicero) himself, was the destined Augustus, and the suppressor and destroyer of (Rome's) civil discords. This is recorded in the Commentaries of Vitellius. But visions of this prophetic kind were not confined to predictions of supreme power; for they indicated perils also, and catastrophes: as, for instance, when Cæsar was absent from the battle of Philippi through illness, and thereby escaped the sword of Brutus and Cassius, and then although he expected to encounter greater danger still from the enemy in the field, he quitted his tent for it, in obedience to a vision of Artorius, and so escaped (the capture by the enemy, who shortly after took possession of the tent); as, again, when the daughter of Polycrates of Samos foresaw the crucifixion which awaited him from the anointing of the sun and the bath of Jupiter. So likewise in sleep revelations are made of high honours and eminent talents; remedies are also discovered, thefts brought to light, and treasures indicated. Thus Cicero's eminence, while he was still a little boy, was foreseen by his nurse. The swan from the breast of Socrates soothing men, is his disciple Plato. The boxer Leonymus is cured by Achilles in his dreams. Sophocles the tragic poet discovers, as he was dreaming, the golden crown, which had been lost from the citadel of Athens. Neoptolemus the tragic actor, through intimations in his sleep from Ajax himself, saves from destruction the hero's tomb on the Rhoetean shore before Troy; and as he removes the decayed stones, he returns enriched with gold. How many commentators and chroniclers vouch for this phenomenon? There are

Artemon, Antiphon, Strato, Philochorus, Epicharmus, Serapion, Cratippus, and Dionysius of Rhodes, and Hermippus — the entire literature of the age. I shall only laugh at all, if indeed I ought to laugh at the man who fancied that he was going to persuade us that Saturn dreamt before anybody else; which we can only believe if Aristotle, (who would fain help us to such an opinion,) lived prior to any other person. Pray forgive me for laughing. Epicharmus, indeed, as well as Philochorus the Athenian, assigned the very highest place among divinations to dreams. The whole world is full of oracles of this description: there are the oracles of Amphiaraus at Oropus, of Amphilochus at Mallus, of Sarpedon in the Troad, of Trophonius in Bœotia, of Mopsus in Cilicia, of Hermione in Macedon, of Pasiphæe in Laconia. Then, again, there are others, which with their original foundations, rites, and historians, together with the entire literature of dreams, Hermippus of Berytus in five portly volumes will give you all the account of, even to satiety. But the Stoics are very fond of saying that God, in His most watchful providence over every institution, gave us dreams among other preservatives of the arts and sciences of divination, as the special support of the natural oracle. So much for the dreams to which credit has to be ascribed even by ourselves, although we must interpret them in another sense. As for all other oracles, at which no one ever dreams, what else must we declare concerning them, than that they are the diabolical contrivance of those spirits who even at that time dwelt in the eminent persons themselves, or aimed at reviving the memory of them as the mere stage of their evil purposes, going so far as to counterfeit a divine power under their shape and form, and, with equal persistence in evil, deceiving men by their very boons of remedies, warnings, and forecasts — the only effect of which was to injure their victims the more they helped them; while the means whereby they rendered the help withdrew them from all search after the true God, by insinuating into their minds ideas of the false one? And of course so pernicious an influence as this is not shut up nor limited within the boundaries of shrines and temples: it roams abroad, it flies through the air, and all the while is free and unchecked. So that nobody can doubt that our very homes lie open to these diabolical spirits, who beset their human prey with their fantasies not only in their chapels but also in their chambers.

Chapter 47. Dreams Variouslly Classified. Some are God-Sent, as the Dreams of Nebuchadnezzar; Others Simply Products of Nature

We declare, then, that dreams are inflicted on us mainly by demons, although they sometimes turn out true and favourable to us. When, however, with the deliberate aim after evil, of which we have just spoken, they assume a flattering and captivating style, they show themselves proportionately vain, and deceitful, and obscure, and wanton, and impure. And no wonder that the images partake of the character of the realities. But from God — who has promised, indeed, to pour out the grace of the Holy Spirit upon all flesh, and has ordained that His servants and His handmaids should see visions as well as utter prophecies Joel 3:1 — must all those visions be regarded as emanating, which may be compared to the actual grace of God, as being honest, holy, prophetic, inspired, instructive, inviting to virtue, the bountiful nature of which causes them to overflow even to the profane, since God, with grand impartiality, sends His showers and sunshine on the just and on the unjust. Matthew 5:45 It was, indeed by an inspiration from God that Nebuchadnezzar dreamt his dreams; and almost the greater part of mankind get their knowledge of God from dreams. Thus it is that, as the mercy of God super-abounds to the heathen, so the temptation of the evil one encounters the saints, from whom he never withdraws his malignant efforts to steal over them as best he may in their very sleep, if unable to assault them when they are awake. The third class of dreams will consist of those which the soul itself apparently creates for itself from an intense application to special circumstances. Now, inasmuch as the soul cannot dream of its own accord (for even Epicharmus is of this opinion), how can it become to itself the cause of any vision? Then must this class of dreams be abandoned to the action of nature, reserving for the soul, even when in the ecstatic condition, the power of enduring whatever incidents befall it? Those, moreover, which evidently proceed neither from God, nor from diabolical inspiration, nor from the soul, being beyond the reach as well of ordinary expectation, usual interpretation, or the possibility of being intelligibly related, will have to be ascribed in a separate category to what is purely and simply the ecstatic state and its peculiar conditions.

Chapter 48. Causes and Circumstances of Dreams. What Best Contributes to Efficient Dreaming

They say that dreams are more sure and clear when they happen towards the end of the night, because then the vigour of the soul emerges, and heavy sleep departs. As to the seasons of the year, dreams are calmer in spring, since summer relaxes, and winter somehow hardens, the soul; while autumn, which in other respects is trying to health, is apt to enervate the soul by the lusciousness of its fruits. Then, again, as regards the position of one's body during sleep, one ought not to lie on his back, nor on his right side, nor so as to wrench his intestines, as if their cavity were reversely stretched: a palpitation of the heart would ensue, or else a pressure on the liver would produce a painful disturbance of the mind. But however this be, I take it that it all amounts to ingenious conjecture rather than certain proof (although the author of the conjecture be no less a man than Plato); and possibly all may be no other than the result of chance. But, generally speaking, dreams will be under control of a man's will, if they be capable of direction at all; for we must not examine what *opinion* on the one hand, and *superstition* on the other, have to prescribe for the treatment of dreams, in the matter of distinguishing and modifying different sorts of food. As for the *superstition*, we have an instance when fasting is prescribed for such persons as mean to submit to the sleep which is necessary for receiving the oracle, in order that such abstinence may produce the required purity; while we find an instance of the *opinion* when the disciples of Pythagoras, in order to attain the same end, reject the bean as an aliment which would load the stomach, and produce indigestion. But the three brethren, who were the companions of Daniel, being content with pulse alone, to escape the contamination of the royal dishes, received from God, besides other wisdom, the gift especially of penetrating and explaining the sense of dreams. For my own part, I hardly know whether fasting would not simply make me dream so profoundly, that I should not be aware whether I had in fact dreamt at all. Well, then, you ask, has not sobriety something to do in this matter? Certainly it is as much concerned in this as it is in the entire subject: if it contributes some good service to superstition, much more does it to religion. For even demons require such discipline from their dreamers as a gratification to their divinity, because they know that it is

acceptable to God, since Daniel (to quote him again) ate no pleasant bread for the space of three weeks. Daniel 10:2 This abstinence, however, he used in order to please God by humiliation, and not for the purpose of producing a sensibility and wisdom for his soul previous to receiving communication by dreams and visions, as if it were not rather to effect such action in an ecstatic state. This *sobriety*, then, (in which our question arises,) will have nothing to do with exciting ecstasy, but will rather serve to recommend its being wrought by God.

Chapter 49. No Soul Naturally Exempt from Dreams

As for those persons who suppose that infants do not dream, on the ground that all the functions of the soul throughout life are accomplished according to the capacity of age, they ought to observe attentively their tremors, and nods, and bright smiles as they sleep, and from such facts understand that they are the emotions of their soul as it dreams, which so readily escape to the surface through the delicate tenderness of their infantine body. The fact, however, that the African nation of the Atlantes are said to pass through the night in a deep lethargic sleep, brings down on them the censure that something is wrong in the constitution of their soul. Now either report, which is occasionally calumnious against barbarians, deceived Herodotus, or else a large force of demons of this sort domineers in those barbarous regions. Since, indeed, Aristotle remarks of a certain hero of Sardinia that he used to withhold the power of visions and dreams from such as resorted to his shrine for inspiration, it must lie at the will and caprice of the demons to take away as well as to confer the faculty of dreams; and from this circumstance may have arisen the remarkable fact (which we have mentioned) of Nero and Thrasymedes only dreaming so late in life. We, however, derive dreams from God. Why, then, did not the Atlantes receive the dreaming faculty from God, because there is really no nation which is now a stranger to God, since the gospel flashes its glorious light through the world to the ends of the earth? Could it then be that rumour deceived Aristotle, or is this caprice still the way of demons? (Let us take any view of the case), only do not let it be imagined that any soul is by its natural constitution exempt from dreams.

Chapter 50. The Absurd Opinion of Epicurus and the Profane Conceits of the Heretic Menander on Death, Even Enoch and Elijah Reserved for Death

We have by this time said enough about sleep, the mirror and image of death; and likewise about the occupations of sleep, even dreams. Let us now go on to consider the cause of our departure hence — that is, the appointment and course of death — because we must not leave even it unquestioned and unexamined, although it is itself the very end of all questions and investigations. According to the general sentiment of the human race, we declare death to be the debt of nature. So much has been settled by the voice of God; such is the contract with everything which is born: so that even from this the frigid conceit of Epicurus is refuted, who says that no such debt is due from us; and not only so, but the insane opinion of the Samaritan heretic Menander is also rejected, who will have it that death has not only nothing to do with his disciples, but in fact never reaches them. He pretends to have received such a commission from the secret power of One above, that all who partake of his baptism become immortal, incorruptible and instantaneously invested with resurrection-life. We read, no doubt, of very many wonderful kinds of waters: how, for instance, the vinous quality of the stream intoxicates people who drink of the Lyncestis; how at Colophon the waters of an oracle-inspiring fountain affect men with madness; how Alexander was killed by the poisonous water from Mount Nonacris in Arcadia. Then, again, there was in Judea before the time of Christ a pool of medicinal virtue. It is well known how the poet has commemorated the marshy Styx as preserving men from death; although Thetis had, in spite of the preservative, to lament her son. And for the matter of that, were Menander himself to take a plunge into this famous Styx, he would certainly have to die after all; for you must come to the Styx, placed as it is by all accounts in the regions of the dead. Well, but what and where are those blessed and charming waters which not even John Baptist ever used in his preministrations, nor Christ after him ever revealed to His disciples? What was this wondrous bath of Menander? He is a comical fellow, I ween. But why (was such a font) so seldom in request, so obscure, one to which so very few ever resorted for their cleansing? I really see something to suspect in so rare an occurrence of a sacrament to which is

attached so very much security and safety, and which dispenses with the ordinary law of dying even in the service of God Himself, when, on the contrary, all nations have to ascend to the mount of the Lord and to the house of the God of Jacob, who demands of His saints in martyrdom that death which He exacted even of His Christ. No one will ascribe to magic such influence as shall exempt from death, or which shall refresh and vivify life, like the vine by the renewal of its condition. Such power was not accorded to the great Medea herself — over a human being at any rate, if allowed her over a silly sheep. Enoch no doubt was translated, and so was Elijah; 2 Kings 2:11 nor did they experience death: it was postponed, (and only postponed,) most certainly: they are reserved for the suffering of death, that by their blood they may extinguish Antichrist. Revelation 11:3 Even John underwent death, although concerning him there had prevailed an ungrounded expectation that he would remain alive until the coming of the Lord. John 21:23 Heresies, indeed, for the most part spring hurriedly into existence, from examples furnished by ourselves: they procure their defensive armour from the very place which they attack. The whole question resolves itself, in short, into this challenge: Where are to be found the men whom Menander himself has baptized? Whom he has plunged into his Styx? Let them come forth and stand before us — those apostles of his whom he has made immortal? Let my (doubting) Thomas see them, let him hear them, let him handle them — and he is convinced.

Chapter 51. Death Entirely Separates the Soul from the Body

But the operation of death is plain and obvious: it is the separation of body and soul. Some, however, in reference to the soul's immortality, on which they have so feeble a hold through not being taught of God, maintain it with such beggarly arguments, that they would fain have it supposed that certain souls cleave to the body even after death. It is indeed in this sense that Plato, although he dispatches at once to heaven such souls as he pleases, yet in his *Republic* exhibits to us the corpse of an unburied person, which was preserved a long time without corruption, by reason of the soul remaining, as he says, unseparated from the body. To the same purport also Democritus remarks on the growth for a considerable while of the human nails and hair in the grave. Now, it is quite possible that the nature of the atmosphere tended to the preservation of the above-mentioned corpse. What if the air were particularly dry, and the ground of a saline nature? What, too, if the substance of the body itself were unusually dry and arid? What, moreover, if the mode of the death had already eliminated from the corpse all corrupting matter? As for the nails, since they are the commencement of the nerves, they may well seem to be prolonged, owing to the nerves themselves being relaxed and extended, and to be protruded more and more as the flesh fails. The hair, again, is nourished from the brain, which would cause it endure for a long time as its secret aliment and defense. Indeed, in the case of living persons themselves, the whole head of hair is copious or scanty in proportion to the exuberance of the brain. You have medical men (to attest the fact). But not a particle of the soul can possibly remain in the body, which is itself destined to disappear when time shall have abolished the entire scene on which the body has played its part. And yet even this partial survival of the soul finds a place in the opinions of some men; and on this account they will not have the body consumed at its funeral by fire, because they would spare the small residue of the soul. There is, however, another way of accounting for this pious treatment, not as if it meant to favour the relics of the soul, but as if it would avert a cruel custom in the interest even of the body; since, being human, it is itself undeserving of an end which is also inflicted upon murderers. The truth is, the soul is indivisible, because it is immortal; (and this fact) compels us to believe that death itself is

an indivisible process, accruing indivisibly to the soul, not indeed because it is immortal, but because it is indivisible. Death, however, would have to be divided in its operation, if the soul were divisible into particles, any one of which has to be reserved for a later stage of death. At this rate, a part of death will have to stay behind for a portion of the soul. I am not ignorant that some vestige of this opinion still exists. I have found it out from one of my own people. I am acquainted with the case of a woman, the daughter of Christian parents, who in the very flower of her age and beauty slept peacefully (in Jesus), after a singularly happy though brief married life. Before they laid her in her grave, and when the priest began the appointed office, at the very first breath of his prayer she withdrew her hands from her side, placed them in an attitude of devotion, and after the holy service was concluded restored them to their lateral position. Then, again, there is that well-known story among our own people, that a body voluntarily made way in a certain cemetery, to afford room for another body to be placed near to it. If, as is the case, similar stories are told among the heathen, (we can only conclude that) God everywhere manifests signs of His own power — to His own people for their comfort, to strangers for a testimony unto them. I would indeed much rather suppose that a portent of this kind happened from the direct agency of God than from any relics of the soul: for if there were a residue of these, they would be certain to move the other limbs; and even if they moved the hands, this still would not have been for the purpose of a prayer. Nor would the corpse have been simply content to have made way for its neighbour: it would, besides, have benefited its own self also by the change of its position. But from whatever cause proceeded these phenomena, which you must put down among signs and portents, it is impossible that they should regulate nature. Death, if it once falls short of totality in operation, is not death. If any fraction of the soul remain, it makes a living state. Death will no more mix with life, than will night with day.

Chapter 52. All Kinds of Death a Violence to Nature, Arising from Sin. — Sin an Intrusion Upon Nature as God Created It

Such, then, is the work of death — the separation of the soul from the body. Putting out of the question fates and fortuitous circumstances, it has been, according to men's views, distinguished in a twofold form — the ordinary and the extraordinary. The ordinary they ascribe to nature, exercising its quiet influence in the case of each individual decease; the extraordinary is said to be contrary to nature, happening in every violent death. As for our own views, indeed, we know what was man's origin, and we boldly assert and persistently maintain that death happens not by way of natural consequence to man, but owing to a fault and defect which is not itself natural; although it is easy enough, no doubt, to apply the term *natural* to faults and circumstances which seem to have been (though from the emergence of an external cause) inseparable to us from our very birth. If man had been directly appointed to die as the condition of his creation, then of course death must be imputed to nature. Now, that he was not thus appointed to die, is proved by the very law which made his condition depend on a warning, and death result from man's arbitrary choice. Indeed, if he had not sinned, he certainly would not have died. That cannot be nature which happens by the exercise of volition after an alternative has been proposed to it, and not by necessity — the result of an inflexible and unalterable condition. Consequently, although death has various issues, inasmuch as its causes are manifold, we cannot say that the easiest death is so gentle as not to happen by violence (to our nature). The very law which produces death, simple though it be, is yet violence. How can it be otherwise, when so close a companionship of soul and body, so inseparable a growth together from their very conception of two sister substances, is sundered and divided? For although a man may breathe his last for joy, like the Spartan Chilon, while embracing his son who had just conquered in the Olympic games; or for glory, like the Athenian Clidemus, while receiving a crown of gold for the excellence of his historical writings; or in a dream, like Plato; or in a fit of laughter, like Publius Crassus — yet death is much too violent, coming as it does upon us by strange and alien means, expelling the soul by a method all its own, calling on us to die at a moment when one might

live a jocund life in joy and honour, in peace and pleasure. That is still a violence to ships: although far away from the Capharean rocks, assailed by no storms, without a billow to shatter them, with favouring gale, in gliding course, with merry crews, they founder amidst entire security, suddenly, owing to some internal shock. Not dissimilar are the shipwrecks of life — the issues of even a tranquil death. It matters not whether the vessel of the human body goes with unbroken timbers or shattered with storms, if the navigation of the soul be overthrown.

Chapter 53. The Entire Soul Being Indivisible Remains to the Last Act of Vitality; Never Partially or Fractionally Withdrawn from the Body

But where at last will the soul have to lodge, when it is bare and divested of the body? We must certainly not hesitate to follow it there, in the order of our inquiry. We must, however, first of all fully state what belongs to the topic before us, in order that no one, because we have mentioned the various issues of death, may expect from us a special description of these, which ought rather to be left to medical men, who are the proper judges of the incidents which appertain to death, or its causes, and the actual conditions of the human body. Of course, with the view of preserving the truth of the soul's immortality, while treating this topic, I shall have, on mentioning death, to introduce phrases about dissolution of such a purport as seems to intimate that the soul escapes by degrees, and piece by piece; for it withdraws (from the body) with all the circumstances of a decline, seeming to suffer consumption, and suggests to us the idea of being annihilated by the slow process of its departure. But the entire reason of this phenomenon is in the body, and arises from the body. For whatever be the kind of death (which operates on man), it undoubtedly produces the destruction either of the matter, or of the region, or of the passages of vitality: of the matter, such as the gall and the blood; of the region, such as the heart and the liver; of the passages, such as the veins and the arteries. Inasmuch, then, as these parts of the body are severally devastated by an injury proper to each of them, even to the very last ruin and annulling of the vital powers — in other words, of the ends, the sites, and the functions of nature — it must needs come to pass, amidst the gradual decay of its instruments, domiciles, and spaces, that the soul also itself, being driven to abandon each successive part, assumes the appearance of being lessened to nothing; in some such manner as a charioteer is assumed to have himself failed, when his horses, through fatigue, withdraw from him their energies. But this assumption applies only to the circumstances of the despoiled person, not to any real condition of suffering. Likewise the body's charioteer, the animal spirit, fails on account of the failure of its vehicle, not of itself — abandoning its work, but not its vigour — languishing in operation, but not in essential condition — bankrupt in solvency, not in substance — because

ceasing to put in an appearance, but not ceasing to exist. Thus every rapid death — such as a decapitation, or a breaking of the neck, which opens at once a vast outlet for the soul; or a sudden ruin, which at a stroke crushes every vital action, like that inner ruin apoplexy — retards not the soul's escape, nor painfully separates its departure into successive moments. Where, however, the death is a lingering one, the soul abandons its position in the way in which it is itself abandoned. And yet it is not by this process severed in fractions: it is slowly drawn out; and while thus extracted, it causes the last remnant to seem to be but a part of itself. No portion, however, must be deemed separable, because it is the last; nor, because it is a small one, must it be regarded as susceptible of dissolution. Accordant with a series is its end, and the middle is prolonged to the extremes; and the remnants cohere to the mass, and are waited for, but never abandoned by it. And I will even venture to say, that the last of a whole is the whole; because while it is less, and the latest, it yet belongs to the whole, and completes it. Hence, indeed, many times it happens that the soul in its actual separation is more powerfully agitated with a more anxious gaze, and a quickened loquacity; while from the loftier and freer position in which it is now placed, it enunciates, by means of its last remnant still lingering in the flesh, what it sees, what it hears, and what it is beginning to know. In Platonic phrase, indeed, the body is a prison, but in the apostle's it is the temple of God, because it is in Christ. Still, (as must be admitted,) by reason of its enclosure it obstructs and obscures the soul, and sullies it by the concretion of the flesh; whence it happens that the light which illumines objects comes in upon the soul in a more confused manner, as if through a window of horn. Undoubtedly, when the soul, by the power of death, is released from its concretion with the flesh, it is by the very release cleansed and purified: it is, moreover, certain that it escapes from the veil of the flesh into open space, to its clear, and pure, and intrinsic light; and then finds itself enjoying its enfranchisement from matter, and by virtue of its liberty it recovers its divinity, as one who awakes out of sleep passes from images to verities. Then it tells out what it sees; then it exults or it fears, according as it finds what lodging is prepared for it, as soon as it sees the very angel's face, that arraigner of souls, the Mercury of the poets.

Chapter 54. Whither Does the Soul Retire When It Quits the Body? Opinions of Philosophers All More or Less Absurd. The Hades of Plato

To the question, therefore, whither the soul is withdrawn, we now give an answer. Almost all the philosophers, who hold the soul's immortality, notwithstanding their special views on the subject, still claim for it this (eternal condition), as Pythagoras, and Empedocles, and Plato, and as they who indulge it with some delay from the time of its quitting the flesh to the conflagration of all things, and as the Stoics, who place only their own souls, that is, the souls of the wise, in the mansions above. Plato, it is true, does not allow this destination to all the souls, indiscriminately, of even all the philosophers, but only of those who have cultivated their philosophy out of love to boys. So great is the privilege which impurity obtains at the hands of philosophers! In his system, then, the souls of the wise are carried up on high into the ether: according to Arius, into the air; according to the Stoics, into the moon. I wonder, indeed, that they abandon to the earth the souls of the unwise, when they affirm that even these are instructed by the wise, so much their superiors. For where is the school where they can have been instructed in the vast space which divides them? By what means can the pupil-souls have resorted to their teachers, when they are parted from each other by so distant an interval? What profit, too, can any instruction afford them at all in their posthumous state, when they are on the brink of perdition by the universal fire? All other souls they thrust down to Hades, which Plato, in his *Phædo*, describes as the bosom of the earth, where all the filth of the world accumulates, settles, and exhales, and where every separate draught of air only renders denser still the impurities of the seething mass.

Chapter 55. The Christian Idea of the Position of Hades; The Blessedness of Paradise Immediately After Death. The Privilege of the Martyrs

By ourselves the lower regions (of Hades) are not supposed to be a bare cavity, nor some subterranean sewer of the world, but a vast deep space in the interior of the earth, and a concealed recess in its very bowels; inasmuch as we read that Christ in His death spent three days in the heart of the earth, Matthew 12:40 that is, in the secret inner recess which is hidden in the earth, and enclosed by the earth, and superimposed on the abysmal depths which lie still lower down. Now although Christ is God, yet, being also man, He died according to the Scriptures, 1 Corinthians 15:3 and according to the same Scriptures was buried. With the same law of His being He fully complied, by remaining in Hades in the form and condition of a dead man; nor did He ascend into the heights of heaven before descending into the lower parts of the earth, that He might there make the patriarchs and prophets partakers of Himself. 1 Peter 3:19 (This being the case), you must suppose Hades to be a subterranean region, and keep at arm's length those who are too proud to believe that the souls of the faithful deserve a place in the lower regions. These persons, who are servants above their Lord, and disciples above their Master, Matthew 10:24 would no doubt spurn to receive the comfort of the resurrection, if they must expect it in Abraham's bosom. But it was for this purpose, say they, that Christ descended into hell, that we might not ourselves have to descend there. Well, then, what difference is there between heathens and Christians, if the same prison awaits them all when dead? How, indeed, shall the soul mount up to heaven, where Christ is already sitting at the Father's right hand, when as yet the archangel's trumpet has not been heard by the command of God, — when as yet those whom the coming of the Lord is to find on the earth, have not been caught up into the air to meet Him at His coming, 1 Thessalonians 4:17 in company with the dead in Christ, who shall be the first to arise? 1 Thessalonians 4:16 To no one is heaven opened; the earth is still safe for him, I would not say it is shut against him. When the world, indeed, shall pass away, then the kingdom of heaven shall be opened. Shall we then have to sleep high up in ether, with the boy-loving worthies of Plato; or in the air with Arius; or around the moon with the Endymions of the

Stoics? No, but in Paradise, you tell me, whither already the patriarchs and prophets have removed from Hades in the retinue of the Lord's resurrection. How is it, then, that the region of Paradise, which as revealed to John in the Spirit lay under the altar, Revelation 6:9 displays no other souls as in it besides the souls of the martyrs? How is it that the most heroic martyr Perpetua on the day of her passion saw only her fellow martyrs there, in the revelation which she received of Paradise, if it were not that the sword which guarded the entrance permitted none to go in thereat, except those who had died in Christ and not in Adam? A new death for God, even the extraordinary one for Christ, is admitted into the reception-room of mortality, specially altered and adapted to receive the new-comer. Observe, then, the difference between a heathen and a Christian in their death: if you have to lay down your life for God, as the Comforter counsels, it is not in gentle fevers and on soft beds, but in the sharp pains of martyrdom: you must take up the cross and bear it after your Master, as He has Himself instructed you. Matthew 16:24 The sole key to unlock Paradise is your own life's blood. You have a treatise by us, (on Paradise), in which we have established the position that every soul is detained in safe keeping in Hades until the day of the Lord.

Chapter 56. Refutation of the Homeric View of the Soul's Detention from Hades Owing to the Body's Being Unburied. That Souls Prematurely Separated from the Body Had to Wait for Admission into Hades Also Refuted

There arises the question, whether this takes place immediately after the soul's departure from the body; whether some souls are detained for special reasons in the meantime here on earth; and whether it is permitted them of their own accord, or by the intervention of authority, to be removed from Hades at some subsequent time? Even such opinions as these are not by any means lacking persons to advance them with confidence. It was believed that the unburied dead were not admitted into the infernal regions before they had received a proper sepulture; as in the case of Homer's Patroclus, who earnestly asks for a burial of Achilles in a dream, on the ground that he could not enter Hades through any other portal, since the souls of the sepulchred dead kept thrusting him away. We know that Homer exhibited more than a poetic licence here; he had in view the rights of the dead. Proportioned, indeed, to his care for the just honours of the tomb, was his censure of that delay of burial which was injurious to souls. (It was also his purpose to add a warning), that no man should, by detaining in his house the corpse of a friend, only expose himself, along with the deceased, to increased injury and trouble, by the irregularity of the consolation which he nourishes with pain and grief. He has accordingly kept a twofold object in view in picturing the complaints of an unburied soul: he wished to maintain honour to the dead by promptly attending to their funeral, as well as to moderate the feelings of grief which their memory excited. But, after all, how vain is it to suppose that the soul could bear the rites and requirements of the body, or carry any of them away to the infernal regions! And how much vainer still is it, if injury be supposed to accrue to the soul from that neglect of burial which it ought to receive rather as a favour! For surely the soul which had no willingness to die might well prefer as tardy a removal to Hades as possible. It will love the undutiful heir, by whose means it still enjoys the light. If, however, it is certain that injury accrues to the soul from a tardy interment of the body — and the gist of the injury lies in the neglect of the burial — it is yet in the highest degree

unfair, that that should receive all the injury to which the faulty delay could not possibly be imputed, for of course all the fault rests on the nearest relations of the dead. They also say that those souls which are taken away by a premature death wander about here and there until they have completed the residue of the years which they would have lived through, had it not been for their untimely fate. Now either their days are appointed to all men severally, and if so appointed, I cannot suppose them capable of being shortened; or if, notwithstanding such appointment, they may be shortened by the will of God, or some other powerful influence, then (I say) such shortening is of no validity, if they still may be accomplished in some other way. If, on the other hand, they are not appointed, there cannot be any residue to be fulfilled for unappointed periods. I have another remark to make. Suppose it be an infant that dies yet hanging on the breast; or it may be an immature boy; or it may be, once more, a youth arrived at puberty: suppose, moreover, that the life in each case ought to have reached full eighty years, how is it possible that the soul of either could spend the whole of the shortened years here on earth after losing the body by death? One's age cannot be passed without one's body, it being by help of the body that the period of life has its duties and labours transacted. Let our own people, moreover, bear this in mind, that souls are to receive back at the resurrection the self-same bodies in which they died. Therefore our bodies must be expected to resume the same conditions and the same ages, for it is these particulars which impart to bodies their special modes. By what means, then, can the soul of an infant so spend on earth its residue of years, that it should be able at the resurrection to assume the state of an octogenarian, although it had barely lived a month? Or if it shall be necessary that the appointed days of life be fulfilled here on earth, must the same course of life in all its vicissitudes, which has been itself ordained to accompany the appointed days, be also passed through by the soul along with the days? Must it employ itself in school studies in its passage from infancy to boyhood; play the soldier in the excitement and vigour of youth and earlier manhood; and encounter serious and judicial responsibilities in the graver years between ripe manhood and old age? Must it ply trade for profit, turn up the soil with hoe and plough, go to sea, bring actions at law, get married, toil and labour, undergo illnesses, and whatever casualties of good and woe await it in the lapse of years? Well, but how are all these transactions to be managed

without one's body? Life (spent) without life? But (you will tell me) the destined period in question is to be bare of all incident whatever, only to be accomplished by merely elapsing. What, then, is to prevent its being fulfilled in Hades, where there is absolutely no use to which you can apply it? We therefore maintain that every soul, whatever be its age on quitting the body, remains unchanged in the same, until the time shall come when the promised perfection shall be realized in a state duly tempered to the measure of the peerless angels. Hence those souls must be accounted as passing an exile in Hades, which people are apt to regard as carried off by violence, especially by cruel tortures, such as those of the cross, and the axe, and the sword, and the lion; but we do not account those to be violent deaths which justice awards, that avenger of violence. So then, you will say, it is all the wicked souls that are banished in Hades. (Not quite so fast, is my answer.) I must compel you to determine (what you mean by Hades), which of its two regions, the region of the good or of the bad. If you mean the bad, (all I can say is, that) even now the souls of the wicked deserve to be consigned to those abodes; if you mean the good why should you judge to be unworthy of such a resting-place the souls of infants and of virgins, and those which, by reason of their condition in life were pure and innocent?

Chapter 57. Magic and Sorcery Only Apparent in Their Effects. God Alone Can Raise the Dead

It is either a very fine thing to be detained in these infernal regions with the *Aori*, or souls which were prematurely hurried away; or else a very bad thing indeed to be there associated with the *Biaeothanati*, who suffered violent deaths. I may be permitted to use the actual words and terms with which magic rings again, that inventor of all these odd opinions — with its Ostanes, and Typhon, and Dardanus, and Damigeron, and Nectabis, and Berenice. There is a well-known popular bit of writing, which undertakes to summon up from the abode of Hades the souls which have actually slept out their full age, and had passed away by an honourable death, and had even been buried with full rites and proper ceremony. What after this shall we say about magic? Say, to be sure, what almost everybody says of it — that it is an imposture. But it is not we Christians only whose notice this system of imposture does not escape. We, it is true, have discovered these spirits of evil, not, to be sure, by a complicity with them, but by a certain knowledge which is hostile to them; nor is it by any procedure which is attractive to them, but by a power which subjugates them that we handle (their wretched system) — that manifold pest of the mind of man, that artificer of all error, that destroyer of our salvation and our soul at one swoop. In this way, even by magic, which is indeed only a second idolatry, wherein they pretend that after death they become demons, just as they were supposed in the first and literal idolatry to become gods (and why not? Since the gods are but dead things), the before-mentioned *Aori Biaeothanati* are actually invoked — and not unfairly, if one grounds his faith on this principle, that it is clearly credible for those souls to be beyond all others addicted to violence and wrong, which with violence and wrong have been hurried away by a cruel and premature death and which would have a keen appetite for reprisals. Under cover, however, of these souls, demons operate, especially such as used to dwell in them when they were in life, and who had driven them, in fact, to the fate which had at last carried them off. For, as we have already suggested, there is hardly a human being who is unattended by a demon; and it is well known to many, that premature and violent deaths, which men ascribe to accidents, are in fact brought about by demons. This imposture of the evil spirit lying concealed in the persons of the

dead, we are able, if I mistake not, to prove by actual facts, when in cases of exorcism (the evil spirit) affirms himself sometimes to be one of the relatives of the person possessed by him, sometimes a gladiator or a *bestiarius*, and sometimes even a god; always making it one of his chief cares to extinguish the very truth which we are proclaiming, that men may not readily believe that all souls remove to Hades, and that they may overthrow faith in the resurrection and the judgment. And yet for all that, the demon, after trying to circumvent the bystanders, is vanquished by the pressure of divine grace, and sorely against his will confesses all the truth. So also in that other kind of magic, which is supposed to bring up from Hades the souls now resting there, and to exhibit them to public view, there is no other expedient of imposture ever resorted to which operates more powerfully. Of course, why a phantom becomes visible, is because a body is also attached to it; and it is no difficult matter to delude the external vision of a man whose mental eye it is so easy to blind. The serpents which emerged from the magician's rods, certainly appeared to Pharaoh and to the Egyptians as bodily substances. It is true that the verity of Moses swallowed up their lying deceit. Exodus 7:12 Many attempts were also wrought against the apostles by the sorcerers Simon and Elymas, but the blindness which struck (them) was no enchanter's trick. What novelty is there in the effort of an unclean spirit to counterfeit the truth? At this very time, even, the heretical dupes of this same Simon (Magus) are so much elated by the extravagant pretensions of their art, that they undertake to bring up from Hades the souls of the prophets themselves. And I suppose that they can do so under cover of a lying wonder. For, indeed, it was no less than this that was anciently permitted to the Pythonic (or ventriloquistic) spirit — even to represent the soul of Samuel, when Saul consulted the dead, after (losing the living) God. God forbid, however, that we should suppose that the soul of any saint, much less of a prophet, can be dragged out of (its resting-place in Hades) by a demon. We know that Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light 2 Corinthians 11:14 — much more into a man of light — and that at last he will show himself to be even God, 2 Thessalonians 2:4 and will exhibit great signs and wonders, insomuch that, if it were possible, he shall deceive the very elect. Matthew 24:24 He hardly hesitated on the before-mentioned occasion to affirm himself to be a prophet of God, and especially to Saul, in whom he was then actually dwelling. You must not imagine that he

who produced the phantom was one, and he who consulted it was another; but that it was one and the same spirit, both in the sorceress and in the apostate (king), which easily pretended an apparition of that which it had already prepared them to believe as real — (even the spirit) through whose evil influence Saul's heart was fixed where his treasure was, and where certainly God was not. Therefore it came about, that he saw him through whose aid he believed that he was going to see, because he believed him through whose help he saw. But we are met with the objection, that in visions of the night dead persons are not unfrequently seen, and that for a set purpose. For instance, the Nasamones consult private oracles by frequent and lengthened visits to the sepulchres of their relatives, as one may find in Heraclides, or Nymphodorus, or Herodotus; and the Celts, for the same purpose, stay away all night at the tombs of their brave chieftains, as Nicander affirms. Well, we admit apparitions of dead persons in dreams to be not more really true than those of living persons; but we apply the same estimate to all alike — to the dead and to the living, and indeed to all the phenomena which are seen. Now things are not true because they appear to be so, but because they are fully proved to be so. The truth of dreams is declared from the realization, not the aspect. Moreover, the fact that Hades is not in any case opened for (the escape of) any soul, has been firmly established by the Lord in the person of Abraham, in His representation of the poor man at rest and the rich man in torment. No one, (he said,) could possibly be dispatched from those abodes to report to us how matters went in the nether regions — a purpose which, (if any could be,) might have been allowable on such an occasion, to persuade a belief in Moses and the prophets. The power of God has, no doubt, sometimes recalled men's souls to their bodies, as a proof of His own transcendent rights; but there must never be, because of this fact, any agreement supposed to be possible between the divine faith and the arrogant pretensions of sorcerers, and the imposture of dreams, and the licence of poets. But yet in all cases of a true resurrection, when the power of God recalls souls to their bodies, either by the agency of prophets, or of Christ, or of apostles, a complete presumption is afforded us, by the solid, palpable, and ascertained reality (of the revived body), that its true form must be such as to compel one's belief of the fraudulence of every incorporeal apparition of dead persons.

Chapter 58. Conclusion. Points Postponed. All Souls are Kept in Hades Until the Resurrection, Anticipating Their Ultimate Misery or Bliss

All souls, therefore, are shut up within Hades: do you admit this? (It is true, whether) you say yes or no: moreover, there are already experienced there punishments and consolations; and there you have a poor man and a rich. And now, having postponed some stray questions for this part of my work, I will notice them in this suitable place, and then come to a close. Why, then, cannot you suppose that the soul undergoes punishment and consolation in Hades in the interval, while it awaits its alternative of judgment, in a certain anticipation either of gloom or of glory? You reply: Because in the judgment of God its matter ought to be sure and safe, nor should there be any inkling beforehand of the award of His sentence; and also because (the soul) ought to be covered first by its vestment of the restored flesh, which, as the partner of its actions, should be also a sharer in its recompense. What, then, is to take place in that interval? Shall we sleep? But souls do not sleep even when men are alive: it is indeed the business of *bodies* to sleep, to which also belongs death itself, no less than its mirror and counterfeit sleep. Or will you have it, that nothing is there done whither the whole human race is attracted, and whither all man's expectation is postponed for safe keeping? Do you think this state is a foretaste of judgment, or its actual commencement? A premature encroachment on it, or the first course in its full ministration? Now really, would it not be the highest possible injustice, even in Hades, if all were to be still well with the guilty even there, and not well with the righteous even yet? What, would you have hope be still more confused after death? Would you have it mock us still more with uncertain expectation? Or shall it now become a review of past life, and an arranging of judgment, with the inevitable feeling of a trembling fear? But, again, must the soul always tarry for the body, in order to experience sorrow or joy? Is it not sufficient, even of itself, to suffer both one and the other of these sensations? How often, without any pain to the body, is the soul alone tortured by ill-temper, and anger, and fatigue, and very often unconsciously, even to itself? How often, too, on the other hand, amidst bodily suffering, does the soul seek out for itself some furtive joy, and withdraw for the moment from the body's importunate society? I am mistaken

if the soul is not in the habit, indeed, solitary and alone, of rejoicing and glorifying over the very tortures of the body. Look for instance, at the soul of Mutius *Scævola* as he melts his right hand over the fire; look also at Zeno's, as the torments of Dionysius pass over it. The bites of wild beasts are a glory to young heroes, as on Cyrus were the scars of the bear. Full well, then, does the soul even in Hades know how to joy and to sorrow even without the body; since when in the flesh it feels pain when it likes, though the body is unhurt; and when it likes it feels joy though the body is in pain. Now if such sensations occur at its will during life, how much rather may they not happen after death by the judicial appointment of God! Moreover, the soul executes not all its operations with the ministration of the flesh; for the judgment of God pursues even simple cogitations and the merest volitions. Whosoever looks on a woman to lust after her, has committed adultery with her already in his heart. Matthew 5:28 Therefore, even for this cause it is most fitting that the soul, without at all waiting for the flesh, should be punished for what it has done without the partnership of the flesh. So, on the same principle, in return for the pious and kindly thoughts in which it shared not the help of the flesh, shall it without the flesh receive its consolation. Nay more, even in matters done through the flesh the soul is the first to conceive them, the first to arrange them, the first to authorize them, the first to precipitate them into acts. And even if it is sometimes unwilling to act, it is still the first to treat the object which it means to effect by help of the body. In no case, indeed, can an accomplished fact be prior to the mental conception thereof. It is therefore quite in keeping with this order of things, that that part of our nature should be the first to have the recompense and reward to which they are due on account of its priority. In short, inasmuch as we understand the prison pointed out in the Gospel to be Hades, Matthew 5:25 and as we also interpret the uttermost farthing to mean the very smallest offense which has to be recompensed there before the resurrection, no one will hesitate to believe that the soul undergoes in Hades some compensatory discipline, without prejudice to the full process of the resurrection, when the recompense will be administered through the flesh besides. This point the Paraclete has also pressed home on our attention in most frequent admonitions, whenever any of us has admitted the force of His words from a knowledge of His promised spiritual disclosures. And now at last having, as I believe, encountered every human opinion concerning the

soul, and tried its character by the teaching of (our holy faith,) we have satisfied the curiosity which is simply a reasonable and necessary one. As for that which is extravagant and idle, there will evermore be as great a defect in its information, as there has been exaggeration and self-will in its researches.

De Carne Christi (On the Flesh of Christ)



Translated by Peter Holmes

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Chapter 1. The General Purport of This Work. The Heretics, Marcion, Apelles, and Valentinus, Wishing to Impugn the Doctrine of the Resurrection, Deprive Christ of All Capacity for Such a Change by Denying His Flesh

They who are so anxious to shake that belief in the resurrection which was firmly settled before the appearance of our modern Sadducees, as even to deny that the expectation thereof has any relation whatever to the flesh, have great cause for besetting the flesh of Christ also with doubtful questions, as if it either had no existence at all, or possessed a nature altogether different from human flesh. *For they cannot but be apprehensive* that, if it be once determined that *Christ's flesh* was human, a presumption would immediately arise in opposition to them, that that flesh must by all means rise again, which has already risen in Christ. Therefore we shall have to guard our belief in the resurrection from the same armoury, whence they get their weapons of destruction. Let us examine our Lord's bodily substance, for about His spiritual nature all are agreed. It is His flesh that is in question. Its verity and quality are the points in dispute. Did it ever exist? Whence was it derived? And of what kind was it? If we succeed in demonstrating it, we shall lay down a law for our own resurrection. Marcion, in order that he might deny the flesh of Christ, denied also His nativity, or else he denied His flesh in order that he might deny His nativity; because, of course, he was afraid that His nativity and His flesh bore mutual testimony to each other's reality, since there is no nativity without flesh, and no flesh without nativity. As if indeed, under the prompting of that licence which is ever the same in all heresy, he too might not very well have either denied the nativity, although admitting the flesh — like Apelles, who was first a disciple of his, and afterwards an apostate — or, while admitting both the flesh and the nativity, have interpreted them in a different sense, as did Valentinus, who resembled Apelles both in his discipleship and desertion *of Marcion*. At all events, he who represented the flesh of Christ to be imaginary was equally able to pass off His nativity as a phantom; so that the virgin's conception, and pregnancy, and child-bearing, and then the whole course of her infant too, would have to be regarded as putative. *These facts pertaining to the nativity of Christ* would escape the notice of the same eyes and the same senses as failed to grasp the full idea of

His flesh.

Chapter 2. Marcion, Who Would Blot Out the Record of Christ's Nativity, is Rebuked for So Startling a Heresy

Clearly enough is the nativity announced by Gabriel. Luke 1:26-38 But what has he to do with the Creator's angel? The conception in the virgin's womb is also set plainly before us. But what concern has he with the Creator's prophet, Isaiah? He will not brook delay, since *suddenly* (without any prophetic announcement) did he bring down Christ from heaven. Away, says he, with that eternal plaguey taxing of Cæsar, and the scanty inn, and the squalid swaddling-clothes, and the hard stable. Luke 2:1-7 We do not care a jot for that multitude of the heavenly host which praised their Lord at night. Luke 2:13 Let the shepherds take better care of their flock, Luke 2:8 and let the wise men spare their legs so long a journey; Matthew 2:1 let them keep their gold to themselves. Matthew 2:11 Let Herod, too, mend his manners, so that Jeremy may not glory over him. Spare also the babe from circumcision, that he may escape the pain thereof; nor let him be brought into the temple, lest he burden his parents with the expense of the offering; Luke 2:22-24 nor let him be handed to Simeon, lest the old man be saddened at the point of death. Luke 2:25-35 Let that old woman also hold her tongue, lest she should bewitch the child. Luke 2:36-38 After such a fashion as this, I suppose you have had, O Marcion, the hardihood of blotting out the original records (of the history) of Christ, that His flesh may lose the proofs of its reality. But, prithee, on what grounds (do you do this)? Show me your authority. If you are a prophet, foretell us a thing; if you are an apostle, open your message in public; if a follower of apostles, side with apostles in thought; if you are only a (private) Christian, believe what has been handed down to us: if, however, you are nothing of all this, then (as I have the best reason to say) cease to live. For indeed you are already dead, since you are no Christian, because you do not believe that which by being believed makes men Christian — nay, you are the more dead, the more you are not a Christian; having fallen away, after you had been one, by rejecting what you formerly believed, even as you yourself acknowledge in a certain letter of yours, and as your followers do not deny, while our (brethren) can prove it. Rejecting, therefore, what you *once* believed, you have completed the act of rejection, by now no longer believing: the fact, however, of your having ceased to believe has not made your

rejection of the faith right and proper; nay, rather, by your act of rejection you prove that what you believed previous to the said act was of a different character. What you believed to be of a different character, had been handed down just as *you believed it*. Now that which had been handed down was true, inasmuch as it had been transmitted by those whose duty it was to hand it down. Therefore, when rejecting that which had been handed down, you rejected that which was true. You had no authority for what you did. However, we have already in another treatise availed ourselves more fully of these prescriptive rules against all heresies. Our repetition of them hereafter that large (treatise) is superfluous, when we ask the reason why you have formed the opinion that Christ was not born.

Chapter 3. Christ's Nativity Both Possible and Becoming. The Heretical Opinion of Christ's Apparent Flesh Deceptive and Dishonourable to God, Even on Marcion's Principles

Since you think that this lay within the competency of your own arbitrary choice, you must needs have supposed that being born was either impossible for God, or unbecoming to Him. With God, however, nothing is impossible but what He does not will. Let us consider, then, whether He willed to be born (for if He had the will, He also had the power, and was born). I put the argument very briefly. If God had willed not to be born, it matters not why, He would not have presented Himself in the likeness of man. Now who, when he sees a man, would deny that he had been born? What *God* therefore willed not to be, He would in no wise have willed the seeming to be. When a thing is distasteful, the very notion of it is scouted; because it makes no difference whether a thing exist or do not exist, if, when it does not exist, it is yet assumed to exist. It is of course of the greatest importance that there should be nothing false (*or pretended*) attributed to that which really does not exist. But, say you, His own consciousness (of the truth of His nature) was enough for Him. If any supposed that He had been born, because they saw Him as a man, that was their concern. Yet with how much more dignity and consistency would He have sustained the human character on the supposition that He was truly born; *for* if He were not born, He could not have undertaken the said character without injury to that consciousness of His which you on your side attribute to *His* confidence of being able to sustain, although not born, the character of having been born even against! His own consciousness! Why, I want to know, was it of so much importance, that Christ should, when perfectly aware what He really was, exhibit Himself as being that which He was not? You cannot express any apprehension that, if He had been born and truly clothed Himself with man's nature, He would have ceased to be God, losing what He was, while becoming what He was not. For God is in no danger of losing His own state and condition. But, say you, I deny that God was truly changed to man in such wise as to be born and endued with a body of flesh, on this ground, that a being who is without end is also of necessity incapable of change. For being changed into something else puts an end to the

former state. Change, therefore, is not possible to a Being who cannot come to an end. Without doubt, the nature of things which are subject to change is regulated by this law, that they have no permanence in the state which is undergoing change in them, and that they come to an end from thus wanting permanence, while they lose that in the process of change which they previously were. But nothing is equal with God; His nature is different from the condition of all things. If, then, the things which differ from God, *and* from which God differs, lose what existence they had while they are undergoing change, wherein will consist the difference of the Divine Being from all other things except in His possessing the contrary faculty of theirs — in other words, that God can be changed into all conditions, and yet continue just as He is? On any other supposition, He would be on the same level with those things which, when changed, lose the existence they had before; whose equal, of course, He is not in any other respect, as He certainly is not in the changeful issues *of their nature*. You have sometimes read and believed that the Creator's angels have been changed into human form, and have even borne about so veritable a body, that Abraham even washed their feet, Genesis xviii and Lot was rescued from the Sodomites by their hands; Genesis xix an angel, moreover, wrestled with a man so strenuously with his body, that the latter desired to be let loose, so tightly was he held. Genesis xxxii Has it, then, been permitted to angels, which are inferior to God, after they have been changed into human bodily form, nevertheless to remain angels? And will you deprive God, their superior, of this faculty, as if Christ could not continue to be God, after His real assumption of the nature of man? Or else, did those angels appear as phantoms of flesh? You will not, however, have the courage to say this; for if it be so held in your belief, that the Creator's angels are in the same condition as Christ, then Christ will belong to the same God as those angels do, who are like Christ in their condition. If you had not purposely rejected in some instances, and corrupted in others, the Scriptures which are opposed to your opinion, you would have been confuted in this matter by the Gospel of John, when it declares that the Spirit descended in the body of a dove, and sat upon the Lord. Matthew 3:16 When the said Spirit was in this condition, He was as truly a dove as He was also a spirit; nor did He destroy His own proper substance by the assumption of an extraneous substance. But you ask what becomes of the dove's body, after the return of the Spirit back to

heaven, and similarly in the case of the angels. Their withdrawal was effected in the same manner as their appearance had been. If you had seen how their production out of nothing had been effected, you would have known also the process of their return to nothing. If the initial step was out of sight, so was also the final one. Still there was solidity in their bodily substance, whatever may have been the force by which the body became visible. What is written cannot but have been.

Chapter 4. God's Honour in the Incarnation of His Son Vindicated. Marcion's Disparagement of Human Flesh Inconsistent as Well as Impious. Christ Has Cleansed the Flesh. The Foolishness of God is Most Wise

Since, therefore, you do not reject the assumption of a body as impossible or as hazardous to the character of God, it remains for you to repudiate and censure it as unworthy of Him. Come now, beginning from the nativity itself, declaim against the uncleanness of the generative elements within the womb, the filthy concretion of fluid and blood, of the growth of the flesh for nine months long out of that very mire. Describe the womb as it enlarges from day to day, heavy, troublesome, restless even in sleep, changeful in its feelings of dislike and desire. Inveigh now likewise against the shame itself of a woman in travail which, however, ought rather to be honoured in consideration of that peril, or to be held sacred in respect of (the mystery of) nature. Of course you are horrified also at the infant, which is shed into life with the embarrassments which accompany it from the womb; you likewise, of course, loathe it even after it is washed, when it is dressed out in its swaddling-clothes, graced with repeated anointing, smiled on with nurse's fawns. This reverend course of nature, you, O Marcion, (are pleased to) spit upon; and yet, in what way were you born? You detest a human being at his birth; then after what fashion do you love anybody? Yourself, of course, you had no love of, when you departed from the Church and the faith of Christ. But never mind, if you are not on good terms with yourself, or even if you were born in a way different from other people. Christ, at any rate, has loved even that man who was condensed in his mother's womb amidst all its uncleannesses, even that man who was brought into life out of the said womb, even that man who was nursed amidst the nurse's simpers. For his sake He came down (from heaven), for his sake He preached, for his sake He humbled Himself even unto death — the death of the cross. Philippians 2:8 He loved, of course, the being whom He redeemed at so great a cost. If Christ is the Creator's *Son*, it was with justice that He loved His own (creature); if He comes from another god, His love was excessive, since He redeemed a being who belonged to another. Well, then, loving man He loved his nativity also, and his flesh as well. Nothing can be loved apart from that through which whatever exists has its

existence. Either take away nativity, and then show us *your* man; or else withdraw the flesh, and then present to our view the being whom God has redeemed — since it is these very conditions which constitute the man whom God has redeemed. And are *you* for turning these conditions into occasions of blushing to the very creature whom He has redeemed, (censuring them), too, as unworthy of Him who certainly would not have redeemed them had He not loved them? Our birth He reforms from death by a second birth from heaven; our flesh He restores from every harassing malady; when leprous, He cleanses it of the stain; when blind, He rekindles its light; when palsied, He renews its strength; when possessed with devils, He exorcises it; when dead, He reanimates it — then shall *we* blush to own it? If, to be sure, He had chosen to be born of a mere animal, and were to preach the kingdom of heaven invested with the body of a beast either wild or tame, your censure (I imagine) would have instantly met Him with this demurrer: This is disgraceful for God, and this is unworthy of the Son of God, and simply foolish. For no other reason than because one thus judges. It *is* of course foolish, if we are to judge God by our own conceptions. But, Marcion, consider well this Scripture, if indeed you have not erased it: God has chosen the foolish things of the world, to confound the wise. 1 Corinthians 1:27 Now what are those foolish things? Are they the conversion of men to the worship of the true God, the rejection of error, the whole training in righteousness, chastity, mercy, patience, and innocence? These things certainly are not foolish. Inquire again, then, of what things he spoke, and when you imagine that you have discovered what they are will you find anything to be so foolish as believing in a God that has been born, and that of a virgin, and of a fleshly nature too, who wallowed in all the before-mentioned humiliations of nature? But some one may say, These are not the foolish things; they must be other things which God has chosen to confound the wisdom of the world. And yet, according to the world's wisdom, it is more easy to believe that Jupiter became a bull or a swan, if we listen to Marcion, than that Christ really became a man.

Chapter 5. Christ Truly Lived and Died in Human Flesh. Incidents of His Human Life on Earth, and Refutation of Marcion's Docetic Parody of the Same

There are, to be sure, other things also quite as foolish (as the birth of Christ), which have reference to the humiliations and sufferings of God. Or else, let them call a crucified God wisdom. But Marcion will apply the knife to this *doctrine* also, and even with greater reason. For which is more unworthy of God, which is more likely to raise a blush of shame, that *God* should be born, or that He should die? That He should bear the flesh, or the cross? Be circumcised, or be crucified? Be cradled, or be coffined? be laid in a manger, or in a tomb? *Talk of wisdom!* You will show more of *that* if you refuse to believe this also. But, after all, you will not be wise unless you become a fool to the world, by believing the foolish things of God. Have you, then, cut away all sufferings from Christ, on the ground that, as a mere phantom, He was incapable of experiencing them? We have said above that He might possibly have undergone the unreal mockeries of an imaginary birth and infancy. But answer me at once, you that murder truth: Was not God really crucified? And, having been really crucified, did He not really die? And, having indeed really died, did He not really rise again? Falsely did Paul determine to know nothing among us but Jesus and Him crucified; 1 Corinthians 2:2 falsely has he impressed upon us that He was buried; falsely inculcated that He rose again. False, therefore, is our faith also. And all that we hope for from Christ will be a phantom. O you most infamous of men, who acquits of all guilt the murderers of God! For nothing did Christ suffer from them, if He really suffered nothing at all. Spare the whole world's one only hope, you who are destroying the indispensable dishonour of our faith. Whatsoever is unworthy of God, is of gain to me. I am safe, if I am not ashamed of my Lord. Whosoever, says He, shall be ashamed of me, of him will I also be ashamed. Other matters for shame find I none which can prove me to be shameless in a good sense, and foolish in a happy one, by my own contempt of shame. The Son of God was crucified; I am not ashamed because men must needs be ashamed *of it*. And the Son of God died; it is by all means to be believed, because it is absurd. And He was buried, and rose again; the fact is certain, because it is impossible. But how will all this be true in Him, if He was not

Himself true — if He really had not in Himself that which might be crucified, might die, might be buried, and might rise again? *I mean* this flesh suffused with blood, built up with bones, interwoven with nerves, entwined with veins, *a flesh* which knew how to be born, and how to die, human without doubt, as born of a human being. It will therefore be mortal in Christ, because Christ is man and the Son of man. Else why is Christ man and the Son of man, if he has nothing of man, and nothing from man? Unless it be either that man is anything else than flesh, or man's flesh comes from any other source than man, or Mary is anything else than a human being, or Marcion's man is *as* Marcion's god. Otherwise Christ could not be described as being man without flesh, nor the Son of man without any human parent; just as He is not God without the Spirit of God, nor the Son of God without having God for His father. Thus the nature of the two substances displayed Him as man and God — in one respect born, in the other unborn; in one respect fleshly, in the other spiritual; in one sense weak, in the other exceeding strong; in one sense dying, in the other living. This property of the two states — the divine and the human — is distinctly asserted with equal truth of both natures alike, with the same belief both in respect of the Spirit and of the flesh. The powers of the Spirit, proved Him to be God, His sufferings attested the flesh of man. If His powers were not without the Spirit in like manner, were not His sufferings without the flesh. If His flesh with its sufferings was fictitious, for the same reason was the Spirit false with all its powers. Wherefore halve Christ with a lie? He was wholly the truth. Believe me, He chose rather to be born, than in any part to pretend — and that indeed to His own detriment — that He was bearing about a flesh hardened without bones, solid without muscles, bloody without blood, clothed without the tunic *of skin*, hungry without appetite, eating without teeth, speaking without a tongue, so that His word was a phantom to the ears through an imaginary voice. A phantom, too, it was of course after the resurrection, when, showing His hands and His feet for the disciples to examine, He said, Behold and see that it is I myself, for a spirit has not flesh and bones, as you see me have; Luke 24:39 without doubt, hands, and feet, and bones are not what a spirit possesses, but *only* the flesh. How do you interpret this statement, Marcion, you who tell us that Jesus comes only from the most excellent God, who is both simple and good? See how He *rather* cheats, and deceives, and juggles the eyes of all, and the senses of all, as well

as their access to and contact with Him! You ought rather to have brought Christ down, not from heaven, but from some troop of mountebanks, not as God besides man, but simply as a man, a magician; not as the High Priest of our salvation, but as the conjurer in a show; not as the raiser of the dead, but as the misleader of the living, — except that, if He were a magician, He must have had a nativity!

Chapter 6. The Doctrine of Apelles Refuted, that Christ's Body Was of Sidereal Substance, Not Born. Nativity and Mortality are Correlative Circumstances, and in Christ's Case His Death Proves His Birth

But certain disciples of the heretic of Pontus, compelled to be wiser than their teacher, concede to Christ real flesh, without effect, however, on their denial of His nativity. He might have had, they say, a flesh which was not at all born. So we have found our way out of a frying-pan, as the proverb runs, into the fire, — from Marcion to Apelles. This man having first fallen from the principles of Marcion into (intercourse with) a woman, in the flesh, and afterwards shipwrecked himself, in the spirit, on the virgin Philumene, proceeded from that *time* to preach that the body of Christ was of solid flesh, but without having been born. To this angel, indeed, of Philumene, the apostle will reply in tones like those in which he even then predicted him, saying, Although an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed. Galatians 1:8 To the arguments, however, which have been indicated just above, we have now to show our resistance. They allow that Christ really had a body. Whence was the material of it, if not from the same sort of thing as that in which He appeared? Whence came His body, if His body were not flesh? Whence came His flesh, if it were not born? Inasmuch as that which is born must undergo this nativity in order to become flesh. He borrowed, they say, His flesh from the stars, and from the substances of the higher world. And they assert it for a certain principle, that a body without nativity is nothing to be astonished at, because it has been submitted to angels to appear even among ourselves in the flesh without the intervention of the womb. We admit, of course, that such facts have been related. But then, how comes it to pass that a faith which holds to a different rule borrows materials for its own arguments from the faith which it impugns? What has it to do with Moses, who has rejected the God of Moses? Since the God is a different one, everything belonging to him must be different also. But let the heretics always use the Scriptures of that God whose world they also enjoy. The fact will certainly recoil on them as a witness to judge them, that they maintain their own blasphemies from examples derived from *Him*. But it is an easy task for the truth to prevail

without raising any such demurrer against them. When, therefore, they set forth the flesh of Christ after the pattern of the angels, declaring it to be not born, and yet flesh for all that, I should wish them to compare the causes, both in Christ's case and that of the angels, wherefore they came in the flesh. Never did any angel descend for the purpose of being crucified, of tasting death, *and* of rising again from the dead. Now, since there never was such a reason for angels becoming embodied, you have the cause why they assumed flesh without undergoing birth. They had not come to die, therefore they also (came not) to be born. Christ, however, having been sent to die, had necessarily to be also born, that He might be capable of death; for nothing is in the habit of dying but that which is born. Between nativity and mortality there is a mutual contrast. The law which makes us die is the cause of our being born. Now, since Christ died owing to the condition which undergoes death, but that undergoes death which is also born, the consequence was — nay, it was an antecedent necessity — that He must have been born also, by reason of the condition which undergoes birth; because He had to die in obedience to that very condition which, because it begins with birth, ends in death. It was not fitting for Him not to be born under the pretence that it was fitting for Him to die. But the Lord Himself at that very time appeared to Abraham among those angels without being born, and yet in the flesh without doubt, in virtue of the before-mentioned diversity of cause. You, however, cannot admit this, since you do not receive that Christ, who was even then rehearsing how to converse with, and liberate, and judge the human race, in the habit of a flesh which as yet was not born, because it did not yet mean to die until both its nativity and mortality were previously (by prophecy) announced. Let them, then, prove to us that those angels derived their flesh from the stars. If they do not prove it because it is not written, neither will the flesh of Christ get its origin therefrom, for which they borrowed the precedent of the angels. It is plain that the angels bore a flesh which was not naturally their own; their nature being of a spiritual substance, although in some sense peculiar to themselves, corporeal; and yet they could be transfigured into human shape, and for the time be able to appear and have intercourse with men. Since, therefore, it has not been told us whence they obtained their flesh, it remains for us not to doubt in our minds that a property of angelic power is this, to assume to themselves bodily shape out of no material substance. How much more, you

say, is it (within their competence to take a body) out of some material substance? That is true enough. But there is no evidence of this, because Scripture says nothing. Then, again, how should they who are able to form themselves into that which by nature they are not, be unable to do this out of no material substance? If they become that which they are not, why cannot they *so* become out of that which is not? But that which has not existence when it comes into existence, is *made* out of nothing. This is why it is unnecessary either to inquire or to demonstrate what has subsequently become of their bodies. What came out of nothing, came to nothing. They, who were able to convert *themselves* into flesh have it in their power to convert *nothing itself* into flesh. It is a greater thing to change a nature than to make matter. But even if it were necessary *to suppose* that angels derived their flesh from some material substance, it is surely more credible that it was from some earthly matter than from any kind of celestial substances, since it was composed of so palpably terrene a quality that it fed on earthly ailments. Suppose that even now a celestial *flesh* had fed on earthly aliments, although it was not itself earthly, in the same way that earthly flesh actually fed on celestial aliments, although it had nothing of the celestial nature (for we read of manna having been food for the people: Man, says *the Psalmist*, did eat angels' bread,) yet this does not once infringe the separate condition of the Lord's flesh, because of His different destination. For One who was to be truly a man, even unto death, it was necessary that He should be clothed with that flesh to which death belongs. Now that flesh to which death belongs is preceded by birth.

Chapter 7. Explanation of the Lord's Question About His Mother and His Brethren. Answer to the Cavils of Apelles and Marcion, Who Support Their Denial of Christ's Nativity by It

But whenever a dispute arises about the nativity, all who reject it as creating a presumption in favour of the reality of Christ's flesh, wilfully deny that God Himself was born, on the ground that He asked, Who is my mother, and who are my brethren? Let, therefore, Apelles hear what was our answer to Marcion in that little work, in which we challenged his own (favourite) gospel to the proof, even that the material circumstances of that remark (of the Lord's) should be considered. First of all, nobody would have told Him that His mother and brethren were standing outside, if he were not certain both that He had a mother and brethren, and that they were the very persons whom he was then announcing — who had either been known to him before, or were then and there discovered by him; although heretics have removed this passage from the gospel, because those who were admiring His doctrine said that His supposed father, Joseph the carpenter, and His mother Mary, and His brethren, and His sisters, were very well known to them. But it was with the view of tempting Him, that they had mentioned to Him a mother and brethren which He did not possess. The Scripture says nothing of this, although it is not in other instances silent when anything was done against Him by way of temptation. Behold, it says, a certain lawyer stood up, and tempted Him. Luke 10:25 And in another passage: The Pharisees also came unto Him, tempting Him. Who was to prevent its being in this place also indicated that this was done with the view of tempting Him? I do not admit what you advance of your own apart from Scripture. Then there ought to be suggested some occasion for the temptation. What could they have thought to be in Him which required temptation? The question, to be sure, whether He had been born or not? For if this point were denied in His answer, it might come out on the announcement of a temptation. And yet no temptation, when aiming at the discovery of the point which prompts the temptation by its doubtfulness, falls upon one so abruptly, as not to be preceded by the question which compels the temptation while raising the doubt. Now, since the nativity of Christ had never come into question, how can you contend that they meant by their temptation

to inquire about a point on which they had never raised a doubt? Besides, if He had to be tempted about His birth, this of course was not the proper way of doing it — by announcing those persons who, even on the supposition of His birth, might possibly not have been in existence. We have all been born, and yet all of us have not either brothers or mother. He might with more probability have had even a father than a mother, and uncles more likely than brothers. Thus is the temptation about His birth unsuitable, for it might have been contrived without any mention of either His mother or His brethren. It is clearly more credible that, being certain that He had both a mother and brothers, they tested His divinity rather than His nativity, whether, when within, He knew what was without; being tried by the untrue announcement of the presence of persons who were not present. But the artifice of a temptation might have been thwarted thus: it might have happened that He knew that those whom they were announcing to be standing without, were in fact absent by the stress either of sickness, or of business, or a journey which He was at the time aware of. No one tempts (another) in a way in which he knows that he may have himself to bear the shame of the temptation. There being, then, no suitable occasion for a temptation, the announcement that His mother and His brethren had actually turned up recovers its naturalness. But there is some ground for thinking that *Christ's* answer denies His mother and brethren for the present, as even Apelles might learn. The Lord's brethren had not yet believed in Him. John 7:5 So is it contained in the Gospel which was published before Marcion's time; while there is at the same time a want of evidence of His mother's adherence to Him, although the Marthas and the other Marys were in constant attendance on Him. In this very passage indeed, their unbelief is evident. Jesus was teaching the way of life, preaching the kingdom of God *and* actively engaged in healing infirmities of body and soul; but all the while, while strangers were intent on Him, His very nearest relatives were absent. By and by they turn up, and keep outside; but they do not go in, because, forsooth, they set small store on that which was doing within; nor do they even wait, as if they had something which they could contribute more necessary than that which He was so earnestly doing; but they prefer to interrupt Him, and wish to call Him away from His great work. Now, I ask you, Apelles, or will you Marcion, please (to tell me), if you happened to be at a stage play, or had laid a wager on a foot race or a chariot race, and

were called away by such a message, would you not have exclaimed, What are mother and brothers to me? And did not Christ, while preaching and manifesting God, fulfilling the law and the prophets, *and* scattering the darkness of the long preceding age, justly employ this same form of words, in order to strike the unbelief of those who stood outside, or to shake off the importunity of those who would call Him away from His work? If, however, He had meant to deny His own nativity, He would have found place, time, and means for expressing Himself very differently, and not in words which might be uttered by one who had both a mother and brothers. When denying one's parents in indignation, one does not deny *their existence*, but censures *their faults*. Besides, He gave others the preference; and since He shows their title to this favour — even because they listened to the word (of God) — He points out in what sense He denied His mother and His brethren. For in whatever sense He adopted as His own those who adhered to Him, in that did He deny as His those who kept aloof from Him. Christ also is wont to do to the utmost that which He enjoins on others. How strange, then, would it certainly have been, if, while he was teaching others not to esteem mother, or father, or brothers, as highly as the word of God, He were Himself to leave the word of God as soon as His mother and brethren were announced to Him! He denied His parents, then, in the sense in which He has taught us to deny ours — for God's work. But there is also another view of the case: in the abjured mother there is a figure of the synagogue, as well as of the Jews in the unbelieving brethren. In their person Israel remained outside, while the new disciples who kept close to Christ within, hearing and believing, represented the Church, which He called mother in a preferable sense and a worthier brotherhood, with the repudiation of the carnal relationship. It was in just the same sense, indeed, that He also replied to that exclamation (of a certain woman), not denying His mother's womb and paps, but designating those as more blessed who hear the word of God.

Chapter 8. Apelles and His Followers, Displeased with Our Earthly Bodies, Attributed to Christ a Body of a Purer Sort. How Christ Was Heavenly Even in His Earthly Flesh

These passages alone, in which Apelles and Marcion seem to place their chief reliance when interpreted according to the truth of the entire uncorrupted gospel, ought to have been sufficient for proving the human flesh of Christ by a defense of His birth. But since Apelles' precious set lay a very great stress on the shameful condition of the flesh, which they will have to have been furnished with souls tampered with by the fiery author of evil, and so unworthy of Christ; and because they on that account suppose that a sidereal substance is suitable for Him, I am bound to refute them on their own ground. They mention a certain angel of great renown as having created this world of ours, and as having, after the creation, repented of his work. This indeed we have treated of in a passage by itself; for we have written a little work in opposition to them, *on the question* whether one who had the spirit, and will, and power of Christ for such operations, could have done anything which required repentance, since they describe the *said* angel by the figure of the lost sheep. The world, then, must be a wrong thing, according to the evidence of its Creator's repentance; for all repentance is the admission of fault, nor has it indeed any existence except through fault. Now, if the world is a fault, as is the body, such must be its parts — faulty too; so in like manner must be the heaven and its celestial (contents), and everything which is conceived and produced out of it. And a corrupt tree must needs bring forth evil fruit. Matthew 7:17 The flesh of Christ, therefore, if composed of celestial elements, consists of faulty materials, sinful by reason of its sinful origin; so that it must be a part of that substance which they disdain to clothe Christ with, because of its sinfulness — in other words, our own. Then, as there is no difference in the point of ignominy, let them either devise for Christ some substance of a purer stamp, since they are displeased with our own, or else let them recognise this too, than which even a heavenly substance could not have been better. We read in so many words: The first man is of the earth, earthy; the second man is the Lord from heaven. 1 Corinthians 15:47 This passage, however, has nothing to do with any difference of substance; it only contrasts

with the once earthy substance of the flesh of the first man, Adam, the heavenly substance of the spirit of the second man, Christ. And so entirely does the passage refer the celestial man to the spirit and not to the flesh, that those whom it compares to Him evidently become celestial — by the Spirit, of course — even in this earthy flesh. Now, since Christ is heavenly even in regard to the flesh, they could not be compared to Him, who are not heavenly in reference to their flesh. If, then, they who become heavenly, as Christ also was, carry about an earthy substance of flesh, the conclusion which is affirmed by this fact is, that Christ Himself also was heavenly, but in an earthy flesh, even as they are who are put on a level with Him.

Chapter 9. Christ's Flesh Perfectly Natural, Like Our Own. None of the Supernatural Features Which the Heretics Ascribed to It Discoverable, on a Careful View

We have thus far gone on the principle, that nothing which is derived from some other thing, however different it may be from that from which it is derived, is so different as not to suggest the source from which it comes. No material substance is without the witness of its own original, however great a change into new properties it may have undergone. There is this very body of ours, the formation of which out of the dust of the ground is a truth which has found its way into Gentile fables; it certainly testifies its own origin from the two elements of earth and water — from the former by its flesh, from the latter by its blood. Now, although there is a difference in the appearance of qualities (in other words, that which proceeds from something else is in development different), yet, after all, what is blood but red fluid? What is flesh but earth in a special form? Consider the respective qualities, — of the muscles as clods; of the bones as stones; the mammillary glands as a kind of pebbles. Look upon the close junctions of the nerves as propagations of roots, and the branching courses of the veins as winding rivulets, and the down (which covers us) as moss, and the hair as grass, and the very treasures of marrow within our bones as ores of flesh. All these marks of the earthy origin were in Christ; and it is they which obscured Him as the Son of God, for He was looked on as man, for no other reason whatever than because He existed in the corporeal substance of a man. Or else, show us some celestial substance in Him purloined from the Bear, and the Pleiades, and the Hyades. Well, then, *the characteristics* which we have enumerated are so many proofs that His was an earthy flesh, as ours is; but anything new or anything strange I do not discover. Indeed it was from His words and actions only, from His teaching and miracles solely, that men, though amazed, owned Christ to be man. But if there had been in Him any new kind of flesh miraculously obtained (from the stars), it would have been certainly well known. As the case stood, however, it was actually the ordinary condition of His terrene flesh which made all things else about Him wonderful, as when they said, Whence has this man this wisdom and these mighty works? Matthew 13:54 Thus spoke even they who despised His outward form. His body did not reach even to human beauty, to

say nothing of heavenly glory. Had the prophets given us no information whatever concerning His ignoble appearance, His very sufferings and the very contumely He endured bespeak it all. The sufferings attested His human flesh, the contumely proved its abject condition. Would any man have dared to touch even with his little finger, the body *of Christ*, if it had been of an unusual nature; or to smear His face with spitting, if it had not invited it (by its abjectness)? Why talk of a heavenly flesh, when you have no grounds to offer us for your celestial theory? Why deny it to be earthy, when you have the best of reasons for knowing it to be earthy? He hungered under the devil's *temptation*; He thirsted with the woman of Samaria; He wept over Lazarus; He trembles at death (for the flesh, as He says, is weak Matthew 26:41); at last, He pours out His blood. These, I suppose, are celestial marks? But how, I ask, could He have incurred contempt and suffering in the way I have described, if there had beamed forth in that flesh of His anything of celestial excellence? From this, therefore, we have a convincing proof that in it there was nothing of heaven, because it must be capable of contempt and suffering.

Chapter 10. Another Class of Heretics Refuted. They Alleged that Christ's Flesh Was of a Finer Texture, Animalis, Composed of Soul

I now turn to another class, who are equally wise in their own conceit. They affirm that the flesh of Christ is composed of soul, that His soul became flesh, so that His flesh is soul; and as His flesh is of soul, so is His soul of flesh. But here, again, I must have some reasons. If, in order to save the soul, Christ took a soul within Himself, because it could not be saved except by Him having it within Himself, I see no reason why, in clothing Himself with flesh, He should have made that flesh one of soul, as if He could not have saved the soul in any other way than by making flesh of it. For while He saves *our* souls, which are not only not of flesh, but are even distinct from flesh, how much more able was He to secure salvation to that soul which He took Himself, when it was also not of flesh? Again, since they assume it as a main tenet, that Christ came forth not to deliver the flesh, but only our soul, how absurd it is, in the first place, that, meaning to save only the soul, He yet made it into just that sort of bodily substance which He had no intention of saving! And, secondly, if He had undertaken to deliver our souls by means of that which He carried, He ought, in that soul which He carried to have carried our *soul*, one (that is) of the same condition as ours; and whatever is the condition of our soul in its secret nature, it is certainly not one of flesh. However, it was not our soul which He saved, if His own was of flesh; for ours is not of flesh. Now, if He did not save our soul on the ground, that it was a soul of flesh which He saved, He is nothing to us, because He has not saved our soul. Nor indeed did it need salvation, for it was not our soul really, since it was, on the supposition, a soul of flesh. But yet it is evident that it has been saved. Of flesh, therefore, it was not composed, and it was ours; for it was our *soul* that was saved, since that was in peril *of damnation*. We therefore now conclude that as in Christ the soul was not of flesh, so neither could His flesh have possibly been composed of soul.

Chapter 11. The Opposite Extravagance Exposed. That is Christ with a Soul Composed of Flesh — Corporeal, Though Invisible. Christ's Soul, Like Ours, Distinct from Flesh, Though Clothed in It

But we meet another argument of theirs, when we raise the question why Christ, in assuming a flesh composed of soul, should seem to have had a soul that was made of flesh? For God, they say, desired to make the soul visible to men, by enduing it with a bodily nature, although it was before invisible; of its own nature, indeed, it was incapable of seeing anything, even its own self, by reason of the obstacle of this flesh, so that it was even a matter of doubt whether it was born or not. The soul, therefore (they further say), was made corporeal in Christ, in order that we might see it when undergoing birth, and death, and (what is more) resurrection. But yet, how was this possible, that by means of the flesh the soul should demonstrate itself to itself or to us, when it could not possibly be ascertained that it would offer this mode of exhibiting itself by the flesh, until the thing came into existence to which it was unknown, that is to say, the flesh? It received darkness, forsooth, in order to be able to shine! Now, let us first turn our attention to this point, whether it was requisite that the soul should exhibit itself in the manner contended for; and next *consider* whether their previous position be that the soul is wholly invisible (inquiring further) whether this invisibility is the result of its incorporeality, or whether it actually possesses some sort of body peculiar to itself. And yet, although they say that it is invisible, they determine it to be corporeal, but having somewhat that is invisible. For if it has nothing invisible how can it be said to be invisible? But even its existence is an impossibility, unless it has that which is instrumental to its existence. Since, however, it exists, it must needs have a something through which it exists. If it has this something, it must be its body. Everything which exists is a bodily existence *sui generis*. Nothing lacks bodily existence but that which is non-existent. If, then, the soul has an invisible body, He who had proposed to make it visible would certainly have done His work better if He had made that part of it which was accounted invisible, visible; because then there would have been no untruth or weakness in the case, and neither of these flaws is suitable to God. (But as the case stands in the hypothesis) there is *untruth*, since He has

set forth the soul as being a different thing from what it really is; and there is *weakness*, since He was unable to make it appear to be that which it is. No one who wishes to exhibit a man covers him with a veil or a mask. This, however, is precisely what has been done to the soul, if it has been clothed with a covering belonging to something else, by being converted into flesh. But even if the soul is, on their hypothesis, supposed to be incorporeal, so that the soul, whatever it is, should by some *mysterious* force of the reason be quite unknown, only not be a body, then in that case it were not beyond the power of God — indeed it would be more consistent with His plan — if He displayed the soul in some new sort of body, different from that which we all have in common, one of which we should have quite a different notion, (being spared the idea that) He had set His mind on making, without an adequate cause, a visible soul instead of an invisible one — a fit incentive, no doubt, for such questions as they start, by their maintenance of a human flesh for it. Christ, however, could not have appeared among men except as a man. Restore, therefore, to Christ, His faith; *believe* that He who willed to walk the earth as a man exhibited even a soul of a thoroughly human condition, not making it of flesh, but clothing it with flesh.

Chapter 12. The True Functions of the Soul. Christ Assumed It in His Perfect Human Nature, Not to Reveal and Explain It, But to Save It. Its Resurrection with the Body Assured by Christ

Well, now, let it be granted that the soul is made apparent by the flesh, on the assumption that it was evidently necessary that it should be made apparent in some way or other, that is, as being incognizable to itself and to us: there is still an absurd distinction in this *hypothesis*, which implies that we are ourselves separate from our soul, when all that we are is soul. Indeed, without the soul we are nothing; there is not even the name of a human being, only that of a carcass. If, then, we are ignorant of the soul, it is in fact the soul that is ignorant of itself. Thus the only remaining question left for us to look into is, whether the soul was in this matter so ignorant of itself that it became known in any way it could. The soul, in my opinion, is sensual. Nothing, therefore, pertaining to the soul is unconnected with sense, nothing pertaining to sense is unconnected with the soul. And if I may use the expression for the sake of emphasis, I would say, *Animæ anima sensus est* — Sense is the soul's very soul. Now, since it is the soul that imparts the faculty of perception to all (that have sense), and since it is itself that perceives the very senses, not to say properties, of them all, how is it likely that it did not itself receive sense as its own natural constitution? Whence is it to know what is necessary for itself under given circumstances, from the very necessity of natural causes, if it knows not its own property, and what is necessary for it? To recognise this indeed is within the competence of every soul; it has, I mean, a practical knowledge of itself, without which knowledge of itself no soul could possibly have exercised its own functions. I suppose, too, that it is especially suitable that man, the only rational animal, should have been furnished with such a soul as would make him the rational animal, itself being pre-eminently rational. Now, how can that soul which makes man a rational animal be itself rational if it be itself ignorant of its rationality, being ignorant of its own very self? So far, however, is it from being ignorant, that it knows its own Author, its own Master, and its own condition. Before it learns anything about God, it names the name of God. Before it acquires any knowledge of His judgment, it professes to commend itself to God. There is nothing one oftener hears of than

that there is no hope after death; and yet what imprecations or deprecations does not the soul use according as the man dies after a well or ill spent life! These reflections are more fully pursued in a short treatise which we have written, *On the Testimony of the Soul*. Besides, if the soul was ignorant of itself from the beginning, there is nothing it could have learned of Christ except its own quality. It was not its own form that it learned of Christ, but its salvation. For this cause did the Son of God descend and take on Him a soul, not that the soul might discover itself in Christ, but Christ in itself. For its salvation is endangered, not by its being ignorant of itself, but of the word of God. The life, says He, was manifested, 1 John 1:2 not the soul. And again, I have come to save the soul. He did not say, to explain it. We could not know, of course, that the soul, although an invisible essence, is born and dies, unless it were exhibited corporeally. We certainly were ignorant that it was to rise again with the flesh. This is the truth which it will be found was manifested by Christ. But even this He did not manifest in Himself in a different way than in some Lazarus, whose flesh was no more composed of soul than his soul was of flesh. What further knowledge, therefore, have we received of the structure of the soul which we were ignorant of before? What invisible part was there belonging to it which wanted to be made visible by the flesh?

Chapter 13. Christ's Human Nature. The Flesh and the Soul Both Fully and Unconfusedly Contained in It

The soul became flesh that the soul might become visible. Well, then, did the flesh likewise become soul that the flesh might be manifested? If the soul is flesh, it is no longer soul, but flesh. If the flesh is soul, it is no longer flesh, but soul. Where, then, there is flesh, and where there is soul, it has become both one and the other. Now, if they are neither in particular, although they become both one and the other, it is, to say the least, very absurd, that we should understand the soul when we name the flesh, and when we indicate the soul, explain ourselves as meaning the flesh. All things will be in danger of being taken in a sense different from their own proper sense, and, while taken in that different sense, of losing their proper one, if they are called by a name which differs from their natural designation. Fidelity in names secures the safe appreciation of properties. When these properties undergo a change, they are considered to possess such qualities as their names indicate. Baked clay, for instance, receives the name of brick. It retains not the name which designated its former state, because it has no longer a share in that state. Therefore, also, the soul of Christ having become flesh, cannot be anything else than that which it has become nor can it be any longer that which it once was, having become indeed something else. And since we have just had recourse to an illustration, we will put it to further use. Our pitcher, then, which was formed of the clay, is one body, and has one name indicative, of course, of that one body; nor can the pitcher be also called clay, because what it once was, it is no longer. Now that which is no longer (what it was) is also not an inseparable property. And the soul is not an inseparable property. Since, therefore, it has become flesh, the soul is a uniform solid body; it is also a wholly incomplex being, and an indivisible substance. But in Christ we find the soul and the flesh expressed in simple unfigurative terms; that is to say, the soul is called soul, and the flesh, flesh; nowhere is the soul termed flesh, or the flesh, soul; and yet they ought to have been thus (confusedly) named if such had been their condition. *The fact, however, is* that even by *Christ Himself* each substance has been separately mentioned by itself, conformably of course, to the distinction which exists between the properties of both, the soul by itself, and the flesh by itself. *My soul*, says He, is exceeding sorrowful, even unto

death; and the bread that I will give is *my flesh*, (which I will give) for the life of the world. John 6:51 Now, if the soul had been flesh, there would have only been in Christ the soul composed of flesh, or else the flesh composed of soul. Since, however, He keeps the species distinct, the flesh and the soul, He shows them to be two. If two, then they are no longer one; if not one, then the soul is not composed of flesh, nor the flesh of soul. For the soul-flesh, or the flesh-soul, is but one; unless indeed He even had some other soul apart from that which was flesh, and bare about another flesh besides that which was soul. But since He had but one flesh and one soul — that soul which was sorrowful, even unto death, and that *flesh which was the* bread given for the life of the world, — the number is unimpaired of two substances distinct in kind, thus excluding the unique species of the flesh-comprised soul.

Chapter 14. Christ Took Not on Him an Angelic Nature, But the Human. It Was Men, Not Angels, Whom He Came to Save

But Christ, they say, bare (the nature of) an angel. For what reason? The same which induced Him to become man? Christ, then, was actuated by the motive which led Him to take human nature. Man's salvation was the motive, the restoration of that which had perished. Man had perished; his recovery had become necessary. No such cause, however, existed for Christ's taking on Him the nature of angels. For although there is assigned to angels also perdition in the fire prepared for the devil and his angels, Matthew 25:41 yet a restoration is never promised to them. No charge about the salvation of angels did Christ ever receive from the Father; and that which the Father neither promised nor commanded, Christ could not have undertaken. For what object, therefore, did He bear the angelic nature, if it were not (that He might have it) as a powerful helper wherewithal to execute the salvation of man? The Son of God, in truth, was not competent alone to deliver man, whom a solitary and single serpent had overthrown! There is, then, no longer but one God, but one Saviour, if there be two to contrive salvation, and one of them in need of the other. But was it His object indeed to deliver man by an angel? Why, then, come down to do that which He was about to expedite with an angel's help? If by an angel's aid, why *come* Himself also? If He meant to do all by Himself, why have an angel too? He has been, it is true, called the Angel of great counsel, that is, a messenger, by a term expressive of official function, not of nature. For He had to announce to the world the mighty purpose of the Father, even that which ordained the restoration of man. But He is not on this account to be regarded as an angel, as a Gabriel or a Michael. For the Lord of the Vineyard sends even His Son to the labourers to require fruit, as well as His servants. Yet the Son will not therefore be counted as one of the servants because He undertook the office of a servant. I may, then, more easily say, if such an expression is to be hazarded, that the Son is actually an angel, that is, a messenger, from the Father, than that there is an angel in the Son. Forasmuch, however, as it has been declared concerning the Son Himself, You have made Him a little lower than the angels how will it appear that He put on the nature of angels if He was made lower than the angels, having become

man, with flesh and soul as the Son of man? As the Spirit of God, however, and the Power of the Highest, Luke 1:35 can He be regarded as lower than the angels — He who is verily God, and the Son of God? Well, but as bearing human nature, He is so far made inferior to the angels; but as bearing angelic nature, He to the same degree loses that inferiority. This opinion will be very suitable for Ebion, who holds Jesus to be a mere man, and nothing more than a descendant of David, and not also the Son of God; although He is, to be sure, in one respect more glorious than the prophets, inasmuch as he declares that there was an angel in Him, just as there was in Zechariah. Only it was never said by Christ, And the angel, which spoke within me, said to me. Zechariah 1:14 Neither, indeed, was ever used by Christ that familiar phrase of all the prophets, Thus says the Lord. For He was Himself the Lord, who openly spoke by His own authority, prefacing His words with the formula, Verily, verily, *I* say unto you. What need is there of further argument? Hear what Isaiah says in emphatic words, It was no angel, nor deputy, but the Lord Himself who saved them. Isaiah 63:9

Chapter 15. The Valentinian Figment of Christ's Flesh Being of a Spiritual Nature, Examined and Refuted Out of Scripture

Valentinus, indeed, on the strength of his heretical system, might consistently devise a spiritual flesh for Christ. Any one who refused to believe that that flesh was human might pretend it to be anything he liked, forasmuch as (and this remark is applicable to all *heretics*), if it was not human, and was not born of man, I do not see of what substance Christ Himself spoke when He called Himself man and the Son of man, *saying*: But now you seek to kill me, a man that has told you the truth; John 8:40 and The Son of man is Lord of the Sabbath day. Matthew 12:8 For it is of Him that Isaiah writes: A man of suffering, and acquainted with the bearing of weakness; and Jeremiah: He is a man, and who has known Him? and Daniel: Upon the clouds (He came) as the Son of man. Daniel 7:13 The Apostle Paul likewise says: The man Christ Jesus is the one Mediator between God and man. 1 Timothy 2:5 Also Peter, in the Acts of the Apostles, speaks of Him as verily human (when he says), Jesus Christ was a man approved of God among you. Acts 2:22 These passages alone ought to suffice as a prescriptive testimony in proof that Christ had human flesh derived from man, and not spiritual, and that His flesh was not composed of soul, nor of stellar substance, and that it was not an imaginary flesh; (and no doubt they would be sufficient) if heretics could only divest themselves of all their contentious warmth and artifice. For, as I have read in some writer of Valentinus' wretched faction, they refuse at the outset to believe that a human and earthly substance was created for Christ, lest the Lord should be regarded as inferior to the angels, who are not formed of earthly flesh; whence, too, it would be necessary that, if His flesh were like ours, it should be similarly born, not of the Spirit, nor of God, but of the will of man. Why, moreover, should it be born, not of corruptible [seed], but of incorruptible? Why, again, since His flesh has both risen and returned to heaven, is not ours, being like His, also taken up at once? Or else, why does not His flesh, since it is like ours, return in like manner to the ground, and suffer dissolution? Such objections even the heathen used constantly to bandy about. Was the Son of God reduced to such a depth of degradation? Again, if He rose again as a precedent for our hope, how is it that nothing like it has

been thought desirable (to happen) to ourselves? Such views are not improper for heathens and they are fit and natural for the heretics too. For, indeed, what difference is there between them, except it be that the heathen, in not believing, do believe; while the heretics, in believing, do not believe? Then, again, they read: You made Him a little less than angels; and they deny the lower nature of that Christ who declares Himself to be, not a man, but a worm; who also had no form nor comeliness, but His form was ignoble, despised more than all men, a man in suffering, and acquainted with the bearing of weakness. Here they discover a human being mingled with a divine one and so they deny the manhood. They believe that He died, and maintain that a being which has died was born of an incorruptible substance; as if, forsooth, corruptibility were something else than death! But our flesh, too, ought immediately to have risen again. Wait a while. Christ has not yet subdued His enemies, so as to be able to triumph over them in company with His friends.

Chapter 16. Christ's Flesh in Nature, the Same as Ours, Only Sinless. The Difference Between Carnem Peccati and Peccatum Carnis: It is the Latter Which Christ Abolished. The Flesh of the First Adam, No Less Than that of the Second Adam, Not Received from Human Seed, Although as Entirely Human as Our Own, Which is Derived from It

The famous Alexander, too, instigated by his love of disputation in the true fashion of heretical temper, has made himself conspicuous against us; he will have us say that Christ put on flesh of an earthly origin, in order that He might in His own person abolish sinful flesh. Now, even if we did assert this as our opinion, we should be able to defend it in such a way as completely to avoid the extravagant folly which he ascribes to us in making us suppose that the very flesh of Christ was in Himself abolished as being sinful; because we mention our belief (in public), that it is sitting at the right hand of the Father in heaven; and we further declare that it will come again from thence in all the pomp of the Father's glory: it is therefore just as impossible for us to say that it is abolished, as it is for us to maintain that it is sinful, and so made void, since in it there has been no fault. We maintain, moreover, that what has been abolished in Christ is not *carnem peccati*, sinful flesh, but *peccatum carnis*, sin in the flesh, — not the material thing, but its condition; not the substance, but its flaw; and (this we aver) on the authority of the apostle, who says, He abolished sin in the flesh. Now in another sentence he says that Christ was in the likeness of sinful flesh, not, however, as if He had taken on Him the likeness of the flesh, in the sense of a semblance of body instead of its reality; but he means us to understand likeness to the flesh which sinned, because the flesh of Christ, which committed no sin itself, resembled that which had sinned — resembled it in its nature, but not in the corruption it received from Adam; whence we also affirm that there was in Christ the same flesh as that whose nature in man is sinful. In the flesh, therefore, *we say* that sin has been abolished, because in Christ that same flesh is maintained without sin, which in man was not maintained without sin. Now, it would not contribute to the purpose of Christ's abolishing sin in the flesh, if He did not abolish it in that flesh in which was the nature of sin, nor (would it conduce) to His glory. For

surely it would have been no strange thing if He had removed the stain of sin in some better flesh, and one which should possess a different, even a sinless, nature! Then, you say, if He took our flesh, Christ's was a sinful one. Do not, however, fetter with mystery a sense which is quite intelligible. For in putting on our flesh, He made it His own; in making it His own, He made it sinless. A word of caution, however, must be addressed to all who refuse to believe that our flesh was in Christ on the ground that it came not of the seed of a human father, let them remember that Adam himself received this flesh of ours without the seed of a human father. As earth was converted into this flesh of ours without the seed of a human father, so also was it quite possible for the Son of God to take to Himself the substance of the selfsame flesh, without a human father's agency.

Chapter 17. The Similarity of Circumstances Between the First and the Second Adam, as to the Derivation of Their Flesh. An Analogy Also Pleasantly Traced Between Eve and the Virgin Mary

But, leaving Alexander with his syllogisms, which he so perversely applies in his discussions, as well as with the hymns of Valentinus, which, with consummate assurance, he interpolates as the production of some respectable author, let us confine our inquiry to a single point — Whether Christ received flesh from the virgin? — that we may thus arrive at a certain proof that His flesh was human, if He derived its substance from His mother's womb, although we are at once furnished with clear evidences of the human character of His flesh, from its name and description as that of a man, and from the nature of its constitution, and from the system of its sensations, and from its suffering of death. Now, it will first be necessary to show what previous reason there was for the Son of God's being born of a virgin. He who was going to consecrate a new order of birth, must Himself be born after a novel fashion, concerning which Isaiah foretold how that the Lord Himself would give the sign. What, then, is the sign? Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son. Isaiah 7:14 Accordingly, a virgin did conceive and bear Emmanuel, God with us. Matthew 1:23 This is the new nativity; a man is born in God. And in this man God was born, taking the flesh of an ancient race, without the help, however, of the ancient seed, in order that He might reform it with a new seed, that is, in a spiritual manner, and cleanse it by the re-moval of all its ancient stains. But the whole of this new birth was prefigured, as was the case in all other instances, in ancient type, the Lord being born as man by a dispensation in which a virgin was the medium. The earth was still in a virgin state, reduced as yet by no human labour, with no seed as yet cast into its furrows, when, as we are told, God made man out of it into a living soul. Genesis 2:7 As, then, the first Adam is thus introduced to us, it is a just inference that the second Adam likewise, as the apostle has told us, was formed by God into a quickening spirit out of the ground — in other words, out of a flesh which was unstained as yet by any human generation. But that I may lose no opportunity of supporting my argument from the name of Adam, why is Christ called Adam by the apostle, unless it be that, as man, He was of

that earthly origin? And even reason here maintains the same conclusion, because it was by just the contrary operation that God recovered His own image and likeness, of which He had been robbed by the devil. For it was while Eve was yet a virgin, that the ensnaring word had crept into her ear which was to build the edifice of death. Into a virgin's soul, in like manner, must be introduced that Word of God which was to raise the fabric of life; so that what had been reduced to ruin by this sex, might by the selfsame sex be recovered to salvation. As Eve had believed the serpent, so Mary believed the angel. The delinquency which the one occasioned by believing, the other by believing effaced. But (it will be said) Eve did not at the devil's word conceive in her womb. Well, she at all events conceived; for the devil's word afterwards became as seed to her that she should conceive as an outcast, and bring forth in sorrow. Indeed she gave birth to a fratricidal devil; while Mary, on the contrary, bare one who was one day to secure salvation to Israel, His own brother after the flesh, and the murderer of Himself. God therefore sent down into the virgin's womb His Word, as the good Brother, who should blot out the memory of the evil brother. Hence it was necessary that Christ should come forth for the salvation of man, in that condition *of flesh* into which man had entered ever since his condemnation.

Chapter 18. The Mystery of the Assumption of Our Perfect Human Nature by the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity. He is Here Called, as Often Elsewhere, the Spirit

Now, that we may give a simpler answer, it was not fit that the Son of God should be born of a human father's seed, lest, if He were wholly the Son of a man, He should fail to be also the Son of God, and have nothing more than a Solomon or a Jonas, Matthew 12:41-42 — as Ebion thought we ought to believe concerning Him. In order, therefore, that He who was already the Son of God — of God the Father's seed, that is to say, the Spirit — might also be the Son of man, He only wanted to assume flesh, of the flesh of man without the seed of a man; for the seed of a man was unnecessary for One who had the seed of God. As, then, before His birth of the virgin, He was able to have God for His Father without a human mother, so likewise, after He was born of the virgin, He was able to have a woman for His mother without a human father. He is thus man with God, in short, since He is man's flesh with God's Spirit — *flesh* (I say) without seed from man, *Spirit* with seed from God. For as much, then, as the dispensation of *God's* purpose concerning His Son required that He should be born of a virgin, why should He not have received of the virgin the body which He bore from the virgin? Because, (forsooth) it is something else which He took from God, for the Word say they, was made flesh. John 1:14 Now this very statement plainly shows what it was that was made flesh; nor can it possibly be that anything else than the Word was made flesh. Now, whether it was of the flesh that the Word was made flesh, or whether it was so made of the (divine) seed itself, the Scripture must tell us. As, however, the Scripture is silent about everything except what it was that was made (flesh), and says nothing of that from which it was so made, it must be held to suggest that from something else, and not from itself, was the Word made flesh. And if not from itself, but from something else, from what can we more suitably suppose that the Word became flesh than from that flesh in which it submitted to the dispensation? And (we have a proof of the same conclusion in the fact) that the Lord Himself sententiously and distinctly pronounced, that which is born of the flesh is flesh, John 3:6 even because it is born of the flesh. But if He here spoke of a human being simply, and not of

Himself, (as you maintain) then you must deny absolutely that Christ is man, and must maintain that *human nature* was not suitable to Him. And then He adds, That which is born of the Spirit is spirit, John 3:6 because God is a Spirit, and He was born of God. Now this description is certainly even more applicable to Him than it is to those who believe in Him. But if this passage indeed apply to Him, then why does not the preceding one also? For you cannot divide their relation, and adapt this to Him, and the previous clause to all other men, especially as you do not deny that Christ possesses the two substances, both of the flesh and of the Spirit. Besides, as He was in possession both of flesh and of Spirit, He cannot possibly, when speaking of the condition of the two substances which He Himself bears, be supposed to have determined that the Spirit indeed was His own, but that the flesh was not His own. Forasmuch, therefore, as He is of the Spirit He is God the Spirit, and is born of God; just as He is also born of the flesh of man, being generated in the flesh as man.

Chapter 19. Christ, as to His Divine Nature, as the Word of God, Became Flesh, Not by Carnal Conception, Nor by the Will of the Flesh and of Man, But by the Will of God. Christ's Divine Nature, of Its Own Accord, Descended into the Virgin's Womb

What, then, is the meaning of this passage, Born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God? John 1:13 I shall make more use of this passage after I have confuted those who have tampered with it. They maintain that it was written thus (in the plural) *Who were born*, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God, as if designating those who were before mentioned as believing in His name, in order to point out the existence of that mysterious seed of the elect and spiritual which they appropriate to themselves. But how can this be, when all who believe in the name of the Lord are, by reason of the common principle of the human race, born of blood, and of the will of the flesh, and of man, as indeed is Valentinus himself? The expression is in the singular number, as referring to the Lord, He was born of God. And very properly, because Christ is the Word of God, and with the Word the Spirit of God, and by the Spirit the Power of God, and whatsoever else appertains to God. As flesh, however, He is not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of man, because it was by the will of God that the Word was made flesh. To the flesh, indeed, and not to the Word, accrues the denial of the nativity which is natural to us all as men, because it was as flesh that He had thus to be born, and not as the Word. Now, while the passage actually denies that He was born of the will of the flesh, how is it that it did not also deny (that He was born) of the substance of the flesh? For it did not disavow the substance of the flesh when it denied His being born of blood but only the matter of the seed, which, as all know, is the warm blood as convected by ebullition into the *coagulum* of the woman's blood. In the cheese, it is from the coagulation that the milky substance acquires that consistency, which is condensed by infusing the rennet. We thus understand that what is denied is the Lord's birth after sexual intercourse (as is suggested by the phrase, the will of man and of the flesh), not *His nativity* from a woman's womb. Why, too, is it insisted on with such an accumulation of emphasis that He was not born of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor (of

the will) of man, if it were not that His flesh was such that no man could have any doubt on the point of its being born from sexual intercourse? Again, although denying His birth from such cohabitation, the passage did not deny that He was born of *real* flesh; it rather affirmed this, by the very fact that it did not deny His birth in the flesh in the same way that it denied His birth from sexual intercourse. Pray, tell me, why the Spirit of God descended into a woman's womb at all, if He did not do so for the purpose of partaking of flesh from the womb. For He could have become *spiritual* flesh without such a process — much more simply, indeed, without the womb than in it. He had no reason for enclosing Himself within one, if He was to bear forth nothing from it. Not without reason, however, did He descend into a womb. Therefore He received (flesh) therefrom; else, if He received nothing therefrom, His descent into it would have been without a reason, especially if He meant to become flesh of that sort which was not derived from a womb, that is to say, a spiritual one.

Chapter 20. Christ Born of a Virgin, of Her Substance. The Physiological Facts of His Real and Exact Birth of a Human Mother, as Suggested by Certain Passages of Scripture

But to what shifts you resort, in your attempt to rob the syllable *ex* (*of*) of its proper force as a preposition, and to substitute another for it in a sense not found throughout the Holy Scriptures! You say that He was born *through* a virgin, not *of* a virgin, and *in* a womb, not *of* a womb, because the angel in the dream said to Joseph, That which is born in her (not of her) is of the Holy Ghost. Matthew 1:20 But the fact is, if he had meant of her, he must have said in her; for that which was of her, was also in her. The angel's expression, therefore, in her, has precisely the same meaning as the phrase of her. It is, however, a fortunate circumstance that Matthew also, when tracing down the Lord's descent from Abraham to Mary, says, Jacob begot Joseph the husband of Mary, *of whom* was born Christ. Matthew 1:16 But Paul, too, silences these critics when he says, God sent forth His Son, made of a woman. Galatians 4:4 Does he mean *through* a woman, or *in* a woman? Nay more, for the sake of greater emphasis, he uses the word *made* rather than *born*, although the use of the latter expression would have been simpler. But by saying *made*, he not only confirmed the statement, The Word was made flesh, John 1:14 but he also asserted the reality of the flesh which was made of a virgin. We shall have also the support of the Psalms on this point, not the Psalms indeed of Valentinus the apostate, and heretic, and Platonist, but the Psalms of David, the most illustrious saint and well-known prophet. He sings to us of Christ, and through his voice Christ indeed also sang concerning Himself. Hear, then, Christ the Lord speaking to God the Father: You are He that drew me out of my mother's womb. Here is the first point. You are my hope from my mother's breasts; upon You have I been cast from the womb. Here is another point. You are my God from my mother's belly. Here is a third point. Now let us carefully attend to the sense of these passages. You drew me, He says, out of the womb. Now what is it which is *drawn*, if it be not that which adheres, that which is firmly fastened to anything from which it is drawn in order to be sundered? If He clove not to the womb, how could He have been drawn from it? If He who clove thereto was drawn from it, how could He have adhered to

it, if it were not that, all the while He was in the womb, He was tied to it, as to His origin, by the umbilical cord, which communicated growth to Him from the matrix? Even when one strange matter amalgamates with another, it becomes so entirely incorporated with that with which it amalgamates, that when it is drawn off from it, it carries with it some part of the body from which it is torn, as if in consequence of the severance of the union and growth which the constituent pieces had communicated to each other. But what were His mother's breasts which He mentions? No doubt they were those which He sucked. Midwives, and doctors, and naturalists, can tell us, from the nature of women's breasts, whether they usually flow at any other time than when the womb is affected with pregnancy, when the veins convey therefrom the blood of the lower parts to the *mamilla*, and in the act of transference convert the secretion into the nutritious substance of milk. Whence it comes to pass that during the period of lactation the monthly issues are suspended. But if the Word was made flesh of Himself without any communication with a womb, no mother's womb operating upon Him with its usual function and support, how could the lacteal fountain have been conveyed (from the womb) to the breasts, since (the womb) can only effect the change by actual possession *of the proper substance*? But it could not possibly have had blood for transformation into milk, unless it possessed the causes of blood also, that is to say, the severance (by birth) of its own flesh *from the mother's womb*. Now it is easy to see what was the novelty of Christ's being born of a virgin. It was simply this, that (He was born) of a virgin in the real manner which we have indicated, in order that our regeneration might have virginal purity — spiritually cleansed from all pollutions through Christ, who was Himself a virgin, even in the flesh, in that He was *born* of a virgin's flesh.

**Chapter 21. The Word of God Did Not Become Flesh
Except in the Virgin's Womb and of Her Substance.
Through His Mother He is Descended from Her Great
Ancestor David. He is Described Both in the Old and in
the New Testament as The Fruit of David's Loins.**

Whereas, then, they contend that the novelty (of Christ's birth) consisted in this, that as the Word of God became flesh without the seed of a human father, so there should be no flesh of the virgin mother (assisting in the transaction), why should not the novelty rather be confined to this, that His flesh, although not born of seed, should yet have proceeded from flesh? I should like to go more closely into this discussion. Behold, says he, a virgin shall conceive in the womb. *Conceive* what? I ask. The Word of God, of course, and not the seed of man, and in order, certainly, to bring forth a son. For, says he, she shall bring forth a son. Therefore, as the act of conception was her own, so also what she brought forth was her own, also, although the cause of conception was not. If, on the other hand, the Word became flesh of Himself, then He both conceived and brought forth Himself, and the prophecy is stultified. For in that case a virgin did *not* conceive, and did *not* bring forth; since whatever she brought forth from the conception of the Word, is not her own flesh. But is this the only statement of prophecy which will be frustrated? Will not the angel's announcement also be subverted, that the virgin should conceive in her womb and bring forth a son? Luke 1:31 And will not in fact every scripture which declares that Christ had a mother? For how could she have been His mother, unless He had been in her womb? But then He received nothing from her womb which could make her a mother in whose womb He had been. Such a name as this a strange flesh ought not *to assume*. No flesh can speak of a mother's womb but that which is itself the offspring of that womb; nor can any be the offspring of the said womb if it owe its birth solely to itself. Therefore even Elisabeth must be silent although she is carrying in her womb the prophetic babe, which was already conscious of his Lord, and is, moreover, filled with the Holy Ghost. Luke 1:41 For without reason does she say, and whence is this to me that the mother of my Lord should come to me? If it was not as her son, but only as a stranger that Mary carried Jesus in her womb, how is it she says, Blessed is the fruit of your womb? What is this

fruit of the womb, which received not its germ from the womb, which had not its root in the womb, which belongs not to her whose is the womb, and which is no doubt the real fruit of the womb — even Christ? Now, since He is the blossom of the stem which sprouts from the root of Jesse; since, moreover, the root of Jesse is the family of David, and the stem of the root is Mary descended from David, and the blossom of the stem is Mary's son, who is called Jesus Christ, will not He also be the fruit? For the blossom is the fruit, because through the blossom and from the blossom every product advances from its rudimental condition to perfect fruit. What then? *They*, deny to the fruit its blossom, and to the blossom its stem, and to the stem its root; so that the root fails to secure for itself, by means of the stem, that special product which comes from the stem, even the blossom and the fruit; for every step indeed in a genealogy is traced from the latest up to the first, so that it is now a well-known fact that the flesh of Christ is inseparable, not merely from Mary, but also from David through Mary, and from Jesse through David. This fruit, therefore, of David's loins, that is to say, of his posterity in the flesh, God swears to him that He will raise up to sit upon his throne. If of David's loins, how much rather is He of Mary's loins, by virtue of whom He is in the loins of David?

Chapter 22. Holy Scripture in the New Testament, Even in Its Very First Verse, Testifies to Christ's True Flesh. In Virtue of Which He is Incorporated in the Human Stock of David, and Abraham, and Adam

They may, then, obliterate the testimony of the devils which proclaimed Jesus the son of David; but whatever unworthiness there be in this testimony, that of the apostles they will never be able to efface. There is, first of all, Matthew, that most faithful chronicler of the Gospel, because the companion of the Lord; for no other reason in the world than to show us clearly the fleshly original of Christ, he thus begins *his Gospel*: The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham. Matthew 1:1 With a nature issuing from such fountal sources, and an order gradually descending to the birth of Christ, what else have we here described than the very flesh of Abraham and of David conveying itself down, step after step, to the very virgin, and at last introducing Christ, — nay, producing Christ Himself of the virgin? Then, again, there is Paul, who was at once both a disciple, and a master, and a witness of the selfsame Gospel; as an apostle of the same Christ, also, he affirms that Christ was made of the seed of David, according to the flesh, — which, therefore, was His own likewise. Christ's flesh, then, is of David's seed. Since He is of the seed of David in consequence of Mary's flesh, He is therefore of Mary's flesh because of the seed of David. In what way so ever you torture the statement, He is either of the flesh of Mary because of the seed of David, or He is of the seed of David because of the flesh of Mary. The whole discussion is terminated by the same apostle, when he declares Christ to be the seed of Abraham. And if of Abraham, how much more, to be sure, of David, as a more recent *progenitor*! For, unfolding the promised blessing upon all nations in the person of Abraham, And in your seed shall all nations of the earth be blessed, he adds, He says not, And to seeds, as of many; but as of one, And to your seed, which is Christ. Galatians 3:8, 16 When we read and believe these things, what sort of flesh ought we, and can we, acknowledge in Christ? Surely none other than Abraham's, since Christ is the seed of Abraham; none other than Jesse's, since Christ is the blossom of the stem of Jesse; none other than David's, since Christ is the fruit of David's loins; none other than Mary's, since Christ came from Mary's

womb; and, higher still, none other than Adam's, since Christ is the second Adam. The consequence, therefore, is that they must either maintain, that those (ancestors) had a spiritual flesh, that so there might be derived to Christ the same condition of substance, or else allow that the flesh of Christ was not a spiritual one, since it is not traced from the origin of a spiritual stock.

Chapter 23. Simeon's Sign that Should Be Contradicted, Applied to the Heretical Gainsaying of the True Birth of Christ. One of the Heretics' Paradoxes Turned in Support of Catholic Truth

We acknowledge, however, that the prophetic declaration of Simeon is fulfilled, which he spoke over the recently-born Saviour: Behold, this *child* is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign that shall be spoken against. Luke 2:34 The sign (here meant) is that of the birth of Christ, according to Isaiah: Therefore the Lord Himself shall give you *a sign*: behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son. Isaiah 7:14 We discover, then, what the sign is which is to be spoken against — the conception and the parturition of the Virgin Mary, concerning which these sophists say: She a virgin and yet not a virgin bare, and yet did not bear; just as if such language, if indeed it must be uttered, would not be more suitable even for ourselves to use! For she bare, because she produced offspring of her own flesh and yet she did not bear, since she produced Him not from a husband's seed; she was a virgin, so far as (abstinence) from a husband went, and yet not a virgin, as regards her bearing a child. *There is not, however, that parity of reasoning which the heretics affect: in other words* it does not follow that for the reason she did not bear, she who was not a virgin was yet a virgin, even because she became a mother without any fruit of her own womb. But with us there is no equivocation, nothing twisted into a double sense. Light is light; and darkness, darkness; yea is yea; and nay, nay; whatsoever is more than these comes of evil. Matthew 5:37 She who bare (really) bare; and although she was a virgin when she conceived, she was a wife when she brought forth *her son*. Now, as a wife, she was under the very law of opening the womb, wherein it was quite immaterial whether the birth of the male was by virtue of a husband's co-operation or not; it was the same sex that opened her womb. Indeed, hers is the womb on account of which it is written of others also: Every male that opens the womb shall be called holy to the Lord. For who is really holy but the Son of God? Who properly opened the womb but He who opened *a closed one*? But it is marriage which opens the womb in all cases. *The virgin's womb*, therefore, was especially opened, because it was especially closed. Indeed she ought rather to be called not a virgin than a virgin, becoming a mother at a leap, as it

were, before she was a wife. And what must be said more on this point? Since it was in this sense that the apostle declared that the Son of God was born not of a virgin, but of a woman, he in that statement recognised the condition of the opened womb which ensues in marriage. We read in Ezekiel of a heifer which brought forth, and still did not bring forth. Now, see whether it was not in view of your own future contentions about the womb of Mary, that even then the Holy Ghost set His mark upon you in this passage; otherwise He would not, contrary to His usual simplicity of style (in this prophet), have uttered a sentence of such doubtful import, *especially* when Isaiah says, She shall conceive and bear a son. Isaiah 7:14

Chapter 24. Divine Strictures on Various Heretics Described in Various Passages of Prophetical Scripture. Those Who Assail the True Doctrine of the One Lord Jesus Christ, Both God and Man, Thus Condemned

For when Isaiah hurls denunciation against our very heretics, especially in his Woe to them that call evil good, and put darkness for light, Isaiah 5:20 he of course sets his mark upon those among you who preserve not in the words they employ the light of their true significance, (by taking care) that the *soul* should mean only that which is so called, and the *flesh* simply that which is confest to our view, and *God* none other than the One who is preached. Having thus Marcion in his prophetic view, he says, I am God, and there is none else; there is no God beside me. Isaiah 45:5 And when in another passage he says, in like manner, Before me there was no God, Isaiah 46:9 he strikes at those inexplicable genealogies of the Valentinian Æons. Again, there is an answer to Ebion in the Scripture: Born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. In like manner, in the passage, If even an angel of heaven preach unto you any other gospel than *that which we have* preached unto you, let him be anathema, Galatians 1:8 he calls attention to the artful influence of Philumene, the virgin friend of Apelles. Surely he is antichrist who denies that Christ has come in the flesh. 1 John 4:3 By declaring that His flesh is simply and absolutely true, and taken in the plain sense of its own nature, *the Scripture* aims a blow at all who make distinctions in it. In the same way, also, when it defines the very Christ to be but one, it shakes the fancies of those who exhibit a multiform Christ, who make Christ to be one being and Jesus another — representing one as escaping out of the midst of the crowds, and the other as detained by them; one as appearing on a solitary mountain to three companions, clothed with glory in a cloud, the other as an ordinary man holding intercourse with all, one as magnanimous, but the other as timid; lastly, one as suffering death, the other as risen again, by means of which event they maintain a resurrection of their own also, only in another flesh. Happily, however, He who suffered will come again from heaven, Acts 1:11 and by all shall He be seen, who rose again from the dead. They too who crucified Him shall see and acknowledge Him; that is to say, His very flesh, against which they spent their fury, and without which it would be impossible

for Himself either to exist or to be seen; so that they must blush with shame who affirm that His flesh sits in heaven void of sensation, like a sheath only, Christ being withdrawn from it; as well as those who (maintain) that His flesh and soul are just the same thing, or else that His soul is all that exists, but that His flesh no longer lives.

Chapter 25. Conclusion. This Treatise Forms a Preface to the Other Work, On the Resurrection of the Flesh, Proving the Reality of the Flesh Which Was Truly Born, and Died, and Rose Again

But let this suffice on our present subject; for I think that by this time proof enough has been adduced of the flesh in Christ having both been born of the virgin, and being human in its nature. And this discussion alone might have been sufficient, without encountering the isolated opinions which have been raised from different quarters. We have, however, challenged these opinions to the test, both of the arguments which sustain them, and of the Scriptures which are appealed to, and this we have done *ex abundanti*; so that we have, by showing what the flesh of Christ was, and whence it was derived, also predetermined the question, against all objectors, of what that flesh was not. The resurrection, however, of our own flesh will have to be maintained in another little treatise, and so bring to a close this present one, which serves as a general preface, and which will pave the way *for the approaching subject* now that it is plain what kind of body that was which rose again in Christ.

De Resurrectione Carnis (On the Resurrection of Flesh)



Translated by Peter Holmes

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Chapter 1. The Doctrine of the Resurrection of the Body Brought to Light by the Gospel. The Faintest Glimpses of Something Like It Occasionally Met with in Heathenism. Inconsistencies of Pagan Teaching.

The resurrection of the dead is the Christian's trust. By it we are believers. To the belief of this (article of the faith) truth compels us — that truth which God reveals, but the crowd derides, which supposes that nothing will survive after death. And yet they do honour to their dead, and *that* too in the most expensive way according to their bequest, and with the daintiest banquets which the seasons can produce, on the presumption that those whom they declare to be incapable of all perception still retain an appetite. But (let the crowd deride): I on my side must deride it still more, especially when it burns up its dead with harshest inhumanity, only to pamper them immediately afterwards with gluttonous satiety, using the selfsame fires to honour them and to insult them. What piety is that which mocks *its victims* with cruelty? Is it sacrifice or insult (which the crowd offers), when it burns its offerings to those it has already burnt? But the wise, too, join with the vulgar crowd in their opinion sometimes. There is nothing after death, according to the school of Epicurus. After death all things come to an end, even death itself, says Seneca to like effect. It is satisfactory, however, that the no less important philosophy of Pythagoras and Empedocles, and the Platonists, take the contrary view, and declare the soul to be immortal; affirming, moreover, in a way which most nearly approaches (to our own doctrine), that the soul actually returns into bodies, although not the same bodies, and not even those of human beings invariably: thus Euphorbus is supposed to have passed into Pythagoras, and Homer into a peacock. They firmly pronounced the soul's renewal to be in a body, (deeming it) more tolerable to change the quality (of the corporeal state) than to deny it wholly: they at least knocked at the door of truth, although they entered not. Thus the world, with all its errors, does not ignore the resurrection of the dead.

Chapter 2. The Jewish Sadducees a Link Between the Pagan Philosophers and the Heretics on This Doctrine. Its Fundamental Importance Asserted. The Soul Fares Better Than the Body, in Heretical Estimation, as to Its Future State. Its Extinction, However, Was Held by One Lucan.

Since there is even within the confines of God's *Church* a sect which is more nearly allied to the Epicureans than to the prophets, an opportunity is afforded us of knowing what estimate Christ forms of the (said sect, even the) Sadducees. For to Christ was it reserved to lay bare everything which before was concealed: to impart certainty to doubtful points; to accomplish those of which men had had but a foretaste; to give present reality to the objects of prophecy; *and* to furnish not only by Himself, but actually in Himself, certain proofs of the resurrection of the dead. It is, however, against other Sadducees that we have now to prepare ourselves, but still partakers of their doctrine. For instance, they allow a moiety of the resurrection; that is, simply of the soul, despising the flesh, just as they also do the Lord of the flesh Himself. No other persons, indeed, refuse to concede to the substance of the body its recovery from death, heretical inventors of a second deity. Driven then, as they are, to give a different dispensation to Christ, so that He may not be accounted as belonging to the Creator, they have achieved their first error in *the article of His very flesh*; contending with Marcion and Basilides that it possessed no reality; or else holding, after the heretical tenets of Valentinus, and according to Apelles, that it had qualities peculiar to itself. And so it follows that they shut out from all recovery from death that substance of which they say that Christ did not partake, confidently assuming that it furnishes the strongest presumption against the resurrection, since the flesh is already risen in Christ. Hence it is that we have ourselves previously issued our volume *On the flesh of Christ*; in which we both furnish proofs of its reality, in opposition to the idea of its being a vain phantom; and claim for it a human nature without any peculiarity of condition — such a nature as has marked out Christ to be both man and the Son of man. For when we prove Him to be invested with the flesh and in a bodily condition, we at the same time refute heresy, by establishing the rule that no other being than the Creator

must be believed to be God, since we show that Christ, in whom God is plainly discerned, is precisely of such a nature as the Creator promised that He should be. Being thus refuted touching God as the Creator, and Christ as the Redeemer of the flesh, they will at once be defeated also on the resurrection of the flesh. No procedure, indeed, can be more reasonable. And we affirm that controversy with heretics should in most cases be conducted in this way. For due method requires that conclusions should always be drawn from the most important premises, in order that there be a prior agreement on the essential point, by means of which the particular question under review may be said to have been determined. Hence it is that the heretics, from their conscious weakness, never conduct discussion in an orderly manner. They are well aware how hard is their task in insinuating the existence of a second god, to the disparagement of the Creator of the world, who is known to all men naturally by the testimony of His works, who is before all others in the mysteries *of His being*, and is especially manifested in the prophets; then, under the pretence of considering a more urgent inquiry, namely man's own salvation — a question which transcends all others in its importance — they begin with doubts about the resurrection; for there is greater difficulty in believing the resurrection of the flesh than the oneness of the Deity. In this way, after they have deprived the discussion of the advantages of its logical order, and have embarrassed it with doubtful insinuations in disparagement of the flesh, they gradually draw their argument to the reception of a second god after destroying and changing the very ground of our hopes. For when once a man is fallen or removed from the sure hope which he had placed in the Creator, he is easily led away to the object of a different hope, whom however of his own accord he can hardly help suspecting. Now it is by a discrepancy in the promises that a difference of gods is insinuated. How many do we thus see drawn into the net vanquished on the resurrection of the flesh, before they could carry their point on the oneness of the Deity! In respect, then, of the heretics, we have shown with what weapons we ought to meet them. And indeed we have already encountered them in treatises severally directed against them: on the one only God and His Christ, in our work against Marcion, on the Lord's flesh, in our book against the four heresies, for the special purpose of opening the way to the present inquiry: so that we have now only to discuss the resurrection of the flesh, (treating it) just as if it were

uncertain in regard to ourselves also, that is, in the system of the Creator. Because many persons are uneducated; still more are of faltering faith, and several are weak-minded: these will have to be instructed, directed, strengthened, inasmuch as the very oneness of the Godhead will be defended along with the maintenance of our doctrine. For if the resurrection of the flesh be denied, *that prime article of the faith* is shaken; if it be asserted, that is established. There is no need, I suppose, to treat of the soul's safety; for nearly all the heretics, in whatever way they conceive of it, certainly refrain from denying *that*. We may ignore a certain Lucan, who does not spare even this part of our nature, which he follows Aristotle in reducing to dissolution, and substitutes some other thing in lieu of it. Some third nature it is which, according to him, is to rise again, neither soul nor flesh; in other words, not man, but a bear perhaps — for instance, Lucan himself. Even he has received from us a copious notice in our book on the entire condition of the soul, the special immortality of which we there maintain, while we also both acknowledge the dissolution of the flesh alone, and emphatically assert its restitution. Into the body of that work were collected whatever points we elsewhere had to reserve from the pressure of incidental causes. For as it is my custom to touch some questions but lightly on their first occurrence, so I am obliged also to postpone the consideration of them, until the outline can be filled in with complete detail, and the deferred points be taken up on their own merits.

Chapter 3. Some Truths Held Even by the Heathen.

They Were, However, More Often Wrong Both in Religious Opinions and in Moral Practice. The Heathen Not to Be Followed in Their Ignorance of the Christian Mystery. The Heretics Perversely Prone to Follow Them.

One may no doubt be wise in the things of God, even from one's natural powers, but only in witness to the truth, not in maintenance of error; (only) when one acts in accordance with, not in opposition to, the divine dispensation. For some things are known even by nature: the immortality of the soul, for instance, is held by many; the knowledge of our God is possessed by all. I may use, therefore, the opinion of a Plato, when he declares, Every soul is immortal. I may use also the conscience of a nation, when it attests the God of gods. I may, in like manner, use all the other intelligences of our common nature, when they pronounce God to be a judge. God sees, (say they); and, I commend you to God. But when they say, What has undergone death is dead, and, Enjoy life while you live, and, After death all things come to an end, even death itself; then I must remember both that the heart of man is ashes, Isaiah 44:20 according to the estimate of God, and that the very Wisdom of the world is foolishness, (as the inspired word) pronounces it to be. Then, if even the heretic seek refuge in the depraved thoughts of the vulgar, or the imaginations of the world, I must say to him: Part company with the heathen, O heretic! For although you are all agreed in imagining a God, yet while you do so in the name of Christ, so long as you deem yourself a Christian, you are a different man from a heathen: give him back his own views of things, since he does not himself learn from yours. Why lean upon a blind guide, if you have eyes of your own? Why be clothed by one who is naked, if you have put on Christ? Why use the shield of another, when the apostle gives you armour of your own? It would be better for him to learn from you to acknowledge the resurrection of the flesh, than for you from him to deny it; because if Christians must needs deny it, it would be sufficient if they did so from their own knowledge, without any instruction from the ignorant multitude. He, therefore, will not be a Christian who shall deny this doctrine which is confessed by Christians; denying it, moreover, on grounds which are adopted by a man who is not a Christian. Take away, indeed, from

the heretics the wisdom which they share with the heathen, and let them support their inquiries from the Scriptures alone: they will then be unable to keep their ground. For that which commends men's common sense is its very simplicity, and its participation in the same feelings, and its community of opinions; and it is deemed to be all the more trustworthy, inasmuch as its definitive statements are naked and open, and known to all. Divine reason, on the contrary, lies in the very pith and marrow of things, not on the surface, and very often is at variance with appearances.

Chapter 4. Heathens and Heretics Alike in Their Vilification of the Flesh and Its Functions, the Ordinary Cavils Against the Final Restitution of So Weak and Ignoble a Substance.

Hence it is that heretics start at once from this point, from which they sketch the first draft of their dogmas, and afterwards add the details, being well aware how easily men's minds are caught by its influence, (and actuated) by that community of human sentiment which is so favourable to their designs. Is there anything else that you can hear of from the heretic, as *also* from the heathen, earlier in time or greater in extent? Is not (their burden) from the beginning and everywhere an invective against the flesh — against its origin, against its substance, against the casualties and the invariable end which await it; unclean from its first formation of the dregs of the ground, uncleaner afterwards from the mire of its own seminal transmission; worthless, weak, covered with guilt, laden with misery, full of trouble; and after all this record of its degradation, dropping into its original earth and the appellation of a corpse, and destined to dwindle away even from this loathsome name into none henceforth at all — into the very death of all designation? Now you are a shrewd man, no doubt: will you then persuade *yourself*, that after this flesh has been withdrawn from sight, and touch, and memory, it can never be rehabilitated from corruption to integrity, from a shattered to a solid state, from an empty to a full condition, from nothing at all to something — the devouring fires, and the waters of the sea, and the maws of beasts, and the crops of birds and the stomachs of fishes, and time's own great paunch itself of course yielding it all up again? Shall the same flesh which has fallen to decay be so expected to recover, as that the lame, and the one-eyed, and the blind, and the leper, and the palsied shall come back again, although there can be no pleasure in returning to their old condition? Or shall they be whole, and so have to fear exposure to such sufferings? What, in that case, (must we say) of the consequences of *resuming* the flesh? Will it again be subject to all its present wants, especially meats and drinks? Shall we have with our lungs to float (in air or water), and suffer pain in our bowels, and with organs of shame to feel no shame, and with all our limbs to toil and labour? Must there again be ulcers, and wounds, and fever, and gout, and once more the wishing to die?

Of course these will be the longings incident on the recovery of the flesh, only the repetition of desires to escape out of it. Well now, we have (stated) all this in very subdued and delicate phrases, as suited to the character of our style; but (would you know) how great a licence of unseemly language these men actually use, you must test them in their conferences, whether they be heathens or heretics.

Chapter 5. Some Considerations in Reply Eulogistic of the Flesh. It Was Created by God. The Body of Man Was, in Fact, Previous to His Soul.

Inasmuch as all uneducated men, therefore, still form their opinions after these common-sense views, and as the falterers and the weak-minded have a renewal of their perplexities occasioned by the selfsame views; and as the first battering-ram which is directed against ourselves is that which shatters the condition of the flesh, we must on our side necessarily so manage our defences, as to guard, first of all, the condition of the flesh, their disparagement of it being repulsed by our own eulogy. The heretics, therefore, challenged us to use our rhetoric no less than our philosophy. Respecting, then, this frail and poor, worthless body, which they do not indeed hesitate to call evil, even if it had been the work of angels, as Menander and Marcus are pleased to think, or the formation of some fiery being, an angel, as Apelles teaches, it would be quite enough for securing respect for the body, that it had the support and protection of even a secondary deity. The angels, we know, rank next to God. Now, whatever be the supreme God of each heretic, I should not unfairly derive the dignity of the flesh likewise from Him to whom was present the will for its production. For, of course, if He had not willed its production, He would have prohibited it, when He knew it was in progress. It follows, then, that even on their principle the flesh is equally the work of God. There is no work but belongs to Him who has permitted it to exist. It is indeed a happy circumstance, that most of their doctrines, including even the harshest, accord to our God the entire formation of man. How mighty He is, you know full well who believe that He is the only God. Let, then, the flesh begin to give you pleasure, since the Creator thereof is so great. But, you say, even the world is the work of God, and yet the fashion of this world passes away, 1 Corinthians 7:31 as the apostle himself testifies; nor must it be predetermined that the world will be restored, simply because it is the work of God. And surely if the universe, after its ruin, is not to be formed again, why should a portion of it be? You are right, if a portion is on an equality with the whole. But we maintain that there is a difference. In the first place, because all things were made by the Word of God, and without Him was nothing made. John 1:3 Now the flesh, too, had its existence from the Word of God, because

of the principle, that here should be nothing without that Word. Let us make man, Genesis 1:26 said He, before He created him, and added, with our hand, for the sake of his pre-eminence, that so he might not be compared with the rest of creation. And God, says (the Scripture), formed man. Genesis 1:27 There is undoubtedly a great difference in the procedure, springing of course from the nature of the case. For the creatures which were made were inferior to him for whom they were made; and they were made for man, to whom they were afterwards made subject by God. Rightly, therefore, had the creatures which were thus intended for subjection, come forth into being at the bidding and command and sole power of the *divine* voice; while man, on the contrary, destined to be their lord, was formed by God Himself, to the intent that he might be able to exercise his mastery, being created by the Master *the Lord Himself*. Remember, too, that man is properly called *flesh*, which had a prior occupation in man's designation: And God formed man the clay of the ground. He now became man, who was hitherto clay. And He breathed upon his face the breath of life, and man (that is, the clay) became a living soul; and God placed the man whom He had formed in the garden. Genesis 2:7-8 So that man was clay at first, and only afterwards *man* entire. I wish to impress this on your attention, with a view to your knowing, that whatever God has at all purposed or promised to man, is due not to the soul simply, but to the flesh also; if not arising out of any community in their origin, yet at all events by the privilege *possessed by the latter* in its name.

Chapter 6. Not the Lowliness of the Material, But the Dignity and Skill of the Maker, Must Be Remembered, in Gauging the Excellence of the Flesh. Christ Partook of Our Flesh.

Let me therefore pursue the subject before me — if I can but succeed in vindicating for the flesh as much as was conferred on it by Him who made it, glorying as it even then was, because that poor paltry material, clay, found its way into the hands of God, whatever these were, happy enough at merely being touched by them. But why *this glorying*? Was it that, without any further labour, the clay had instantly assumed its form at the touch of God? The truth is, a great matter was in progress, out of which the creature under consideration was being fashioned. So often then does it receive honour, as often as it experiences the hands of God, when it is touched by them, and pulled, and drawn out, and moulded into shape. Imagine God wholly employed and absorbed in it — in His hand, His eye, His labour, His purpose, His wisdom, His providence, and above all, in His love, which was dictating the lineaments (of this creature). For, whatever was the form and expression which was then given to the clay (by the Creator) Christ was in His thoughts as one day to become man, because the Word, too, was to be both clay and flesh, even as the earth was then. For so did the Father previously say to the Son: Let us make man in our own image, after our likeness. Genesis 1:26 And God made man, that is to say, the creature which He moulded and fashioned; after the image of God (in other words, of Christ) did He make him. And the Word was God also, who being in the image of God, thought it not robbery to be equal to God. Philippians 2:6 Thus, that clay which was even then putting on the image of Christ, who was to come in the flesh, was not only the work, but also the pledge and surety, of God. To what purpose is it to bandy about the name *earth*, as that of a sordid and grovelling element, with the view of tarnishing the origin of the flesh, when, even if any other material had been available for forming man, it would be requisite that the dignity of the Maker should be taken into consideration, who even by His selection of His material deemed it, and by His management made it, worthy? The hand of Phidias forms the Olympian Jupiter of ivory; worship is given *to the statue*, and it is no longer regarded as a god *formed* out of a most silly animal, but as the

world's supreme Deity — not because of the bulk of the elephant, but on account of the renown of Phidias. Could not therefore the living God, the true God, purge away by His own operation whatever vileness might have accrued to His material, and heal it of all infirmity? Or must this remain *to show* how much more nobly man could fabricate a god, than God could form a man? Now, although the clay is offensive (for its poorness), it is now something else. What I possess is flesh, not earth, even although of the flesh it is said: Dust you are, and unto dust shall you return. In these words there is the mention of the origin, not a recalling of the substance. The privilege has been granted *to the flesh* to be nobler than its origin, and to have happiness aggrandized by the change wrought in it. Now, even gold is earth, because of the earth; but it remains earth no longer after it becomes gold, but is a far different substance, more splendid and more noble, though coming from a source which is comparatively faded and obscure. In like manner, it was quite allowable for God that He should clear the gold of our flesh from all the taints, as you deem them, of its *native* clay, by purging the original substance of its dross.

Chapter 7. The Earthy Material of Which Flesh is Created Wonderfully Improved by God's Manipulation. By the Addition of the Soul in Man's Constitution It Became the Chief Work in the Creation.

But perhaps the dignity of the flesh may seem to be diminished, because it has not been actually manipulated by the hand of God, as the clay was *at first*. Now, when God handled the clay for the express purpose of the growth of flesh out of it afterwards, it was for the flesh that He took all the trouble. But I want you, moreover, to know at what time and in what manner the flesh flourished into beauty out of *its* clay. For it cannot be, as some will have it, that those coats of skins Genesis 3:31 which Adam and Eve put on when they were stripped of paradise, were really themselves the forming of the flesh out of clay, because long before that Adam had already recognised the flesh which was in the woman as the propagation of his own substance (This is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh Genesis 2:23), and the very taking of the woman out of the man was supplemented with flesh; but it ought, I should suppose, to have been made good with clay, if Adam was still clay. The clay, therefore, was obliterated and absorbed into flesh. When *did this happen*? At the time that man became a living soul by the inbreathing of God — by the breath indeed which was capable of hardening clay into another substance, as into some earthenware, so now into flesh. In the same way the potter, too, has it in his power, by tempering the blast of his fire, to modify his clayey material into a stiffer one, and to mould one form after another more beautiful than the original substance, and now possessing both a kind and name of its own. For although the Scripture says, Shall the clay say to the potter? Romans 9:20 that is, Shall man *contend* with God? Although the apostle speaks of earthen vessels 2 Corinthians 6:7 he refers to man, who was originally clay. And the vessel is the flesh, because *this was made* of clay by the breath of the divine *afflatus*; and it was afterwards clothed with the coats of skins, that is, with the cutaneous covering which was placed over it. So truly is this the fact, that if you withdraw the skin, you lay bare the flesh. Thus, that which becomes a spoil when stripped off, was a vestment as long as it remained laid over. Hence the apostle, when he call circumcision a putting off (or spoliation) of the flesh, Colossians 2:11 affirmed the skin to be a coat or tunic. Now this

being the case, you have both the clay made glorious by the hand of God, and the flesh more glorious still by His breathing upon it, by virtue of which the flesh not only laid aside its clayey rudiments, but also took on itself the ornaments of the soul. You surely are not more careful than God, that *you* indeed should refuse to mount the gems of Scythia and India and the pearls of the Red Sea in lead, or brass, or iron, or even in silver, but should set them in the most precious and most highly-wrought gold; or, again, that you should provide for your finest wines and most costly ointments the most fitting vessels; or, on the same principle, should find for your swords of finished temper scabbards of equal worth; while *God* must consign to some vilest sheath the shadow of His own soul, the breath of His own Spirit, the operation of His own mouth, and by so ignominious a consignment secure, of course, its condemnation. Well, then, has He placed, or rather inserted and commingled, it with the flesh? Yes; and so intimate is the union, that it may be deemed to be uncertain whether the flesh bears about the soul, or the soul the flesh; or whether the flesh acts as *apparitor* to the soul, or the soul to the flesh. It is, however, more credible that the soul has service rendered to it, and has the mastery, as being more proximate in character to God. John 4:24 This circumstance even redounds to the glory of the flesh, inasmuch as it both contains an essence nearest to God's, and renders itself a partaker of (the soul's) actual sovereignty. For what enjoyment of nature is there, what produce of the world, what relish of the elements, which is not imparted to the soul by means of the body? How can it be otherwise? Is it not by its means that *the soul* is supported by the entire apparatus of the senses — the sight, the hearing, the taste, the smell, the touch? Is it not by its means that it has a sprinkling of the divine power, there being nothing which it does not effect by its faculty of speech, even when it is only tacitly indicated? And speech is the result of a fleshly organ. The arts come through the flesh; through the flesh also effect is given to the mind's pursuits and powers; all work, too, and business and offices of life, are accomplished by the flesh; and so utterly are the living acts of the soul the work of the flesh, that for the soul to cease to do living acts, would be nothing else than sundering itself from the flesh. So also the very act of dying is a function of the flesh, even as the process of life is. Now, if all things are subject to the soul through the flesh, their subjection is equally due to the flesh. That which is the means and agent of your

enjoyment, must needs be also the partaker and sharer of your enjoyment. So that the flesh, which is accounted the minister and servant of the soul, turns out to be also its associate and co-heir. And if all this in temporal things, why not also in things eternal?

Chapter 8. Christianity, by Its Provision for the Flesh, Has Put on It the Greatest Honour. The Privileges of Our Religion in Closest Connection with Our Flesh. Which Also Bears a Large Share in the Duties and Sacrifices of Religion.

Now such remarks have I wished to advance in defense of the flesh, from a general view of the condition of our human nature. Let us now consider its special relation to Christianity, and see how vast a privilege before God has been conferred on this poor and worthless substance. It would suffice to say, indeed, that there is not a soul that can at all procure salvation, except it believe while it is in the flesh, so true is it that the flesh is the very condition on which salvation hinges. And since the soul is, in consequence of its salvation, chosen to the service of God, it is the flesh which actually renders it capable of such service. The flesh, indeed, is washed, in order that the soul may be cleansed; the flesh is anointed, that the soul may be consecrated; the flesh is signed (with the cross), that the soul too may be fortified; the flesh is shadowed with the imposition of hands, that the soul also maybe illuminated by the Spirit; the flesh feeds on the body and blood of Christ, that the soul likewise may fatten on *its* God. They cannot then be separated in their recompense, when they are united in their service. Those sacrifices, moreover, which are acceptable to God — I mean conflicts of the soul, fastings, and abstinences, and the humiliations which are annexed to such duty — it is the flesh which performs again and again to its own special suffering. Virginity, likewise, and widowhood, and the modest restraint in secret on the marriage-bed, and the one only adoption of it, are fragrant offerings to God paid out of the good services of the flesh. Come, tell me what is your opinion of the flesh, when it has to contend for the name of Christ, dragged out to public view, and exposed to the hatred of all men; when it pines in prisons under the cruellest privation of light, in banishment from the world, amidst squalor, filth, and noisome food, without freedom even in sleep, for it is bound on its very pallet and mangled in its bed of straw; when at length before the public view it is racked by every kind of torture that can be devised, and when finally it is spent beneath its agonies, struggling to render its last turn for Christ by dying for Him — upon His own cross many times, not to say by still more atrocious

devices of torment. Most blessed, truly, and most glorious, must be the flesh which can repay its Master Christ so vast a debt, and so completely, that the only obligation remaining due to Him is, that it should cease *by death* to owe Him more — all the more bound *even then in gratitude*, because (for ever) set free.

Chapter 9. God's Love for the Flesh of Man, as Developed in the Grace of Christ Towards It. The Flesh the Best Means of Displaying the Bounty and Power of God.

To recapitulate, then: Shall that very flesh, which the Divine Creator formed with His own hands in the image of God; which He animated with His own *afflatus*, after the likeness of His own vital vigour; which He set over all the works of His hand, to dwell among, to enjoy, and to rule them; which He clothed with His sacraments and His instructions; whose purity He loves, whose mortifications He approves; whose sufferings for Himself He deems precious — (shall that flesh, I say), so often brought near to God, not rise again? God forbid, God forbid, (I repeat), that He should abandon to everlasting destruction the labour of His own hands, the care of His own thoughts, the receptacle of His own Spirit, the queen of His creation, the inheritor of His own liberality, the priestess of His religion, the champion of His testimony, the sister of His Christ! We know by experience the goodness of God; from His Christ we learn that He is the only God, and the very good. Now, as He requires from us love to our neighbour after love to Himself, Matthew 22:37-40 so He will Himself do that which He has commanded. He will love the flesh which is, so very closely and in so many ways, His neighbour — (He will love it), although infirm, since His strength is made perfect in weakness; 2 Corinthians 12:9 although disordered, since they that are whole need not the physician, but they that are sick; Luke 5:31 although not honourable, since we bestow more abundant honour upon the less honourable members; 1 Corinthians 12:23 although ruined, since He says, I have come to save that which was lost; Luke 19:10 although sinful, since He says, I desire rather the salvation of the sinner than his death; Ezekiel 18:23 although condemned, for says He, I shall wound, and also heal. Deuteronomy 32:39 Why reproach the flesh with those conditions which wait for God, which hope in God, which receive honour from God, which He succours? I venture to declare, that if such casualties as these had never befallen the flesh, the bounty, the grace, the mercy, (and indeed) all the beneficent power of God, would have had no opportunity to work.

Chapter 10. Holy Scripture Magnifies the Flesh, as to Its Nature and Its Prospects.

You hold to the scriptures in which the flesh is disparaged; receive also those in which it is ennobled. You read whatever passage abases it; direct your eyes also to that which elevates it. All flesh is grass. Isaiah 40:7 Well, but Isaiah was not content to say only this; but he also declared, All flesh shall see the salvation of God. Isaiah 40:5 They notice God when He says in Genesis, My Spirit shall not remain among these men, because they are flesh; but then He is also heard saying by Joel, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh. Joel 3:1 Even the apostle ought not to be known for any one statement in which he is wont to reproach the flesh. For although he says that in his flesh dwells no good thing; Romans 8:18 although he affirms that they who are in the flesh cannot please God, Romans 8:8 because the flesh lusts against the Spirit; Galatians 5:17 yet in these and similar assertions which he makes, it is not the *substance* of the flesh, but its *actions*, which are censured. Moreover, we shall elsewhere take occasion to remark, that no reproaches can fairly be cast upon the flesh, without tending also to the castigation of the soul, which compels the flesh to do its bidding. However, let me meanwhile add that in the same passage Paul carries about in his body the marks of the Lord Jesus; Galatians 6:17 he also forbids our body to be profaned, as being the temple of God; 1 Corinthians 3:16 he makes our bodies the members of Christ; 1 Corinthians 6:15 and he exhorts us to exalt and glorify God in our body. If, therefore, the humiliations of the flesh thrust off its resurrection, why shall not its high prerogatives rather avail to bring it about? — since it better suits the character of God to restore to salvation what for a while He rejected, than to surrender to perdition what He once approved.

Chapter 11. The Power of God Fully Competent to Effect the Resurrection of the Flesh.

Thus far touching my eulogy of the flesh, in opposition to its enemies, who are, notwithstanding, its greatest friends also; for there is nobody who lives so much in accordance with the flesh as they who deny the resurrection of the flesh, inasmuch as they despise all its discipline, while they disbelieve its punishment. It is a shrewd saying which the Paraclete utters concerning these persons by the mouth of the prophetess Prisca: They are carnal, and yet they hate the flesh. Since, then, the flesh has the best guarantee that could possibly accrue for securing to it the recompense of salvation, ought we not also to consider well the power, and might, and competency of God Himself, whether He be so great as to be able to rebuild and restore the edifice of the flesh, which had become dilapidated and blocked up, and in every possible way dislocated? — whether He has promulgated in the public domains of nature any analogies to convince us of His power in this respect, lest any should happen to be still thirsting for the knowledge of God, when faith in Him must rest on no other basis than the belief that He is able to do all things? You have, no doubt among your philosophers men who maintain that this world is without a beginning or a maker. It is, however, much more true, that nearly all the heresies allow it an origin and a maker, and ascribe its creation to our God. Firmly believe, therefore, that He produced it wholly out of nothing, and then you have found the knowledge of God, by believing that He possesses such mighty power. But some persons are too weak to believe all this at first, owing to their views about Matter. They will rather have it, after the philosophers, that the universe was in the beginning made by God out of underlying matter. Now, even if this opinion could be held in truth, since He must be acknowledged to have produced in His reformation of matter far different substances and far different forms from those which Matter itself possessed, I should maintain, with no less persistence, that He produced these things out of nothing, since they absolutely had no existence at all previous to His production of them. Now, where is the difference between a thing's being produced out of nothing or out of something, if so be that what existed not comes into being, when even to have had no existence is tantamount to having been nothing? The contrary is likewise true; for having once existed amounts

to having been something. If, however, there *is* a difference, both alternatives support my position. For if God produced all things whatever out of nothing, He will be able to draw forth from nothing even the flesh which had fallen into nothing; or if He moulded other things out of matter, He will be able to call forth the flesh too from somewhere else, into whatever *abyss* it may have been engulfed. And surely He is most competent to re-create who created, inasmuch as it is a far greater work to have produced than to have reproduced, to have imparted a beginning, than to have maintained a continuance. On this principle, you may be quite sure that the restoration of the flesh is easier than its first formation.

Chapter 12. Some Analogies in Nature Which Corroborate the Resurrection of the Flesh.

Consider now those very analogies of the divine power (to which we have just alluded). Day dies into night, and is buried everywhere in darkness. The glory of the world is obscured in the shadow of death; its entire substance is tarnished with blackness; all things become sordid, silent, stupid; everywhere business ceases, and occupations rest. And so over the loss of the light there is mourning. But yet it again revives, with its own beauty, its own dowry, its own sun, the same as ever, whole and entire, over all the world, slaying its own death, night — opening its own sepulchre, the darkness — coming forth the heir to itself, until the night also revives — it, too, accompanied with a retinue of its own. For the stellar rays are rekindled, which had been quenched in the morning glow; the distant groups of the constellations are again brought back to view, which the *day's* temporary interval had removed out of sight. Readorned also are the mirrors of the moon, which her monthly course had worn away. Winters and summers return, as do the spring-tide and autumn, with their resources, their routines, their fruits. Forasmuch as earth receives its instruction from heaven to clothe the trees which had been stripped, to color the flowers afresh, to spread the grass again, to reproduce the seed which had been consumed, and not to reproduce them until consumed. Wondrous method! From a defrauder to be a preserver, in order to restore, it takes away; in order to guard, it destroys; that it may make whole, it injures; and that it may enlarge, it first lessens. (This process) indeed, renders back to us richer and fuller blessings than it deprived us of — by a destruction which is profit, by an injury which is advantage, and by a loss which is gain. In a word, I would say, all creation is instinct with renewal. Whatever you may chance upon, has already existed; whatever you have lost, returns again without fail. All things return to their former state, after having gone out of sight; all things begin after they have ended; they come to an end for the very purpose of coming into existence again. Nothing perishes but with a view to salvation. The whole, therefore, of this revolving order of things bears witness to the resurrection of the dead. In His works did God write it, before He wrote it in the Scriptures; He proclaimed it in His mighty deeds earlier than in His inspired words. He first sent Nature to you as a teacher, meaning to send

Prophecy also as a supplemental instructor, that, being Nature's disciple, you may more easily believe Prophecy, and without hesitation accept (its testimony) when you come to hear what you have seen already on every side; nor doubt that God, whom you have discovered to be the restorer of all things, is likewise the reviver of the flesh. And surely, as all things rise again for man, for whose use they have been provided — but not for man except for his flesh also — how happens it that (the flesh) itself can perish utterly, because of which and for the service of which nothing comes to nought?

Chapter 13. From Our Author's View of a Verse in the Ninety-Second Psalm, the Phœnix is Made a Symbol of the Resurrection of Our Bodies.

If, however, all nature but faintly figures our resurrection; if creation affords no sign precisely like it, inasmuch as its several phenomena can hardly be said to die so much as to come to an end, nor again be deemed to be reanimated, but only re-formed; then take a most complete and unassailable symbol of our hope, for it shall be an animated being, and subject alike to life and death. I refer to the bird which is peculiar to the East, famous for its singularity, marvelous from its posthumous life, which renews its life in a voluntary death; its dying day is its birthday, for on it it departs and returns; once more a phœnix where just now there was none; once more himself, but just now out of existence; another, yet the same. What can be more express and more significant for our subject; or to what other thing can such a phenomenon bear witness? God even in His own Scripture says: *The righteous* shall flourish like the phœnix; that is, shall flourish or revive, from death, from the grave — to teach you to believe that a bodily substance may be recovered even from the fire. Our Lord has declared that we are better than many sparrows: Matthew 10:33 well, if not better than many a phœnix too, it were no great thing. But must men die once for all, while birds in Arabia are sure of a resurrection?

Chapter 14. A Sufficient Cause for the Resurrection of the Flesh Occurs in the Future Judgment of Man. It Will Take Cognisance of the Works of the Body No Less Than of the Soul.

Such, then, being the outlines of the divine energies which God has displayed as much in the parables *of nature* as in His spoken word, let us now approach His very edicts and decrees, since this is the division which we mainly adopt in our subject-matter. We began with the dignity of the flesh, whether it were of such a nature that when once destroyed it was capable of being restored. Then we pursued an inquiry touching the power of God, whether it was sufficiently great to be habitually able to confer this restoration on a thing which had been destroyed. Now, if we have proved these two points, I should like you to inquire into the (*question of*) cause, whether it be one of sufficient weight to claim the resurrection of the flesh as necessary and as conformable in every way to reason; because there underlies this demurrer: the flesh may be quite capable of being restored, and the Deity be perfectly able to effect the restoration, but a cause for such recovery must needs pre-exist. Admit then a sufficient one, you who learn of a God who is both supremely good as well as just — supremely good from His own (character), just in consequence of ours. For if man had never sinned, he would simply and solely have known God in His superlative goodness, from the attribute of His nature. But now he experiences Him to be a just God also, from the necessity of a cause; still, however, retaining under this very circumstance His excellent goodness, at the same time that He is also just. For, by both succouring the good and punishing the evil, He displays His justice, and at the same time makes both processes contribute proofs of His goodness, while on the one hand He deals vengeance, and on the other dispenses reward. But with Marcion you will have the opportunity of more fully learning whether this be the whole character of God. Meanwhile, so perfect is our (God), that He is rightly Judge, because He is the Lord; rightly the Lord, because the Creator; rightly the Creator, because He is God. Whence it happens that that heretic, whose name I know not, holds that He properly is not a Judge, since He is not Lord; properly not Lord, since He is not the Creator. And so I am at a loss to know how He is God, who is neither the Creator, which God is; nor the Lord, which the Creator is.

Inasmuch, then, as it is most suitable for *the great Being who is* God, and Lord, and Creator to summon man to a judgment on this very question, whether he has taken care or not to acknowledge and honour his Lord and Creator, this is just such a judgment as the resurrection shall achieve. The entire cause, then, or rather necessity of the resurrection, will be this, namely, that arrangement of the final judgment which shall be most suitable to God. Now, in effecting this arrangement, you must consider whether the divine censure superintends a judicial examination of the two natures of man — both his soul and his flesh. For that which is a suitable object to be judged, is also a competent one to be raised. Our position is, that the judgment of God must be believed first of all to be plenary, and then absolute, so as to be final, and therefore irrevocable; to be also righteous, not bearing less heavily on any particular part; to be moreover worthy of God, being complete and definite, in keeping with His great patience. Thus it follows that the fullness and perfection of the judgment consists simply in representing the interests of the entire human being. Now, since the entire man consists of the union of the two natures, he must therefore appear in both, as it is right that he should be judged in his entirety; nor, of course, did he pass through life except in his entire state. As therefore he lived, so also must he be judged, because he has to be judged concerning the way in which he lived. For life is the cause of judgment, and it must undergo investigation in as many natures as it possessed when it discharged its vital functions.

Chapter 15. As the Flesh is a Partaker with the Soul in All Human Conduct, So Will It Be in the Recompense of Eternity.

Come now, let our opponents sever the connection of the flesh with the soul in the affairs of life, that they may be emboldened to sunder it also in the recompense of life. Let them deny their association in acts, that they may be fairly able to deny also their participation in rewards. The flesh ought not to have any share in the sentence, if it had none in the cause of it. Let the soul alone be called back, if it alone went away. But (nothing of the kind ever happened); for the soul alone no more departed from life, than it ran through alone the course from which it departed — I mean this present life. Indeed, the soul alone is so far from conducting (the affairs of) life, that we do not withdraw from community with the flesh even our thoughts, however isolated they be, however unprecipitated into act by means of the flesh; since whatever is done in man's heart is done by the soul in the flesh, and with the flesh, and through the flesh. The Lord Himself, in short, when rebuking our thoughts, includes in His censures this aspect of the flesh, (man's heart), the citadel of the soul: Why do you think evil in your hearts? Matthew 9:4 and again: Whosoever looks on a woman, to lust after her, has already committed adultery with her in his heart. Matthew 5:28 So that even the thought, without operation and without effect, is an act of the flesh. But if you allow that the faculty which rules the senses, and which they call *Hegemonikon*, has its sanctuary in the brain, or in the interval between the eyebrows, or wheresoever the philosophers are pleased to locate it, the flesh will still be the thinking place of the soul. The soul is never without the flesh, as long as it is in the flesh. There is nothing which the flesh does not transact in company with the soul, when without it it does not exist. Consider carefully, too, whether the thoughts are not administered by the flesh, since it is through the flesh that they are distinguished and known externally. Let the soul only meditate some design, the face gives the indication — the face being the mirror of all our intentions. They may deny all combination in acts, but they cannot gainsay their co-operation in thoughts. Still they enumerate *the sins* of the flesh; surely, then, for its sinful conduct it must be consigned to punishment. But we, moreover, allege against them *the virtues* of the flesh;

surely also for its virtuous conduct it deserves a future reward. Again, as it is the soul which acts and impels us in all we do, so it is the function of the flesh to render obedience. Now we are not permitted to suppose that God is either unjust or idle. Unjust, (however He would be,) were He to exclude from reward *the flesh* which is associated in good works; and idle, were He to exempt it from punishment, when it has been an accomplice in evil deeds: whereas human judgment is deemed to be the more perfect, when it discovers the agents in every deed, and neither spares *the guilty* nor grudges *the virtuous* their full share of either punishment or praise with the principals who employed their services.

Chapter 16. The Heretics Called the Flesh The Vessel of the Soul, In Order to Destroy the Responsibility of the Body. Their Cavil Turns Upon Themselves and Shows the Flesh to Be a Sharer in Human Actions.

When, however, we attribute to the soul authority, and to the flesh submission, we must see to it that (our opponents) do not turn our position by another argument, by insisting on so placing the flesh in the service of the soul, that it be not (considered as) its servant, lest they should be compelled, if it were so regarded, to admit its companionship (to the soul). For they would argue that servants and companions possess a discretion in discharging the functions of their respective office, and a power over their will in both relations: in short, (they would claim to be) men themselves, and therefore (would expect) to share the credit with their principals, to whom they voluntarily yielded their assistance; whereas the flesh had no discretion, no sentiment in itself, but possessing no power of its own of willing or refusing, it, in fact, appears to stand to the soul in the stead of a vessel as an instrument rather than a servant. The soul alone, therefore, will have to be judged (at the last day) pre-eminently as to how it has employed the vessel of the flesh; the vessel itself, of course, not being amenable to a judicial award: for who condemns the cup if any man has mixed poison in it? Or who sentences the sword to the beasts, if a man has perpetrated with it the atrocities of a brigand? Well, now, we will grant that the flesh is innocent, in so far as bad actions will not be charged upon it: what, then, is there to hinder its being saved on the score of its innocence? For although it is free from all imputation of good works, as it is of evil ones, yet it is more consistent with the divine goodness to deliver the innocent. A beneficent man, indeed, is bound to do so: it suits then the character of the Most Bountiful to bestow even gratuitously such a favour. And yet, as to the cup, I will not take the poisoned one, into which some certain death is injected, but one which has been infected with the breath of a lascivious woman, or of Cybele's priest, or of a gladiator, or of a hangman: then I want to know whether you would pass a milder condemnation on it than on the kisses of such persons? One indeed which is soiled with our own filth, or one which is not mingled to our own mind we are apt to dash to pieces, and then to increase our anger with our servant. As for the sword, which is drunk

with the blood of the brigand's victims, who would not banish it entirely from his house, much more from his bed-room, or from his pillow, from the presumption that he would be sure to dream of nothing but the apparitions of the souls which were pursuing and disquieting him for lying down with *the blade which shed* their own blood? Take, however, the cup which has no reproach on it, and which deserves the credit of a faithful ministration, it will be adorned by its drinking-master with chaplets, or be honoured with a handful of flowers. The sword also which has received honourable stains in war, and has been thus engaged in a better manslaughter, will secure its own praise by consecration. It is quite possible, then, to pass decisive sentences even on vessels and on instruments, that so they too may participate in the merits of their proprietors and employers. *Thus much do I say* from a desire to meet even this argument, although there is a failure in the example, owing to the diversity in the nature of the objects. For every vessel or every instrument becomes useful from without, consisting as it does of material perfectly extraneous to the substance of the human *owner or employer*; whereas the flesh, being conceived, formed, and generated along with the soul from its earliest existence in the womb, is mixed up with it likewise in all its operations. For although it is called a vessel by the apostle, such as he enjoins to be treated with honour, 1 Thessalonians 4:4 it is yet designated by the same apostle as the outward man, 2 Corinthians 4:16 — that clay, of course, which at the first was inscribed with the title of a man, not of a cup or a sword, or any paltry vessel. Now it is called a *vessel* in consideration of its capacity, whereby it receives and contains the soul; but *man*, from its community of nature, which renders it in all operations a servant and not an instrument. Accordingly, in the judgment it will be held to be a servant (even though it may have no independent discretion of its own), on the ground of its being an integral portion of that which possesses such discretion, and is not a mere chattel. And although the apostle is well aware that the flesh does nothing of itself which is not also imputed to the soul, he yet deems the flesh to be *sinful*; Romans 8:3 lest it should be supposed to be free from all responsibility by the mere fact of its seeming to be impelled by the soul. So, again, when he is ascribing certain praiseworthy actions to the flesh, he says, *Therefore glorify and exalt God in your body*, 1 Corinthians 6:20 — being certain that such efforts are actuated by the soul; but still he ascribes them to the flesh, because

it is to it that he also promises the recompense. Besides, neither rebuke, (on the one hand), would have been suitable to it, if free from blame; nor, (on the other hand), would exhortation, if it were incapable of glory. Indeed, both rebuke and exhortation would be alike idle towards the flesh, if it were an improper object for that recompense which is certainly received in the resurrection.

Chapter 17. The Flesh Will Be Associated with the Soul in Enduring the Penal Sentences of the Final Judgment.

Every uneducated person who agrees with our opinion will be apt to suppose that the flesh will have to be present at the *final* judgment even on this account, because otherwise the soul would be incapable of suffering pain or pleasure, as being incorporeal; for this is the common opinion. We on our part, however, do here maintain, and in a special treatise on the subject prove, that the soul is corporeal, possessing a peculiar kind of solidity in its nature, such as enables it both to perceive and suffer. That souls are even now susceptible of torment and of blessing in Hades, though they are disembodied, and notwithstanding their banishment from the flesh, is proved by the case of Lazarus. I have no doubt given to my opponent room to say: Since, then, the soul has a bodily substance of its own, it will be sufficiently endowed with the faculty of suffering and sense, so as not to require the presence of the flesh. No, no, (is my reply): it will still need the flesh; not as being unable to feel anything without the help of the flesh, but because it is necessary that it should possess such a faculty along with the flesh. For in *as* far as it has a sufficiency of its own for action, in *so* far has it likewise a capacity for suffering. But the truth is, in respect of action, it labours under some amount of incapacity; for in its own nature it has simply the ability to think, to will, to desire, to dispose: for fully carrying out the purpose, it looks for the assistance of the flesh. In like manner, it also requires the conjunction of the flesh to endure suffering, in order that by its aid it may be as fully able to suffer, as without its assistance it was not fully able to act. In respect, indeed, of those sins, such as concupiscence, and thought, and wish, which it has a competency of its own to commit, it at once pays the penalty of them. Now, no doubt, if these were alone sufficient to constitute absolute desert without requiring the addition of *acts*, the soul would suffice in itself to encounter the full responsibility of the judgment, being to be judged for those things in the doing of which it alone had possessed a sufficiency. Since, however, acts too are indissolubly attached to deserts; since also acts are ministerially effected by the flesh, it is no longer enough that the soul apart from the flesh be requited with pleasure or pain for what are actually works of the flesh, although it has a body (of its own), although it has members (of its own),

which in like manner are insufficient for its full perception, just as they are also for its perfect action. Therefore as it has acted in each several instance, so proportionably does it suffer in Hades, being the first to taste of judgment as it was the first to induce to the commission of sin; but still it is waiting for the flesh in order that it may through the flesh also compensate for its deeds, inasmuch as it laid upon the flesh the execution of its own thoughts. This, in short, will be the process of that judgment which is postponed to the last great day, in order that by the exhibition of the flesh the entire course of the divine vengeance may be accomplished. Besides, (it is obvious to remark) there would be no delaying to the end of that doom which souls are already tasting in Hades, if it was destined for souls alone.

Chapter 18. Scripture Phrases and Passages Clearly Assert The Resurrection of the Dead. The Force of This Very Phrase Explained as Indicating the Prominent Place of the Flesh in the General Resurrection.

Thus far it has been my object by prefatory remarks to lay a foundation for the defense of all the Scriptures which promise a resurrection of the flesh. Now, inasmuch as *this verity* is supported by so many just and reasonable considerations — I mean the dignity of the flesh itself, the power and might of God, the analogous cases in which these are displayed, as well as the good reasons for the judgment, and the need thereof — it will of course be only right and proper that the Scriptures should be understood in the sense suggested by such authoritative considerations, and not after the conceits of the heretics, which arise from infidelity solely, because it is deemed incredible that the flesh should be recovered from death and restored to life; not because (such a restoration) is either unattainable by the flesh itself, or impossible for God to effect, or unsuitable to the *final* judgment. Incredible, no doubt, it might be, if it had not been revealed in the word of God; except that, even if it had not been thus first announced by God, it might have been fairly enough assumed, that the revelation of it had been withheld, simply because so many strong presumptions in its favour had been already furnished. Since, however, (the great fact) is proclaimed in so many inspired passages, that is so far a dissuasive against understanding it in a sense different from that which is attested by such arguments as persuade us to its reception, even irrespective of the testimonies of revelation. Let us see, then, first of all in what title this hope of ours is held out to our view. There is, I imagine, one divine edict which is exposed to the gaze of all men: it is The Resurrection of the Dead. These words are prompt, decisive, clear. I mean to take these very terms, discuss them, and discover to what substance they apply. As to the word *resurrectio*, whenever I hear of its impending over a human being, I am forced to inquire what part of him has been destined to *fall*, since nothing can be expected to rise again, unless it has first been prostrated. It is only the man who is ignorant of the fact that the flesh falls by death, that can fail to discover that it stands erect by means of life. Nature pronounces God's sentence: Dust you are, and unto dust shall you return. Genesis 3:19 Even the man who has not

heard the sentence, sees the fact. No death but is the ruin of our limbs. This destiny of the body the Lord also described, when, clothed as He was in its very substance, He said, Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up again. John 2:19 For He showed to what belongs (the incidents of) being destroyed, thrown down, and kept down — even to that to which it also appertains to be lifted and raised up again; although He was at the same time bearing about with Him a soul that was trembling even unto death, Matthew 26:38 but which did not fall through death, because even the Scripture informs us that He spoke of His body. John 2:21 So that it is the flesh which falls by death; and accordingly it derives its name, *cadaver*, from *cadendo*. The soul, however, has no trace of a *fall* in its designation, as indeed there is no mortality in its condition. Nay it is the soul which communicates its ruin to the body when it is breathed out of it, just as it is also destined to raise it up again from the earth when it shall re-enter it. That cannot fall which by its entrance raises; nor can that droop which by its departure causes ruin. I will go further, and say that the soul does not even fall into sleep along with the body, nor does it with its companion even lie down in repose. For it is agitated in dreams, and disturbed: it might, however, rest, if it lay down; and lie down it certainly would, if it fell. Thus that which does not fall even into the likeness of death, does not succumb to the reality thereof. Passing now to the *other* word *mortuorum*, I wish you to look carefully, and see to what substance it is applicable. Were we to allow, under this head, as is sometimes held by the heretics, that the soul is mortal, so that being mortal it shall attain to a resurrection; this would afford a presumption that the flesh also, being no less mortal, would share in the *same* resurrection. But our present point is to derive from the proper signification of this word an idea of the destiny which it indicates. Now, just as the term *resurrection* is predicated of that which falls — that is, the flesh — so will there be the same application of the word *dead*, because what is called the resurrection of the dead indicates the rising up again of that which is fallen down. We learn this from the case of Abraham, the father of the faithful, a man who enjoyed close intercourse with God. For when he requested of the sons of Heth a spot to bury Sarah in, he said to them, Give me the possession of a burying place with you, that I may bury my dead, Genesis 23:4 — meaning, of course, her flesh; for he could not have desired a place to bury her soul in, even if the soul is to be deemed mortal, and even if it

could bear to be described by the word *dead*. Since, then, this word indicates the body, it follows that when the resurrection of the dead is spoken of, it is the rising again of *men's* bodies that is meant.

Chapter 19. The Sophistical Sense Put by Heretics on the Phrase Resurrection of the Dead, As If It Meant the Moral Change of a New Life.

Now this consideration of the phrase in question, and its signification — besides maintaining, of course, the true meaning of the important words — must needs contribute to this further result, that whatever obscurity our adversaries throw over the subject under the pretence of figurative and allegorical language, the truth will stand out in clearer light, and out of uncertainties certain and definite rules will be prescribed. For some, when they have alighted on a very usual form of prophetic statement, generally expressed in figure and allegory, though not always, distort into some imaginary sense even the most clearly described doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, alleging that even death itself must be understood in a spiritual sense. They say that which is commonly supposed to be death is not really so — namely, the separation of body and soul: it is rather the ignorance of God, by reason of which man is dead to God, and is not less buried in error than he would be in the grave. Wherefore that also must be held to be the resurrection, when a man is reanimated by access to the truth, and having dispersed the death of ignorance, and being endowed with new life by God, has burst forth from the sepulchre of the old man, even as the Lord likened the scribes and Pharisees to whited sepulchres. Matthew 23:27 Whence it follows that they who have by faith attained to the resurrection, are with the Lord after they have once put Him on in their baptism. By such subtlety, then, even in conversation have they often been in the habit of misleading our brethren, as if they held a resurrection of the dead *as well as we*. Woe, say they, to him who has not risen in the present body; for they fear that they might alarm their hearers if they at once denied the resurrection. Secretly, however, in their minds they think this: Woe betide the simpleton who during his present life fails to discover the mysteries of heresy; since this, in their view, is the resurrection. There are however, a great many also, who, claiming to hold a resurrection after the soul's departure, maintain that going out of the sepulchre means escaping out of the world, since in their view the world is the habitation of the dead — that is, of those who know not God; or they will go so far as to say that it actually means escaping out of the body itself, since

they imagine that the body detains the soul, when it is shut up in the death of a worldly life, as in a grave.

Chapter 20. Figurative Senses Have Their Foundation in Literal Fact. Besides, the Allegorical Style is by No Means the Only One Found in the Prophetic Scriptures, as Alleged by the Heretics.

Now, to upset all conceits of this sort, let me dispel at once the preliminary idea on which they rest — their assertion that the prophets make all their announcements in figures of speech. Now, if this were the case, the figures themselves could not possibly have been distinguished, inasmuch as the verities would not have been declared, out of which the figurative language is stretched. And, indeed, if all are figures, where will be that of which they are the figures? How can you hold up a mirror for your face, if the face nowhere exists? But, in truth, all are not figures, but there are also literal statements; nor are all shadows, but there are bodies too: so that we have prophecies about the Lord Himself even, which are clearer than the day. For it was not figuratively that the Virgin conceived in her womb; nor in a trope did she bear Emmanuel, that is, Jesus, God with us. Even granting that He was figuratively to take the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria, Isaiah 8:4 still it was literally that He was to enter into judgment with the elders and princes of the people. Isaiah 3:13 For in the person of Pilate the heathen raged, and in the person of Israel the people imagined vain things; the kings of the earth in Herod, and the rulers in Annas and Caiaphas, were gathered together against the Lord, and against His anointed. He, again, was led as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a sheep before the shearer, that is, Herod, is dumb, so He opened not His mouth. Isaiah 53:7 He gave His back to scourges, and His cheeks to blows, not turning His face even from the shame of spitting. He was numbered with the transgressors; Isaiah 53:12 He was pierced in His hands and His feet; they cast lots for his raiment; they gave Him gall, and made Him drink vinegar; they shook their heads, and mocked Him; He was appraised by the traitor in thirty pieces of silver. Zechariah 11:12 What figures of speech does Isaiah here give us? What tropes does David? What allegories does Jeremiah? Not even of His mighty works have they used parabolic language. Or else, were not the eyes of the blind opened? Did not the tongue of the dumb recover speech? Isaiah 35:5 did not the relaxed hands and palsied knees become strong, and the lame leap as an hart? No doubt we are accustomed

also to give a spiritual significance to these statements of prophecy, according to the analogy of the physical diseases which were healed by the Lord; but still they were all fulfilled literally: thus showing that the prophets foretold both senses, except that very many of their words can only be taken in a pure and simple signification, and free from all allegorical obscurity; as when we hear of the downfall of nations and cities, of Tyre and Egypt, and Babylon and Edom, and the navy of Carthage; also when they foretell Israel's own chastisements and pardons, its captivities, restorations, and at last its final dispersion. Who would prefer affixing a metaphorical interpretation to all these events, instead of accepting their literal truth? The realities are involved in the words, just as the words are read in the realities. Thus, then, (we find that) the allegorical style is not used in all parts of the prophetic record, although it occasionally occurs in certain portions of it.

Chapter 21. No Mere Metaphor in the Phrase Resurrection of the Dead. In Proportion to the Importance of Eternal Truths, is the Clearness of Their Scriptural Enunciation.

Well, if it occurs occasionally in certain portions of it, you will say, then why not in that phrase, where the resurrection might be spiritually understood? There are several reasons why not. First, what must be the meaning of so many important passages of Holy Scripture, which so obviously attest the resurrection of the body, as to admit not even the appearance of a figurative signification? And, indeed, (since some passages are more obscure than others), it cannot but be right — as we have shown above — that uncertain statements should be determined by certain ones, and obscure ones by such as are clear and plain; else there is fear that, in the conflict of certainties and uncertainties, of explicitness and obscurity, faith may be shattered, truth endangered, and the Divine Being Himself be branded as inconstant. Then arises the improbability that the very mystery on which our trust wholly rests, on which also our instruction entirely depends, should have the appearance of being ambiguously announced and obscurely propounded, inasmuch as the hope of the resurrection, unless it be clearly set forth on the sides both of punishment and reward, would fail to persuade any to embrace a religion like ours, exposed as it is to public detestation and the imputation of hostility to others. There is no certain work where the remuneration is uncertain. There is no real apprehension when the peril is only doubtful. But both the recompense of reward, and the danger of losing it, depend on the issues of the resurrection. Now, if even those purposes of God against cities, and nations, and kings, which are merely temporal, local, and personal in their character, have been proclaimed so clearly in prophecy, how is it to be supposed that those dispensations of His which are eternal, and of universal concern to the human race, should be void of all real light in themselves? The grander they are, the clearer should be their announcement, in order that their superior greatness might be believed. And I apprehend that God cannot possibly have ascribed to Him either envy, or guile, or inconsistency, or artifice, by help of which evil qualities it is that all schemes of unusual grandeur are litigiously promulgated.

Chapter 22. The Scriptures Forbid Our Supposing Either that the Resurrection is Already Past, or that It Takes Place Immediately at Death. Our Hopes and Prayers Point to the Last Great Day as the Period of Its Accomplishment.

We must after all this turn our attention to those scriptures also which forbid our belief in such a resurrection as is held by your *Animalists* (for I will not call them *Spiritualists*), that it is either to be assumed *as taking place* now, as soon as men come to the knowledge of the truth, or else that it is accomplished immediately after their departure from this life. Now, forasmuch as the seasons of our entire hope have been fixed in the Holy Scripture, and since we are not permitted to place the accomplishment thereof, as I apprehend, previous to Christ's coming, our prayers are directed towards the end of this world, to the passing away thereof at the great day of the Lord — of His wrath and vengeance — the last day, which is hidden (from all), and known to none but the Father, although announced beforehand by signs and wonders, and the dissolution of the elements, and the conflicts of nations. I would turn out the words of the prophets, if the Lord Himself had said nothing (except that prophecies were the Lord's own word); but it is more to my purpose that He by His own mouth confirms *their statement*. Being questioned by His disciples when those things were to come to pass which He had just been uttering about the destruction of the temple, He discourses to them first of the order of Jewish events until the overthrow of Jerusalem, and then of such as concerned all nations up to the very end of the world. For after He had declared that Jerusalem was to be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles should be fulfilled, Luke 21:24 — meaning, of course, those which were to be chosen of God, and gathered in with the remnant of Israel — He then goes on to proclaim, against this world and dispensation (even as Joel had done, and Daniel, and all the prophets with one consent), that there should be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars, distress of nations with perplexity, the sea and the waves roaring, men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth. Luke 21:25-26 For, says He, the powers of heaven shall be shaken; and then shall they see the Son of man coming in the clouds, with

power and great glory. And when these things begin to come to pass, then look up, and lift up your heads, for your redemption draws near. He spoke of its drawing near, not of its being present already; and of those things beginning to come to pass, not of their having happened: because when they have come to pass, then our redemption shall be at hand, which is said to be approaching up to that time, raising and exciting our minds to what is then the proximate harvest of our hope. He immediately annexes a parable of this in the trees which are tenderly sprouting into a flower-stalk, and then developing the flower, which is the precursor of the fruit. So likewise you, (He adds), when you shall see all these things come to pass, know that the kingdom of heaven is near at hand. Watch, therefore, *and pray* always, that you may be accounted worthy to escape all those things, and to stand before the Son of man; Luke 21:36 that is, no doubt, at the resurrection, after all these things have been previously transacted. Therefore, although there is a sprouting in the acknowledgment of all this mystery, yet it is only in the actual presence of the Lord that the flower is developed and the fruit borne. Who is it then, that has aroused the Lord, now at God's right hand, so unseasonably and with such severity shake terribly (as Isaiah 2:19 expresses it) that earth, which, I suppose, is as yet unshattered? Who has thus early put Christ's enemies beneath His feet (to use the language of David), making Him more hurried than the Father, while every crowd in our popular assemblies is still with shouts consigning the Christians to the lions? Who has yet beheld Jesus descending from heaven in like manner as the apostles saw Him ascend, according to the appointment of the *two* angels? Acts 1:11 Up to the present moment they have not, tribe by tribe, smitten their breasts, looking on Him whom they pierced. No one has as yet fallen in with Elias; Malachi 4:5 no one has as yet escaped from Antichrist; 1 John 4:3 no one has as yet had to bewail the downfall of Babylon. Revelation 18:2 And is there now anybody who has risen again, except the heretic? *He*, of course, has already quitted the grave of his own corpse — although he is even now liable to fevers and ulcers; he, too, has already trodden down his enemies — although he has even now to struggle with the powers of the world. And as a matter of course, he is already a king — although he even now owes to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's. Matthew 22:21

Chapter 23. Sundry Passages of St. Paul, Which Speak of a Spiritual Resurrection, Compatible with the Future Resurrection of the Body, Which is Even Assumed in Them.

The apostle indeed teaches, in his Epistle to the Colossians, that we were once dead, alienated, and enemies to the Lord in our minds, while we were living in wicked works; Colossians 1:21 that we were then buried with Christ in baptism, and also raised again with Him through the faith of the operation of God, who has raised Him from the dead. Colossians 2:12 And you, (adds he), when you were dead in sins and the uncircumcision of your flesh, has He quickened together with Him, having forgiven you all trespasses. And again: If you are dead with Christ from the elements of the world, why, as though living in the world, are you subject to ordinances? Now, since he makes us spiritually dead — in such a way, however, as to allow that we shall one day have to undergo a bodily death — so, considering indeed that we have been also raised in a like spiritual sense, he equally allows that we shall further have to undergo a bodily resurrection. In so many words he says: Since you are risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sits at the right hand of God. Set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth. Colossians 3:1-2 Accordingly, it is in our mind that he shows that we rise (with Christ), since it is by this alone that we are as yet able to reach to heavenly objects. These we should not seek, nor set our affection on, if we had them already in our possession. He also adds: For you are dead — to your sins, he means, not to yourselves — and your life is hid with Christ in God. Now that life is not yet apprehended which is hidden. In like manner John says: And it does not yet appear what we shall be: we know, however, that when He shall be manifest, we shall be like Him. 1 John 3:2 We are far indeed from being already what we know not of; we should, of course, be sure to know it if we were already (like Him). It is therefore the contemplation of our blessed hope even in this life by faith (that he speaks of) — not its presence nor its possession, but only its expectation. Concerning this expectation and hope Paul writes to the Galatians: For we through the Spirit wait for the hope of righteousness by faith. Galatians 5:5 He says we wait for it, not we are in possession of it. By the righteousness of God, he means that judgment which

we shall have to undergo as the recompense *of our deeds*. It is in expectation of this for himself that the apostle writes to the Philippians: If by any means, says he, I might attain to the resurrection of the dead. Not as though I had already attained, or were already perfect. Philippians 3:11-12 And yet he had believed, and had known all mysteries, as an elect vessel and the *great* teacher of the Gentiles; but for all that he goes on to say: I, however, follow on, if so be I may apprehend that for which I also am apprehended of Christ. Nay, more: Brethren, (he adds), I count not myself to have apprehended: but this one thing (I do), forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark for the prize of blamelessness, whereby I may attain it; meaning the resurrection from the dead in its proper time. Even as he says to the Galatians: Let us not be weary in well-doing: for *in due season* we shall reap. Galatians 6:9 Similarly, concerning Onesiphorus, does he also write to Timothy: The Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy in that day; 2 Timothy 1:18 unto which day and time he charges Timothy himself to keep what had been committed to his care, without spot, unrebukable, until the appearing of the Lord Jesus Christ: which in His times He shall show, who is the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings and Lord of lords, speaking of (Him as) God. It is to these same times that Peter in the Acts refers, when he says: Repent therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, when the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord; and He shall send Jesus Christ, which before was preached unto you: whom the heaven must receive until the times of restitution of all things, which God has spoken by the mouth of His holy prophets. Acts 3:19-21

Chapter 24. Other Passages Quoted from St. Paul, Which Categorically Assert the Resurrection of the Flesh at the Final Judgment.

The character of these times learn, along with the Thessalonians. For we read: How you turned from idols to serve the living and true God, and to wait for His Son from heaven, whom He raised from the dead, even Jesus. 1 Thessalonians 1:9-10 And again: For what is our hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing? Are not even you in the presence of our Lord God, Jesus Christ, at His coming? Likewise: Before God, even our Father, at the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ, with the whole company of His saints. 1 Thessalonians 3:13 He teaches them that they must not sorrow concerning them that are asleep, and at the same time explains to them the times of the resurrection, saying, For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus shall God bring with Him. For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of our Lord, shall not prevent them that are asleep. For the Lord Himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air; and so shall we be ever with the Lord. 1 Thessalonians 4:13-17 What archangel's voice, (I wonder), what trump of God is now heard, except it be, forsooth, in the entertainments of the heretics? For, allowing that the word of the gospel may be called the trump of God, since it was still calling men, yet they must at that time either be dead as to the body, that they may be able to rise again; and then how are they alive? Or else caught up into the clouds; and how then are they here? Most miserable, no doubt, as the apostle declared them, are they who in this life only shall be found to have hope: 1 Corinthians 15:19 they will have to be excluded while they are with premature haste seizing that which is promised after this life; erring concerning the truth, no less than Phygellus and Hermogenes. 2 Timothy 1:15 Hence it is that the Holy Ghost, in His greatness, foreseeing clearly all such interpretations as these, suggests (to the apostle), in this very epistle of his to the Thessalonians, *as follows*: But of the times and the seasons, brethren, there is no necessity for my writing unto you. For you yourselves know perfectly,

that the day of the Lord comes as a thief in the night. For when they shall say, 'Peace,' and 'All things are safe,' then sudden destruction shall come upon them. 1 Thessalonians 5:1-3 Again, in the second *epistle* he addresses them with even greater earnestness: Now I beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together unto Him, that you be not soon shaken in mind, nor be troubled, either by spirit, or by word, that is, *the word* of false prophets, or by letter, that is, *the letter* of false apostles, as if from us, as that the day of the Lord is at hand. Let no man deceive you by any means. *For that day shall not come*, unless indeed there first come a falling away, he means indeed of this present empire, and that man of sin be revealed, that is to say, Antichrist, the son of perdition, who opposes and exalts himself above all that is called God or religion; so that he sits in the temple of God, affirming that he is God. Do you not remember, that when I was with you, I used to tell you these things? And now you know what detains, that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity does already work; only he who now hinders must hinder, until he be taken out of the way. 2 Thessalonians 2:1-7 What obstacle is there but the Roman state, the falling away of which, by being scattered into ten kingdoms, shall introduce Antichrist upon (its own ruins)? And then shall be revealed the wicked one, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of His mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of His coming: *even him* whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish. 2 Thessalonians 2:8-10

Chapter 25. St. John, in the Apocalypse, Equally Explicit in Asserting the Same Great Doctrine.

In the Revelation of John, again, the order of these times is spread out to view, which the souls of the martyrs are taught to wait for beneath the altar, while they earnestly pray to be avenged and judged: Revelation 6:9-10 (taught, I say, to wait), in order that the world may first drink to the dregs the plagues that await it out of the vials of the angels, Revelation xvi and that the city of fornication may receive from the ten kings its deserved doom, Revelation xviii and that the beast Antichrist with his false prophet may wage war on the Church of God; and that, after the casting of the devil into the bottomless pit for a while, Revelation 20:2 the blessed prerogative of the first resurrection may be ordained from the thrones; and then again, after the consignment of him to the fire, that the judgment of the final and universal resurrection may be determined out of the books. Since, then, the Scriptures both indicate the stages of the last times, and concentrate the harvest of the Christian hope in the very end of the world, it is evident, either that all which God promises to us receives its accomplishment then, and thus what the heretics pretend about a resurrection here falls to the ground; or else, even allowing that a confession of the mystery (of divine truth) is a resurrection, that there is, without any detriment to this view, room for believing in that which is announced for the end. It moreover follows, that the very maintenance of this spiritual resurrection amounts to a presumption in favour of the other bodily resurrection; for if none were announced for that time, there would be fair ground for asserting only this purely spiritual resurrection. Inasmuch, however, as (a resurrection) is proclaimed for the last time, it is proved to be a bodily one, because there is no spiritual one also then announced. For why make a second announcement of a resurrection of only one character, that is, the spiritual one, since this ought to be undergoing accomplishment either now, without any regard to different times, or else then, at the very conclusion of all the periods? It is therefore more competent for us even to maintain a spiritual resurrection at the commencement of *a life of faith*, who acknowledge the full completion thereof at the end of the world.

Chapter 26. Even the Metaphorical Descriptions of This Subject in the Scriptures Point to the Bodily Resurrection, the Only Sense Which Secures Their Consistency and Dignity.

To a preceding objection, that the Scriptures are allegorical, I have still one answer to make — that it is open to us also to defend the bodily character of the resurrection by means of the language of the prophets, which is equally figurative. For consider that primeval sentence which God spoke when He called man *earth*; saying, Earth you are, and to earth shall you return. Genesis 3:19 In respect, of course, to his fleshly substance, which had been taken out of the ground, and which was the first to receive the name of man, as we have already shown, does not this passage give one instruction to interpret in relation to the *flesh* also whatever of wrath or of grace God has determined for the earth, because, strictly speaking, the earth is not exposed to His judgment, since it has never done any good or evil? Cursed, no doubt, it was, for it drank the blood of *man*; Genesis 4:11 but even this was as a figure of homicidal flesh. For if the earth has to suffer either joy or injury, it is simply on man's account, that *he* may suffer the joy or the sorrow through the events which happen to his dwelling-place, whereby he will rather have to pay the penalty which, simply on his account, even the earth must suffer. When, therefore, God even threatens the earth, I would prefer saying that He threatens the flesh: so likewise, when He makes a promise to the earth, I would rather understand Him as promising the flesh; as in that passage of David: The Lord is King, let the earth be glad, — meaning the flesh of the saints, to which appertains the enjoyment of the kingdom of God. Then he afterwards says: The earth saw and trembled; the mountains melted like wax at the presence of the Lord, — meaning, no doubt the flesh of the wicked; and (in a similar sense) it is written: For they shall look on Him whom they pierced. Zechariah 12:10 If indeed it will be thought that both these passages were pronounced simply of the element earth, how can it be consistent that it should shake and melt at the presence of the Lord, at whose royal dignity it before exulted? So again in Isaiah, You shall eat the good of the land, Isaiah 1:19 the expression means the blessings which await the flesh when in the kingdom of God it shall be renewed, and made like the angels, and waiting to obtain the things which

neither eye has seen, nor ear heard, and which have not entered into the heart of man. 1 Corinthians 2:9 Otherwise, how vain that God should invite men to obedience by the fruits of the field and the elements of this life, when He dispenses these to even irreligious men and blasphemers; on a general condition once for all made to man, sending rain on the good and on the evil, and making His sun to shine on the just and on the unjust! Matthew 5:45 Happy, no doubt, is faith, if it is to obtain gifts which the enemies of God and Christ not only use, but even abuse, worshipping the creature itself in opposition to the Creator! Romans 1:25 You will reckon, (I suppose) onions and truffles among earth's bounties, since the Lord declares that man shall not live on bread alone! Matthew 4:4 In this way the Jews lose heavenly blessings, by confining their hopes to earthly ones, being ignorant of the promise of heavenly bread, and of the oil of God's unction, and the wine of the Spirit, and of that water of life which has its vigour from the vine of Christ. On exactly the same principle, they consider the special soil of Judæa to be that very holy land, which ought rather to be interpreted of the Lord's flesh, which, in all those who put on Christ, is thenceforward the holy land; holy indeed by the indwelling of the Holy Ghost, truly flowing with milk and honey by the sweetness of His assurance, truly Judæan by reason of the friendship of God. For he is not a Jew which is one outwardly, but he who is one inwardly. Romans 2:28-29 In the same way it is that both God's temple and Jerusalem (must be understood) when it is said by Isaiah: Awake, awake, O Jerusalem! put on the strength of your arm; awake, as in your earliest time, that is to say, in that innocence which preceded the fall into sin. For how can words of this kind of exhortation and invitation be suitable for that Jerusalem which killed the prophets, and stoned those that were sent to them, and at last crucified its very Lord? Neither indeed is salvation promised to any one land at all, which must needs pass away with the fashion of the whole world. Even if anybody should venture strongly to contend that paradise is the holy land, which it may be possible to designate as the land of our first parents Adam and Eve, it will even then follow that the restoration of paradise will seem to be promised to the flesh, whose lot it was to inhabit and keep it, in order that man may be recalled thereto just such as he was driven from it.

Chapter 27. Certain Metaphorical Terms Explained of the Resurrection of the Flesh.

We have also in the Scriptures *robes* mentioned as allegorizing the hope of the flesh. Thus in the Revelation of John it is said: These are they which have not defiled their clothes with women, — indicating, of course, virgins, and such as have become eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. Matthew 19:12 Therefore they shall be clothed in white raiment, Revelation 3:5 that is, in the bright beauty of the unwedded flesh. In the gospel even, the wedding garment may be regarded as the sanctity of the flesh. Matthew 22:11-12 And so, when Isaiah tells us what sort of fast the Lord has chosen, and subjoins a statement about the reward of good works, he says: Then shall your light break forth as the morning, and your garments shall speedily arise; Isaiah 58:8 [There is a curious change of the word here made by Tertullian, who reads ἱμάτια instead of ἰάματα, “health” or “healings,” which is the word in the Septuagint] where he has no thought of cloaks or stuff gowns, but means the rising of the flesh, which he declared the resurrection of, after its fall in death. Thus we are furnished even with an allegorical defense of the resurrection of the body. When, then, we read, Go, my people, enter into your closets for a little season, until my anger pass away, Isaiah 26:20 we have in the closets graves, in which they will have to rest for a little while, who shall have at the end of the world departed this life in the last furious onset of the power of Antichrist. Why else did He use the expression *closets*, in preference to some other receptacle, if it were not that the flesh is kept in these closets or cellars salted and reserved for use, to be drawn out thence on a suitable occasion? It is on a like principle that embalmed corpses are set aside for burial in mausoleums and sepulchres, in order that they may be removed therefrom when the Master shall order it. Since, therefore, there is consistency in thus understanding the passage (for what refuge of little closets could possibly shelter us from the wrath of God?), *it appears that* by the very phrase which he uses, Until His anger pass away, Isaiah 26:20 which shall extinguish Antichrist, he in fact shows that after that indignation the flesh will come forth from the sepulchre, in which it had been deposited previous to the *bursting out of the* anger. Now out of the closets nothing else is brought than that which had been put into them, and after the extirpation of Antichrist shall be busily transacted *the great process of the*

resurrection.

Chapter 28. Prophetic Things and Actions, as Well as Words, Attest This Great Doctrine.

But we know that prophecy expressed itself by things no less than by words. By words, and also by deeds, is the resurrection foretold. When Moses puts his hand into his bosom, and then draws it out again dead, and again puts his hand into his bosom, and plucks it out living, Exodus 4:6-7 does not this apply as a presage to all mankind? — inasmuch as those three signs Exodus 4:2-9 denoted the threefold power of God: when it shall, first, in the appointed order, subdue to man the old serpent, the devil, however formidable; then, secondly, draw forth the flesh from the bosom of death; and then, at last, shall pursue all blood (shed) in judgment. On this subject we read in the writings of the same prophet, (how that) God says: For your blood of your lives will I require of all wild beasts; and I will require it of the hand of man, and of his brother's hand. Genesis 9:5 Now nothing is required except that which is demanded back again, and nothing is thus demanded except that which is to be given up; and that will of course be given up, which shall be demanded and required on the ground of vengeance. But indeed there cannot possibly be punishment of that which never had any existence. Existence, however, it will have, when it is restored in order to be punished. To the flesh, therefore, applies everything which is declared respecting the blood, for without the flesh there cannot be blood. The flesh will be raised up in order that the blood may be punished. There are, again, some statements (of Scripture) so plainly made as to be free from all obscurity of allegory, and yet they strongly require [sitiant] their very simplicity to be interpreted. There is, for instance, that passage in Isaiah: I will kill, and I will make alive. Certainly His making alive is to take place after He has killed. As, therefore, it is by death that He kills, it is by the resurrection that He will make alive. Now it is the flesh which is killed by death; the flesh, therefore, will be revived by the resurrection. Surely if killing means taking away life from the flesh, and its opposite, reviving, amounts to restoring life to the flesh, it must needs be that the flesh rise again, to which the life, which has been taken away by killing, has to be restored by vivification.

Chapter 29. Ezekiel's Vision of the Dry Bones Quoted.

Inasmuch, then, as even the figurative portions of Scripture, and the arguments of facts, and some plain statements of *Holy Writ*, throw light upon the resurrection of the flesh (although without specially naming the very substance), how much more effectual for determining the question will not those passages be which indicate the actual substance of the body by expressly mentioning it! Take Ezekiel: And the hand of the Lord, says he, was upon me; and the Lord brought me forth in the Spirit, and set me in the midst of a plain which was full of bones; and He led me round about them in a circuit: and, behold, there were many on the face of the plain; and, lo, they were very dry. And He said to me, Son of man, will these bones live? And I said, O Lord God, You know. And He said to me, Prophesy upon these bones; and you shall say, You dry bones, hear the word of the Lord. Thus says the Lord God to these bones, Behold, I bring upon you the breath of *life*, and you shall live: and I will give unto you the spirit, and I will place muscles over you, and I will spread skin upon you; and you shall live, and shall know that I am the Lord. And I prophesied as the Lord commanded me: and while I prophesy, behold there is a voice, behold also a movement, and bones approached bones. And I saw, and behold sinews and flesh came up over them, and muscles were placed around them; but there was no breath in them. And He said to me, Prophesy to the wind, son of man, prophesy and say, Thus says the Lord God, Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe in these dead men, and let them live. So I prophesied to the wind, as He commanded me, and the spirit entered into the bones, and they lived, and stood upon their feet, strong and exceeding many. And *the Lord* said to me, Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel. They say themselves, Our bones have become dry, and our hope is perished, and we in them have been violently destroyed. Therefore prophesy unto them, (and say), Behold, even I will open your sepulchres, and will bring you out of your sepulchres, O my people, and will bring you into the land of Israel: and you shall know how that I the Lord opened your sepulchres, and brought you, O my people, out of your sepulchres; and I will give my Spirit unto you, and you shall live, and shall rest in your own land: and you shall know how that I the Lord have spoken and done these things, says the Lord. Ezekiel 37:1-14

Chapter 30. This Vision Interpreted by Tertullian of the Resurrection of the Bodies of the Dead. A Chronological Error of Our Author, Who Supposes that Ezekiel in His Chapter XXXI Prophesied Before the Captivity.

I am well aware how they torture even this prophecy into a proof of the allegorical sense, on the ground that by saying, These bones are the whole house of Israel, He made them a figure of Israel, and removed them from their proper literal condition; and therefore (they contend) that there is here a figurative, not a true prediction of the resurrection, for (they say) the state of the Jews is one of humiliation, in a certain sense dead, and very dry, and dispersed over the plain of the world. Therefore the image of a resurrection is allegorically applied to their state, since it has to be gathered together, and recompact bone to bone (in other words, tribe to tribe, and people to people), and to be reincorporated by the sinews of power and the nerves of royalty, and to be brought out as it were from sepulchres, that is to say, from the most miserable and degraded abodes of captivity, and to breathe afresh in the way of a restoration, and to live thenceforward in their own land of Judæa. And what is to happen after all this? They will die, no doubt. And what will there be after death? No resurrection from the dead, of course, since there is nothing of the sort here revealed to Ezekiel. Well, but the resurrection is elsewhere foretold: so that there will be one even in this case, and they are rash in applying this *passage* to the state of Jewish affairs; or even if it do indicate a different recovery from the resurrection which we are maintaining, what matters it to me, provided there be also a resurrection of the body, just as there is a restoration of the Jewish state? In fact, by the very circumstance that the recovery of the Jewish state is prefigured by the reincorporation and reunion of bones, proof is offered that this event will also happen to the bones *themselves*; for the metaphor could not have been formed from bones, if the same thing exactly were not to be realized in them also. Now, although there is a sketch of the true thing in its image, the image itself still possesses a truth of its own: it must needs be, therefore, that must have a prior existence for itself, which is used figuratively to express some other thing. Vacuity is not a consistent basis for a similitude, nor does nonentity form a suitable foundation for a parable. It will therefore be right to believe that the bones are destined to

have a rehabilitation of flesh and breath, such as it is *here* said they will have, by reason indeed of which their renewed state could alone express the reformed condition of Jewish affairs, which is pretended to be the meaning of this passage. It is, however, more characteristic of a religious spirit to maintain the truth on the authority of a literal interpretation, such as is required by the sense of the inspired passage. Now, if this vision had reference to the condition of the Jews, as soon as He had revealed to him the position of the bones, He would at once have added, These bones are the whole house of Israel, and so forth. But immediately on showing the bones, He interrupts the scene by saying somewhat of the prospect which is most suited to bones; without yet naming Israel, He tries the prophet's own faith: Son of man, can these bones ever live? so that he makes answer: O Lord, You know. Now God would not, you may be sure, have tried the prophet's faith on a point which was never to be a real one, of which Israel should never hear, *and* in which it was not proper to repose belief. Since, however, the resurrection of the dead was indeed foretold, but Israel, in the distrust of his great unbelief, was offended at it; and, while gazing on the condition of the crumbling grave, despaired of a resurrection; or rather, did not direct his mind mainly to it, but to his own harassing circumstances — therefore God first instructed the prophet (since he, too, was not free from doubt), by revealing to him the process of the resurrection, with a view to his earnest setting forth of the same. He then charged the people to believe what He had revealed to the prophet, telling them that they were themselves, though refusing to believe their resurrection, the very bones which were destined to rise again. Then in the concluding sentence He says, And you shall know how that I the Lord have spoken and done these things, intending of course to do that of which He had spoken; but certainly not meaning to do that which He had spoken of, if His design had been to do something different from what He had said.

Chapter 31. Other Passages Out of the Prophets Applied to the Resurrection of the Flesh.

Unquestionably, if the people were indulging in *figurative* murmurs that their bones had become dry, and that their hope had perished — plaintive at the consequences of their dispersion — then God might fairly enough seem to have consoled their *figurative* despair with a *figurative* promise. Since, however, no injury had as yet alighted on the people from their dispersion, although the hope of the resurrection had very frequently failed among them, it is manifest that it was owing to the perishing condition of their bodies that their faith in the resurrection was shaken. God, therefore, was rebuilding the faith which the people were pulling down. But even if it were true that Israel was then depressed at some shock in their existing circumstances, we must not on that account suppose that the purpose of revelation could have rested in a parable: its aim must have been to testify a resurrection, in order to raise the nation's hope to even an eternal salvation and an indispensable restoration, and thereby turn off their minds from brooding over their present affairs. This indeed is the aim of other prophets likewise. You shall go forth, (says Malachi), from your sepulchres, as young calves let loose from their bonds, and you shall tread down your enemies. Malachi 4:2-3 And again, (Isaiah says): Your heart shall rejoice, and your bones shall spring up like the grass, Isaiah 66:14 because the grass also is renewed by the dissolution and corruption of the seed. In a word, if it is contended that the figure of the rising bones refers properly to the state of Israel, why is the same hope announced to all nations, instead of being limited to Israel only, of reinvesting those osseous remains with bodily substance and vital breath, and of raising up their dead out of the grave? For the language is universal: The dead shall arise, and come forth from their graves; for the dew which comes from You is medicine to their bones. Isaiah 26:19 In another passage *it is written*: All flesh shall come to worship before me, says the Lord. Isaiah 66:23 When? When the fashion of this world shall begin to pass away. For He said before: As the new heaven and the new earth, which I make, remain before me, says the Lord, so shall your seed remain. Then also shall be fulfilled what is written afterwards: And they shall go forth (namely, from their graves), and shall see the carcasses of those who have transgressed: for their worm shall never die, nor shall their

fire be quenched; and they shall be a spectacle to all flesh Isaiah 66:24 even to that which, being raised again from the dead and brought out from the grave, shall adore the Lord for this great grace.

Chapter 32. Even Unburied Bodies Will Be Raised Again. Whatever Befalls Them God Will Restore Them Again. Jonah's Case Quoted in Illustration of God's Power.

But, that you may not suppose that it is merely those bodies which are consigned to tombs whose resurrection is foretold, you have it declared in Scripture: And I will command the fishes of the sea, and they shall cast up the bones which they have devoured; and I will bring joint to joint, and bone to bone. You will ask, Will then the fishes and other animals and carnivorous birds be raised again, in order that they may vomit up what they have consumed, on the ground of your reading in the law of Moses, that blood is required of even all the beasts? Certainly not. But the beasts and the fishes are mentioned in relation to the restoration of flesh and blood, in order the more emphatically to express the resurrection of such bodies as have even been devoured, when redress is said to be demanded of their very devourers. Now I apprehend that in the case of Jonah we have a fair proof of this divine power, when he comes forth from the fish's belly uninjured in both his natures — his flesh and his soul. No doubt the bowels of the whale would have had abundant time during three days for consuming and digesting *Jonah's* flesh, quite as effectually as a coffin, or a tomb, or the gradual decay of some quiet and concealed grave; only that he wanted to prefigure even those beasts (*which symbolize*) especially the men who are wildly opposed to the *Christian* name, or the angels of iniquity, of whom blood will be required by the full exaction of an avenging judgment. Where, then, is the man who, being more disposed to learn than to assume, more careful to believe than to dispute, and more scrupulous of the wisdom of God than wantonly bent on his own, when he hears of a divine purpose respecting sinews and skin, and nerves and bones, will immediately devise some different application of these words, as if all that is said of the substances in question were not naturally intended for man? For either there is here no reference to the destiny of man — in the gracious provision of the kingdom (of heaven), in the severity of the judgment-day, in all the incidents of the resurrection; or else, if there is any reference to his destiny, the destination must necessarily be made in reference to those substances of which the man is composed, for whom the destiny is

reserved. Another question I have also to ask of these very adroit transformers of bones and sinews, and nerves and sepulchres: Why, when anything is declared of *the soul*, do they not interpret the soul to be something else, and transfer it to another signification? — since, whenever any distinct statement is made of a *bodily* substance, they will obstinately prefer taking any other sense whatever, rather than that which the name indicates. If things which pertain to the body are figurative, why are not those which pertain to the soul figurative also? Since, however, things which belong to the soul have nothing allegorical in them, neither therefore have those which belong to the body. For man is as much body as he is soul; so that it is impossible for one of these natures to admit a figurative sense, and the other to exclude it.

Chapter 33. So Much for the Prophetic Scriptures. In the Gospels, Christ's Parables, as Explained by Himself, Have a Clear Reference to the Resurrection of the Flesh.

This is evidence enough from the prophetic Scriptures. I now appeal to the Gospels. But here also I must first meet the same sophistry as advanced by those who contend that the Lord, like (the prophets), said everything in the way of allegory, because it is written: All these things spoke Jesus in parables, and without a parable spoke He not unto them, Matthew 13:34 that is, to the Jews. Now the disciples also asked Him, Why do You speak in parables? And the Lord gave them this answer: Therefore I speak unto them in parables: because they seeing, see not; and hearing, they hear not, according to the prophecy of Esaias. But since it was to the Jews that He spoke in parables, it was not then to all men; and if not to all, it follows that it was not always and in all things parables with Him, but only in certain things, and when addressing a particular class. But He addressed a particular class when He spoke to the Jews. It is true that He spoke sometimes even to the disciples in parables. But observe how the Scripture relates such a fact: And He spoke a parable unto them. It follows, then, that He did not usually address them in parables; because if He always did so, special mention would not be made of His resorting to this mode of address. Besides, there is not a parable which you will not find to be either explained by the Lord Himself, as that of the sower, (which He interprets) of the management of the word of God; or else cleared by a preface from the writer of the Gospel, as in the parable of the arrogant judge and the importunate widow, *which is expressly applied* to earnestness in prayer; or capable of being spontaneously understood, as in the parable of the fig-tree, which was spared a while in hopes of improvement — an emblem of Jewish sterility. Now, if even parables obscure not the light of the gospel, how unlikely it is that plain sentences and declarations, which have an unmistakeable meaning, should signify any other thing than their literal sense! But it is by such declarations and sentences that the Lord sets forth either the last judgment, or the kingdom, or the resurrection: It shall be more tolerable, He says, for Tyre and Sidon in the day of judgment *than for you*. Matthew 11:22 And Tell them that the kingdom of God is at hand. Matthew 10:7 And again, It shall be recompensed to you at the resurrection of

the just. Luke 14:14 Now, if the mention of these events (I mean the judgment-day, and the kingdom of God, and the resurrection) has a plain and absolute sense, so that nothing about them can be pressed into an allegory, neither should those statements be forced into parables which describe the arrangement, and the process, and the experience of the kingdom *of God*, and of the judgment, and of the resurrection. On the contrary, things which are destined for the body should be carefully understood in a bodily sense — not in a spiritual sense, as having nothing figurative in their nature. This is the reason why we have laid it down as a preliminary consideration, that the bodily substance both of the soul and of the flesh is liable to the recompense, which will have to be awarded in return for the co-operation of the two natures, that so the corporeality of the soul may not exclude the bodily nature of the flesh by suggesting a recourse to figurative descriptions, since both of them must needs be regarded as destined to take part in the kingdom, and the judgment, and the resurrection. And now we proceed to the special proof of this proposition, that the bodily character of the flesh is indicated by our Lord whenever He mentions the resurrection, at the same time without disparagement to the corporeal nature of the soul — a point which has been actually admitted but by a few.

Chapter 34. Christ Plainly Testifies to the Resurrection of the Entire Man. Not in His Soul Only, Without the Body.

To begin with the passage where He says that He has come to *to seek and* to save that which is lost. Luke 19:10 What do you suppose that to be which is lost? Man, undoubtedly. The entire man, or only a part of him? The whole man, of course. In fact, since the transgression which caused man's ruin was committed quite as much by the instigation of the soul from concupiscence as by the action of the flesh from actual fruition, it has marked the entire man with the sentence of transgression, and has therefore made him deservedly amenable to perdition. So that he will be wholly saved, since he has by sinning been wholly lost. Unless it be true that the sheep (of the parable) is a lost one, irrespective of its body; then its recovery may be effected without the body. Since, however, it is the bodily substance as well as the soul, making up the entire animal, which was carried on the shoulders of the Good Shepherd, we have here unquestionably an example how man is restored in both his natures. Else how unworthy it were of God to bring only a moiety of man to salvation — and almost less than that; whereas the munificence of princes of this world always claims for itself the merit of a plenary grace! Then must the devil be understood to be stronger for injuring man, ruining him wholly? And must God have the character of comparative weakness, since He does not relieve and help man in his entire state? The apostle, however, suggests that where sin abounded, there has grace much more abounded. Romans 5:20 How, in fact, can he be regarded as saved, who can at the same time be said to be lost — lost, that is, in the flesh, but saved as to his soul? Unless, indeed, *their argument* now makes it necessary that the soul should be placed in a lost condition, that it may be susceptible of salvation, on the ground that is properly saved which has been lost. We, however, so understand the soul's immortality as to believe it lost, not in the sense of destruction, but of punishment, that is, in hell. And if this is the case, then it is not the soul which salvation will affect, since it is safe already in its own nature by reason of its immortality, but rather the flesh, which, as all readily allow, is subject to destruction. Else, if the soul is also perishable (in this sense), in other words, not immortal — the condition of the flesh — then this same condition ought

in all fairness to benefit the flesh also, as being similarly mortal and perishable, since that which perishes the Lord purposes to save. I do not care now to follow the clue of our discussion, so far as to consider whether it is in one of his natures or in the other that perdition puts in its claim on man, provided that salvation is equally distributed over the two substances, and makes him its aim in respect of them both. For observe, in which substance so-ever you assume man to have perished, in the other he does not perish. He will therefore be saved in the substance in which he does not perish, and yet obtain salvation in that in which he does perish. You have (then) the restoration of the entire man, inasmuch as the Lord purposes to save that part of him which perishes, while he will not of course lose that portion which cannot be lost. Who will any longer doubt of the safety of both natures, when one of them is to obtain salvation, and the other is not to lose it? And, still further, the Lord explains to us the meaning of the thing when He says: I came not to do my own will, but the Father's, who has sent me. John 6:38 What, I ask, is that will? That of all which He has given me I should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day. Now, what had Christ received of the Father but that which He had Himself put on? Man, of course, in his texture of flesh and soul. Neither, therefore, of those parts which He has received will He allow to perish; nay, no considerable portion — nay, not the least fraction, of either. If the flesh be, *as our opponents slightly think*, but a poor fraction, then the flesh is safe, because not a fraction *of man is to perish*; and no larger portion is in danger, because every portion of man is in equally safe keeping with Him. If, however, He will not raise the flesh also up at the last day, then He will permit not only a fraction of man to perish, but (as I will venture to say, in consideration of so important a part) almost the whole of him. But when He repeats His words with increased emphasis, And this is the Father's will, that every one which sees the Son, and believes in Him, may have eternal life: and I will raise him up at the last day, — He asserts the full extent of the resurrection. For He assigns to each several nature that reward which is suited to its services: both to the flesh, for by it the Son was seen; and to the soul, for by it He was believed on. Then, you will say, to them was this promise given by whom Christ was seen. Well, be it so; only let the same hope flow on from them to us! For if to them who saw, and therefore believed, such fruit then accrued to the operations of the flesh and the soul, how much

more to us! For more blessed, says Christ, are they who have not seen, and yet have believed; John 20:29 since, even if the resurrection of the flesh must be denied to *them*, it must at any rate be a fitting boon to *us*, *who are* the more blessed. For how could we be blessed, if we were to perish in any part of us?

Chapter 35. Explanation of What is Meant by the Body, Which is to Be Raised Again. Not the Corporeality of the Soul.

But He also teaches us, that He is rather to be feared, who is able to destroy both body and soul in hell, that is, the Lord alone; not those which kill the body, but are not able to hurt the soul, Matthew 10:28 that is to say, all human powers. Here, then, we have a recognition of the natural immortality of the soul, which cannot be killed by men; and of the mortality of the body, which may be killed: *whence we learn* that the resurrection of the dead is a resurrection of the flesh; for unless it were raised again, it would be impossible for the flesh to be killed in hell. But as a question may be here captiously raised about the meaning of the body (or the flesh), I will at once state that I understand by the human body nothing else than that fabric of the flesh which, whatever be the kind of material of which it is constructed and modified, is seen and handled, and sometimes indeed killed, by men. In like manner, I should not admit that anything but cement and stones and bricks form the *body* of a wall. If any one imports into our argument some body of a subtle, secret nature, he must show, disclose, and prove to me that that identical body is the very one which was slain by human violence, and then (I will grant) that it is of such a body that (our scripture) speaks. If, again, the body *or corporeal nature* of the soul is cast in my teeth, it will only be an idle subterfuge! For since both substances are set before us (in this passage, which affirms) that body and soul are destroyed in hell, a distinction is obviously made between the two; and we are left to understand the body to be that which is tangible to us, that is, the flesh, which, as it will be destroyed in hell — since it did not rather fear being destroyed by God — so also will it be restored to life eternal, since it preferred to be killed by human hands. If, therefore, any one shall violently suppose that the destruction of the soul and the flesh in hell amounts to a final annihilation of the two substances, and not to their penal treatment (as if they were to be consumed, not punished), let him recollect that the fire of hell is eternal — expressly announced as an everlasting penalty; and let him then admit that it is from this circumstance that this never-ending killing is more formidable than a merely human murder, which is only temporal. He will then come to the conclusion that substances

must be eternal, when their penal killing is an eternal one. Since, then, the body after the resurrection has to be killed by God in hell along with the soul, we surely have sufficient information in this fact respecting both the issues *which await it*, namely the resurrection of the flesh, and its eternal killing. Else it would be most absurd if the flesh should be raised up and destined to the killing in hell, in order to be put an end to, when it might suffer such an annihilation (more directly) if not raised again at all. A pretty paradox, to be sure, that an essence must be refitted with life, in order that it may receive that annihilation which has already in fact accrued to it! *But Christ*, while confirming us in the selfsame hope, adds the example of the sparrows — how that not one of them falls to the ground without the will of God. Matthew 10:29 *He says this*, that you may believe that the flesh which has been consigned to the ground, is able in like manner to rise again by the will of the same God. For although this is not allowed to the sparrows, yet we are of more value than many sparrows, for the very reason that, when fallen, we rise again. He affirms, lastly, that the very hairs of our head are all numbered, Matthew 10:30 and in the affirmation He of course includes the promise of their safety; for if they were to be lost, where would be the use of having taken such a numerical care of them? Surely the only use lies (in this truth): That of all which the Father has given to me, I should lose none, John 6:39 — not even a hair, as also not an eye nor a tooth. And yet whence shall come that weeping and gnashing of teeth, if not from *eyes and teeth*? — even at that time when the body shall be slain in hell, and thrust out into that outer darkness which shall be the suitable torment of the eyes. He also who shall not be clothed at the marriage feast in the raiment of good works, will have to be bound hand and foot, — as being, of course, raised in his body. So, again, the very reclining at the feast in the kingdom of God, and sitting on Christ's thrones, and standing at last on His right hand and His left, and eating of the tree of life: what are all these but most certain proofs of a bodily appointment and destination?

Chapter 36. Christ's Refutation of the Sadducees, and Affirmation of Catholic Doctrine.

Let us now see whether (the Lord) has not imparted greater strength to our doctrine in breaking down the subtle cavil of the Sadducees. Their great object, I take it, was to do away altogether with the resurrection, for the Sadducees in fact did not admit any salvation either for the soul or the flesh; and therefore, taking the strongest case they could for impairing the credibility of the resurrection, they adapted an argument from it in support of the question which they started. Their specious inquiry concerned the flesh, whether or not it would be subject to marriage after the resurrection; and they assumed the case of a woman who had married seven brothers, so that it was a doubtful point to which of them she should be restored. Now, let the purport both of the question and the answer be kept steadily in view, and the discussion is settled at once. For since the Sadducees indeed denied the resurrection, while the Lord affirmed it; since, too, (in affirming it,) He reproached them as being both ignorant of the Scriptures — those, of course which had declared the resurrection — as well as incredulous of the power of God, though, of course, effectual to raise the dead, and lastly, since He immediately added the words, Now, that the dead are raised, Luke 20:37 (speaking) without misgiving, and affirming the very thing which was being denied, even the resurrection of the dead before Him who is the God of the living, — (it clearly follows) that He affirmed this verity in the precise sense in which they were denying it; that it was, in fact, the resurrection of the two natures of man. Nor does it follow, (as they would have it,) that because Christ denied that men would marry, He therefore proved that they would not rise again. On the contrary, He called them the children of the resurrection, in a certain sense having by the resurrection to undergo a birth; and after that they marry no more, but in their risen life are equal unto the angels, inasmuch as they are not to marry, because they are not to die, but are destined to pass into the angelic state by putting on the raiment of incorruption, although with a change in the substance which is restored to life. Besides, no question could be raised whether we are to marry or die again or not, without involving in doubt the restoration most especially of that substance which has a particular relation both to death and marriage — that is, the flesh. Thus, then, you have

the Lord affirming against the Jewish heretics what is now encountering the denial of the Christian Sadducees — the resurrection of the entire man.

Chapter 37. Christ's Assertion About the Unprofitableness of the Flesh Explained Consistently with Our Doctrine.

He says, it is true, that the flesh profits nothing; John 6:63 but then, as in the former case, the meaning must be regulated by the subject which is spoken of. Now, because they thought His discourse was harsh and intolerable, supposing that He had really and literally enjoined on them to eat his flesh, He, with the view of ordering the state of salvation as a spiritual thing, set out with the principle, It is the spirit that quickens; and then added, The flesh profits nothing, — meaning, of course, to the giving of life. He also goes on to explain what He would have us to understand by *spirit*: The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life. In a like sense He had previously said: He that hears my words, and believes in Him that sent me, has everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation, but shall pass from death unto life. John 5:24 Constituting, therefore, His word as the life-giving principle, because that word is spirit and life, He likewise called His flesh by the same appellation; because, too, the Word had become flesh, John 1:14 we ought therefore to desire Him in order that we may have life, and to devour Him with the ear, and to ruminate on Him with the understanding, and to digest Him by faith. Now, just before (the passage in hand), He had declared His flesh to be the bread which comes down from heaven, John 6:51 impressing on (His hearers) constantly under the figure of necessary food the memory of their forefathers, who had preferred the bread and flesh of Egypt to their divine calling. Then, turning His subject to their reflections, because He perceived that they were going to be scattered from Him, He says: The flesh profits nothing. Now what is there to destroy the resurrection of the flesh? As if there might not reasonably enough be something which, although it profits nothing itself, might yet be capable of being profited by something else. The spirit profits, for it imparts life. The flesh profits nothing, for it is subject to death. Therefore He has rather put the two propositions in a way which favours our belief: for by showing what profits, and what does not profit, He has likewise thrown light on the object which receives as well as the subject which gives the profit. Thus, *in the present instance, we have* the Spirit giving life to the flesh which has been subdued by death; for the hour,

says He, is coming, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live. John 5:25 Now, what is the dead but the flesh? And what is the voice of God but the Word? And what is the Word but the Spirit, who shall justly raise the flesh which He had once Himself become, and *that* too from death, which He Himself suffered, and from the grave, which He Himself once entered? Then again, when He says, Marvel not at this: for the hour is coming, in which all that are in the graves shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and shall come forth; they that have done good, to the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation, John 5:28-29 — none will after such words be able to interpret the dead that are in the graves as any other than the bodies of the flesh, because the graves themselves are nothing but the resting-place of corpses: for it is incontestable that even those who partake of the old man, that is to say, sinful men — in other words, those who are dead through their ignorance of God (whom our heretics, forsooth, foolishly insist on understanding by the word graves) — are plainly here spoken of as having to come from their graves for judgment. But how are graves to come forth from graves?

Chapter 38. Christ, by Raising the Dead, Attested in a Practical Way the Doctrine of the Resurrection of the Flesh.

After the Lord's *words*, what are we to think of the purport of His *actions*, when He raises dead persons from their biers *and* their graves? To what end did He do so? If it was only for the mere exhibition of His power, or to afford the temporary favour of restoration to life, it was really no great matter for Him to raise men to die over again. If, however, as was the truth, it was rather to put in secure keeping men's belief in a future resurrection, then it must follow from the particular form of His own examples, that the said resurrection will be a bodily one. I can never allow it to be said that the resurrection of the future, being destined for the soul only, did then receive these preliminary illustrations of a raising of the flesh, simply because it would have been impossible to have shown the resurrection of an invisible soul except by the resuscitation of a visible substance. They have but a poor knowledge of God, who suppose Him to be only capable of doing what comes within the compass of their own thoughts; and after all, they cannot but know full well what His capability has ever been, if they only make acquaintance with the writings of John. For unquestionably he, who has exhibited to our sight the martyrs' hitherto disembodied souls resting under the altar, Revelation 6:9-11 was quite able to display them before our eyes rising without a body of flesh. I, however, for my part prefer (believing) that it is impossible for God to practise deception (weak as He only could be in respect of artifice), from any fear of seeming to have given preliminary proofs of a thing in a way which is inconsistent with His actual disposal of the thing; nay more, from a fear that, since He was not powerful enough to show us a sample of the resurrection without the flesh, He might with still greater infirmity be unable to display (by and by) the full accomplishment of the sample in the self-same substance *of the flesh*. No example, indeed, is greater than the thing of which it is a sample. Greater, however, it is, if souls with their body are to be raised as the evidence of their resurrection without the body, so as that the entire salvation of man *in soul and body* should become a guarantee for only the half, *the soul*; whereas the condition in all examples is, that which would be deemed the less — I mean the resurrection of the soul only — should be

the foretaste, as it were, of the rising of the flesh also at its appointed time. And therefore, according to our estimate of the truth, those examples of dead persons who were raised by the Lord were indeed a proof of the resurrection both of the flesh and of the soul — a proof, in fact, that this gift was to be denied to neither substance. Considered, however, as examples only, they expressed all the less significance — *less, indeed*, than Christ will express at last — for they were not raised up for glory and immortality, but only for another death.

Chapter 39. Additional Evidence Afforded to Us in the Acts of the Apostles.

The Acts of the Apostles, too, attest the resurrection. Now the apostles had nothing else to do, at least among the Jews, than to explain the Old Testament and confirm the New, and above all, to preach God in Christ. Consequently they introduced nothing new concerning the resurrection, besides announcing it to the glory of Christ: in every other respect it had been already received in simple and intelligent faith, without any question as to what sort of resurrection it was to be, and without encountering any other opponents than the Sadducees. So much easier was it to deny the resurrection altogether, than to understand it in an alien sense. You find Paul confessing his faith before the chief priests, under the shelter of the chief captain, among the Sadducees and the Pharisees: Men and brethren, he says, I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee; of the hope and resurrection of the dead I am now called in question by you, Acts 23:6 — referring, of course, to the nation's hope; in order to avoid, in his present condition, as an apparent transgressor of the law, being thought to approach to the Sadducees in opinion on the most important article of the faith — even the resurrection. That belief, therefore, in the resurrection which he would not appear to impair, he really confirmed in the opinion of the Pharisees, since he rejected the views of the Sadducees, who denied it. In like manner, before Agrippa also, he says that he was advancing none other things than those which the prophets had announced. Acts 26:22 He was therefore maintaining just such a resurrection as the prophets had foretold. He mentions also what is written by Moses, touching the resurrection of the dead; (and in so doing) he must have known that it would be a rising in the body, since requisition will have to be made therein of the blood of man. Genesis 9:5-6 He declared it then to be of such a character as the Pharisees had admitted it, and such as the Lord had Himself maintained it, and such too as the Sadducees refused to believe it — such refusal leading them indeed to an absolute rejection of the whole verity. Nor had the Athenians previously understood Paul to announce any other resurrection. Acts 17:32 They had, in fact, derided his announcement; but they would have indulged no such derision if they had heard from him nothing but the restoration of the soul, for they would have received *that* as the very common anticipation of their own

native philosophy. But when the preaching of the resurrection, of which they had previously not heard, by its absolute novelty excited the heathen, and a not unnatural incredulity in so wonderful a matter began to harass the simple faith with many discussions, then the apostle took care in almost every one of his writings to strengthen men's belief of this *Christian* hope, pointing out that there was such a hope, and that it had not as yet been realized, and that it would be in the body — a point which was the special object of inquiry, and, what was besides a doubtful question, not in a body of a different kind from ours.

Chapter 40. Sundry Passages of St. Paul Which Attest Our Doctrine Rescued from the Perversions of Heresy.

Now it is no matter of surprise if arguments are captiously taken from the writings of (the apostle) himself, inasmuch as there must needs be heresies; 1 Corinthians 11:19 but these could not be, if the Scriptures were not capable of a false interpretation. Well, then, heresies finding that the apostle had mentioned two men — the inner man, that is, the soul, and the outward man, that is, the flesh — awarded salvation to the soul or inward man, and destruction to the flesh or outward man, because it is written (in the Epistle) to the Corinthians: Though our outward man decays, yet the inward man is renewed day by day. 2 Corinthians 4:16 Now, neither the soul by itself alone is man (it was subsequently implanted in the clayey mould to which the name *man* had been already given), nor is the flesh without the soul man: for after the exile of the soul from it, it has the title of corpse. Thus the designation *man* is, in a certain sense, the bond between the two closely united substances, under which designation they cannot but be coherent natures. As for the inward man, indeed, the apostle prefers its being regarded as the mind and heart rather than the soul; in other words, not so much the substance itself as the savour of the substance. Thus when, writing to the Ephesians, he spoke of Christ dwelling in their inner man, he meant, no doubt, that the Lord ought to be admitted into their senses. Ephesians 3:17 He then added, in your hearts by faith, *rooted and grounded* in love, — making faith and love not substantial parts, but only conceptions of the soul. But when he used the phrase in your hearts, seeing that these are substantial parts of the flesh, he at once assigned to the flesh the actual inward man, which he placed in the heart. Consider now in what sense he alleged that the outward man decays, while the inward man is renewed day by day. You certainly would not maintain that he could mean that corruption of the flesh which it undergoes from the moment of death, in its appointed state of perpetual decay; but *the wear and tear* which for the name of Christ it experiences during its course of life before and until death, in harassing cares and tribulations as well as in tortures and persecutions. Now the inward man will have, of course, to be renewed by the suggestion of the Spirit, advancing by faith and holiness day after day, *here* in this life, not *there* after the resurrection, were our renewal is not a gradual process from

day to day, but a consummation once for all complete. You may learn this, too, from the following passage, where *the apostle* says: For our light affliction, which is but for a moment, works for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory; while we look not at the things which are seen, that is, our sufferings, but at the things which are not seen, that is, our rewards: for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal. 2 Corinthians 4:17-18 For the afflictions and injuries wherewith the outward man is worn away, he affirms to be only worthy of being despised by us, as being light and temporary; preferring those eternal recompenses which are also invisible, and that weight of glory which will be a counterpoise for the labours in the endurance of which the flesh here suffers decay. So that the subject in this passage is not that corruption which *they* ascribe to the outward man in the utter destruction of the flesh, with the view of nullifying the resurrection. So also he says elsewhere: If so be that we suffer with Him, that we may be also glorified together; for I reckon that the sufferings of the present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us. Romans 8:17-18 Here again he shows us that our sufferings are less than their rewards. Now, since it is through the flesh that we suffer with *Christ* — for it is the property of the flesh to be worn by sufferings — to the same flesh belongs the recompense which is promised for suffering with Christ. Accordingly, when he is going to assign afflictions to the flesh as its special liability — according to the statement he had already made — he says, When we had come into Macedonia, our flesh had no rest; 2 Corinthians 7:5 then, in order to make the soul a fellow-sufferer with the body, he adds, We were troubled on every side; without were fightings, which of course warred down the flesh, within were fears, which afflicted the soul. Although, therefore, the outward man decays — not in the sense of missing the resurrection, but of enduring tribulation — it will be understood from this *scripture* that it is not exposed to its suffering without the inward man. Both therefore, will be glorified together, even as they have suffered together. Parallel with their participation in troubles, must necessarily run their association also in rewards.

Chapter 41. The Dissolution of Our Tabernacle Consistent with the Resurrection of Our Bodies.

It is still the same sentiment which he follows up in the passage in which he puts the recompense above the sufferings: for we know; he says, that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens; 2 Corinthians 5:1 in other words, owing to the fact that our flesh is undergoing dissolution through its sufferings, we shall be provided with a home in heaven. He remembered the award (which the Lord assigns) in the Gospel: Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Matthew 5:10 Yet, when he thus contrasted the recompense of the reward, he did not deny the flesh's restoration; since the recompense is due to the same substance to which the dissolution is attributed — that is, of course, the flesh. Because, however, he had called the flesh *a house*, he wished elegantly to use the same term in his comparison of the ultimate reward; promising to the very house, which undergoes dissolution through suffering, a better house through the resurrection. Just as the Lord also promises us many mansions as of a house in His Father's home; John 14:2 although this may possibly be understood of the domicile of this world, on the dissolution of whose fabric an eternal abode is promised in heaven, inasmuch as the following context, having a manifest reference to the flesh, seems to show that these preceding words have no such reference. For the apostle makes a distinction, when he goes on to say, For in this we groan, earnestly desiring to be clothed upon with our house which is from heaven, if so be that being clothed we shall not be found naked; 2 Corinthians 5:2-3 which means, before we put off the garment of the flesh, we wish to be clothed with the celestial glory of immortality. Now the privilege of this favour awaits those who shall at the coming of the Lord be found in the flesh, and who shall, owing to the oppressions of the time of Antichrist, deserve by an instantaneous death, which is accomplished by a sudden change, to become qualified to join the rising saints; as he writes to the Thessalonians: For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord Himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the

dead in Christ shall rise first: then we too shall ourselves be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord. 1 Thessalonians 4:15-17

Chapter 42. Death Changes, Without Destroying, Our Mortal Bodies. Remains of the Giants.

It is the transformation these shall undergo which he explains to the Corinthians, when he writes: We shall all indeed rise again (though we shall not all undergo the transformation) in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump — for none shall experience this change but those only who shall be found in the flesh. And the dead, he says, shall be raised, *and* we shall be changed. Now, after a careful consideration of this appointed order, you will be able to adjust what follows to the preceding sense. For when he adds, This corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality, 1 Corinthians 15:51-53 this will assuredly be that house from heaven, with which we so earnestly desire to be clothed upon, while groaning in this our present body — meaning, of course, over this flesh in which we shall be surprised at last; because he says that we are burdened while in this tabernacle, which we do not wish indeed to be stripped of, but rather to be *in it* clothed over, in such a way that mortality may be swallowed up of life, that is, by putting on over us while we are transformed that vestiture which is from heaven. For who is there that will not desire, while he is in the flesh, to put on immortality, and to continue his life by a happy escape from death, through the transformation which must be experienced instead of it, without encountering too that *Hades* which will exact the very last farthing? Notwithstanding, he who has already traversed *Hades* is destined also to obtain the change after the resurrection. For from this circumstance it is that we definitively declare that the flesh will *by all means* rise again, and, from the change that is to come over it, will assume the condition of angels. Now, if it were merely in the case of those who shall be found in the flesh that the change must be undergone, in order that mortality may be swallowed up of life — in other words, that the flesh (be covered) with the heavenly and eternal raiment — it would either follow that those who shall be found in death would not obtain life, deprived as they would then be of the material and so to say the aliment of life, that is, the flesh; or else, these also must needs undergo the change, that in them too mortality may be swallowed up of life, since it is appointed that they too should obtain life. But, you say, in the case of the dead, mortality is already swallowed up of life. No, not in all

cases, certainly. For how many will most probably be found of men who had just died — so recently put into their graves, that nothing in them would seem to be decayed? For you do not of course deem a thing to be decayed unless it be cut off, abolished, and withdrawn from our perception, as having in every possible way ceased to be apparent. There are the carcasses of the giants of old time; it will be obvious enough that they are not absolutely decayed, for their bony frames are still extant. We have already spoken of this elsewhere. For instance, even lately in this very city, when they were sacrilegiously laying the foundations of the Odeum on a good many ancient graves, people were horror-stricken to discover, after some five hundred years, bones, which still retained their moisture, and hair which had not lost its perfume. It is certain not only that bones remain indurated, but also that teeth continue undecayed for ages — both of them the lasting germs of that body which is to sprout into life again in the resurrection. Lastly, even if everything that is mortal in all the dead shall then be found decayed — at any rate consumed by death, by time, and through age — is there nothing which will be swallowed up of life, nor by being covered over and arrayed in the vesture of immortality? Now, he who says that mortality is going to be swallowed up of life has already admitted that what is dead *is not destroyed* by those other *before-mentioned devourers*. And verily it will be extremely fit that all shall be consummated and brought about by the operations of God, *and* not by the laws of nature. Therefore, inasmuch as what is mortal has to be swallowed up of life, it must needs be brought out to view in order to be so swallowed up; (needful) also to be swallowed up, in order to undergo the ultimate transformation. If you were to say that a fire is to be lighted, you could not possibly allege that what is to kindle it is sometimes necessary *and* sometimes not. In like manner, when he inserts the words If so be that being unclothed we be not found naked, 2 Corinthians 5:3 — referring, of course, to those who shall not be found in the day of the Lord alive and in the flesh — he did not say that they whom he had just described as unclothed or stripped, were naked in any other sense than meaning that they should be understood to be reinvested with the very same substance they had been divested of. For although they shall be found naked when their flesh has been laid aside, or to some extent sundered or worn away (and this condition may well be called *nakedness*,) they shall afterwards recover it again, in order that, being

reinvested with the flesh, they may be able also to have put over that the supervestment of immortality; for it will be impossible for the outside garment to fit except over one who is already dressed.

Chapter 43. No Disparagement of Our Doctrine in St. Paul's Phrase, Which Calls Our Residence in the Flesh Absence from the Lord.

In the same way, when he says, Therefore we are always confident, and fully aware, that while we are at home in the body we are absent from the Lord; for we walk by faith, not by sight, 2 Corinthians 5:6-7 it is manifest that in this statement there is no design of disparaging the flesh, as if it separated us from the Lord. For there is here pointedly addressed to us an exhortation to disregard this present life, since we are absent from the Lord as long as we are passing through it — walking by faith, not by sight; in other words, in hope, not in reality. Accordingly he adds: We are indeed confident and deem it good rather to be absent from the body, and present with the Lord; in order, that is, that we may walk by sight rather than by faith, in realization rather than in hope. Observe how he here also ascribes to the excellence of martyrdom a contempt for the body. For no one, on becoming absent from the body, is at once a dweller in the presence of the Lord, except by the prerogative of martyrdom, he gains a lodging in Paradise, not in the lower regions. Now, had the apostle been at a loss for words to describe the departure from the body? Or does he purposely use a novel phraseology? For, wanting to express our temporary absence from the body, he says that we are strangers, absent from it, because a man who goes abroad returns after a while to his home. Then he says even to all: We therefore earnestly desire to be acceptable unto God, whether absent or present; for we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ Jesus. 2 Corinthians 5:9-10 If all of us, then all of us wholly; if wholly, then our inward man and outward too — that is, our bodies no less than our souls. That every one, as he goes on to say, may receive the things done in his body, according to that he has done, whether it be good or bad. 2 Corinthians 5:10 Now I ask, how do you read this passage? Do you take it to be confusedly constructed, with a transposition of ideas? Is the question about what things will have to be received by the body, or the things which have been already done in the body? Well, if the things which are to be borne by the body are meant, then undoubtedly a resurrection of the body is implied; and if the things which have been already done in the body are referred to, (the same conclusion follows): for of course the retribution will have to be

paid by the body, since it was by the body that the actions were performed. Thus the apostle's whole argument from the beginning is unravelled in this concluding clause, wherein the resurrection of the flesh is set forth; and it ought to be understood in a sense which is strictly in accordance with this conclusion.

Chapter 44. Sundry Other Passages of St. Paul Explained in a Sentence Confirmatory of Our Doctrine.

Now, if you will examine the words which precede the passage where mention is made of the outward and the inward man, will you not discover the whole truth, both of the dignity and the hope of the flesh? For, when he speaks of the light which God has commanded to shine in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of the Lord in the person of Jesus Christ, 2 Corinthians 4:6 and says that we have this treasure in earthen vessels, meaning of course the flesh, which is meant — that the flesh shall be destroyed, because it is an earthen vessel, deriving its origin from clay; or that it is to be glorified, as being the receptacle of a divine treasure? Now if that true light, which is in the person of Christ, contains in itself life, and that life with its light is committed to the flesh, is that destined to perish which has life entrusted to it? Then, of course, the treasure will perish also; for perishable things are entrusted to things which are themselves perishable, which is like putting new wine into old bottles. When also he adds, Always bearing about in our body the dying of *the Lord Jesus Christ*, 2 Corinthians 4:10 what sort of substance is that which, after (being called) the temple of God, can now be also designated the tomb of Christ? But why do we bear about in the body the dying of the Lord? In order, as he says, that His life also may be manifested. Where? In the body. In what body? In our mortal body. Therefore in the flesh, which is mortal indeed through sin, but living through grace — how great a grace you may see when the purpose is, that the life of Christ may be manifested in it. Is it then in a thing which is a stranger to salvation, in a substance which is perpetually dissolved, that the life of Christ will be manifested, which is eternal, continuous, incorruptible, and already the life of God? Else to what epoch belongs that life of the Lord which is to be manifested in our body? It surely is the life which He lived up to His passion, which was not only openly shown among the Jews, but has now been displayed even to all nations. Therefore that life is meant which has broken the adamantine gates of death and the brazen bars of the lower world, — a life which thenceforth has been and will be ours. Lastly, it is to be manifested in the body. When? After death. How? By rising in our body, as Christ also *rose in His*. But lest any one should here object, that the life of Jesus has even now

to be manifested in our body by the discipline of holiness, and patience, and righteousness, and wisdom, in which the Lord's life abounded, the most provident wisdom of the apostle inserts this purpose: For we which live are always delivered unto death for Jesus' sake, that His life may be manifested in our mortal body. 2 Corinthians 4:11 In us, therefore, even when dead, does he say that this is to take place in us. And if so, how is this possible except in our body after its resurrection? Therefore he adds in the concluding sentence: Knowing that He which raised up *the Lord* Jesus, shall raise up us also with Him, risen as He is already from the dead. But perhaps *with* Him means *like* Him: well then, if it be *like* Him, it is not of course without the flesh.

Chapter 45. The Old Man and the New Man of St. Paul Explained.

But in their blindness they again impale themselves on the point of the old and the new man. When the apostle enjoins us to put off the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts; and to be renewed in the spirit of our mind; and to put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness, Ephesians 4:22-24 (they maintain) that by here also making a distinction between the two substances, *and applying* the old one to the flesh and the new one to the spirit, he ascribes to the old man — that is to say, the flesh — a permanent corruption. Now, if you follow the order of the substances, the soul cannot be the new man because it comes the later of the two; nor can the flesh be the old man because it is the former. For what fraction of time was it that intervened between the *creative* hand of God and His *afflatus*? I will venture to say, that even if the soul was a good deal prior to the flesh, by the very circumstance that the soul had to wait to be itself completed, it made the other really the former. For everything which gives the finishing stroke and perfection to a work, although it is subsequent in its mere order, yet has the priority in its effect. Much more is that prior, without which preceding things could have no existence. If the flesh be the old man, when did it become so? From the beginning? But Adam was wholly a new man, and of that new man there could be no part an old man. And from that time, ever since the blessing which was pronounced upon man's generation, Genesis 1:28 the flesh and the soul have had a simultaneous birth, without any calculable difference in time; so that the two have been even generated together in the womb, as we have shown in our *Treatise on the Soul*. Contemporaneous in the womb, they are also temporally identical in their birth. The two are no doubt produced by human parents of two substances, but not at two different periods; rather they are so entirely one, that neither is before the other *in point of time*. It is more correct (to say), that we are either entirely the old man or entirely the new, for we cannot tell how we can possibly be anything else. But the apostle mentions a very clear mark of the old man. For put off, says he, concerning the former conversation, the old man; Ephesians 4:22 (he does) not *say* concerning the seniority of either substance. It is not indeed the flesh which he bids us to put off, but the works

which he in another passage shows to be works of the flesh. Galatians 5:19 He brings no accusation against men's bodies, of which he even writes as follows: Putting away lying, speak every man truth with his neighbor: for we are members one of another. Be angry, and sin not: let not the sun go down upon your wrath: neither give place to the devil. Let him that stole steal no more: but rather let him labour, working with his hands (the thing which is good), that he may have to give to him that needs. Let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth, but that which is good for the edification of faith, that it may minister grace unto the hearers. And grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, whereby you are sealed unto the day of redemption. Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil-speaking, be put away from you, with all malice: but be kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God in Christ has forgiven you. Ephesians 4:25-32 Why, therefore, do not those who suppose the flesh to be the old man, hasten their own death, in order that by laying aside the old man they may satisfy the apostle's precepts? As for ourselves, we believe that the whole of faith is to be administered *in* the flesh, nay more, *by* the flesh, which has both a mouth for the utterance of all holy words, and a tongue to refrain from blasphemy, and a heart to avoid all irritation, and hands to labour and to give; while we also maintain that as well the old man as the new has relation to the difference of moral conduct, and not to any discrepancy of nature. And just as we acknowledge that that which according to its former conversation was the old man was also corrupt, and received its very name in accordance with its deceitful lusts, so also (do we hold) that it is the old man in reference to its former conversation, Ephesians 4:22 and not in respect of the flesh through any permanent dissolution. Moreover, it is still unimpaired in the flesh, and identical in that nature, even when it has become the new man; since it is of its sinful course of life, and not of its corporeal substance, that it has been divested.

Chapter 46. It is the Works of the Flesh, Not the Substance of the Flesh, Which St. Paul Always Condemns.

You may notice that the apostle everywhere condemns the works of the flesh in such a way as to appear to condemn the flesh; but no one can suppose him to have any such view as this, since he goes on to suggest another sense, even though somewhat resembling it. For when he actually declares that they who are in the flesh cannot please God, he immediately recalls the statement from an heretical sense to a sound one, by adding, But you are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit. Romans 8:8-9 Now, by denying them to be in the flesh who yet obviously were in the flesh, he showed that they were not living amidst the works of the flesh, and therefore that they who could not please God were not those who were in the flesh, but only those who were living after the flesh; whereas they pleased God, who, although existing in the flesh, were yet walking after the Spirit. And, again, he says that the body is dead; but it is because of sin, even as the Spirit is life because of righteousness. When, however, he thus sets life in opposition to the death which is constituted in the flesh, he unquestionably promises the life of righteousness to the same state for which he determined the death of sin. But unmeaning is this opposition which he makes between the life and the death, if the life is not there where that very thing is to which he opposes it — even the death which is to be extirpated of course from the body. Now, if life thus extirpates death from the body, it can accomplish this only by penetrating there where that is which it is excluding. But why am I resorting to knotty arguments, when the apostle treats the subject with perfect plainness? For if, says he, the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, He that raised up Jesus from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies, because of His Spirit that dwells in you; Romans 8:11 so that even if a person were to assume that the soul is the mortal body, he would (since he cannot possibly deny that the flesh is this also) be constrained to acknowledge a restoration even of the flesh, in consequence of its participation in the selfsame state. From the following words, moreover, you may learn that it is the works of the flesh which are condemned, and not the flesh itself: Therefore, brethren, we are debtors, not *to the flesh*, to live after the flesh: for if you live after the flesh you shall die; but

if you, through the Spirit, do mortify the deeds of the body, you shall live. Now (that I may answer each point separately), since salvation is promised to those who are living in the flesh, but walking after the Spirit, it is no longer the flesh which is an adversary to salvation, but the working of the flesh. When, however, this operativeness of the flesh is done away with, which is the cause of death, the flesh is shown to be safe, since it is freed from the cause of death. For the law, says he, of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus has made me free from the law of sin and death, — that, surely, which he previously mentioned as dwelling in our members. Our members, therefore, will no longer be subject to the law of death, because they cease to serve that of sin, from *both* which they have been set free. For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and through sin condemned sin in the flesh, Romans 8:3 — not the flesh in sin, for the house is not to be condemned with its inhabitant. He said, indeed, that sin dwells in our body. Romans 7:20 But the condemnation of sin is the acquittal of the flesh, just as its non-condemnation subjugates it to the law of sin and death. In like manner, he called the carnal mind first death, Romans 8:6 and afterwards enmity against God; but he never predicated this of the flesh itself. But to what then, you will say, must the carnal mind be ascribed, if it be not to the *carnal* substance itself? I will allow your objection, if you will prove to me that the flesh has any discernment of its own. If, however, it has no conception of anything without the soul, you must understand that the carnal mind must be referred to the soul, although ascribed sometimes to the flesh, on the ground that it is ministered to for the flesh and through the flesh. And therefore (the apostle) says that sin dwells in the flesh, because the soul by which sin is provoked has its temporary lodging in the flesh, which is doomed indeed to death, not however on its own account, but on account of sin. For he says in another passage also: How is it that you conduct yourselves as if you were even now living in the world? Colossians 2:20 where he is not writing to dead persons, but to those who ought to have ceased to live after the ways of the world.

Chapter 47. St. Paul, All Through, Promises Eternal Life to the Body.

For that must be living after the world, which, as the old man, he declares to be crucified with Christ, Romans 6:6 not as a bodily structure, but as moral behaviour. Besides, if we do not understand it in this sense, it is not our bodily frame which has been transfixed (at all events), nor has our flesh endured the cross of Christ; but the sense is that which he has subjoined, that the body of sin might be made void, by an amendment of life, not by a destruction of the substance, as he goes on to say, that henceforth we should not serve sin; and that we should believe ourselves to be dead with Christ, in such a manner as that we shall also live with Him. On the same principle he says: Likewise reckon also yourselves to be dead indeed. To what? To the flesh? No, but unto sin. Accordingly as to the flesh they will be saved — alive unto God in Christ Jesus, through the flesh of course, to which they will not be dead; since it is unto sin, and not to the flesh, that they are dead. For he pursues the point still further: Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that you should obey it, and that you should yield your members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin: but yield yourselves unto God, as those that are alive from the dead — not simply alive, but as alive from the dead — and your members as instruments of righteousness. And again: As you have yielded your members servants of uncleanness, and of iniquity unto iniquity, even so now yield your members servants of righteousness unto holiness; for while you were the servants of sin, you were free from righteousness. What fruit did you have then in those things of which you are now ashamed? For the end of those things is death. But now, being made free from sin, and become servants to God, you have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life. For the wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord. Thus throughout this series of passages, while withdrawing our members from unrighteousness and sin, and applying them to righteousness and holiness, and transferring the same from the wages of death to the donative of eternal life, he undoubtedly promises to the flesh the recompense of salvation. Now it would not at all have been consistent that any rule of holiness and righteousness should be especially enjoined for the flesh, if the reward of such a discipline were not also within its reach; nor could even

baptism be properly ordered for the flesh, if by its regeneration a course were not inaugurated tending to its restitution; the apostle himself suggesting this idea: Do you not know, that so many of us as are baptized into Jesus Christ, are baptized into His death? We are therefore buried with Him by baptism into death, that just as Christ was raised up from the dead, even so we also should walk in newness of life. Romans 6:3-4 And that you may not suppose that this is said merely of that life which we have to walk in the newness of, through baptism, by faith, the apostle with superlative forethought adds: For if we have been planted together in the likeness of Christ's death, we shall be also in the likeness of His resurrection. By a figure we die in our baptism, but in a reality we rise again in the flesh, even as Christ did, that, as sin has reigned in death, so also grace might reign through righteousness unto life eternal, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Romans 5:21 But how so, unless equally in the flesh? For where the death is, there too must be the life after the death, because also the life was first there, where the death subsequently was. Now, if the dominion of death operates only in the dissolution of the flesh, in like manner death's contrary, life, ought to produce the contrary effect, even the restoration of the flesh; so that, just as death had swallowed it up in its strength, it also, after this mortal was swallowed up of immortality, may hear the challenge pronounced against it: O death, where is your sting? O grave, where is your victory? 1 Corinthians 15:55 For in this way grace shall there much more abound, where sin once abounded. Romans 5:20 In this way also shall strength be made perfect in weakness, 2 Corinthians 12:9 — saving what is lost, reviving what is dead, healing what is stricken, curing what is faint, redeeming what is lost, freeing what is enslaved, recalling what has strayed, raising what is fallen; and this from earth to heaven, where, as the apostle teaches the Philippians, we have our citizenship, from whence also we look for our Saviour Jesus Christ, who shall change our body of humiliation, that it may be fashioned like His glorious body Philippians 3:20-21 — of course after the resurrection, because Christ Himself was not glorified before He suffered. These must be the bodies which he beseeches the Romans to present as a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God. Romans 12:1 But how a *living* sacrifice, if these bodies are to perish? How a *holy* one, if they are profanely soiled? How *acceptable to God*, if they are condemned? Come, now, tell me how that passage (in the Epistle) to the Thessalonians — which, because of its

clearness, I should suppose to have been written with a sunbeam — is understood by our heretics, who shun the light of Scripture: And the very God of peace sanctify you wholly. And as if this were not plain enough, it goes on to say: And may your whole body, and soul, and spirit be preserved blameless unto the coming of the Lord. 1 Thessalonians 5:23 Here you have the entire substance of man destined to salvation, and *that* at no other time than at the coming of the Lord, which is the key of the resurrection.

Chapter 48. Sundry Passages in the Great Chapter of the Resurrection of the Dead Explained in Defence of Our Doctrine.

But flesh and blood, you say, cannot inherit the kingdom of God. 1 Corinthians 15:50 We are quite aware that this too is written; but although our opponents place it in the front of the battle, we have intentionally reserved the objection until now, in order that we may in our last assault overthrow it, after we have removed out of the way all the questions which are auxiliary to it. However, they must contrive to recall to their mind even now our preceding *arguments*, in order that the occasion which originally suggested this passage may assist our judgment in arriving at its meaning. The apostle, as I take it, having set forth for the Corinthians the details of their church discipline, had summed up the substance of his own gospel, and of their belief in an exposition of the Lord's death and resurrection, for the purpose of deducing therefrom the rule of our hope, and the groundwork thereof. Accordingly he subjoins this statement: Now if Christ be preached that He rose from the dead, how say some among you that there is no resurrection of the dead? If there be *no resurrection of the dead*, then Christ is not risen: and if Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain. Yea, and we are found false witnesses of God; because we have testified of God that He raised up Christ, whom He raised not up, *if so be that the dead rise not*. For if the dead rise not, then is not Christ raised: and if Christ be not raised, your faith is vain, because you are yet in your sins, and they which have fallen asleep in Christ are perished. 1 Corinthians 15:12-18 Now, what is the point which he evidently labours hard to make us believe throughout this passage? The resurrection of the dead, you say, which was denied: he certainly wished it to be believed on the strength of the example which he adduced — the Lord's resurrection. Certainly, you say. Well now, is an example borrowed from different circumstances, or from like ones? From like ones, by all means, is your answer. How then did Christ rise again? In the flesh, or not? No doubt, since you are told that He died according to the Scriptures, and that He was buried *according to the Scriptures*, no otherwise than in the flesh, you will also allow that it was in the flesh that He was raised from the dead. For the very same body which fell in death, and which lay in the sepulchre, did also

rise again; (and it was) not so much Christ in the flesh, as the flesh in Christ. If, therefore, we are to rise again after the example of Christ, who rose in the flesh, we shall certainly not rise according to that example, unless we also shall ourselves rise again in the flesh. For, he says, since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead. (This he says) in order, on the one hand, to distinguish the two authors — Adam of death, Christ of resurrection; and, on the other hand, to make the resurrection operate on the same substance as the death, by comparing the authors themselves under the designation *man*. For if as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive, 1 Corinthians 15:22 their vivification in Christ must be in the flesh, since it is in the flesh that arises their death in Adam. But every man in his own order, because of course *it will be* also *every man* in his own body. For the *order* will be arranged severally, on account of the individual merits. Now, as the merits must be ascribed to the body, it must needs follow that the order also should be arranged in respect of the bodies, that it may be in relation to their merits. But inasmuch as some are also baptized for the dead, we will see whether there be a good reason for this. Now it is certain that they adopted this (practice) with such a presumption as made them suppose that the vicarious baptism (in question) would be beneficial to the flesh of another in anticipation of the resurrection; for unless it were a bodily *resurrection*, there would be no pledge secured by this process of a corporeal baptism. Why are they then baptized for the dead, he asks, unless the bodies rise again which are thus baptized? For it is not the soul which is sanctified by the baptismal bath: its sanctification comes from the answer. 1 Peter 3:21 And why, he inquires, stand we in jeopardy every hour? 1 Corinthians 15:30 — meaning, of course, through the flesh. I die daily, (says he); that is, undoubtedly, in the perils of the body, in which he even fought with beasts at Ephesus, — even with those beasts which caused him such peril and trouble in Asia, to which he alludes in his second epistle to the same church *of Corinth*: For we would not, brethren, have you ignorant of our trouble which came to us in Asia, that we were pressed above measure, above strength, insomuch that we despaired even of life. 2 Corinthians 1:8 Now, if I mistake not, he enumerates all these particulars in order that in his unwillingness to have his conflicts in the flesh supposed to be useless, he may induce an unfaltering belief in the resurrection of the flesh. For useless must that conflict be deemed (which is sustained in a

body) for which no resurrection is in prospect. But some man will say, How are the dead to be raised? And with what body will they come? 1 Corinthians 15:35 Now here he discusses the qualities of bodies, whether it be the very same, or different ones, which men are to resume. Since, however, such a question as this must be regarded as a subsequent one, it will in passing be enough for us that the resurrection is determined to be a bodily one even from this, that it is about the quality of *bodies* that the inquiry arises.

Chapter 49. The Same Subject Continued. What Does the Apostle Exclude from the Dead? Certainly Not the Substance of the Flesh.

We come now to the very gist of the whole question: What are the substances, and of what nature are they, which the apostle has disinherited of the kingdom of God? The preceding statements give us a clue to this point also. He says: The first man is of the earth, earthy — that is, made of dust, that is, Adam; the second man is from heaven 1 Corinthians 15:47 — that is, the Word of God, which is Christ, in no other way, however, *man* (although from heaven), than as being Himself flesh and soul, just as a human being is, just as Adam was. Indeed, in a previous passage He is called the second Adam, deriving the identity of His name from His participation in the substance, because not even Adam was flesh of human seed, in which Christ is also like Him. As is the earthy, such are they also that are earthy; and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly. 1 Corinthians 15:48 *Such* (does he mean), in substance; or first of all in training, and afterwards in the dignity and worth which that training aimed at acquiring? Not in substance, however, by any means will the earthy and the heavenly be separated, designated as they have been by the apostle once for all, as *men*. For even if Christ were the only true heavenly, nay, super-celestial Being, He is still man, as composed of body and soul; and in no respect is He separated from the quality of earthiness, owing to that condition of His which makes Him a partaker of both substances. In like manner, those also who after Him are heavenly, are understood to have this celestial quality predicated of them not from their present nature, but from their future glory; because in a preceding sentence, which originated this distinction respecting difference of dignity, there was shown to be one glory in celestial bodies, and another in terrestrial ones, 1 Corinthians 15:40 — one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars: for even one star differs from another star in glory, although not in substance. Then, after having thus premised the difference in that worth or dignity which is even now to be aimed at, and then at last to be enjoyed, the apostle adds an exhortation, that we should both here in our training follow the example of Christ, and there attain His eminence in glory: As we have borne the image of the earthy, let us also bear the image of the heavenly. We have indeed borne

the image of the earthy, by our sharing in his transgression, by our participation in his death, by our banishment from Paradise. Now, although the image of Adam is here borne by is in the flesh, yet we are not exhorted to put off the flesh; but if not the flesh, it is the conversation, in order that we may then bear the image of the heavenly in ourselves — no longer indeed *the image* of God, and no longer *the image* of a Being whose state is in heaven; but after the lineaments of Christ, by our walking here in holiness, righteousness, and truth. And so wholly intent on the inculcation of moral conduct is he throughout this passage, that he tells us we ought to bear the image of Christ in this flesh of ours, and in this period of instruction and discipline. For when he says *let us bear* in the imperative mood, he suits his words to the present life, in which man exists in no other substance than as flesh and soul; or if it is another, even the heavenly, substance to which this faith (of ours) looks forward, yet the promise is made to that *substance* to which the injunction is given to labour earnestly to merit its reward. Since, therefore, he makes the image both of the earthy and the heavenly consist of moral conduct — the one to be abjured, and the other to be pursued — and then consistently adds, For this I say (on account, that is, of what I have already said, because the conjunction *for* connects what follows with the preceding words) that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, 1 Corinthians 15:50 — he means the flesh and blood to be understood in no other sense than the before-mentioned image of the earthy; and since this is reckoned to consist in the old conversation, which old conversation receives not the kingdom of God, therefore flesh and blood, by not receiving the kingdom of God, are reduced to the *life of the* old conversation. Of course, as the apostle has never put the substance for the works *of man*, he cannot use such a construction here. Since, however he has declared of men which are yet alive in the flesh, that they are not in the flesh, Romans 8:9 meaning that they are not living in the works of the flesh, you ought not to subvert its form nor its substance, but only the works done in the substance (of the flesh), alienating us from the kingdom of God. It is after displaying to the Galatians these pernicious works that he professes to warn them beforehand, even as he had told them in time past, that they which do such things should not inherit the kingdom of God, Galatians 5:21 even because they bore not the image of the heavenly, as they had borne the image of the earthy; and so, in

consequence of their old conversation, they were to be regarded as nothing else than flesh and blood. But even if the apostle had abruptly thrown out the sentence that flesh and blood must be excluded from the kingdom of God, without any previous intimation of his meaning, would it not have been equally our duty to interpret these two substances as the old man abandoned to mere flesh and blood — in other words, to eating and drinking, one feature of which would be to speak against the faith of the resurrection: Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die. 1 Corinthians 15:32 Now, when the apostle parenthetically inserted this, he censured flesh and blood because of their enjoyment in eating and drinking.

Chapter 50. In What Sense Flesh and Blood are Excluded from the Kingdom of God.

Putting aside, however, all interpretations of this sort, which criminate the works of the flesh and blood, it may be permitted me to claim for the resurrection these very substances, understood in none other than their natural sense. For it is not the resurrection that is directly denied to flesh and blood, but the kingdom of God, which is incidental to the resurrection (for there is a resurrection of judgment also); and there is even a confirmation of the general resurrection of the flesh, whenever a special one is excepted. Now, when it is clearly stated what the condition is to which the resurrection does not lead, it is understood what that is to which it does lead; and, therefore, while it is in consideration of *men's* merits that a difference is made in their resurrection by their conduct in the flesh, and not by the substance thereof, it is evident even from this, that flesh and blood are excluded from the kingdom of God in respect of their sin, not of their substance; and although in respect of their natural condition they will rise again for the judgment, because they rise not for the kingdom. Again, I will say, Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; 1 Corinthians 15:50 and justly (does the apostle declare this of them, considered) alone and in themselves, in order to show that the Spirit is still needed (to qualify them) for the kingdom. For it is the Spirit that quickens *us* for the kingdom of God; the flesh profits nothing. John 6:63 There is, however, something else which can be profitable thereunto, that is, the Spirit; and through the Spirit, the works also of the Spirit. Flesh and blood, therefore, must in every case rise again, equally, in their proper quality. But they to whom it is granted to enter the kingdom of God, will have to put on the power of an incorruptible and immortal life; for without this, *or* before they are able to obtain it, they cannot enter into the kingdom of God. With good reason, then, flesh and blood, as we have already said, by themselves fail to obtain the kingdom of God. But inasmuch as this corruptible (that is, the flesh) must put on incorruption, and this mortal (that is, the blood) must put on immortality, 1 Corinthians 15:53 by the change which is to follow the resurrection, it will, for the best of reasons, happen that flesh and blood, after that change and investiture, will become able to inherit the kingdom of God — but not without the resurrection. Some will have it, that by the phrase flesh

and blood, because of its rite of circumcision, Judaism is meant, which is itself too alienated from the kingdom of God, as being accounted the old or former conversation, and as being designated by this title in another passage of the apostle also, who, when it pleased God to reveal to him His Son, to preach Him among the heathen, immediately conferred not with flesh and blood, as he writes to the Galatians, (meaning by the phrase) the circumcision, that is to say, Judaism.

Chapter 51. The Session of Jesus in His Incarnate Nature at the Right Hand of God a Guarantee of the Resurrection of Our Flesh.

That, however, which we have reserved for a concluding argument, will now stand as a plea for all, and for the apostle himself, who in very deed would have to be charged with extreme indiscretion, if he had so abruptly, as some will have it, and as they say, blindfold, and so indiscriminately, and so unconditionally, excluded from the kingdom of God, and indeed from the court of heaven itself, all flesh and blood whatsoever; since Jesus is still sitting there at the right hand of the Father, Mark 16:19 man, yet God — the last Adam, 1 Corinthians 15:45 yet the primary Word — flesh and blood, yet purer than ours — who shall descend in like manner as He ascended *into heaven* Acts 1:9 the same both in substance and form, as the angels affirmed, so as even to be recognised by those who pierced Him. Designated, as He is, the Mediator between God and man, He keeps in His own self the deposit of the flesh which has been committed to Him by both parties — the pledge and security of its entire perfection. For as He has given to us the earnest of the Spirit, 2 Corinthians 5:5 so has He received from us the earnest of the flesh, and has carried it with Him into heaven as a pledge of that complete entirety which is one day to be restored to it. Be not disquieted, O flesh and blood, with any care; in Christ you have acquired both heaven and the kingdom of God. Otherwise, if they say that you are not in Christ, let them also say that Christ is not in heaven, since they have denied you heaven. Likewise neither shall corruption, says he, inherit incorruption. 1 Corinthians 15:50 *This he says*, not that you may take flesh and blood to be corruption, for they are themselves rather the subjects of corruption — I mean through death, since death does not so much corrupt, as actually consume, our flesh and blood. But inasmuch as he had plainly said that the works of the flesh and blood could not obtain the kingdom of God, with the view of stating this with accumulated stress, he deprived corruption itself — that is, death, which profits so largely by the works of the flesh and blood — from all inheritance of incorruption. For a little afterwards, he has described what is, as it were, the death of death itself: Death, says he, is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is your sting? O grave, where is your victory? The sting of death is sin — here is the

corruption; and the strength of sin is the law 1 Corinthians 15:54-56 — that other law, no doubt, which he has described in his members as warring against the law of his mind, Romans 7:23 — meaning, of course, the actual power of sinning against his will. Now he says in a previous passage (of our Epistle to the Corinthians), that the last enemy to be destroyed is death. 1 Corinthians 15:26 In this way, then, it is that corruption shall not inherit incorruption; in other words, death shall not continue. When and how shall it cease? In that moment, that twinkling of an eye, at the last trump, when the dead shall rise incorruptible. But what are these, if not they who were corruptible before — that is, our bodies; in other words, our flesh and blood? And we undergo the change. But in what condition, if not in that wherein we shall be found? For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality. What mortal is this but the flesh? What corruptible but the blood. Moreover, that you may not suppose the apostle to have any other meaning, in his care to teach you, and that you may understand him seriously to apply his statement to the flesh, when he says *this* corruptible and *this* mortal, he utters the words while touching the surface of his own body. He certainly could not have pronounced these phrases except in reference to an object which was palpable and apparent. The expression indicates a bodily exhibition. Moreover, a corruptible body is one thing, and corruption is another; so a mortal body is one thing, and mortality is another. For that which suffers is one thing, and that which causes it to suffer is another. Consequently, those things which are subject to corruption and mortality, even the flesh and blood, must needs also be susceptible of incorruption and immortality.

Chapter 52. From St. Paul's Analogy of the Seed We Learn that the Body Which Died Will Rise Again, Garnished with the Appliances of Eternal Life.

Let us now see in what body he asserts that the dead will come. And with a felicitous sally he proceeds at once to illustrate the point, as if an objector had plied him with some such question. You fool, says he, that which you sow is not quickened, except it die. 1 Corinthians 15:36 From this example of the *seed* it is then evident that no other flesh is quickened than that which shall have undergone death, and therefore all the rest of the question will become clear enough. For nothing which is incompatible with the idea suggested by the example can possibly be understood; nor from the clause which follows, That which you sow, you sow not the body which shall be, are you permitted to suppose that in the resurrection a different body is to arise from that which is sown in death. Otherwise you have run away from the example. For if wheat be sown and dissolved in the ground, barley does not spring up. Still it is not the very same grain in kind; nor is its nature the same, or its quality and form. Then whence *comes it*, if it is not the very same? For even the decay is *a proof of the thing itself*, since it is *the decay* of the actual *grain*. Well, but does not the apostle himself suggest in what sense it is that the body which shall be is not the body which is sown, even when he says, But bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of some other grain; but God gives it a body as it pleases Him? *Gives it* of course to the grain which he says is sown bare. No doubt, you say. Then the grain is safe enough, to which God has to assign a body. But how safe, if it is nowhere in existence, if it does not rise again if it rises not again its actual self? If it rises not again, it is not safe; *and* if it is not even safe, it cannot receive a body from God. But there is every possible proof that it is safe. For what purpose, therefore, will God give it a body, as it pleases Him, even when it already has its own bare body, unless it be that in its resurrection it may be no longer bare? That therefore will be additional matter which is placed over the *bare* body; nor is that at all destroyed on which the superimposed matter is put — nay, it is increased. That, however, is safe which receives augmentation. The truth is, it is sown the barest grain, without a husk to cover it, without a spike even in germ, without the protection of a bearded top, without the glory of a stalk. It rises, however, out

of the furrow enriched with a copious crop, built up in a compact fabric, constructed in a *beautiful* order, fortified by cultivation, and clothed around on every side. These are the circumstances which make it another body from God, to which it is changed not by abolition, but by amplification. And to every seed *God* has assigned its own body 1 Corinthians 15:38 — not, indeed, its own in the sense of its primitive body — in order that what it acquires from God extrinsically may also at last be accounted its own. Cleave firmly then to the example, and keep it well in view, as a mirror of what happens to the flesh: believe that the very same *flesh* which was once sown *in death* will bear fruit *in resurrection-life* — the same in essence, only more full and perfect; not another, although reappearing in another form. For it shall receive in itself the grace and ornament which God shall please to spread over it, according to its merits. Unquestionably it is in this sense that he says, All flesh is not the same flesh; meaning not to deny a community of substance, but a parity of prerogative — reducing the body to a difference of honour, not of nature. With this view he adds, in a figurative sense, certain examples of animals and heavenly bodies: There is one flesh of man (that is, servants of God, but really human), another flesh of beasts (that is, the heathen, of whom the prophet actually says, Man is like the senseless cattle), another flesh of birds (that is, the martyrs which essay to mount up to heaven), another of fishes (that is, those whom the water of baptism has submerged). 1 Corinthians 15:39 In like manner does he take examples from the heavenly bodies: There is one glory of the sun (that is, of Christ), and another glory of the moon (that is, of the Church), and another glory of the stars (in other words, of the seed of Abraham). For one star differs from another star in glory: so there are bodies terrestrial as well as celestial (Jews, that is, as well as Christians). 1 Corinthians 15:41 Now, if this language is not to be construed figuratively, it was absurd enough for him to make a contrast between the flesh of mules and kites, as well as the heavenly bodies and human bodies; for they admit of no comparison as to their condition, nor in respect of their attainment of a resurrection. Then at last, having conclusively shown by his examples that the difference was one of glory, not of substance, he adds: So also is the resurrection of the dead. How so? In no other way than as differing in glory only. For again, predicating the resurrection of the same substance and returning once more to (his comparison of) the grain, he says: It is sown in

corruption, it is raised in incorruption; it is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power; it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body. Now, certainly nothing else is raised than that which is sown; and nothing else is sown than that which decays in the ground; and it is nothing else than the flesh which is decayed in the ground. For this was the substance which God's decree demolished, Earth you are, and to earth shall you return; Genesis 3:19 because it was taken out of the earth. And it was from this circumstance that the apostle borrowed his phrase of the flesh being sown, since it returns to the ground, and the ground is the grand depository for seeds which are meant to be deposited in it, and again sought out of it. And therefore he confirms the passage afresh, by putting on it the impress (of his own inspired authority), saying, For so it is written; 1 Corinthians 15:45 that you may not suppose that the being sown means anything else than you shall return to the ground, out of which you were taken; nor that the phrase for so it is written refers to any other thing than the flesh.

Chapter 53. Not the Soul, But the Natural Body Which Died, is that Which is to Rise Again. The Resurrection of Lazarus Commented on. Christ's Resurrection, as the Second Adam, Guarantees Our Own.

Some, however, contend that the *soul* is the natural (or animate) body, with the view of withdrawing the *flesh* from all connection with the risen body. Now, since it is a clear and fixed point that the body which is to rise again is that which was sown *in death*, they must be challenged to an examination of the very fact itself. Else let them show that the soul was sown after death; in a word, that it underwent death — that is, was demolished, dismembered, dissolved in the ground, nothing of which was ever decreed against it by God: let them display to our view its corruptibility and dishonour (as well as) its weakness, that it may also accrue to it to rise again in incorruption, and in glory, and in power. 1 Corinthians 15:42-43 Now in the case of Lazarus, (which we may take as) the palmary instance of a resurrection, the flesh lay prostrate in weakness, the flesh was almost putrid in the dishonour *of its decay*, the flesh stank in corruption, and yet it was as *flesh* that Lazarus rose again — with his soul, no doubt. But that soul was incorrupt; nobody had wrapped it in its linen swathes; nobody had deposited it in a grave; nobody had yet perceived it stink; nobody for four days had seen it sown. Well, now, this entire condition, this whole end of Lazarus, the flesh indeed of all men is still experiencing, but the soul of no one. That substance, therefore, to which the apostle's whole description manifestly refers, of which he clearly speaks, must be both the natural (or animate) body when it is sown, and the spiritual body when it is raised again. For in order that you may understand it in this sense, he points to this same conclusion, when in like manner, on the authority of the same passage of Scripture, he displays to us the first man Adam as made a living soul. Now since Adam was the first man, since also the flesh was man prior to the soul it undoubtedly follows that it was the flesh that became the living soul. Moreover, since it was a bodily substance that assumed this condition, it was of course the natural (or animate) body that became the living soul. By what designation would they have it called, except that which it became through the soul, except that which it was not previous to the soul, except that which it can never be after the soul, but through its

resurrection? For after it has recovered the soul, it once more becomes the natural (or animate) body, in order that it may become a spiritual body. For it only resumes in the resurrection the condition which it once had. There is therefore by no means the same good reason why the *soul* should be called the natural (or animate) body, which the *flesh* has for bearing that designation. The flesh, in fact, was a body before it was an animate body. When the flesh was joined by the soul, it then became the natural (or animate) body. Now, although the soul is a corporeal substance, yet, as it is not an animated body, but rather an animating one, it cannot be called the animate (or natural) body, nor can it become that thing which it produces. It is indeed when the soul accrues to something else that it makes that thing animate; but unless it so accrues, how will it ever produce animation? As therefore the flesh was at first an animate (or natural) body on receiving the soul, so at last will it become a spiritual body when invested with the spirit. Now the apostle, by severally adducing this order in Adam and in Christ, fairly distinguishes between the two states, in the very essentials of their difference. And when he calls Christ the last Adam, 1 Corinthians 15:45 you may from this circumstance discover how strenuously he labours to establish throughout his teaching the resurrection of the flesh, not of the soul. Thus, then, the first man Adam was flesh, not soul, and only afterwards became a living soul; and the last Adam, Christ, was Adam only because He was man, and only man as being flesh, not as being soul. Accordingly the apostle goes on to say: Howbeit that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural, and afterward that which is spiritual, 1 Corinthians 15:46 as in the case of the two Adams. Now, do you not suppose that he is distinguishing between the natural body and the spiritual body in the same flesh, after having already drawn the distinction therein in the two Adams, that is, in the first man and in the last? For from which substance is it that Christ and Adam have a parity with each other? No doubt it is from their flesh, although it may be from their soul also. It is, however, in respect of the flesh that they are both man; for the flesh was man prior *to the soul*. It was actually from it that they were able to take rank, so as to be deemed — one the first, and the other the last man, or Adam. Besides, things which are different in character are only incapable of being arranged in the same order when their diversity is one of substance; for when it is a diversity either in respect of place, or of time, or of condition, they

probably do admit of classification together. Here, however, they are called first and last, from the substance of their (common) flesh, just as afterwards again the first man (is said to be) of the earth, and the second of heaven; but although He is of heaven in respect of the spirit, He is yet man according to the flesh. Now since it is the flesh, and not the soul, that makes an order (or classification together) in the two Adams compatible, so that the distinction is drawn between them of the first man becoming a living soul, and the last a quickening spirit, so in like manner this distinction between them has already suggested the conclusion that the distinction is due to the flesh; so that it is of the flesh that these words speak: Howbeit that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural, and afterward that which is spiritual. And thus, too, the same *flesh* must be understood in a preceding passage: That which is sown is the natural body, and that which rises again is the spiritual body; because that is not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural: since the first Adam was made a living soul, the last Adam a quickening spirit. 1 Corinthians 15:44-45 It is all about man, *and* all about the flesh because about man.

What shall we say then? Has not the flesh even now (in this life) the spirit by faith? So that the question still remains to be asked, how it is that the animate (or natural) body can be said to be sown? Surely the flesh has received even here the spirit — but *only its* earnest; whereas of the soul (it has received) not the earnest, but the full possession. Therefore it has the name of *animate* (or natural) body, expressly because of the higher substance of the soul (or *anima*,) in which it is sown, destined hereafter to become, through the full possession of the spirit which it shall obtain, the spiritual body, in which it is raised again. What wonder, then, if it is more commonly called after the substance with which it is fully furnished, than after that of which it has yet but a sprinkling?

Chapter 54. Death Swallowed Up of Life. Meaning of This Phrase in Relation to the Resurrection of the Body.

Then, again, questions very often are suggested by occasional and isolated terms, just as much as they are by connected sentences. Thus, because of the apostle's expression, that mortality may be swallowed up of life 2 Corinthians 5:4 — in reference to the flesh — they wrest the word *swallowed up* into the sense of the actual destruction of the flesh; as if we might not speak of ourselves as swallowing bile, or swallowing grief, meaning that we conceal and hide it, and keep it within ourselves. The truth is, when it is written, This mortal must put on immortality, 1 Corinthians 15:53 it is explained in what sense it is that mortality is swallowed up of life — even while, clothed with immortality, it is hidden and concealed, and contained within it, not as consumed, and destroyed, and lost. But death, you will say in reply to me, at this rate, must be safe, even when it has been swallowed up. Well, then, I ask you to distinguish words which are similar in form according to their proper meanings. Death is one thing, and mortality is another. It is one thing for death to be swallowed up, and another thing for mortality to be swallowed up. Death is incapable of immortality, but not so mortality. Besides, as it is written that this mortal must put on immortality, 1 Corinthians 15:53 how is this possible when it is swallowed up of life? But how is it swallowed up of life, (in the sense of destroyed by it) when it is actually received, and restored, and included in it? For the rest, it is only just and right that death should be swallowed up in utter destruction, since it does itself devour with this same intent. Death, says the apostle, has devoured by exercising its strength, and therefore has been itself devoured in the struggle *swallowed up in victory*. O death, where is your sting? O death, where is your victory? Therefore life, too, as the great antagonist of death, will in the struggle swallow up for salvation what death, in its struggle, had swallowed up for destruction.

Chapter 55. The Change of a Thing's Condition is Not the Destruction of Its Substance. The Application of This Principle to Our Subject.

Now although, in proving that the flesh shall rise again we *ipso facto* prove that no other *flesh* will partake of that resurrection than that which is in question, yet insulated questions and their occasions do require even discussions of their own, even if they have been already sufficiently met. We will therefore give a fuller explanation of the force and the reason of a change which (is so great, that it) almost suggests the presumption that it is a different flesh which is to rise again; as if, indeed, so great a change amounted to utter cessation, and a complete destruction of the former self. A distinction, however, must be made between a *change*, however great, and everything which has the character of *destruction*. For undergoing change is one thing, but being destroyed is another thing. Now this distinction would no longer exist, if the flesh were to suffer such a change as amounts to destruction. Destroyed, however, it must be by the change, unless it shall itself persistently remain throughout the altered condition which shall be exhibited in the resurrection. For precisely as it perishes, if it does not rise again, so also does it equally perish even if it does rise again, on the supposition that it is lost in the change. It will as much fail of a future existence, as if it did not rise again at all. And how absurd is it to rise again for the purpose of not having a being, when it had it in its power not to rise again, and so lose its being — because it had already begun its non-existence! Now, things which are absolutely different, as mutation and destruction are, will not admit of mixture and confusion; in their operations, too, they differ. One destroys, the other changes. Therefore, as that which is destroyed is not changed, so that which is changed is not destroyed. To perish is altogether to cease to be what a thing once was, whereas to be changed is to exist in another condition. Now, if a thing exists in another condition, it can still be the same thing itself; for since it does not perish, it has its existence still. A change, indeed, it has experienced, but not a destruction. A thing may undergo a complete change, and yet remain still the same thing. In like manner, a man also may be quite himself in substance even in the present life, and for all that undergo various changes — in habit, in bodily bulk, in health, in condition, in dignity, and in

age — in taste, business, means, houses, laws and customs — and still lose nothing of his human nature, nor so to be made another man as to cease to be the same; indeed, I ought hardly to say another man, but another thing. This form of change even the Holy Scriptures give us instances of. The hand of Moses is changed, and it becomes like a dead one, bloodless, colorless, and stiff with cold; but on the recovery of heat, and on the restoration of its natural color, it is again the same flesh and blood. Exodus 4:6-7 Afterwards the face of the same Moses is changed, with a brightness which eye could not bear. But he was Moses still, even when he was not visible. So also Stephen had already put on the appearance of an angel, Acts 6:15 although they were none other than his human knees Acts 7:59-60 which bent beneath the stoning. The Lord, again, in the retirement of the mount, had changed His raiment for a robe of light; but He still retained features which Peter could recognise. Matthew 17:2-4 In that same scene Moses also and Elias gave proof that the same condition of bodily existence may continue even in glory — the one in the likeness of a flesh which he had not yet recovered, the other in the reality of one which he had not yet put off. It was as full of this splendid example that Paul said: Who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like His glorious body. Philippians 3:21 But if you maintain that a transfiguration and a conversion amounts to the annihilation of any substance, then it follows that Saul, when changed into another man, 1 Samuel 10:6 passed away from his own bodily substance; and that Satan himself, when transformed into an angel of light, 2 Corinthians 11:14 loses his own proper character. Such is not my opinion. So likewise changes, conversions and reformations will necessarily take place to bring about the resurrection, but the substance *of the flesh* will still be preserved safe.

Chapter 56. The Procedure of the Last Judgment, and Its Awards, Only Possible on the Identity of the Risen Body with Our Present Flesh.

For how absurd, and in truth how unjust, and in both respects how unworthy of God, for one substance to do the work, and another to reap the reward: that this flesh of ours should be torn by martyrdom, and another wear the crown; or, on the other hand, that this flesh of ours should wallow in uncleanness, and another receive the condemnation! Is it not better to renounce all faith at once in the hope of the resurrection, than to trifle with the wisdom and justice of God? Better that Marcion should rise again than Valentinus. For it cannot be believed that the mind, or the memory, or the conscience of existing man is abolished by putting on that change of raiment which immortality and incorruption supplies; for in that case all the gain and fruit of the resurrection, and the permanent effect of God's judgment both on soul and body, would certainly fall to the ground. If I remember not that it is I who have served Him, how shall I ascribe glory to God? How sing to Him the new song, if I am ignorant that it is I who owe Him thanks? But why is exception taken only against the change of the flesh, and not of the soul also, which in all things is superior to the flesh? How happens it, that the self-same soul which in our present flesh has gone through all life's course, which has learned the knowledge of God, and put on Christ, and sown the hope of salvation in this flesh, must reap its harvest in another flesh of which we know nothing? Verily that must be a most highly favoured flesh, which shall have the enjoyment of life at so gratuitous a rate! But if the soul is not to be changed also, then there is no resurrection of the soul; nor will it be believed to have itself risen, unless it has risen some different thing.

Chapter 57. Our Bodies, However Mutilated Before or After Death, Shall Recover Their Perfect Integrity in the Resurrection. Illustration of the Enfranchised Slave.

We now come to the most usual cavil of unbelief. If, they say, it be actually the selfsame substance which is recalled *to life* with all its form, and lineaments, and quality, then why not with all its other characteristics? Then the blind, and the lame, and the palsied, and whoever else may have passed away with any conspicuous mark, will return again with the same. What now is the fact, although you in the greatness of your conceit thus disdain to accept from God so vast a grace? Does it not happen that, when you now admit the salvation of only the soul, you ascribe it to men at the cost of half their nature? What is the good of believing in the resurrection, unless your faith embraces the whole of it? If the flesh is to be repaired after its dissolution, much more will it be restored after some violent injury. Greater cases prescribe rules for lesser ones. Is not the amputation or the crushing of a limb the death of that limb? Now, if the death of the whole person is rescinded by its resurrection, what must we say of the death of a part of him? If we are changed for glory, how much more for integrity! Any loss sustained by our bodies is an accident to them, but their entirety is their natural property. In this condition we are born. Even if we become injured in the womb, this is loss suffered by what is already a human being. Natural condition is prior to injury. As life is bestowed by God, so is it restored by Him. As we are when we receive it, so are we when we recover it. To nature, not to injury, are we restored; to our state by birth, not to our condition by accident, do we rise again. If God raises not men entire, He raises not the dead. For what dead man is entire, although he dies entire? Who is without hurt, that is without life? What body is uninjured, when it is dead, when it is cold, when it is ghastly, when it is stiff, when it is a corpse? When is a man more infirm, than when he is entirely infirm? When more palsied, than when quite motionless? Thus, for a dead man to be raised again, amounts to nothing short of his being restored to his entire condition — lest he, forsooth, be still dead in that part in which he has not risen again. God is quite able to re-make what He once made. This power and this unstinted grace of His He has already sufficiently guaranteed in Christ; and has displayed Himself to us (in Him) not only as the restorer of

the flesh, but as the repairer of its breaches. And so the apostle says: The dead shall be raised incorruptible (or unimpaired). 1 Corinthians 15:52 But how so, unless they become entire, who have wasted away either in the loss of their health, or in the long decrepitude of the grave? For when he propounds the two clauses, that this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality, 1 Corinthians 15:53 he does not repeat the same statement, but sets forth a distinction. For, by assigning *immortality* to the repeating of death, and *incorruption* to the repairing of the wasted body, he has fitted one to the raising and the other to the retrieval *of the body*. I suppose, moreover, that he promises to the Thessalonians the integrity of the whole substance of man. So that for the great future there need be no fear of blemished or defective bodies. Integrity, whether the result of preservation or restoration, will be able to lose nothing more, after the time that it has given back to it whatever it had lost. Now, when you contend that the flesh will still have to undergo the same sufferings, if the same flesh be said to have to rise again, you rashly set up nature against her Lord, and impiously contrast *her* law against *His* grace; as if it were not permitted the Lord God both to change nature, and to preserve her, without subjection to a law. How is it, then, that we read, With men these things are impossible, but with God all things are possible; Matthew 19:26 and again, God has chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise? 1 Corinthians 1:27 Let me ask you, if you were to manumit your slave (seeing that the same flesh and soul will remain to him, which once were exposed to the whip, and the fetter, and the stripes), will it therefore be fit for him to undergo the same old sufferings? I think not. He is instead thereof honoured with the grace of the white robe, and the favour of the gold ring, and the name and tribe as well as table of his patron. Give, then, the same prerogative to God, by virtue of such a change, of reforming our condition, not our nature, by taking away from it all sufferings, and surrounding it with safeguards of protection. Thus our flesh shall remain even after the resurrection — so far indeed susceptible of suffering, as it is the flesh, and the same flesh too; but at the same time impassible, inasmuch as it has been liberated by the Lord for the very end and purpose of being no longer capable of enduring suffering.

Chapter 58. From This Perfection of Our Restored Bodies Will Flow the Consciousness of Undisturbed Joy and Peace.

Everlasting joy, says Isaiah, shall be upon their heads. Isaiah 35:10 Well, there is nothing eternal until after the resurrection. And sorrow and sighing, continues he, shall flee away. The angel echoes the same to John: And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; Revelation 7:17 from the same eyes indeed which had formerly wept, and which might weep again, if the loving-kindness of God did not dry up every fountain of tears. And again: God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, Revelation 21:4 and therefore no more corruption, it being chased away by incorruption, even as death is by immortality. If sorrow, and mourning, and sighing, and death itself, assail us from the afflictions both of soul and body, how shall they be removed, except by the cessation of their causes, that is to say, the afflictions of flesh and soul? Where will you find adversities in the presence of God? Where, incursions of an enemy in the bosom of Christ? Where, attacks of the devil in the face of the Holy Spirit? — now that the devil himself and his angels are cast into the lake of fire. Where now is necessity, and what they call fortune or fate? What plague awaits the redeemed from death, after their eternal pardon? What wrath is there for the reconciled, after grace? What weakness, after their renewed strength? What risk and danger, after their salvation? That the raiment and shoes of the children of Israel remained unworn and fresh for the space of forty years; Deuteronomy 29:5 that in their very persons the exact point of convenience and propriety checked the rank growth of their nails and hair, so that any excess herein might not be attributed to indecency; that the fires of Babylon injured not either the mitres or the trousers of the three brethren, however foreign such dress might be to the Jews; Daniel 3:27 that Jonah was swallowed by the monster of the deep, in whose belly whole ships were devoured, and after three days was vomited out again safe and sound; that Enoch and Elias, who even now, without experiencing a resurrection (because they have not even encountered death), are learning to the full what it is for the flesh to be exempted from all humiliation, and all loss, and all injury, and all disgrace — translated as they have been from this world, and from this

very cause already candidates for everlasting life; — to what faith do these notable facts bear witness, if not to that which ought to inspire in us the belief that they are proofs and documents of our own future integrity *and perfect resurrection*? For, to borrow the apostle's phrase, these were figures of ourselves; 1 Corinthians 10:6 and they are written that we may believe both that the Lord is more powerful than all natural laws about the body, and that He shows Himself the preserver of the flesh the more emphatically, in that He has preserved for it its very clothes and shoes.

Chapter 59. Our Flesh in the Resurrection Capable, Without Losing Its Essential Identity, of Bearing the Changed Conditions of Eternal Life, or of Death Eternal.

But, you object, the world to come bears the character of a different dispensation, even an eternal one; and therefore, you maintain, that the non-eternal substance of this life is incapable of possessing a state of such different features. This would be true enough, if man were made for the future dispensation, and not the dispensation for man. The apostle, however, in his epistle says, Whether it be the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come; all are yours: 1 Corinthians 3:22 and he here constitutes us heirs even of the future world. Isaiah gives you no help when he says, All flesh is grass; Isaiah 40:7 and in another passage, All flesh shall see the salvation of God. It is the issues of men, not their substances, which he distinguishes. But who does not hold that the judgment of God consists in the twofold sentence, of salvation and of punishment? Therefore it is that all flesh is grass, which is destined to the fire; and all flesh shall see the salvation of God, which is ordained to eternal life. For myself, I am quite sure that it is in no other flesh than my own that I have committed adultery, nor in any other flesh am I striving after continence. If there be any one who bears about in his person two instruments of lasciviousness, he has it in his power, to be sure, to mow down the grass of the unclean flesh, and to reserve for himself only that which shall see the salvation of God. But when the same prophet represents to us even nations sometimes estimated as the small dust of the balance, Isaiah 40:15 and as less than nothing, and vanity, and sometimes as about to hope and trust in the name and arm of the Lord, are we at all misled respecting the Gentile nations *by the diversity of statement*? Are some of them to turn believers, and are others accounted dust, from any difference of nature? Nay, rather Christ has shone as the true light on the nations within the ocean's limits, and from the heaven which is over us all. Why, it is even on this earth that the Valentinians have gone to school for their errors; and there will be no difference of condition, as respects their body and soul, between the nations which believe and those which do not believe. Precisely, then, as He has put a distinction of state, not of nature, among the same nations, so also has He discriminated their flesh, which is one and the same substance in those

nations, not according to their material structure, but according to the recompense of their merit.

Chapter 60. All the Characteristics of Our Bodies — Sex, Various Limbs, Etc. — Will Be Retained, Whatever Change of Functions These May Have, of Which Point, However, We are No Judges. Analogy of the Repaired Ship.

But behold how persistently they still accumulate their cavils against the flesh, especially against its identity, deriving their arguments even from the functions of our limbs; on the one hand saying that these ought to continue permanently pursuing their labours and enjoyments, as appendages to the same corporeal frame; and on the other hand contending that, inasmuch as the functions of the limbs shall one day come to an end, the bodily frame itself must be destroyed, its permanence without its limbs being deemed to be as inconceivable, as that of the limbs themselves without their functions! What, they ask, will then be the use of the cavity of our mouth, and its rows of teeth, and the passage of the throat, and the branch-way of the stomach, and the gulf of the belly, and the entangled tissue of the bowels, when there shall no longer be room for eating and drinking? What more will there be for these members to take in, masticate, swallow, secrete, digest, eject? Of what avail will be our very hands, and feet, and all our labouring limbs, when even all care about food shall cease? What purpose can be served by loins, conscious of seminal secretions, and all the other organs of generation, in the two sexes, and the laboratories of embryos, and the fountains of the breast, when concubinage, and pregnancy, and infant nurture shall cease? In short, what will be the use of the entire body, when the entire body shall become useless? In reply to all this, we have then already settled the principle that the dispensation of the future state ought not to be compared with that of the present world, and that in the interval between them a change will take place; and we now add the remark, that these functions of our bodily limbs will continue to supply the needs of this life up to the moment when life itself shall pass away from time to eternity, as the natural body gives place to the spiritual, until this mortal puts on immortality, and this corruptible puts on incorruption: 1 Corinthians 15:53 so that when life shall itself become freed from all wants, our limbs shall then be freed also from their services, and therefore will be no longer wanted. Still, although liberated from their offices, they will be yet preserved

for judgment, that every one may receive the things done in his body. 2 Corinthians 5:10 For the judgment-seat of God requires that man be kept entire. Entire, however, he cannot be without his limbs, of the substance of which, not the functions, he consists; unless, forsooth, you will be bold enough to maintain that a ship is perfect without her keel, or her bow, or her stern, and without the solidity of her entire frame. And yet how often have we seen the same ship, after being shattered with the storm and broken by decay, with all her timbers repaired and restored, gallantly riding on the wave in all the beauty of a renewed fabric! Do we then disquiet ourselves with doubt about God's skill, and will, and rights? Besides, if a wealthy shipowner, who does not grudge money merely for his amusement or show, thoroughly repairs his ship, and then chooses that she should make no further voyages, will you contend that the old form and finish is still not necessary to the vessel, although she is no longer meant for actual service, when the mere safety of a ship requires such completeness irrespective of service? The sole question, therefore, which is enough for us to consider here, is whether the Lord, when He ordains salvation for man, intends it for his flesh; whether it is His will that the selfsame flesh shall be renewed. *If so*, it will be improper for you to rule, from the inutility of its limbs in the future state, that the flesh will be incapable of renovation. For a thing may be renewed, and yet be useless *from having nothing to do*; but it cannot be said to be useless if it has no existence. If, indeed, it has existence, it will be quite possible for it also not to be useless; *it may possibly have something to do*; for in the presence of God there will be no idleness.

Chapter 61. The Details of Our Bodily Sex, and of the Functions of Our Various Members. Apology for the Necessity Which Heresy Imposes of Hunting Up All Its Unblushing Cavils.

Now you have received your mouth, O man, for the purpose of devouring your food and imbibing your drink: why not, however, for the higher purpose of uttering speech, so as to distinguish yourself from all other animals? Why not rather for preaching *the gospel of God*, that so you may become even His priest and advocate before men? Adam indeed gave their several names to the animals, before he plucked the fruit of the tree; before he ate, he prophesied. Then, again, you received your teeth for the consumption of your meal: why not rather for wreathing your mouth with suitable defense on every opening thereof, small or wide? Why not, too, for moderating the impulses of your tongue, and guarding your articulate speech from failure and violence? Let me tell you, (if you do not know), that there are toothless persons in the world. Look at them, and ask whether even a cage of teeth be not an honour to the mouth. There are apertures in the lower regions of man and woman, by means of which they gratify no doubt their animal passions; but why are they not rather regarded as outlets for the cleanly discharge of natural fluids? Women, moreover, have within them receptacles where human seed may collect; but are they not designed for the secretion of those sanguineous issues, which their tardier and weaker sex is inadequate to disperse? For even details like these require to be mentioned, seeing that *heretics* single out what parts of our bodies may suit them, handle them without delicacy, and, as their whim suggests, pour torrents of scorn and contempt upon the natural functions of our members, for the purpose of upsetting the resurrection, and making us blush over their cavils; not reflecting that before the functions cease, the very causes of them will have passed away. There will be no more meat, because no more hunger; no more drink, because no more thirst; no more concubinage, because no more child-bearing; no more eating and drinking, because no more labour and toil. Death, too, will cease; so there will be no more need of the nutriment of food for the defense of life, nor will *mothers'* limbs any longer have to be laden for the replenishment of our race. But even in the present life there may be cessations of their office for our stomachs and our generative

organs. For forty days Moses Exodus 24:8 and Elias 1 Kings 19:8 fasted, and lived upon God alone. For even so early was the principle consecrated: Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds out of the mouth of God. See here faint outlines of our future strength! We even, as we may be able, excuse our mouths from food, and withdraw our sexes from union. How many voluntary eunuchs are there! How many virgins espoused to Christ! How many, both of men and women, whom nature has made sterile, with a structure which cannot procreate! Now, if even here on earth both the functions and the pleasures of our members may be suspended, with an intermission which, like the dispensation itself, can only be a temporary one, and yet man's safety is nevertheless unimpaired, how much more, when his salvation is secure, and especially in an eternal dispensation, shall we not cease to desire those things, for which, even here below, we are not unaccustomed to check our longings!

Chapter 62. Our Destined Likeness to the Angels in the Glorious Life of the Resurrection.

To this discussion, however, our Lord's declaration puts an effectual end: They shall be, says He, equal unto the angels. As by not marrying, because of not dying, so, of course, by not having to yield to any like necessity of our bodily state; even as the angels, too, sometimes, were equal unto men, by eating and drinking, and submitting their feet to the washing of the bath — having clothed themselves in human guise, without the loss of their own intrinsic nature. If therefore angels, when they became as men, submitted in their own unaltered substance of spirit to be treated as if they were flesh, why shall not men in like manner, when they become equal unto the angels, undergo in their unchanged substance of flesh the treatment of spiritual beings, no more exposed to the usual solicitations of the flesh in their angelic garb, than were the angels once to those of the spirit when encompassed in human form? We shall not therefore cease to continue in the flesh, because we cease to be importuned by the usual wants of the flesh; just as the angels ceased not therefore to remain in their spiritual substance, because of the suspension of their spiritual incidents. Lastly, Christ said not, They shall be angels, in order not to repeal their existence as men; but He said, They shall be equal unto the angels, that He might preserve their humanity unimpaired. When He ascribed an angelic likeness to the flesh, He took not from it its proper substance.

Chapter 63. Conclusion. The Resurrection of the Flesh in Its Absolute Identity and Perfection. Belief of This Had Become Weak. Hopes for Its Refreshing Restoration Under the Influences of the Paraclete.

And so the flesh shall rise again, wholly in every man, in its own identity, in its absolute integrity. Wherever it may be, it is in safe keeping in God's presence, through that most faithful Mediator between God and man, (the man) Jesus Christ, 1 Timothy 2:5 who shall reconcile both God to man, and man to God; the spirit to the flesh, and the flesh to the spirit. Both natures has He already united in His own self; He has fitted them together as bride and bridegroom in the reciprocal bond of wedded life. Now, if any should insist on making the soul the bride, then the flesh will follow the soul as her dowry. The soul shall never be an outcast, to be had home by the bridegroom bare and naked. She has her dower, her outfit, her fortune in the flesh, which shall accompany her with the love and fidelity of a foster-sister. But suppose the flesh to be the bride, then in Christ Jesus she has in the contract of His blood received His Spirit as her spouse. Now, what you take to be her extinction, you may be sure is only her temporary retirement. It is not the soul only which withdraws from view. The flesh, too, has her departures for a while — in waters, in fires, in birds, in beasts; she may seem to be dissolved into these, but she is only poured into them, as into vessels. And should the vessels themselves afterwards fail to hold her, escaping from even these, and returning to her mother earth, she is absorbed once more, as it were, by its secret embraces, ultimately to stand forth to view, like Adam when summoned to hear from his Lord and Creator the words, Behold, the man has become as one of us! Genesis 3:22 — thoroughly knowing by that time the evil which she had escaped, and the good which she has acquired. Why, then, O soul, should you envy the flesh? There is none, after the Lord, whom you should love so dearly; none more like a brother to you, which is even born along with yourself in God. You ought rather to have been by your prayers obtaining resurrection for her: her sins, whatever they were, were owing to you. However, it is no wonder if you hate her; for you have repudiated her Creator. You have accustomed yourself either to deny or change her existence even in Christ — corrupting the very Word of God Himself, who became flesh, either

by mutilating or misinterpreting the Scripture, and introducing, above all, apocryphal mysteries *and* blasphemous fables. But yet Almighty God, in His most gracious providence, by pouring out of His Spirit in these last days, upon all flesh, upon His servants and on His handmaidens, has checked these impostures of unbelief and perverseness, reanimated men's faltering faith in the resurrection of the flesh, and cleared from all obscurity and equivocation the ancient Scriptures (of both God's Testaments) by the clear light of their (sacred) words and meanings. Now, since it was needful that there should be heresies, in order that they which are approved might be made manifest; 1 Corinthians 11:19 since, however, these heresies would be unable to put on a bold front without some countenance from the Scriptures, it therefore is plain enough that the ancient Holy Writ has furnished them with sundry materials for their evil doctrine, which very materials indeed (so distorted) are refutable from the same Scriptures. It was fit and proper, therefore, that the Holy Ghost should no longer withhold the effusions of His gracious light upon these inspired writings, in order that they might be able to disseminate the seeds *of truth* with no admixture of heretical subtleties, and pluck out from it their tares. He has accordingly now dispersed all the perplexities of the past, and their self-chosen allegories and parables, by the open and perspicuous explanation of the entire mystery, through the new prophecy, which descends in copious streams from the Paraclete. If you will only draw water from His fountains, you will never thirst for other doctrine: no feverish craving after subtle questions will again consume you; *but* by drinking in evermore the resurrection of the flesh, you will be satisfied with the refreshing draughts.

Adversus Praxean (Against Praxeas)



Translated by Peter Holmes

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Chapter 1. Satan's Wiles Against the Truth. How They Take the Form of the Praxean Heresy. Account of the Publication of This Heresy

In various ways has the devil rivalled and resisted the truth. Sometimes his aim has been to destroy the truth by defending it. He maintains that there is one only Lord, the Almighty Creator of the world, in order that out of this *doctrine of the unity* he may fabricate a heresy. He says that the Father Himself came down into the Virgin, was Himself born of her, Himself suffered, indeed was Himself Jesus Christ. Here the *old* serpent has fallen out with himself, since, when he tempted Christ after John's baptism, he approached Him as the Son of God; surely intimating that God had a Son, even on the testimony of the very Scriptures, out of which he was at the moment forging his temptation: If you are the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread. Matthew 4:3 Again: If you are the Son of God, cast yourself down from hence; for it is written, He shall give His angels charge concerning you — referring no doubt, to the Father — and in their hands they shall bear you up, that you hurt not your foot against a stone. Or perhaps, after all, he was only reproaching the Gospels with a lie, saying in fact: Away with Matthew; away with Luke! *Why heed their words?* In spite of them, *I declare* that it was God Himself that I approached; it was the Almighty Himself that I tempted face to face; and it was for no other purpose than to tempt Him that I approached Him. If, on the contrary, it had been *only* the Son of God, most likely I should never have condescended to deal with Him. However, he is himself a liar from the beginning, John 8:44 and whatever man he instigates in his own way; as, for instance, Praxeas. For *he* was the first to import into Rome from Asia this kind of heretical pravity, a man in other respects of restless disposition, and above all inflated with the pride of confessorship simply and solely because he had to bear for a short time the annoyance of a prison; on which occasion, even if he had given his body to be burned, it would have profited him nothing, not having the love of God, 1 Corinthians 13:3 whose very gifts he has resisted and destroyed. For after the Bishop of Rome had acknowledged the prophetic gifts of Montanus, Prisca, and Maximilla, and, in consequence of the acknowledgment, had bestowed his peace on the churches of Asia and Phrygia, *he*, by importunately

urging false accusations against the prophets themselves and their churches, and insisting on the authority of the bishop's predecessors in the see, compelled him to recall the pacific letter which he had issued, as well as to desist from his purpose of acknowledging the *said* gifts. By this Praxeas did a twofold service for the devil at Rome: he drove away prophecy, and he brought in heresy; he put to flight the Paraclete, and he crucified the Father. Praxeas' tares had been moreover sown, and had produced their fruit here also, while many were asleep in their simplicity of doctrine; but these tares actually seemed to have been plucked up, having been discovered and exposed by him whose agency God was pleased to employ. Indeed, *Praxeas* had deliberately resumed his old (true) faith, teaching it after his renunciation of error; and there is his own handwriting in evidence remaining among the carnally-minded, in whose society the transaction then took place; afterwards nothing was heard of him. We indeed, on our part, subsequently withdrew from the carnally-minded on our acknowledgment and maintenance of the Paraclete. But the tares of *Praxeas* had then everywhere shaken out their seed, which having lain hid for some while, with its vitality concealed under a mask, has now broken out with fresh life. But again shall it be rooted up, if the Lord will, even now; but if not now, in the day when all bundles of tares shall be gathered together, and along with every other stumbling-block shall be burnt up with unquenchable fire. Matthew 13:30

Chapter 2. The Catholic Doctrine of the Trinity and Unity, Sometimes Called the Divine Economy, or Dispensation of the Personal Relations of the Godhead

In the course of time, then, the Father forsooth was born, and the Father suffered, God Himself, the Lord Almighty, whom in their preaching they declare to be Jesus Christ. We, however, as we indeed always have done (and more especially since we have been better instructed by the Paraclete, who leads men indeed into all truth), believe that there is one only God, but under the following dispensation, or οἰκονομία, as it is called, that this one only God has also a Son, His Word, who proceeded from Himself, by whom all things were made, and without whom nothing was made. Him *we believe* to have been sent by the Father into the Virgin, and to have been born of her — being both Man and God, the Son of Man and the Son of God, and to have been called by the name of Jesus Christ; *we believe* Him to have suffered, died, and been buried, according to the Scriptures, and, after He had been raised again by the Father and taken back to heaven, to be sitting at the right hand of the Father, *and* that He will come to judge the quick and the dead; who sent also from heaven from the Father, according to His own promise, the Holy Ghost, the Paraclete, the sanctifier of the faith of those who believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost. That this rule of faith has come down to us from the beginning of the gospel, even before any of the older heretics, much more before Praxeas, *a pretender* of yesterday, will be apparent both from the lateness of date which marks all heresies, and also from the absolutely novel character of our new-fangled Praxeas. In this principle also we must henceforth find a presumption of equal force against all heresies whatsoever — that whatever is first is true, whereas that is spurious which is later in date. But keeping this prescriptive rule inviolate, still some opportunity must be given for reviewing (the statements of heretics), with a view to the instruction and protection of various persons; were it only that it may not seem that each perversion *of the truth* is condemned without examination, and simply prejudged; especially in the case of this heresy, which supposes itself to possess the pure truth, in thinking that one cannot believe in One Only God in any other way than by saying that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are the very selfsame Person. As if in this way also one were not All, in that All

are of One, by unity (that is) of substance; while the mystery of the dispensation is still guarded, which distributes the Unity into a Trinity, placing in their order the three *Persons* — the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost: three, however, not in condition, but in degree; not in substance, but in form; not in power, but in aspect; yet of one substance, and of one condition, and of one power, inasmuch as He is one God, from whom these degrees and forms and aspects are reckoned, under the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. How they are susceptible of number without division, will be shown as our treatise proceeds.

Chapter 3. Sundry Popular Fears and Prejudices. The Doctrine of the Trinity in Unity Rescued from These Misapprehensions

The simple, indeed, (I will not call them unwise and unlearned,) who always constitute the majority of believers, are startled at the dispensation (of the Three in One), on the ground that their very rule of faith withdraws them from the world's plurality of gods to the one only true God; not understanding that, although He is the one only God, He must yet be believed in with His own οἰκονομία . The numerical order and distribution of the Trinity they assume to be a division of the Unity; whereas the Unity which derives the Trinity out of its own self is so far from being destroyed, that it is actually supported by it. They are constantly throwing out against us that we are preachers of two gods and three gods, while they take to themselves pre-eminently the credit of being worshippers of the One God; just as if the Unity itself with irrational deductions did not produce heresy, and the Trinity rationally considered constitute the truth. We, say they, maintain the *Monarchy* (or, *sole government* of God). And so, as far as the sound goes, do even Latins (and ignorant ones too) pronounce the word in such a way that you would suppose their understanding of the μοναρχία (or *Monarchy*) was as complete as their pronunciation of the term. Well, then Latins take pains to pronounce the μοναρχία (or *Monarchy*), while Greeks actually refuse to understand the οἰκονομία, or *Dispensation (of the Three in One)*. As for myself, however, if I have gleaned any knowledge of either language, I am sure that μοναρχία (or *Monarchy*) has no other meaning than single and individual rule; but for all that, this monarchy does not, because it is the government of one, preclude him whose government it is, either from having a son, or from having made himself actually a son to himself, or from ministering his own monarchy by whatever agents he will. Nay more, I contend that no dominion so belongs to one only, as his own, or is in such a sense singular, or is in such a sense a monarchy, as not also to be administered through other persons most closely connected with it, and whom it has itself provided as officials to itself. If, moreover, there be a son belonging to him whose monarchy it is, it does not immediately become divided and cease to be a monarchy, if the son also be taken as a sharer in it; but it is as to its origin equally his, by whom it is

communicated to the son; and being his, it is quite as much a monarchy (or *sole empire*), since it is held together by two who are so inseparable. Therefore, inasmuch as the Divine Monarchy also is administered by so many legions and hosts of angels, according as it is written, Thousand thousands ministered unto Him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before Him; Daniel 7:10 and since it has not from this circumstance ceased to be the rule of one (so as no longer to be a monarchy), because it is administered by so many thousands of powers; how comes it to pass that God should be thought to suffer division and severance in the Son and in the Holy Ghost, who have the second and the third places assigned to them, and who are so closely joined with the Father in His substance, when He suffers no such (division and severance) in the multitude of so many angels? Do you really suppose that Those, who are naturally members of the Father's own substance, pledges of His love, instruments of His might, nay, His power itself and the entire system of His monarchy, are the overthrow and destruction thereof? You are not right in so thinking. I prefer your exercising yourself on the meaning of the thing rather than on the sound of the word. Now you must understand the overthrow of a monarchy to be *this*, when another dominion, which has a framework and a state peculiar to itself (and is therefore a rival), is brought in over and above it: when, *e.g.*, some other god is introduced in opposition to the Creator, as in the opinions of Marcion; or when many gods are introduced, according to your Valentinuses and your Prodicuses. Then it amounts to an overthrow of the Monarchy, since it involves the destruction of the Creator.

Chapter 4. The Unity of the Godhead and the Supremacy and Sole Government of the Divine Being. The Monarchy Not at All Impaired by the Catholic Doctrine

But as for me, who derive the Son from no other source but from the substance of the Father, and (represent Him) as doing nothing without the Father's will, and as having received all power from the Father, how can I be possibly destroying the Monarchy from the faith, when I preserve it in the Son just as it was committed to Him by the Father? The same remark (I wish also to be formally) made by me with respect to the third degree *in the Godhead*, because I believe the Spirit *to proceed* from no other source than from the Father through the Son. Look to it then, that it be not *you* rather who are destroying the Monarchy, when you overthrow the arrangement and dispensation of it, which has been constituted in just as many names as it has pleased God *to employ*. But it remains so firm and stable in its own state, notwithstanding the introduction into it of the Trinity, that the Son actually has to restore it entire to the Father; even as the apostle says in his epistle, concerning the very end of all: When He shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; for He must reign till He has put all enemies under His feet; 1 Corinthians 15:24-25 following of course the words of the Psalm: Sit on my right hand, until I make Your enemies Your footstool. When, however, all things shall be subdued to Him, (with the exception of Him who did put all things under Him,) then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him who put all things under Him, that God may be all in all. 1 Corinthians 15:27-28 We thus see that the Son is no obstacle to the Monarchy, although it is now administered by the Son; because with the Son it is still in its own state, and with its own state will be restored to the Father by the Son. No one, therefore, will impair it, on account of admitting the Son (to it), since it is certain that it has been committed to Him by the Father, and by and by has to be again delivered up by Him to the Father. Now, from this one passage of the epistle of the *inspired* apostle, we have been already able to show that the Father and the Son are two *separate Persons*, not only by the mention of their separate names as Father and the Son, but also by the fact that He who delivered up the kingdom, and He to whom it is delivered up — and in like

manner, He who subjected (all things), and He to whom they were subjected — must necessarily be two different Beings.

Chapter 5. The Evolution of the Son or Word of God from the Father by a Divine Procession. Illustrated by the Operation of the Human Thought and Consciousness

But since they will have the Two to be but One, so that the Father shall be deemed to be the same as the Son, it is only right that the whole question respecting the Son should be examined, as to whether He exists, and who He is and the mode of His existence. Thus shall the truth itself secure its own sanction from the Scriptures, and the interpretations which guard them. There are some who allege that even Genesis opens thus in Hebrew: In the beginning God made for Himself a Son. As there is no ground for this, I am led to other arguments derived from God's own dispensation, in which He existed before the creation of the world, up to the generation of the Son. For before all things God was alone — being in Himself and for Himself universe, and space, and all things. Moreover, He was alone, because there was nothing external to Him but Himself. Yet even not then was He alone; for He had with Him that which He possessed in Himself, that is to say, His own Reason. For God is rational, and Reason was first in Him; and so all things were from Himself. This Reason is His own Thought (or Consciousness) which the Greeks call λόγος, by which term we also designate Word *or Discourse* and therefore it is now usual with our people, owing to the mere simple interpretation of the term, to say that the Word was in the beginning with God; although it would be more suitable to regard Reason as the more ancient; because God had not Word from the beginning, but He had Reason even before the beginning; because also Word itself consists of Reason, which it thus proves to have been the prior existence as being its own substance. Not that this distinction is of any practical moment. For although God had not yet sent *out* His Word, He still had Him within Himself, both in company with and included within His very Reason, as He silently planned and arranged within Himself everything which He was afterwards about to utter through His Word. Now, while He was thus planning and arranging with His own Reason, He was actually causing that to become Word which He was dealing with in the way of Word *or Discourse*. And that you may the more readily understand this, consider first of all, from your own self, who are made in the image and likeness of God, Genesis 1:26 for what purpose it is that you also

possess reason in yourself, who are a rational creature, as being not only made by a rational Artificer, but actually animated out of His substance. Observe, then, that when you are silently conversing with yourself, this very process is carried on within you by your reason, which meets you with a word at every movement of your thought, at every impulse of your conception. Whatever you think, there is a word; whatever you conceive, there is reason. You must needs speak it in your mind; and while you are speaking, you admit speech as an interlocutor with you, involved in which there is this very reason, whereby, while in thought you are holding converse with your word, you are (by reciprocal action) producing thought by means of that converse with your word. Thus, in a certain sense, the word is a second *person* within you, through which in thinking you utter speech, and through which also, (by reciprocity of process,) in uttering speech you generate thought. The word is itself a different thing from yourself. Now how much more fully is all this transacted in God, whose image and likeness even you are regarded as being, inasmuch as He has reason within Himself even while He is silent, and involved in that Reason His Word! I may therefore without rashness first lay this down (as a fixed principle) that even then before the creation of the universe God was not alone, since He had within Himself both Reason, and, inherent in Reason, His Word, which He made second to Himself by agitating it within Himself.

Chapter 6. The Word of God is Also the Wisdom of God. The Going Forth of Wisdom to Create the Universe, According to the Divine Plan

This power and disposition of the Divine Intelligence is set forth also in the Scriptures under the name of Σοφία, Wisdom; for what can be better entitled to the name of Wisdom than the Reason or the Word of God? Listen therefore to Wisdom herself, constituted in the character of a Second Person: At the first the Lord created me as the beginning of His ways, with a view to His own works, before He made the earth, before the mountains were settled; moreover, before all the hills did He beget me; Proverbs 8:22-25 that is to say, He created and generated me in His own intelligence. Then, again, observe the distinction between them implied in the companionship of Wisdom with the Lord. When He prepared the heaven, says *Wisdom*, I was present with Him; and when He made His strong places upon the winds, which are the clouds above; and when He secured the fountains, (and all things) which are beneath the sky, I was by, arranging all things with Him; I was by, in whom He delighted; and daily, too, did I rejoice in His presence. Proverbs 8:27-30 Now, as soon as it pleased God to put forth into their respective substances and forms the things which He had planned and ordered within Himself, in conjunction with His Wisdom's Reason and Word, He first put forth the Word Himself, having within Him His own inseparable Reason and Wisdom, in order that all things might be made through Him through whom they had been planned and disposed, yea, and already made, so far forth as (they were) in the mind and intelligence of God. This, however, was still wanting to them, that they should also be openly known, and kept permanently in their proper forms and substances.

Chapter 7. The Son by Being Designated Word and Wisdom, (According to the Imperfection of Human Thought and Language) Liable to Be Deemed a Mere Attribute. He is Shown to Be a Personal Being

Then, therefore, does the Word also Himself assume His own form and glorious garb, *His own* sound and vocal utterance, when God says, Let there be light. Genesis 1:3 This is the perfect nativity of the Word, when He proceeds forth from God — *formed* by Him first to devise and think out *all things* under the name of Wisdom — The Lord created *or formed* me as the beginning of His ways; Proverbs 8:22 then afterward *begotten*, to carry all into effect — When He prepared the heaven, I was present with Him. Thus does He make Him equal to Him: for by proceeding from Himself He became His first-begotten Son, because begotten before all things; Colossians 1:15 and His only-begotten also, because alone begotten of God, in a way peculiar to Himself, from the womb of His own heart — even as the Father Himself testifies: My heart, says He, has emitted my most excellent Word. *The Father* took pleasure evermore in Him, who equally rejoiced with a reciprocal gladness in the Father's presence: You are my Son, today have I begotten You; even before the morning star did I beget You. The Son likewise acknowledges the Father, speaking in His own person, under the name of Wisdom: The Lord formed Me as the beginning of His ways, with a view to His own works; before all the hills did He beget Me. For if indeed Wisdom in this passage seems to say that She was created by the Lord with a view to His works, and to accomplish His ways, yet proof is given in another Scripture that all things were made by the Word, and without Him was there nothing made; John 1:3 as, again, in another place (it is said), By His word were the heavens established, and all the powers thereof by His Spirit — that is to say, by the Spirit (or Divine Nature) which was in the Word: *thus* is it evident that it is one and the same power which is in one place described under the name of Wisdom, and in another passage under the appellation of the Word, which was initiated for the works of God Proverbs 8:22 which strengthened the heavens; by which all things were made, John 1:3 and without which nothing was made. John 1:3 Nor need we dwell any longer on this point, as if it were not the very Word Himself, who is spoken of under the name both of Wisdom and

of Reason, and of the entire Divine Soul and Spirit. He became also the Son of God, and was begotten when He proceeded forth from Him. Do you then, (you ask,) grant that the Word is a certain substance, constructed by the Spirit and the communication of Wisdom? Certainly I do. But you will not allow Him to be really a substantive being, by having a substance of His own; in such a way that He may be regarded as an objective thing and a person, and so be able (as being constituted second to God *the Father*,) to make two, the Father and the Son, God and the Word. For you will say, what is a word, but a voice and sound of the mouth, and (as the grammarians teach) air when struck against, intelligible to the ear, but for the rest a sort of void, empty, and incorporeal thing. I, on the contrary, contend that nothing empty and void could have come forth from God, seeing that it is not put forth from that which is empty and void; nor could that possibly be devoid of substance which has proceeded from so great a substance, and has produced such mighty substances: for all things which were made through Him, He Himself (personally) made. How could it be, that He Himself is nothing, without whom nothing was made? How could He who is empty have made things which are solid, and He who is void have made things which are full, and He who is incorporeal have made things which have body? For although a thing may sometimes be made different from him by whom it is made, yet nothing can be made by that which is a void and empty thing. Is that Word of God, then, a void and empty thing, which is called the Son, who Himself is designated God? The Word was with God, and the Word was God. John 1:1 It is written, You shall not take God's name in vain. Exodus 20:7 This for certain is He who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God. Philippians 2:6 In what form of God? Of course he means in some form, not in none. For who will deny that God is a body, although God is a Spirit? John 4:24 For Spirit has a bodily substance of its own kind, in its own form. Now, even if invisible things, whatsoever they be, have both their substance and their form in God, whereby they are visible to God alone, how much more shall that which has been sent forth from His substance not be without substance! Whatever, therefore, was the substance of the Word that I designate a Person, I claim for it the name of *Son*; and while I recognize the Son, I assert His distinction as second to the Father.

Chapter 8. Though the Son or Word of God Emanates from the Father, He is Not, Like the Emanations of Valentinus, Separable from the Father. Nor is the Holy Ghost Separable from Either. Illustrations from Nature

If any man from this shall think that I am introducing some *προβολή* — that is to say, some prolotion of one thing out of another, as Valentinus does when he sets forth Æon from Æon, one after another — then this is my first reply to you: Truth must not therefore refrain from the use of such a term, and its reality and meaning, because heresy also employs it. The fact is, heresy has rather taken it from Truth, in order to mould it into its own counterfeit. Was the Word of God put forth or not? Here take your stand with me, and flinch not. If He was put forth, then acknowledge that the true doctrine has a prolotion; and never mind heresy, when in any point it mimics the truth. The question now is, in what sense each side uses a given thing and the word which expresses it. Valentinus divides and separates his prolotions from their Author, and places them at so great a distance from Him, that the Æon does not know the Father: he longs, indeed, to know Him, but cannot; nay, he is almost swallowed up and dissolved into the rest of matter. With us, however, the Son alone knows the Father, Matthew 11:27 and has Himself unfolded the Father's bosom. John 1:18 He has also heard and seen all things with the Father; and what He has been commanded by the Father, that also does He speak. John 8:26 And it is not His own will, but the Father's, which He has accomplished, John 6:38 which He had known most intimately, even from the beginning. For what man knows the things which be in God, but the Spirit which is in Him? 1 Corinthians 2:11 But the Word was formed by the Spirit, and (if I may so express myself) the Spirit is the body of the Word. The Word, therefore, is both always in the Father, as He says, I am in the Father; John 14:11 and is always with God, according to what is written, And the Word was with God; John 1:1 and never separate from the Father, or other than the Father, since I and the Father are one. John 10:30 This will be the prolotion, taught by the truth, the guardian of the Unity, wherein we declare that the Son is a prolotion from the Father, without being separated from Him. For God sent forth the Word, as the Paraclete also declares, just as the root puts forth the tree, and the fountain the river, and the sun the ray. For these are

προβολαί, *or emanations*, of the substances from which they proceed. I should not hesitate, indeed, to call the tree the son or offspring of the root, and the river of the fountain, and the ray of the sun; because every original source is a parent, and everything which issues from the origin is an offspring. Much more is (this true of) the Word of God, who has actually received as His own peculiar designation the name of *Son*. But still the tree is not severed from the root, nor the river from the fountain, nor the ray from the sun; nor, indeed, is the Word separated from God. Following, therefore, the form of these analogies, I confess that I call God and His Word — the Father and His Son — *two*. For the root and the tree are distinctly two things, but correlatively joined; the fountain and the river are also two forms, but indivisible; so likewise the sun and the ray are two forms, but coherent ones. Everything which proceeds from something else must needs be second to that from which it proceeds, without being on that account separated. Where, however, there is a second, there must be two; and where there is a third, there must be three. Now the Spirit indeed is third from God and the Son; just as the fruit of the tree is third from the root, or as the stream out of the river is third from the fountain, or as the apex of the ray is third from the sun. Nothing, however, is alien from that original source whence it derives its own properties. In like manner the Trinity, flowing down from the Father through intertwined and connected steps, does not at all disturb the *Monarchy*, while it at the same time guards the state of the *Economy*.

Chapter 9. The Catholic Rule of Faith Expounded in Some of Its Points. Especially in the Unconfused Distinction of the Several Persons of the Blessed Trinity

Bear always in mind that this is the rule of faith which I profess; by it I testify that the Father, and the Son, and the Spirit are inseparable from each other, and so will you know in what sense this is said. Now, observe, my assertion is that the Father is one, and the Son one, and the Spirit one, and that They are distinct from Each Other. This statement is taken in a wrong sense by every uneducated as well as every perversely disposed person, as if it predicated a diversity, in such a sense as to imply a separation among the Father, and the Son, and the Spirit. I am, moreover, obliged to say this, when (extolling the *Monarchy* at the expense of the *Economy*) they contend for the identity of the Father and Son and Spirit, that it is not by way of diversity that the Son differs from the Father, but by distribution: it is not by division that He is different, but by distinction; because the Father is not the same as the Son, since they differ one from the other in the mode of their being. For the Father is the entire substance, but the Son is a derivation and portion of the whole, as He Himself acknowledges: My Father is greater than I. John 14:28 In the Psalm His inferiority is described as being a little lower than the angels. Thus the Father is distinct from the Son, being greater than the Son, inasmuch as He who begets is one, and He who is begotten is another; He, too, who sends is one, and He who is sent is another; and He, again, who makes is one, and He through whom the thing is made is another. Happily the Lord Himself employs this expression of the person of the Paraclete, so as to signify not a division or severance, but a disposition (of mutual relations in the Godhead); for He says, I will pray the Father, and He shall send you another Comforter...even the Spirit of truth, John 14:16 thus making the Paraclete distinct from Himself, even as we say that the Son is also distinct from the Father; so that He showed a third degree in the Paraclete, as we believe the second degree is in the Son, by reason of the order observed in the *Economy*. Besides, does not the very fact that they have the distinct names of *Father* and *Son* amount to a declaration that they are distinct in personality? For, of course, all things will be what their names represent them to be; and what they are and ever will be, that will they be called; and the distinction indicated by

the names does not at all admit of any confusion, because there is none in the things which they designate. Yes is yes, and no is no; for what is more than these, comes of evil. Matthew 5:37

Chapter 10. The Very Names of Father and Son Prove the Personal Distinction of the Two. They Cannot Possibly Be Identical, Nor is Their Identity Necessary to Preserve the Divine Monarchy

So it is either the Father or the Son, and the day is not the same as the night; nor is the Father the same as the Son, in such a way that Both of them should be One, and One or the Other should be Both — an opinion which the most conceited Monarchians maintain. He Himself, they say, made Himself a Son to Himself. Now a Father makes a Son, and a Son makes a Father; and they who thus become reciprocally related out of each other to each other cannot in any way by themselves simply become so related to themselves, that the Father can make Himself a Son to Himself, and the Son render Himself a Father to Himself. And the relations which God establishes, them does He also guard. A father must needs have a son, in order to be a father; so likewise a son, to be a son, must have a father. It is, however, one thing to have, and another thing to be. For instance, in order to be a husband, I must have a wife; I can never myself be my own wife. In like manner, in order to be a father, I have a son, for I never can be a son to myself; and in order to be a son, I have a father, it being impossible for me ever to be my own father. And it is these relations which make me (what I am), when I come to possess them: I shall then be a father, when I have a son; and a son, when I have a father. Now, if I am to be to myself any one of these relations, I no longer have what I am myself to be: neither a father, because I am to be my own father; nor a son, because I shall be my own son. Moreover, inasmuch as I ought to *have* one of these relations in order to *be* the other; so, if I am to be both together, I shall fail to be one while I possess not the other. For if I must be myself my son, who am also a father, I now cease to have a son, since I am my own son. But by reason of not having a son, since I am my own son, how can I be a father? For I ought to *have* a son, in order to be a father. Therefore I am not a son, because I have not a father, who makes a son. In like manner, if I am myself my father, who am also a son, I no longer have a father, but am myself my father. By not having a father, however, since I am my own father, how can I be a son? For I ought to have a father, in order to be a son. I cannot therefore be a father, because I have not a son, who makes a father. Now all this must be

the device of the devil — this excluding and severing one from the other — since by including both together in one under pretence of the *Monarchy*, he causes neither to be held and acknowledged, so that He is not the Father, since indeed He has not the Son; neither is He the Son, since in like manner He has not the Father: for while He is the Father, He will not be the Son. In this way they hold the *Monarchy*, but they hold neither the Father nor the Son. Well, but with God nothing is impossible. Matthew 19:26 *True enough*; who can be ignorant of it? Who also can be unaware that the things which are impossible with men are possible with God? Luke 18:27 The foolish things also of the world has God chosen to confound the things which are wise. 1 Corinthians 1:27 We have read it all. Therefore, they argue, it was not difficult for God to make Himself both a Father and a Son, contrary to the condition of things among men. For a barren woman to have a child against nature was no difficulty with God; nor was it for a virgin to conceive. Of course nothing is too hard for the Lord. Genesis 18:14 But if we choose to apply this principle so extravagantly and harshly in our capricious imaginations, we may then make out God to have done anything we please, on the ground that it was not impossible for Him to do it. We must not, however, because He is able to do all things suppose that He has actually done what He has not done. But we must inquire *whether He has really done it*. God could, if He had liked, have furnished man with wings to fly with, just as He gave wings to kites. We must not, however, run to the conclusion that He did this because He was able to do it. He might also have extinguished Praxeas and all other heretics at once; it does not follow, however, that He did, simply because He was able. For it was necessary that there should be both kites and heretics; it was necessary also that the Father should be crucified. In one sense there will be something difficult even for God — namely, that which He has not done — not because He could not, but because He would not, do it. For with God, to be willing is to be able, and to be unwilling is to be unable; all that He has willed, however, He has both been able to accomplish, and has displayed His ability. Since, therefore, if God had wished to make Himself a Son to Himself, He had it in His power to do so; and since, if He had it in His power, He effected *His purpose*, you will then make good your proof of His power and His will (to do even this) when you shall have proved to us that He actually did it.

Chapter 11. The Identity of the Father and the Son, as Praxeas Held It, Shown to Be Full of Perplexity and Absurdity. Many Scriptures Quoted in Proof of the Distinction of the Divine Persons of the Trinity

It will be your duty, however, to adduce your proofs out of the Scriptures as plainly as we do, when we prove that He made His Word a Son to Himself. For if He calls Him Son, and if the Son is none other than He who has proceeded from *the Father* Himself, and if the Word has proceeded from *the Father* Himself, He will then be the Son, and not Himself from whom He proceeded. For *the Father* Himself did not proceed from Himself. Now, you who say that the Father is the same as the Son, do really make the same Person both to have sent forth from Himself (and at the same time to have gone out from Himself as) that Being which is God. If it was possible for Him to have done this, He at all events did not do it. You must bring forth the proof which I require of you — one like my own; that is, (you must prove to me) that the Scriptures show the Son and the Father to be the same, just as on our side the Father and the Son are demonstrated to be distinct; I say *distinct*, but not *separate*: for as on my part I produce the words of God Himself, My heart has emitted my most excellent Word, so you in like manner ought to adduce in opposition to me some text where God has said, My heart has emitted Myself as my own most excellent Word, in such a sense that He is Himself both the Emitter and the Emitted, both He who sent forth and He who was sent forth, since He is both the Word and God. I bid you also observe, that on my side I advance the passage where the Father said to the Son, You are my Son, this day have I begotten You. If you want me to believe Him to be both the Father and the Son, show me some other passage where it is declared, The Lord said to Himself, I am my own Son, today have I begotten myself; or again, Before the morning did I beget myself; and likewise, I the Lord possessed Myself the beginning of my ways for my own works; before all the hills, too, did I beget myself; and whatever other passages are to the same effect. Why, moreover, could God the Lord of all things, have hesitated to speak thus of Himself, if the fact had been so? Was He afraid of not being believed, if He had in so many words declared Himself to be both the Father and the Son? Of one thing He was at any rate afraid — of lying. Of Himself, too, and of His own truth,

was He afraid. Believing Him, therefore, to be the true God, I am sure that He declared nothing to exist in any other way than according to His own dispensation and arrangement, and that He had arranged nothing in any other way than according to His own declaration. On your side, however, you must make Him out to be a liar, and an impostor, and a tamperer with His word, if, when He was Himself a Son to Himself, He assigned the part of His Son to be played by another, when all the Scriptures attest the clear existence of, and distinction in (the Persons of) the Trinity, and indeed furnish us with our Rule *of faith*, that He who speaks, and He of whom He speaks, and to whom He speaks, cannot possibly seem to be One and the Same. So absurd and misleading a statement would be unworthy of God, that, when it was Himself to whom He was speaking, He speaks rather to another, and not to His very self. Hear, then, other utterances also of the Father concerning the Son by the mouth of Isaiah: Behold my Son, whom I have chosen; my beloved, in whom I am well pleased: I will put my Spirit upon Him, and He shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles. Isaiah 42:1 Hear also what He says to the Son: Is it a great thing for You, that You should be called my Son to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the dispersed of Israel? I have given You for a light to the Gentiles, that You may be their salvation to the end of the earth. Isaiah 49:6 Hear now also the Son's utterances respecting the Father: The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He has anointed me to preach the gospel unto men. He speaks of Himself likewise to the Father in the Psalm: Forsake me not until I have declared the might of Your arm to all the generation that is to come. Also to the same purport in another Psalm: O Lord, how are they increased that trouble me! But almost all the Psalms which prophesy of the person of Christ, represent the Son as conversing with the Father — that is, *represent* Christ (as speaking) to God. Observe also the Spirit speaking of the Father and the Son, in the character of a third Person: The Lord said to my Lord, Sit on my right hand, until I make Your enemies Your footstool. Likewise in the words of Isaiah: Thus says the Lord to the Lord mine Anointed. Isaiah 45:1 Likewise, in the same prophet, He says to the Father respecting the Son: Lord, who has believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed? We brought a report concerning Him, as if He were a little child, as if He were a root in a dry ground, who had no form nor comeliness. Isaiah 53:1-2 These are a few testimonies out of many; for we do

not pretend to bring up all the passages of Scripture, because we have a tolerably large accumulation of them in the various heads of our subject, as we in our several chapters call them in as our witnesses in the fullness of their dignity and authority. Still, in these few quotations the distinction of *Persons* in the Trinity is clearly set forth. For there is the Spirit Himself who speaks, and the Father to whom He speaks, and the Son of whom He speaks. In the same manner, the other passages also establish each one of several Persons in His special character — addressed as they in some cases are to the Father or to the Son respecting the Son, in other cases to the Son or to the Father concerning the Father, and again in other instances to the (Holy) Spirit.

Chapter 12. Other Quotations from Holy Scripture Adduced in Proof of the Plurality of Persons in the Godhead

If the number of the Trinity also offends you, as if it were not connected in the simple Unity, I ask you how it is possible for a Being who is merely and absolutely One and Singular, to speak in plural phrase, saying, Let us make man in our own image, and after our own likeness; Genesis 1:26 whereas He ought to have said, Let me make man in my own image, and after my own likeness, as being a unique and singular Being? In the following passage, however, Behold the man has become as one of us, Genesis 3:22 He is either deceiving or amusing us in speaking plurally, if He is One only and singular. Or was it to the angels that He spoke, as the Jews interpret the passage, because these also acknowledge not the Son? Or was it because He was at once the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, that He spoke to Himself in plural terms, making Himself plural on that very account? Nay, it was because He had already His Son close at His side, as a second Person, His own Word, and a third Person also, the Spirit in the Word, that He purposely adopted the plural phrase, Let *us* make; and, in *our* image; and, become as one *of us*. For with whom did He make man? And to whom did He make him like? (The answer must be), the Son on the one hand, who was one day to put on human nature; and the Spirit on the other, who was to sanctify man. With these did He then speak, in the Unity of the Trinity, as with His ministers and witnesses. In the following text also He distinguishes among the Persons: So God created man in His own image; in the image of God created He him. Genesis 1:27 Why say image of God? Why not His own image merely, if He was only one who was the Maker, and if there was not also One in whose image He made man? But there was One in whose image God was making man, that is to say, Christ's image, who, being one day about to become Man (more surely and more truly so), had already caused the man to be called His image, who was then going to be formed of clay — the image and similitude of the true and perfect Man. But in respect of the previous works of the world what says the Scripture? Its first statement indeed is made, when the Son has not yet appeared: And God said, Let there be light, and there was light. Genesis 1:3 Immediately there appears the Word, that true light, which lights man on his

coming into the world, John 1:9 and through Him also came light upon the world. From that moment God willed creation to be effected in the Word, Christ being present and ministering unto Him: and so God created. And God said, Let there be a firmament,...and God made the firmament; Genesis 1:6-7 and God also said, Let there be lights (in the firmament); and *so* God made a greater and a lesser light. But all the rest of the created things did He in like manner make, who made the former ones — I mean the Word of God, through whom all things were made, and without whom nothing was made. John 1:3 Now if He too is God, according to John, (who says,) The Word was God, John 1:1 then you have two Beings — One that commands that the thing be made, and the Other that *executes the order and* creates. In what sense, however, you ought to understand Him to be another, I have already explained, on the ground of Personality, not of Substance — in the way of distinction, not of division. But although I must everywhere hold one only substance in three coherent and inseparable (Persons), yet I am bound to acknowledge, from the necessity of the case, that He who issues a command is different from Him who executes it. For, indeed, He would not be issuing a command if He were all the while doing the work Himself, while ordering it to be done by the second. But still He did issue the command, although He would not have intended to command Himself if He were only one; or else He must have worked without any command, because He would not have waited to command Himself.

Chapter 13. The Force of Sundry Passages of Scripture Illustrated in Relation to the Plurality of Persons and Unity of Substance. There is No Polytheism Here, Since the Unity is Insisted on as a Remedy Against Polytheism

Well then, you reply, if He was God who spoke, and He was also God who created, at this rate, one God spoke and another created; (and thus) two Gods are declared. If you are so venturesome and harsh, reflect a while; and that you may think the better and more deliberately, listen to the psalm in which Two are described as God: Your throne, O God, is for ever and ever; the sceptre of Your kingdom *is a sceptre of righteousness*. You have loved righteousness, and hated iniquity: therefore God, even Your God, has anointed You *or made You His Christ*. Now, since He here speaks to God, and affirms that God is anointed by God, He must have affirmed that Two are God, by reason of the sceptre's royal power. Accordingly, Isaiah also says to the Person of Christ: The Sabæans, men of stature, shall pass over to You; and they shall follow after You, bound in fetters; and they shall worship You, because God is in You: for You are our God, yet we knew it not; You are the God of Israel. For here too, by saying, God is in You, and You are God, he sets forth Two who were God: (in the former expression *in You*, he means) in Christ, and (in the other he means) the Holy Ghost. That is a still grander statement which you will find expressly made in the Gospel: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. John 1:1 There was One who was, and there was another with whom He was. But I find in Scripture the name Lord also applied to them Both: The Lord said to my Lord, Sit on my right hand. And Isaiah says this: Lord, who has believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed? Isaiah 53:1 Now he would most certainly have said *Your Arm*, if he had not wished us to understand that the Father is Lord, and the Son also is Lord. A much more ancient testimony we have also in Genesis: Then the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrha brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven. Genesis 19:24 Now, either deny that this is Scripture; or else (let me ask) what sort of man you are, that you do not think words ought to be taken and understood in the sense in which they are written, especially when they are not expressed in allegories and parables, but in determinate and simple declarations? If, indeed,

you follow those who did not at the time endure the Lord when showing Himself to be the Son of God, because they would not believe Him to be the Lord, then (I ask you) call to mind along with them the passage where it is written, I have said, You are gods, and you are children of the Most High; and again, God stands in the congregation of gods; in order that, if the Scripture has not been afraid to designate as gods human beings, who have become sons of God by faith, you may be sure that the same Scripture has with greater propriety conferred the name of the Lord on the true and one only Son of God. Very well! You say, I shall challenge you to preach from this day forth (and that, too, on the authority of these same Scriptures) two Gods and two Lords, consistently with your views. God forbid, (is my reply). For we, who by the grace of God possess an insight into both the times and the occasions of the Sacred Writings, especially we who are followers of the Paraclete, not of human *teachers*, do indeed definitively declare that *Two* Beings are God, the Father and the Son, and, with the addition of the Holy Spirit, even *Three*, according to the principle of the *divine* economy, which introduces *number*, in order that the Father may not, as you perversely infer, be Himself believed to have been born and to have suffered, which it is not lawful to believe, forasmuch as it has not been so handed down. That there are, however, two Gods or two Lords, is a statement which at no time proceeds out of our mouth: not as if it were untrue that the Father is God, and the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God, and each is God; but because in earlier times Two were actually spoken of as God, and two as Lord, that when Christ should come He might be both acknowledged as God and designated as Lord, being the Son of Him who is both God and Lord. Now, if there were found in the Scriptures but one Personality of Him who is God and Lord, Christ would justly enough be inadmissible to the title of God and Lord: for (in the Scriptures) there was declared to be none other than One God and One Lord, and it must have followed that the Father should Himself seem to have come down (to earth), inasmuch as only One God and One Lord was ever read of (in the Scriptures), and His entire *Economy* would be involved in obscurity, which has been planned and arranged with so clear a foresight in *His providential dispensation* as matter for our faith. As soon, however, as Christ came, and was recognised by us as the very Being who had from the beginning caused plurality (in the Divine Economy), being the *second* from

the Father, and with the Spirit the *third*, and Himself declaring and manifesting the Father more fully (than He had ever been before), the title of Him who is God and Lord was at once restored to the Unity (of the Divine Nature), even because the Gentiles would have to pass from the multitude of their idols to the One Only God, in order that a difference might be distinctly settled between the worshippers of One God and the votaries of polytheism. For it was only right that Christians should shine in the world as children of light, adoring and invoking Him who is the One God and Lord as the light of the world. Besides, if, from that perfect knowledge which assures us that the title of God and Lord is suitable both to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, we were to invoke *a plurality of* gods and lords, we should quench our torches, and we should become less courageous to endure the martyr's sufferings, from which an easy escape would everywhere lie open to us, as soon as we swore by *a plurality of* gods and lords, as sundry heretics do, who hold more gods than One. I will therefore not speak of gods at all, nor of lords, but I shall follow the apostle; so that if the Father and the Son, are alike to be invoked, I shall call the Father *God*, and invoke Jesus Christ as *Lord*. Romans 1:7 But when Christ alone (is mentioned), I shall be able to call Him *God*, as the same apostle says: Of whom is Christ, who is over all, God blessed forever. Romans 9:5 For I should give the name of *sun* even to a sunbeam, considered in itself; but if I were mentioning the sun from which the ray emanates, I certainly should at once withdraw the name of sun from the mere beam. For although I make not two suns, still I shall reckon both the sun and its ray to be as much two things and two forms of one undivided substance, as God and His Word, as the Father and the Son.

Chapter 14. The Natural Invisibility of the Father, and the Visibility of the Son Witnessed in Many Passages of the Old Testament. Arguments of Their Distinctness, Thus Supplied

Moreover, there comes to our aid, when we insist upon the Father and the Son as being *Two*, that regulating principle which has determined God to be invisible. When Moses in Egypt desired to see the face of the Lord, saying, If therefore I have found grace in Your sight, manifest Yourself unto me, that I may see You and know You, Exodus 33:13 *God* said, You can not see my face; for there shall no man see me, and live: in other words, he who sees me shall die. Now we find that God has been seen by many persons, and yet that no one who saw Him died (at the sight). *The truth is*, they saw God according to the faculties of men, but not in accordance with the full glory of the Godhead. For the patriarchs are said to have seen God (as Abraham and Jacob), and the prophets (as, for instance Isaiah and Ezekiel), and yet they did not die. Either, then, they ought to have died, since they had seen Him — for (the sentence runs), No man shall see God, and live; or else if they saw God, and yet did not die, the Scripture is false in stating that God said, If a man see my face, he shall not live. Either way, the Scripture misleads us, when it makes God invisible, and when it produces Him to our sight. Now, then, He must be a different Being who was seen, because of one who was seen it could not be predicated that He is invisible. It will therefore follow, that by Him who is invisible we must understand the Father in the fullness of His majesty, while we recognise the Son as visible by reason of the dispensation of His derived existence; even as it is not permitted us to contemplate the sun, in the full amount of his substance which is in the heavens, but we can only endure with our eyes a ray, by reason of the tempered condition of this portion which is projected from him to the earth. Here some one on the other side may be disposed to contend that the Son is also invisible as being the Word, *and* as being also the Spirit; and, while claiming one nature for the Father and the Son, to affirm that the Father is rather One and the Same *Person* with the Son. But the Scripture, as we have said, maintains their difference by the distinction it makes between the Visible and the Invisible. They then go on to argue to this effect, that if it was the Son who then spoke to Moses, He must

mean it of Himself that His face was visible to no one, because He was Himself indeed the invisible Father in the name of the Son. And by this means they will have it that the Visible and the Invisible are one and the same, just as the Father and the Son are the same; (and this they maintain) because in a preceding passage, before He had refused (the sight of) His face to Moses, the Scripture informs us that the Lord spoke face to face with Moses, even as a man speaks unto his friend; Exodus 33:11 just as Jacob also says, I have seen God face to face. Genesis 32:30 Therefore the Visible and the Invisible are one and the same; and both being thus the same, it follows that He is invisible as the Father, and visible as the Son. As if the Scripture, according to our exposition of it, were inapplicable to the Son, when the Father is set aside in His own invisibility. We declare, however, that the Son also, considered in Himself (as the Son), is invisible, in that He is God, and the Word and Spirit of God; but that He was visible before *the days of* His flesh, in the way that He says to Aaron and Miriam, And if there shall be a prophet among you, I will make myself known to him in a vision, and will speak to him in a dream; not as with Moses, with whom I shall speak mouth to mouth, even *apparently*, that is to say, in truth, and not *enigmatically*, that is to say, in image; Numbers 12:6-8 as the apostle also expresses it, Now we see through a glass, darkly (or enigmatically), but then face to face. 1 Corinthians 13:12 Since, therefore, He reserves to some future time His presence and speech face to face with Moses — a promise which was afterwards fulfilled in the retirement of the mount (of transfiguration), when as we read in the Gospel, Moses appeared talking with Jesus — it is evident that in early times it was always in a glass, (as it were,) and an enigma, in vision and dream, that God, I mean the Son of God, appeared — to the prophets and the patriarchs, as also to Moses indeed himself. And even if the Lord did possibly speak with him face to face, yet it was not as man that he could behold His face, unless indeed it was in a glass, (as it were,) and by enigma. Besides, if the Lord so spoke with Moses, that Moses actually discerned His face, eye to eye, how comes it to pass that immediately afterwards, on the same occasion, he desires to see His face, which he ought not to have desired, because he had already seen it? And how, in like manner, does the Lord also say that His face cannot be seen, because He had shown it, if indeed He really had, (as our opponents suppose). Or what is that face of God, the sight of which is refused, if there was one which was

visible to man? I have seen God, says Jacob, face to face, and my life is preserved. Genesis 22:30 There ought to be some other face which kills if it be only seen. Well, then, was the Son visible? (Certainly not,) although He was the face of God, except only in vision and dream, and in a glass and enigma, because the Word and Spirit (of God) cannot be seen except in an imaginary form. But, (they say,) He calls the invisible Father His face. For who is the Father? Must He not be the face of the Son, by reason of that authority which He obtains as the begotten of the Father? For is there not a natural propriety in saying of some personage greater (than yourself), That man is my face; he gives me his countenance? My Father, says *Christ*, is greater than I. John 14:28 Therefore the Father must be the face of the Son. For what does the Scripture say? The Spirit of His person is Christ the Lord. As therefore Christ is the Spirit of the Father's person, there is good reason why, in virtue indeed of the unity, the Spirit of Him to whose person He belonged — that is to say, the Father — pronounced Him to be His face. Now this, to be sure, is an astonishing thing, that the Father can be taken to be the face of the Son, when He is His head; for the head of Christ is God. 1 Corinthians 11:3

Chapter 15. New Testament Passages Quoted. They Attest the Same Truth of the Son's Visibility Contrasted with the Father's Invisibility

If I fail in resolving this article (of our faith) by passages which may admit of dispute out of the Old Testament, I will take out of the New Testament a confirmation of our view, that you may not straightway attribute to the Father every possible (relation and condition) which I ascribe to the Son. Behold, then, I find both in the Gospels and in the (writings of the) apostles a visible and an invisible God (revealed to us), under a manifest and personal distinction in the condition of both. There is a certain emphatic saying by John: No man has seen God at any time; John 1:18 meaning, of course, at any previous time. But he has indeed taken away all question of time, by saying that God had never been seen. The apostle confirms this statement; for, speaking of God, he says, Whom no man has seen, nor can see; 1 Timothy 6:16 because the man indeed would die who should see Him. But the very same apostles testify that they had both seen and handled Christ. 1 John 1:1 Now, if Christ is Himself both the Father and the Son, how can He be both the Visible and the Invisible? In order, however, to reconcile this diversity between the Visible and the Invisible, will not some one on the other side argue that the two statements are quite correct: that He was visible indeed in the flesh, but was invisible before *His appearance in the flesh*; so that He who as the Father was invisible before the flesh, is the same as the Son who was visible in the flesh? If, however, He is the same who was invisible before the incarnation, how comes it that He was actually seen in ancient times before (coming in) the flesh? And by parity of reasoning, if He is the same who was visible after (coming in) the flesh, how happens it that He is now declared to be invisible by the apostles? *How, I repeat, can all this be*, unless it be that *He* is one, who anciently was visible only in mystery and enigma, and became more clearly visible by His incarnation, even the Word who was also made flesh; while *He* is another whom no man has seen at any time, *being none else than the Father*, even Him to whom the Word belongs? Let us, in short, examine who it is whom the apostles saw. That, says John, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the Word of life. 1 John 1:1 Now the Word of life became flesh, and was

heard, and was seen, and was handled, because He was flesh who, before *He came in the flesh*, was the Word in the beginning with God the Father, John 1:1-2 and not the Father with the Word. For although the Word was God, yet was He with God, because He is God of God; and being joined to the Father, is with the Father. And we have seen His glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father; John 1:14 that is, of course, (the glory) of the Son, even Him who was visible, and was glorified by the invisible Father. And therefore, inasmuch as he had said that the Word of God was God, in order that he might give no help to the presumption of the adversary, (which pretended) that he had seen the Father Himself *and* in order to draw a distinction between the invisible Father and the visible Son, he makes the additional assertion, *ex abundanti* as it were: No man has seen God at any time. 1 John 4:12 What God does he mean? The Word? But he has already said: *Him* we have seen and heard, and our hands have handled the Word of life. Well, (I must again ask,) what God does he mean? It is of course the Father, with whom was the Word, the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, and has Himself declared Him. John 1:18 He was both heard and seen and, that He might not be supposed to be a phantom, was actually handled. Him, too, did Paul behold; but yet he saw not the Father. Have I not, he says, seen Jesus *Christ our Lord*? 1 Corinthians 9:1 Moreover, he expressly called Christ God, saying: Of whom are the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed forever. Romans 9:5 He shows us also that the Son of God, which is the Word of God, is visible, because He who became flesh was called Christ. Of the Father, however, he says to Timothy: Whom none among men has seen, nor indeed can see; and he accumulates the description in still ampler terms: Who only has immortality, and dwells in the light which no man can approach unto. 1 Timothy 6:16 It was of Him, too, that he had said in a previous passage: Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, to the only God; 1 Timothy 1:17 so that we might apply even the contrary qualities to the Son Himself — mortality, accessibility — of whom *the apostle* testifies that He died according to the Scriptures, 1 Corinthians 15:3 and that He was seen by himself last of all, — by means, of course, of the light which was accessible, although it was not without imperilling his sight that he experienced that light. Acts 22:11 *A like danger to which also befell* Peter, and John, and James, (who confronted

not the same light) without risking the loss of their reason and mind; and if they, who were unable to endure the glory of the Son, had only seen the Father, they must have died then and there: For no man shall see God, and live. Exodus 33:20 This being the case, it is evident that He was always seen from the beginning, who became visible in the end; and that He, (on the contrary,) was not seen in the end who had never been visible from the beginning; and that accordingly there are two — the Visible and the Invisible. It was the Son, therefore, who was always seen, and the Son who always conversed with men, and the Son who has always worked by the authority and will of the Father; because the Son can do nothing of Himself, but what He sees the Father do John 5:19 — do that is, in His mind and thought. For the Father acts by mind and thought; while the Son, who is in the Father's mind and thought, gives effect and form to what He sees. Thus all things were made by the Son, and without Him was not anything made. John 1:3

Chapter 16. Early Manifestations of the Son of God, as Recorded in the Old Testament; Rehearsals of His Subsequent Incarnation

But you must not suppose that only the works which relate to the (creation of the) world were made by the Son, but also whatsoever since that time has been done by God. For the Father who loves the Son, and has given all things into His hand, loves Him indeed from the beginning, and from the very first has handed all things over to Him. Whence it is written, From the beginning the Word was with God, and the Word was God; John 1:1 to whom is given by the Father all power in heaven and on earth. Matthew 28:18 The Father judges no man, but has committed all judgment to the Son John 5:22 — from the very beginning even. For when He speaks of all power and all judgment, and says that all things were made by Him, and all things have been delivered into His hand, He allows no exception (in respect) of time, because they would not be *all things* unless they were *the things of all time*. It is the Son, therefore, who has been from the beginning administering judgment, throwing down the haughty tower, and dividing the tongues, punishing the whole world by the violence of waters, raining upon Sodom and Gomorrha fire and brimstone, as the Lord from the Lord . For He it was who at all times came down to hold converse with men, from Adam on to the patriarchs and the prophets, in vision, in dream, in mirror, in dark saying; ever from the beginning laying the foundation of the course of *His dispensations*, which He meant to follow out to the very last. Thus was He ever learning even as God to converse with men upon earth, being no other than the Word which was to be made flesh. But He was thus learning (or rehearsing), in order to level for us the way of faith, that we might the more readily believe that the Son of God had come down into the world, if we knew that in times past also something similar had been done. For as it was on our account *and for our learning* that these events are described in the Scriptures, so for our sakes also were they done — (even *ours*, I say), upon whom the ends of the world have come. 1 Corinthians 10:11 In this way it was that even then He knew full well what human feelings and affections were, intending as He always did to take upon Him man's actual component substances, body and soul, making inquiry of Adam (as if He were ignorant), Where are you, Adam? Genesis 3:9 —

repenting that He had made man, as if He had lacked foresight; Genesis 6:6 tempting Abraham, as if ignorant of what was in man; offended with persons, and then reconciled to them; and whatever other (weaknesses and imperfections) the heretics lay hold of (in their assumptions) as unworthy of God, in order to discredit the Creator, not considering that these *circumstances* are suitable enough for the Son, who was one day to experience even human sufferings — hunger and thirst, and tears, and actual birth and real death, and in respect of such a dispensation made by the Father a little less than the angels. But the heretics, you may be sure, will not allow that those things are suitable even to the Son of God, which you are imputing to the very Father Himself, when you pretend that He made Himself less (than the angels) on our account; whereas the Scripture informs us that He who was made less was so affected by another, and not Himself by Himself. What, again, if He was *One* who was crowned with glory and honour, and He *Another* by whom He was so crowned, — the Son, in fact, by the Father? Moreover, how comes it to pass, that the Almighty Invisible God, whom no man has seen nor can see; He who dwells in light unapproachable; 1 Timothy 6:16 He who dwells not in *temples* made with hands; Acts 17:24 from before whose sight the earth trembles, and the mountains melt like wax; who holds the whole world in His hand like a nest; Isaiah 10:14 whose throne is heaven, and earth His footstool; Isaiah 66:1 in whom is every place, but Himself is in no place; who is the utmost bound of the universe — how happens it, I say, that He (who, though) the Most High, should yet have walked in paradise towards the *cool of the evening*, in quest of Adam; and should have shut up the ark after Noah had entered it; and at Abraham's tent should have refreshed Himself under an oak; and have called to Moses out of the burning bush; and have appeared as the fourth in the furnace of the Babylonian monarch (although He is there called the Son of man) — unless all these events had happened as an image, as a mirror, as an enigma (of the future incarnation)? Surely even these things could not have been believed even of the Son of God, unless they had been given us in the Scriptures; possibly also they could not have been believed of the Father, even if they had been given in the Scriptures, since these men bring *Him* down into Mary's womb, and set Him before Pilate's judgment-seat, and bury Him in the sepulchre of Joseph. Hence, therefore, their error becomes manifest; for, being ignorant that the entire order of the divine

administration has from the very first had its course through the agency of the Son, they believe that the Father Himself was actually seen, and held converse with men, and worked, and was thirsty, and suffered hunger (in spite of the prophet who says: The everlasting God, *the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the earth*, shall never thirst at all, nor be hungry; Isaiah 40:28 much more, shall neither die at any time, nor be buried!), and therefore that it was uniformly one God, even the Father, who at all times did Himself the things which were really done *by Him* through the agency of the Son.

Chapter 17. Sundry August Titles, Descriptive of Deity, Applied to the Son, Not, as Praxeas Would Have It, Only to the Father

They more readily supposed that the Father acted in the Son's name, than that the Son acted in the Father's; although the Lord says Himself, I have come in my Father's name; John 5:43 and even to the Father He declares, I have manifested Your name unto these men; John 17:6 while the Scripture likewise says, Blessed is He that comes in the name of the Lord, that is to say, the Son in the Father's name. And as for the Father's names, God Almighty, the Most High, the Lord of hosts, the King of Israel, the One that is, we say (for so much do the Scriptures teach us) that they belonged suitably to the Son also, and that the Son came under these designations, and has always acted in them, and has thus manifested them in Himself to men. All things, says He, which the Father has are mine. John 16:15 Then why not His names also? When, therefore, you read of Almighty God, and the Most High, and the God of hosts, and the King of Israel, the One that is, consider whether the Son also be not indicated by these designations, who in His own right is God Almighty, in that He is the Word of Almighty God, and has received power over all; is the Most High, in that He is exalted at the right hand of God, as Peter declares in the Acts; Acts 2:22 is the Lord of hosts, because all things are by the Father made subject to Him; is the King of Israel because to Him has especially been committed the destiny of that nation; and is likewise the One that is, because there are many who are called Sons, but *are not*. As to the point maintained by them, that the name of Christ belongs also to the Father, they shall hear (what I have to say) in the proper place. Meanwhile, let this be my immediate answer to the argument which they adduce from the Revelation of John: I am the Lord which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty; Revelation 1:8 and from all other passages which in their opinion make the designation of Almighty God unsuitable to the Son. As if, indeed, *He which is to come* were not almighty; whereas even the Son of the Almighty is as much almighty as the Son of God is God.

Chapter 18. The Designation of the One God in the Prophetic Scriptures. Intended as a Protest Against Heathen Idolatry, It Does Not Preclude the Correlative Idea of the Son of God. The Son is in the Father

But what hinders them from readily perceiving this community of the Father's titles in the Son, is the statement of Scripture, whenever it determines God to be but One; as if the selfsame Scripture had not also set forth Two both as God and Lord, as we have shown above. Their argument is: Since we find Two and One, therefore Both are One and the Same, both Father and Son. Now the Scripture is not in danger of requiring the aid of any one's argument, lest it should seem to be self-contradictory. It has a method of its own, both when it sets forth one only God, and also when it shows that there are Two, Father and Son; and is consistent with itself. It is clear that the Son is mentioned by it. For, without any detriment to the Son, it is quite possible for it to have rightly determined that God is only One, to whom the Son belongs; since He who has a Son ceases not on that account to exist — Himself being One only, that is, on His own account, whenever He is named without the Son. And He is named without the Son whenever He is defined as the principle (of Deity) in the character of its first Person, which had to be mentioned before the name of the Son; because it is the Father who is acknowledged in the first place, and after the Father the Son is named. Therefore there is one God, the Father, and without Him there is none else. Isaiah 45:5 And when He Himself makes this declaration, He denies not the Son, but says that there is no other God; and the Son is not different from the Father. Indeed, if you only look carefully at the contexts which follow such statements as this, you will find that they nearly always have distinct reference to the makers of idols and the worshippers thereof, with a view to the multitude of false gods being expelled by the unity of the Godhead, which nevertheless has a Son; and inasmuch as this Son is undivided and inseparable from the Father, so is He to be reckoned as being in the Father, even when He is not named. The fact is, if He had named Him expressly, He would have separated Him, saying in so many words: Beside me there is none else, *except my Son*. In short He would have made His Son actually another, after excepting Him from others. Suppose the sun to say, I am the Sun, and there is

none other besides me, except my ray, would you not have remarked how useless was such a statement, as if the ray were not itself reckoned in the sun? He says, then, that there is no God besides Himself in respect of the idolatry both of the Gentiles as well as of Israel; nay, even on account of our heretics also, who fabricate idols with their words, just as the heathen do with their hands; that is to say, they make another God and another Christ. When, therefore, He attested His own unity, the Father took care of the Son's interests, that Christ should not be supposed to have come from another God, but from Him who had already said, I am God and there is none other beside me, who shows us that He is the only God, but in company with His Son, with whom He stretches out the heavens alone. Isaiah 44:24

Chapter 19. The Son in Union with the Father in the Creation of All Things. This Union of the Two in Co-Operation is Not Opposed to the True Unity of God. It is Opposed Only to Praxeas' Identification Theory

But this very declaration of His they will hastily pervert into an argument of His *singleness*. I have, says He, stretched out the heaven alone. Undoubtedly *alone* as regards all other powers; and He thus gives a premonitory evidence against the conjectures of the heretics, who maintain that the world was constructed by various angels and powers, who also make the Creator Himself to have been either an angel or some subordinate agent sent to form external things, such as the constituent parts of the world, but who was at the same time ignorant *of the divine purpose*. If, now, it is in this sense that He stretches out the heavens alone, how is it that these heretics assume their position so perversely, as to render inadmissible the singleness of that Wisdom which says, When He prepared the heaven, I was present with Him? Proverbs 8:27 — even though the apostle asks, Who has known the mind of the Lord, or who has been His counsellor? Romans 11:34 meaning, of course, to except that wisdom which was present with Him. Proverbs 8:30 In Him, at any rate, and with Him, did (Wisdom) construct the universe, He not being ignorant of what she was making. Except Wisdom, however, is a phrase of the same sense exactly as except the Son, who is Christ, the Wisdom and Power of God, 1 Corinthians 1:24 according to the apostle, who only knows the mind of the Father. For who knows the things that be in God, except the Spirit which is in Him? 1 Corinthians 2:11 Not, observe, *without* Him. There was therefore One who caused God to be not alone, except alone from all other *gods*. But (if we are to follow the heretics), the Gospel itself will have to be rejected, because it tells us that all things were made by God through the Word, without whom nothing was made. John 1:3 And if I am not mistaken, there is also another passage in which it is written: By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the hosts of them by His Spirit. Now this Word, the Power of God and the Wisdom of God, must be the very Son of God. So that, if (He did) all things by the Son, He must have stretched out the heavens by the Son, and so not have stretched them out alone, except in the sense in which He is alone (and apart) from all other gods. Accordingly He says, concerning the

Son, immediately afterwards: Who else is it that frustrates the tokens of the liars, and makes diviners mad, turning wise men backward, and making their knowledge foolish, and confirming the words Isaiah 44:25 of His Son? — as, for instance, when He said, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear Him. Matthew 3:17 By thus attaching the Son to Himself, He becomes His own interpreter in what sense He stretched out the heavens alone, meaning *alone with His Son*, even as He is one with His Son. The utterance, therefore, will be in like manner the Son's, I have stretched out the heavens alone, Isaiah 44:24 because *by the Word* were the heavens established. Inasmuch, then, as the heaven was prepared when Wisdom was present in the Word, and since all things were made by the Word, it is quite correct to say that even the Son stretched out the heaven alone, because He alone ministered to the Father's work. It must also be He who says, I am the First, and to all futurity I AM. The Word, no doubt, was before all things. In the beginning was the Word; John 1:1 and in that beginning He was sent forth by the Father. The Father, however, has no beginning, as proceeding from none; nor can He be seen, since He was not begotten. He who has always been alone could never have had order or rank. Therefore, if they have determined that the Father and the Son must be regarded as one and the same, for the express purpose of vindicating the unity of God, that unity of His is preserved intact; for He is one, and yet He has a Son, who is equally with Himself comprehended in the same Scriptures. Since they are unwilling to allow that the Son is *a distinct Person*, second from the Father, lest, being thus second, He should cause two Gods to be spoken of, we have shown above that Two are actually described in Scripture as God and Lord. And to prevent their being offended at this fact, we give a reason why they are not said to be two Gods and two Lords, but that they are two as Father and Son; and this not by severance of their substance, but from the dispensation wherein we declare the Son to be undivided and inseparable from the Father — distinct in degree, not in state. And although, when named apart, He is called God, He does not thereby constitute two Gods, but one; and that from the very circumstance that He is entitled to be called God, from His union with the Father.

Chapter 20. The Scriptures Relied on by Praxeas to Support His Heresy But Few. They are Mentioned by Tertullian

But I must take some further pains to rebut their arguments, when they make selections from the Scriptures in support of their opinion, and refuse to consider the other points, which obviously maintain the rule of faith without any infraction of the unity of the Godhead, and with the full admission of the Monarchy. For as in the Old Testament Scriptures they lay hold of nothing else than, I am God, and beside me there is no God; Isaiah 45:5 so in the Gospel they simply keep in view the Lord's answer to Philip, I and my Father are one; John 10:30 and, He that has seen me has seen the Father; and I am in the Father, and the Father in me. John 14:9-10 They would have the entire revelation of both Testaments yield to these three passages, whereas the only proper course is to understand the few statements in the light of the many. But in their contention they only act on the principle of all heretics. For, inasmuch as only a few testimonies are to be found (making for them) in the general mass, they pertinaciously set off the few against the many, and assume the later against the earlier. The rule, however, which has been from the beginning established for every case, gives its prescription against the later *assumptions*, as indeed it also does against the fewer.

Chapter 21. In This and the Four Following Chapters It is Shown, by a Minute Analysis of St. John's Gospel, that the Father and Son are Constantly Spoken of as Distinct Persons

Consider, therefore, how many passages present their prescriptive authority to you in this very Gospel before this inquiry of Philip, and previous to any discussion on your part. And first of all there comes at once to hand the preamble of John to his Gospel, which shows us what He previously was who had to become flesh. In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. He was in the beginning with God: all things were made by Him, and without Him was nothing made. John 1:1-3 Now, since these words may not be taken otherwise than as they are written, there is without doubt shown to be One who was from the beginning, and also One with whom He always was: one the Word of God, the other God (although the Word is also God, but *God* regarded as the Son of God, not as the Father); One through whom were all things, Another by whom were all things. But in what sense we call Him *Another* we have already often described. In that we called Him Another, we must needs imply that He is not identical — not identical indeed, yet not as if separate; *Other* by dispensation, not by division. He, therefore, *who* became flesh was not the very same as He from whom the Word came. His glory was beheld — the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father; John 1:14 not, (observe,) as of the Father. He declared (what was in) the bosom of the Father alone; the Father did not *divulge the secrets of* His own bosom. For this is preceded by another statement: No man has seen God at any time. Then, again, when He is designated by John (the Baptist) as the Lamb of God, John 1:29 He is not *described as Himself the same with Him* of whom He is the beloved *Son*. He is, no doubt, ever the Son of God, but yet not He Himself of whom He is the Son. This (divine relationship) Nathanæl at once recognised in Him, John 1:49 even as Peter did on another occasion: You are the Son of God. Matthew 16:16 And He affirmed Himself that they were quite right in their convictions; for He answered Nathanæl: Because I said, I saw you under the fig-tree, therefore do you believe? John 1:50 And in the same manner He pronounced Peter to be blessed, inasmuch as flesh and blood had not revealed it to him — that he had perceived the Father — but the

Father which is in heaven. Matthew 16:17 By asserting all this, He determined the distinction which is between the two Persons: that is, the Son then on earth, whom Peter had confessed to be the Son of God; and the Father in heaven, who had revealed to Peter the discovery which he had made, that Christ was the Son of God. When He entered the temple, He called it His Father's house, John 2:16 *speaking* as the Son. In His address to Nicodemus He says: So God loved the world, that He gave His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believes in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life. John 3:16 And again: For God sent not His Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through Him might be saved. He that believes in Him is not condemned; but he that believes not is condemned already, because he has not believed in the name of the only-begotten Son of God. John 3:17-18 Moreover, when John (the Baptist) was asked what he happened *to know* of Jesus, he said: The Father loves the Son, and has given all things into His hand. He that believes in the Son has everlasting life; and he that believes not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abides on him. John 3:35-36 Whom, indeed, did He reveal to the woman of Samaria? Was it not the Messiah which is called Christ? John 4:25 And so He showed, of course, that He was not the Father, but the Son; and elsewhere He is expressly called the Christ, the Son of God, John 20:31 and not the Father. He says, therefore, My meat is to do the will of Him that sent me, and to finish His work; John 4:34 while to the Jews He remarks respecting the cure of the impotent man, My Father works hitherto, and I work. John 5:17 My Father and I — these are the Son's words. And it was on this very account that the Jews sought the more intently to kill Him, not only because He broke the Sabbath, but also because He said that God was His Father, thus making Himself equal with God. Then indeed did He answer and say unto them, The Son can do nothing of Himself, but what He sees the Father do; for whatever things He does these also does the Son likewise. For the Father loves the Son, and shows Him all things that He Himself does; and He will also show Him greater works than these, that you may marvel. For as *the Father* raises up the dead and quickens them, even so the Son also quickens whom He will. For the Father judges no man, but has committed all judgment unto the Son, that all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father. He that honours not the Son, honours not the Father, who has sent the Son. Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that

hears my words, and believes in Him that sent me, has everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation, but is passed from death unto life. Verily I say unto you, that the hour is coming, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and when they have heard it, they shall live. For as the Father has eternal life in Himself, so also has He given to the Son to have eternal life in Himself; and He has given Him authority to execute judgment also, because He is the Son of man John 5:19-27 — that is, according to the flesh, even as He is also the Son of God through His Spirit. Afterwards He goes on to say: But I have greater witness than that of John; for the works which the Father has given me to finish — those very works bear witness of me that the Father has sent me. And the Father Himself, which has sent me, has also borne witness of me. John 5:36-37 But He at once adds, You have neither heard His voice at any time, nor seen His shape; thus affirming that in former times it was not the Father, but the Son, who used to be seen and heard. Then He says at last: I have come in my Father's name, and you have not received me. It was therefore always the Son (of whom we read) under the designation of the Almighty and Most High God, and King, and Lord. To those also who inquired what they should do *to work the works of God*, John 6:29 He answered, *This is the work of God*, that you believe in Him whom He has sent. He also declares Himself to be the bread which the Father sent from heaven; and adds, that all that the Father gave Him should come to Him, and that He Himself would not reject them, because He had come down from heaven not to do His own will, but the will of the Father; and that the will of the Father was that every one who saw the Son, and believed on Him, should obtain the life (everlasting,) and the resurrection *at the last day*. No man indeed was able to come to Him, except the Father attracted him; whereas every one who had heard and learned of the Father came to Him. John 6:37-45 He goes on then expressly to say, Not that any man has seen the Father; thus showing us that it was through the Word of the Father that men were instructed and taught. Then, when many departed from Him, and He turned to the apostles with the inquiry whether they also would go away, what was Simon Peter's answer? To whom shall we go? You have the words of *eternal* life, and we believe that You are the Christ. (Tell me now, did they believe) Him to be the Father, or the Christ of the Father?

Chapter 22. Sundry Passages of St. John Quoted, to Show the Distinction Between the Father and the Son. Even Praxeas' Classic Text — I and My Father are One — Shown to Be Against Him

Again, whose doctrine does He announce, at which all were astonished? Was it His own or the Father's? So, when they were in doubt among themselves whether He were the Christ (not as being the Father, of course but as the Son), He says to them You are not ignorant whence I am; and I am not come of myself, but He that sent me is true, whom you know not; but I know Him, because I am from Him. He did not say, Because I myself am He; and, I have sent my own self: but His words are, He has sent me. When, likewise, the Pharisees sent men to apprehend Him, He says: Yet a little while am I with you, and (then) I go unto Him that sent me. When, however, He declares that He is not alone, and uses these words, but I and the Father that sent me, John 8:16 does He not show that there are Two — Two, and yet inseparable? Indeed, this was the sum and substance of what He was teaching them, that they were inseparably Two; since, after citing the law when it affirms the truth of two men's testimony, He adds at once: I am one who am bearing witness of myself; and the Father (is another,) who has sent me, and bears witness of me. Now, if He were one — being at once both the Son and the Father — He certainly would not have quoted the sanction of the law, which requires not the testimony of one, but of two. Likewise, when they asked Him where His Father was, He answered them, that they had known neither Himself nor the Father; and in this answer He plainly told them of *Two*, whom they were ignorant of. Granted that if they had known Him, they would have known the Father also, this certainly does not imply that He was Himself both Father and Son; but that, by reason of the inseparability of the Two, it was impossible for one of them to be either acknowledged or unknown without the other. He that sent me, says He, is true; and I am telling the world those things which I have heard of Him. John 8:26 And the Scripture narrative goes on to explain in an exoteric manner, that they understood not that He spoke to them concerning the Father, although they ought certainly to have known that the Father's words were *uttered* in the Son, because they read in Jeremiah, And the Lord said to me, Behold, I have put my words in your mouth; Jeremiah 1:9 and

again in Isaiah, The Lord has given to me the tongue of learning that I should understand when to speak a word in season. Isaiah 50:4 In accordance with which, *Christ* Himself says: Then shall you know that I am He and that I am saying nothing of my own self; but that, as my Father has taught me, so I speak, because He that sent me is with me. John 8:28-29 This also amounts to a proof that they were Two, (although) undivided. Likewise, when upbraiding the Jews in His discussion with them, because they wished to kill Him, He said, I speak that which I have seen with my Father, and you do that which you have seen with your father; but now you seek to kill me, a man that has told you the truth which I have heard of God; and again, If God were your Father, you would love me, for I proceeded forth and came from God, (still they are not hereby separated, although He declares that He proceeded forth *from the Father*. Some persons indeed seize the opportunity afforded them in these words *to propound their heresy of His separation*; but His coming out from God is like the ray's procession from the sun, and the river's from the fountain, and the tree's from the seed); I have not a devil, but I honour my Father; again, If I honour myself, my honour is nothing: it is my Father that honours me, of whom you say, that He is your God: yet you have not known Him, but I know Him; and if I should say, I know Him not, I shall be a liar like you; but I know Him, and keep His saying. John 8:54-55 But when He goes on to say, *Your father* Abraham rejoiced to see my day; and he saw it, and was glad, He certainly proves that it was not the Father that appeared to Abraham, but the Son. In like manner He declares, in the case of the man *born blind*, that He must do the works of the Father *which had sent Him*; John 9:4 and after He had given the man sight, He said to him, Do you believe in the Son of God? Then, upon the man's inquiring who *He* was, He proceeded to reveal Himself to him, as that Son *of God* whom He had announced to him as the right object of his faith. In a later passage He declares that He is known by the Father, and the Father by Him; John 10:15 adding that He was so wholly loved by the Father, that He was laying down His life, because He had received this commandment from the Father. When He was asked by the Jews if He were the very Christ (meaning, of course, the Christ of God; for to this day the Jews expect not the Father Himself, but the Christ of God, it being nowhere said that the Father will come as the Christ), He said to them, I am telling you, and yet you do not believe: the works which I am doing, in my

Father's name, they actually bear witness of me. Witness of what? Of that very thing, to be sure, of which they were making inquiry — whether He were the Christ of God. Then, again, concerning His sheep, and (the assurance) that no man should pluck them out of His hand, He says, My Father, which gave them to me, is greater than all; adding immediately, I am and my Father are one. Here, then, they take their stand, too infatuated, nay, too blind, to see in the first place that there is in this passage an intimation of Two Beings — *I and my Father*; then that there is a plural predicate, *are*, inapplicable to one person only; and lastly, that (the predicate terminates in an abstract, not a personal noun) — we are one *thing Unum*, not one person *Unus*. For if He had said one Person, He might have rendered some assistance to their opinion. *Unus*, no doubt, indicates the singular number; but (here we have a case where) Two are still the subject in the masculine gender. He accordingly says *Unum*, a neuter term, which does not imply singularity of number, but unity of essence, likeness, conjunction, affection on the Father's part, who loves the Son, and submission on the Son's, who obeys the Father's will. When He says, I and my Father are one *in essence* — *Unum* — He shows that there are Two, whom He puts on an equality and unites in one. He therefore adds to this very statement, that He had showed them many works from the Father, for none of which did He deserve to be stoned. John 10:32 And to prevent their thinking Him deserving of this fate, as if He had claimed to be considered as God Himself, that is, the Father, by having said, I and my Father are One, representing Himself as the Father's divine Son, and not as God Himself, He says, If it is written in your law, I said, You are gods; and if the Scripture cannot be broken, say of Him whom the Father has sanctified and sent into the world, that He blasphemes, because He said, I am the Son of God? If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not; but if I do, even if you will not believe me, still believe the works; and know that I am in the Father, and the Father in me. It must therefore be by the works that the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father; and so it is by the works that we understand that the Father is one *with the Son*. All along did He therefore strenuously aim at this conclusion, that while they were of one power and essence, they should still be believed to be Two; for otherwise, unless they were believed to be Two, the Son could not possibly be believed to have any existence at all.

Chapter 23. More Passages from the Same Gospel in Proof of the Same Portion of the Catholic Faith. Praxeas' Taunt of Worshipping Two Gods Repudiated

Again, when Martha in a later passage acknowledged Him to be the Son of God, John 11:27 she no more made a mistake than Peter Matthew 16:16 and Nathanæl John 1:49 had; and yet, even if she had made a mistake, she would at once have learned the truth: for, behold, when about to raise her brother from the dead, the Lord looked up to heaven, and, addressing the Father, said — as the Son, of course: Father, I thank You that You always hear me; it is because of these crowds that are standing by that I have spoken *to You*, that they may believe that You have sent me. John 11:41-42 But in the trouble of His soul, (on a later occasion,) He said: What shall I say? Father, save me from this hour: but for this cause is it that I have come to this hour; only, O Father, glorify Your name John 12:27-28 — in which He spoke as the Son. (At another time) He said: I have come in my Father's name. John 5:43 Accordingly, the Son's voice was indeed alone sufficient, (when addressed) to the Father. But, behold, with an abundance (of evidence) the Father from heaven replies, for the purpose of testifying to the Son: This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear Him. Matthew 17:5 So, again, in that *asseveration*, I have both glorified, and will glorify again, John 12:28 how many Persons do you discover, obstinate Praxeas? Are there not as many as there are voices? You have the Son on earth, you have the Father in heaven. Now this is not a separation; it is nothing but the divine dispensation. We know, however, that God is in the bottomless depths, and exists everywhere; but then it is by power and authority. We are also sure that the Son, being indivisible from Him, is everywhere with Him. Nevertheless, in the Economy or Dispensation itself, the Father willed that the Son should be regarded as on earth, and Himself in heaven; whither the Son also Himself looked up, and prayed, and made supplication of the Father; whither also He taught us to raise ourselves, and pray, Our Father which art in heaven, etc., Matthew 6:9 — although, indeed, He is everywhere present. This *heaven* the Father willed to be His own throne; while He made the Son to be a little lower than the angels, by sending Him down to the earth, but meaning at the same time to crown Him with glory and honour, even by taking Him back to heaven. This

He now made good to Him when He said: I have both glorified *You*, and will glorify *You again*. The Son offers His request from earth, the Father gives His promise from heaven. Why, then, do you make liars of both the Father and the Son? If either the Father spoke from heaven to the Son when He Himself was the Son on earth, or the Son prayed to the Father when He was Himself the Son in heaven, how happens it that the Son made a request of His own very self, by asking it of the Father, since the Son was the Father? Or, on the other hand, how is it that the Father made a promise to Himself, by making it to the Son, since the Father was the Son? Were we even to maintain that they are two separate gods, as you are so fond of throwing out against us, it would be a more tolerable assertion than the maintenance of so versatile and changeful a God as yours! Therefore it was that in the passage before us the Lord declared to the people present: Not on my own account has this voice addressed me, but for your sakes, John 12:30 that these likewise may believe both in the Father and in the Son, severally, in their own names and persons and positions. Then again, Jesus exclaims, and says, He that believes in me, believes not on me, but on Him that sent me; John 12:44 because it is through the Son that men believe in the Father, while the Father also is the authority whence springs belief in the Son. And he that sees me, sees Him that sent me. How so? Even because, (as He afterwards declares,) I have not spoken from myself, but the Father which sent me: He has given me a commandment what I should say, and what I should speak. John 12:49 For the Lord God has given me the tongue of the learned, that I should know when I ought to speak Isaiah 50:4 the word which I actually speak. Even as the Father has said to me, so do I speak. John 12:50 Now, in what way these things were said to Him, the evangelist and beloved disciple John knew better than Praxeas; and therefore he adds concerning his own meaning: Now before the feast of the passover, Jesus knew that the Father had given all things into His hands, and that He had come from God, and was going to God. Praxeas, however, would have it that it was the Father who proceeded forth from Himself, and had returned to Himself; so that what the devil put into the heart of Judas was the betrayal, not of the Son, but of the Father Himself. But for the matter of that, things have not turned out well either for the devil or the heretic; because, even in the Son's case, the treason which the devil wrought against Him contributed nothing to his advantage. It was, then, the Son of God, who was in the Son of

man, that was betrayed, as the Scripture says afterwards: Now is the Son of man glorified, and God is glorified in Him. Who is here meant by God? Certainly not the Father, but the Word of the Father, who was in the Son of man — that is in the flesh, in which Jesus had been already glorified by *the divine* power and word. And God, says He, shall also glorify Him in Himself; that is to say, the Father shall glorify the Son, because He has Him within Himself; and even though prostrated to the earth, and put to death, He would soon glorify Him by His resurrection, and making Him conqueror over death.

Chapter 24. On St. Philip's Conversation with Christ. He that Hath Seen Me, Hath Seen the Father. This Text Explained in an Anti-Praxeian Sense

But there were some who even then did not understand. For Thomas, who was so long incredulous, said: Lord, we know not whither You go; and how can we know the way? Jesus says unto him, I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man comes unto the Father, but by me. If you had known me, you would have known the Father also: but henceforth you know Him, and have seen Him. John 14:5-7 And now we come to Philip, who, roused with the expectation of seeing the Father, and not understanding in what sense he was to take seeing the Father, says: Show us the Father, and it suffices us. Then the Lord answered him: Have I been so long time with you, and yet have you not known me, Philip? Now whom does He say that they ought to have known? — for this is the sole point of discussion. Was it as the Father that they ought to have known Him, or as the Son? If it was as the Father, Praxeas must tell us how Christ, who had been so long time with them, could have possibly ever been (I will not say understood, but even) supposed to have been the Father. He is clearly defined to us in all Scriptures — in the Old Testament as the Christ of God, in the New Testament as the Son of God. In this character was He anciently predicted, in this was He also declared even by Christ Himself; nay, by the very Father also, who openly confesses Him from heaven as His Son, and as His Son glorifies Him. This is my beloved Son; I have glorified Him, and I will glorify Him. In this character, too, was He believed on by His disciples, and rejected by the Jews. It was, moreover, in this character that He wished to be accepted by them whenever He named the Father, and gave preference to the Father, and honoured the Father. This, then, being the case, it was not the Father whom, after His lengthened intercourse with them, they were ignorant of, but it was the Son; and accordingly the Lord, while upbraiding *Philip* for not knowing Himself who was the object of their ignorance, wished Himself to be acknowledged indeed as that *Being* whom He had reproached them for being ignorant of after so long a time — in a word, as the Son. And now it may be seen in what sense it was said, He that has seen me has seen the Father, John 14:9 — even in the same in which it was said in a previous passage, I and my Father are one. John 10:30

Wherefore? Because I came forth from the Father, and have come *into the world* John 16:28 and, I am the way: no man comes unto the Father, but by me; John 14:6 and, No man can come to me, except the Father draw him; John 6:44 and, All things are delivered unto me by the Father; Matthew 11:27 and, As the Father quickens (the dead), so also does the Son; John 5:21 and again, If you had known me, you would have known the Father also. John 14:7 For in all these passages He had shown Himself to be the Father's Commissioner, through whose agency even the Father could be seen in His works, and heard in His words, and recognised in the Son's administration of the Father's words and deeds. The Father indeed was invisible, as Philip had learned in the law, and ought at the moment to have remembered: No man shall see God, and live. Exodus 33:20 So he is reprov'd for desiring to see the Father, as if He were a visible Being, and is taught that He only becomes visible in the Son from His mighty works, and not in the manifestation of His person. If, indeed, He meant the Father to be understood as the same with the Son, by saying, He who sees me sees the Father, how is it that He adds immediately afterwards, Do you not believe that I am in the Father, and the Father in me? John 14:10 He ought rather to have said: Do you not believe that I am the Father? With what view else did He so emphatically dwell on this point, if it were not to clear up that which He wished men to understand — namely, that He was the Son? And then, again, by saying, Do you not believe that I am in the Father, and the Father in me, John 14:11 He laid the greater stress on His question on this very account, that He should not, because He had said, He that has seen me, has seen the Father, be supposed to be the Father; because He had never wished Himself to be so regarded, having always professed Himself to be the Son, and to have come from the Father. And then He also set the conjunction of the two Persons in the clearest light, in order that no wish might be entertained of seeing the Father as if He were separately visible, and that the Son might be regarded as the representative of the Father. And yet He omitted not to explain how the Father was in the Son and the Son in the Father. The words, says He, which I speak unto you, are not mine, John 14:10 because indeed they were the Father's words; but the Father that dwells in me, He does the works. It is therefore by His mighty works, and by the words of His doctrine, that the Father who dwells in the Son makes Himself visible — even by those *words and works* whereby He abides in Him,

and also by Him in whom He abides; the special properties of Both the Persons being apparent from this very circumstance, that He says, I am in the Father, and the Father is in me. Accordingly He adds: Believe — What? That I am the Father? I do not find that it is so written, but rather, that I am *in* the Father, and the Father in me; or else believe me for my works' sake; meaning those works by which the Father manifested Himself to be in the Son, not indeed to the sight of man, but to his intelligence.

Chapter 25. The Paraclete, or Holy Ghost. He is Distinct from the Father and the Son as to Their Personal Existence. One and Inseparable from Them as to Their Divine Nature. Other Quotations Out of St. John's Gospel

What follows Philip's question, and *the Lord's* whole treatment of it, to the end of *John's* Gospel, continues to furnish us with statements of the same kind, distinguishing the Father and the Son, with the properties of each. Then there is the Paraclete *or Comforter*, also, which He promises to pray for to the Father, and to send from heaven after He had ascended to the Father. *He is called* another Comforter, indeed; John 14:16 but in what way He is *another* we have already shown, He shall receive of mine, says Christ, John 16:14 just as *Christ* Himself received of the Father's. Thus the connection of the Father in the Son, and of the Son in the Paraclete, produces three coherent Persons, *who are yet distinct* One from Another. These Three are one *essence*, not one *Person*, as it is said, I and my Father are One, John 10:30 in respect of unity of substance not singularity of number. Run through the whole *Gospel*, and you will find that He whom you believe to be the Father (described as acting for the Father, although you, for your part, forsooth, suppose that the Father, being the husbandman, John 15:1 must surely have been on earth) is once more recognised by the Son as in heaven, when, lifting up His eyes thereto, John 17:1 He commended His disciples to the safe-keeping of the Father. John 17:11 We have, moreover, in that other Gospel a clear revelation, i.e. *of the Son's distinction from the Father*, My God, why have You forsaken me? Matthew 27:46 and again, (in the third Gospel,) Father, into Your hands I commend my spirit. Luke 23:46 But even if (we had not these passages, we meet with satisfactory evidence) after His resurrection and glorious victory over death. Now that all the restraint of His humiliation is taken away, He might, if possible, have shown Himself as the Father to so faithful a woman (as Mary Magdalene) when she approached to touch Him, out of love, not from curiosity, nor with Thomas' incredulity. *But not so*; Jesus says unto her, Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended to my Father; but go to my brethren (and even in this He proves Himself to be the Son; for if He had been the Father, He would have called them His *children*, (instead of His *brethren*), and

say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God. John 20:17 *Now, does this mean, I ascend* as the Father to the Father, and as God to God? Or as the Son to the Father, and as the Word to God? Wherefore also does this Gospel, at its very termination, intimate that these things were ever written, if it be not, to use its own words, that you might believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God? John 20:31 Whenever, therefore, you take any of the statements of this Gospel, and apply them to demonstrate the identity of the Father and the Son, supposing that they serve your views therein, you are contending against the definite purpose of the Gospel. For these things certainly are not written that you may believe that Jesus Christ is the Father, but the Son.

Chapter 26. A Brief Reference to the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke. Their Agreement with St. John, in Respect to the Distinct Personality of the Father and the Son

In addition to Philip's conversation, and the Lord's reply to it, the reader will observe that we have run through John's Gospel *to show* that many other passages of a clear purport, both before and after that chapter, are only in strict accord with that single and prominent statement, which must be interpreted agreeably to all other places, rather than in opposition to them, and indeed to its own inherent and natural sense. I will not here largely use the support of the other Gospels, which confirm our belief by the Lord's *nativity*: it is sufficient to remark that He who had to be born of a virgin is announced in express terms by the angel himself as the Son of God: The Spirit of God shall come upon you, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow you; therefore also the Holy Thing that shall be born of you shall be called *the Son of God*. Luke 1:35 On this passage even they will wish to raise a cavil; but truth will prevail. Of course, they say, the Son of God is God, and the power of the highest is the Most High. And they do not hesitate to insinuate what, if it had been true, would have been written. Whom was he so afraid of as not plainly to declare, God shall come upon you, and the Highest shall overshadow you? Now, by saying the Spirit of God (although the Spirit of God *is God*), and by not directly naming God, he wished that portion of the whole *Godhead* to be understood, which was about to retire into the designation of the Son. The Spirit of God in this passage must be the same *as the Word*. For just as, when John says, The Word was made flesh, John 1:14 we understand the Spirit also in the mention of the Word: so here, too, we acknowledge the Word likewise in the name of the Spirit. For both the Spirit is the substance of the Word, and the Word is the operation of the Spirit, and the Two are One (and the same). Now John must mean *One* when he speaks of Him as having been made flesh, and the angel *Another* when he announces Him as about to be born, if the Spirit is not the Word, and the Word the Spirit. For just as the Word of God is not actually He whose *Word* He is, so also the Spirit (although He is called God) is not actually He whose *Spirit* He is said to be. Nothing which belongs to something else is actually the very same thing as that to which it belongs.

Clearly, when anything proceeds from a personal subject, and so belongs to him, since it comes from him, it may possibly be such in quality exactly as the personal subject himself is from whom it proceeds, and to whom it belongs. And thus the Spirit is God, and the Word is God, because proceeding from God, but yet is not actually the very same as He from whom He proceeds. Now that which is God of God, although He is an actually existing thing, yet He cannot be God Himself (exclusively), but so far God as He is of the same substance as God Himself, and as being an actually existing thing, and as a portion of the Whole. Much more will the power of the Highest not be the Highest Himself, because It is not an actually existing thing, as being Spirit — in the same way as the *wisdom* (of God) and the *providence* (of God) is not God: these *attributes* are not substances, but the accidents of the particular substance. Power is incidental to the Spirit, but cannot itself be the Spirit. These things, therefore, whatsoever they are — (I mean) the Spirit of God, and the Word and the Power — having been conferred on the Virgin, that which is born of her is the Son of God. This He Himself, in those other Gospels also, testifies Himself to have been from His very boyhood: Did you not know, says He, that I must be about *my Father's* business? Luke 2:49 Satan likewise knew Him to be this in his temptations: Since You are *the Son of God*. This, accordingly, the devils also acknowledge Him to be: we know You, who You are, the *Holy Son of God*. His *Father* He Himself adores. When acknowledged by Peter as the Christ (the Son) of God, Matthew 16:17 He does not deny *the relation*. He exults in spirit when He says to the Father, I thank You, *O Father*, because You have hid these things from the wise and prudent. Matthew 11:25 He, moreover, affirms also that to no man is the Father known, but to *His Son*; and promises that, as *the Son of the Father*, He will confess those who confess Him, and deny those who deny Him, before His Father. Matthew 10:32-33 He also introduces a parable of the mission to the vineyard of the Son (not the Father), who was sent after so many servants, Matthew 21:33-41 and slain by the husbandmen, and avenged by the Father. He is also ignorant of the last day and hour, which is known to the Father only. Matthew 24:36 He awards the kingdom to His disciples, as He says it had been appointed to Himself by the Father. Luke 22:29 He has power to ask, if He will, legions of angels from the Father for His help. Matthew 26:53 He exclaims that God had forsaken Him. Matthew 27:46 He commends His spirit

into the hands of the Father. Luke 23:46 After His resurrection He promises in a pledge to His disciples that He will send them the promise of His Father; Luke 24:49 and lastly, He commands them to baptize into the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, not into a unipersonal God. And indeed it is not once only, but three times, that we are immersed into the Three Persons, at each several mention of Their names.

Chapter 27. The Distinction of the Father and the Son, Thus Established, He Now Proves the Distinction of the Two Natures, Which Were, Without Confusion, United in the Person of the Son. The Subterfuges of Praxeas Thus Exposed

But why should I linger over matters which are so evident, when I ought to be attacking points on which they seek to obscure the plainest proof? For, confuted on all sides on the distinction between the Father and the Son, which we maintain without destroying their inseparable union — as (by the examples) of the sun and the ray, and the fountain and the river — yet, by help of (their conceit) an indivisible number, (with issues) of two and three, they endeavour to interpret this *distinction* in a way which shall nevertheless tally with their own opinions: so that, all in one Person, they distinguish two, Father and Son, understanding the Son to be flesh, that is man, that is Jesus; and the Father to be spirit, that is God, that is Christ. Thus they, while contending that the Father and the Son are one and the same, do in fact begin by dividing them rather than uniting them. For if Jesus is one, and Christ is another, then the Son will be different from the Father, because the Son is Jesus, and the Father is Christ. Such a *monarchy* as this they learned, I suppose, in the school of Valentinus, making two — Jesus and Christ. But this conception of theirs has been, in fact, already confuted in what we have previously advanced, because the Word of God or the Spirit of God is also called the power of the Highest, whom they make the Father; whereas these relations are not themselves the same as He whose relations they are said to be, but they proceed from Him and appertain to Him. However, another refutation awaits them on this point of their heresy. See, say they, it was announced by the angel: Therefore that Holy Thing which shall be born of you shall be called the Son of God. Luke 1:35 Therefore, (they argue,) as it was the flesh that was born, it must be the flesh that is the Son of God. Nay, (I answer,) this is spoken concerning the Spirit of God. For it was certainly of the Holy Spirit that the virgin conceived; and that which He conceived, she brought forth. That, therefore, had to be born which was conceived and was to be brought forth; that is to say, the Spirit, whose name should be called Emmanuel which, being interpreted, is, God with us. Matthew 1:23 Besides,

the flesh is not God, so that it could not have been said concerning it, That Holy Thing shall be called the Son of God, but only that Divine Being who was born in the flesh, of whom the psalm also says, Since God became man in the midst of it, and established it by the will of the Father. Now what Divine Person was born in it? The Word, and the Spirit which became incarnate with the Word by the will of the Father. The Word, therefore, is incarnate; and this must be the point of our inquiry: How the Word became flesh — whether it was by having been transfigured, as it were, in the flesh, or by having really clothed Himself in flesh. Certainly it was by a real clothing of Himself in flesh. For the rest, we must needs believe God to be unchangeable, and incapable of form, as being eternal. But transfiguration is the destruction of that which previously existed. For whatsoever is transfigured into some other thing ceases to be that which it had been, and begins to be that which it previously was not. God, however, neither ceases to be what He was, nor can He be any other thing than what He is. The Word is God, and the Word of the Lord remains for ever, — even by holding on unchangeably in His own proper form. Now, if He admits not of being transfigured, it must follow that He be understood in this sense to have become flesh, when He comes to be in the flesh, and is manifested, and is seen, and is handled by means of the flesh; since all the other points likewise require to be thus understood. For if the Word became flesh by a transfiguration and change of substance, it follows at once that Jesus must be a substance compounded of two substances — of flesh and spirit — a kind of mixture, like *electrum*, composed of gold and silver; and it begins to be neither gold (that is to say, spirit) nor silver (that is to say, flesh) — the one being changed by the other, and a third substance produced. Jesus, therefore, cannot at this rate be God for He has ceased to be the Word, which was made flesh; nor can He be Man incarnate for He is not properly flesh, and it was flesh which the Word became. Being compounded, therefore, of both, He actually is neither; He is rather some third substance, very different from either. But the truth is, we find that He is expressly set forth as both God and Man; the very psalm which we have quoted intimating (of the flesh), that God became Man in the midst of it, He therefore established it by the will of the Father, — certainly in all respects as the Son of God and the Son of Man, being God and Man, differing no doubt according to each substance in its own special property, inasmuch as the Word is nothing

else but God, and the flesh nothing else but Man. Thus does the apostle also teach respecting His two substances, saying, who was made of the seed of David; Romans 1:3 in which words He will be Man and Son of Man. Who was declared to be the Son of God, according to the Spirit; in which words He will be God, and the Word — the Son of God. We see plainly the twofold state, which is not confounded, but conjoined in One Person — Jesus, God and Man. Concerning Christ, indeed, I defer what I have to say. (I remark here), that the property of each nature is so wholly preserved, that the Spirit on the one hand did all things in Jesus suitable to Itself, such as miracles, and mighty deeds, and wonders; and the Flesh, on the other hand, exhibited the affections which belong to it. It was hungry under the devil's temptation, thirsty with the Samaritan woman, wept over Lazarus, was troubled even unto death, and at last actually died. If, however, it was only a *tertium quid*, some composite essence formed out of the Two substances, like the *electrum* (which we have mentioned), there would be no distinct proofs apparent of either nature. But by a transfer of functions, the Spirit would have done things to be done by the Flesh, and the Flesh such as are effected by the Spirit; or else such things as are suited neither to the Flesh nor to the Spirit, but confusedly of some third character. Nay more, on this supposition, either the Word underwent death, or the flesh did not die, if so be the Word was converted into flesh; because either the flesh was immortal, or the Word was mortal. Forasmuch, however, as the two substances acted distinctly, each in its own character, there necessarily accrued to them severally their own operations, and their own issues. Learn then, together with Nicodemus, that that which is born in the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit. John 3:6 Neither the flesh becomes Spirit, nor the Spirit flesh. In one *Person* they no doubt are well able to be co-existent. Of them Jesus consists — Man, of the flesh; of the Spirit, God — and the angel designated Him as the Son of God, Luke 1:35 in respect of that nature, in which He was Spirit, reserving for the flesh the appellation Son of Man. In like manner, again, the apostle calls Him the Mediator between God and Men, 1 Timothy 2:5 and so affirmed His participation of both substances. Now, to end the matter, will you, who interpret the Son of God to be flesh, be so good as to show us what the Son of Man is? Will He then, I want to know, be the Spirit? But you insist upon it that the Father Himself is the Spirit, on the ground that God is a Spirit, just as

if we did not read also that there is the Spirit of God; in the same manner as we find that as the Word was God, so also there is the Word of God.

Chapter 28. Christ Not the Father, as Praxeas Said. The Inconsistency of This Opinion, No Less Than Its Absurdity, Exposed. The True Doctrine of Jesus Christ According to St. Paul, Who Agrees with Other Sacred Writers

And so, most foolish heretic, you make *Christ* to be the Father, without once considering the actual force of this name, if indeed Christ is a name, and not rather a surname, or designation; for it signifies Anointed. But Anointed is no more a proper name than Clothed or Shod; it is only an accessory to a name. Suppose now that by some means Jesus were also called Vestitus (*Clothed*), as He is actually called Christ from the mystery of His anointing, would you in like manner say that Jesus was the Son of God, and at the same time suppose that *Vestitus* was the Father? Now then, concerning Christ, if Christ is the Father, the Father is an Anointed One, and receives the unction of course from another. Else if it is from Himself that He receives it, then you must prove it to us. But we learn no such fact from the Acts of the Apostles in that ejaculation of the Church to God, Of a truth, Lord, against Your Holy Child Jesus, whom You have anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate with the Gentiles *and the people of Israel* were gathered together. Acts 4:27 These then testified both that Jesus was the Son of God, and that being the Son, He was anointed by the Father. Christ therefore must be the same as Jesus who was anointed by the Father, and not the Father, who anointed the Son. To the same effect are the words of Peter: Let all the house of Israel know assuredly that God has made that same Jesus, whom you have crucified, both Lord and Christ, that is, *Anointed*. Acts 2:36 John, moreover, brands that man as a liar who denies that Jesus is the Christ; while on the other hand he declares that every one is born of God who believes that Jesus is the Christ. Wherefore he also exhorts us to believe in the name of His (*the Father's*,) Son Jesus Christ, that our fellowship may be with the Father, and with His Son Jesus Christ. 1 John 1:3 Paul, in like manner, everywhere speaks of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ. When writing to the Romans, he gives thanks to God through our Lord Jesus Christ. Romans 1:8 To the Galatians he declares himself to be an apostle not of men, neither by man, but through Jesus Christ and God the Father. Galatians 1:1 You possess indeed all his writings, which testify plainly to the

same effect, and set forth Two — God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the Father. (They also testify) that Jesus is Himself the Christ, and under one or the other designation the Son of God. For precisely by the same right as both names belong to the same Person, even the Son of God, does either name alone without the other belong to the same Person. Consequently, whether it be the name Jesus which occurs alone, Christ is also understood, because Jesus is the Anointed One; or if the name Christ is the only one given, then Jesus is identified with Him, because the Anointed One is Jesus. Now, of these two names *Jesus Christ*, the former is the proper one, which was given to Him by the angel; and the latter is only an adjunct, predicable of Him from His anointing, — thus suggesting the proviso that Christ must be the Son, not the Father. How blind, to be sure, is the man who fails to perceive that by the name of Christ some other God is implied, if he ascribes to the Father this name of Christ! For if Christ is God the Father, when He says, I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God, John 20:17 He of course shows plainly enough that there is above Himself another Father and another God. If, again, the Father is Christ, *He* must be some other Being who strengthens the thunder, and creates the wind, and declares unto men His Christ. And if the kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered together against *the Lord and against* His Christ, that Lord must be another Being, against whose Christ were gathered together the kings and the rulers. And if, to quote another passage, Thus says the Lord to my Lord Christ, the Lord who speaks to the Father of Christ must be a distinct Being. Moreover, when the apostle in his epistle prays, That the God of our Lord Jesus Christ may give unto you the spirit of wisdom and of knowledge, Ephesians 1:17 He must be other (than Christ), who is the God of Jesus Christ, the bestower of spiritual gifts. And once for all, that we may not wander through every passage, He who raised up Christ from the dead, and is also to raise up our mortal bodies, Romans 8:11 must certainly be, as the quickener, different from the dead Father, or even from the quickened Father, if Christ who died is the Father.

Chapter 29. It Was Christ that Died. The Father is Incapable of Suffering Either Solely or with Another. Blasphemous Conclusions Spring from Praxeas' Premises

Silence! Silence on such blasphemy. Let us be content with saying that Christ died, the Son of the Father; and *let this suffice*, because the Scriptures have told us so much. For even the apostle, to his declaration — which he makes not without feeling the weight of it — that Christ died, immediately adds, according to the Scriptures, 1 Corinthians 15:3 in order that he may alleviate the harshness of the statement by the authority of the Scriptures, and so remove offense from the reader. Now, although when two substances are alleged to be in Christ — namely, the divine and the human — it plainly follows that the divine nature is immortal, and that which is human is mortal, it is manifest in what sense he declares Christ died — even in the sense in which He was flesh and Man and the Son of Man, not as being the Spirit and the Word and the Son of God. In short, since he says that it was *Christ* (that is, the Anointed One) that died, he shows us that that which died was the nature which was anointed; in a word, the flesh. Very well, say you; since we on our side affirm our doctrine in precisely the same terms which you use on your side respecting the Son, we are not guilty of blasphemy against the Lord God, for we do not maintain that He died after the divine nature, but only after the human. Nay, but you do blaspheme; because you allege not only that the Father died, but that He died the death of the cross. For cursed are they which are hanged on a tree, Galatians 3:13 — a curse which, after the law, is compatible to the Son (inasmuch as Christ has been made a curse for us, but certainly not the Father); since, however, you convert Christ into the Father, you are chargeable with blasphemy against the Father. But when we assert that Christ was crucified, we do not malign Him with a curse; we only re-affirm the curse pronounced by the law: Deuteronomy 21:23 nor indeed did the apostle utter blasphemy when he said the same thing as we. Galatians 3:13 Besides, as there is no blasphemy in predicating of the subject that which is fairly applicable to it; so, on the other hand, it is blasphemy when that is alleged concerning the subject which is unsuitable to it. On this principle, too, the Father was not associated in suffering with the Son. *The heretics*, indeed,

fearing to incur direct blasphemy against the Father, hope to diminish it by this expedient: they grant us so far that the Father and the Son are Two; adding that, since it is the Son indeed who suffers, the Father is only His fellow-sufferer. But how absurd are they even in this conceit! For what is the meaning of fellow-suffering, but the endurance of suffering along with another? Now if the Father is incapable of suffering, He is incapable of suffering in company with another; otherwise, if He can suffer with another, He is of course capable of suffering. You, in fact, yield Him nothing by this subterfuge of your fears. You are afraid to say that He is capable of suffering whom you make to be capable of fellow-suffering. Then, again, the Father is as incapable of fellow-suffering as the Son even is of suffering under the conditions of His existence as God. Well, but how could the Son suffer, if the Father did not suffer with Him? *My answer is*, The Father is separate from the Son, though not from *Him as God*. For even if a river be soiled with mire and mud, although it flows from the fountain identical in nature with it, and is not separated from the fountain, yet the injury which affects the stream reaches not to the fountain; and although it is the water of the fountain which suffers down the stream, still, since it is not affected at the fountain, but only in the river, the fountain suffers nothing, but only the river which issues from the fountain. So likewise the Spirit of God, whatever suffering it might be capable of in the Son, yet, inasmuch as it could not suffer in the Father, *the fountain of the Godhead*, but only in the Son, it evidently could not have suffered, as the Father. But it is enough for me that the Spirit of God suffered nothing as the Spirit of God, since all that It suffered It suffered in the Son. It was quite another matter for the Father to suffer with *the Son in the flesh*. This likewise has been treated by us. Nor will any one deny this, since even we are ourselves unable to suffer for God, unless the Spirit of God be in us, who also utters by our instrumentality whatever pertains to our own conduct and suffering; not, however, that He Himself suffers in our suffering, only He bestows on us the power and capacity of suffering.

Chapter 30. How the Son Was Forsaken by the Father Upon the Cross. The True Meaning Thereof Fatal to Praxeas. So Too, the Resurrection of Christ, His Ascension, Session at the Father's Right Hand, and Mission of the Holy Ghost

However, if you persist in pushing your views further, I shall find means of answering you with greater stringency, and of meeting you with the exclamation of the Lord Himself, so as to challenge you with the question, What is your inquiry and reasoning about *that*? You have Him exclaiming in the midst of His passion: My God, my God, why have You forsaken me? Matthew 27:46 Either, then, the Son suffered, being forsaken by the Father, and the Father consequently suffered nothing, inasmuch as He forsook the Son; or else, if it was the Father who suffered, then to what God was it that He addressed His cry? But this was the voice of flesh and soul, that is to say, of man — not of the Word and Spirit, that is to say, not of God; and it was uttered so as to prove the impassibility of God, who forsook His Son, so far as He handed over His human substance to the suffering of death. This verity the apostle also perceived, when he writes to this effect: If the Father spared not His own Son. Romans 8:32 This did Isaiah before him likewise perceive, when he declared: And the Lord has delivered Him up for our offenses. In this manner He forsook Him, in *not sparing* Him; forsook Him, in *delivering Him up*. In all other respects the Father did not forsake the Son, for it was into His Father's hands that the Son commended His spirit. Luke 23:46 Indeed, after so commending it, He instantly died; and as the Spirit remained with the flesh, the flesh cannot undergo the full extent of death, *i.e., in corruption and decay*. For the Son, therefore, to die, amounted to His being forsaken by the Father. The Son, then, both dies and rises again, according to the Scriptures. 1 Corinthians 15:3-4 It is the Son, too, who ascends to the heights of heaven, John 3:13 and also descends to the inner parts of the earth. Ephesians 4:9 He sits at the Father's right hand — not the Father at His own. He is seen by Stephen, at his martyrdom by stoning, still sitting at the right hand of God Acts 7:55 where He will continue to sit, until the Father shall make His enemies His footstool. He will come again on the clouds of heaven, just as He appeared when He ascended into heaven. Meanwhile He has received from

the Father the promised gift, and has shed it forth, even the Holy Spirit — the Third Name in the Godhead, and the Third Degree of the Divine Majesty; the Declarer of the One *Monarchy of God*, but at the same time the Interpreter of the *Economy*, to every one who hears and receives the words of the new prophecy; and the Leader into all truth, John 16:13 such as is in the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, according to the mystery of the doctrine of Christ.

Chapter 31. Retrograde Character of the Heresy of Praxeas. The Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity Constitutes the Great Difference Between Judaism and Christianity

But, (this doctrine of yours bears a likeness) to the Jewish faith, of which this is the substance — so to believe in One God as to refuse to reckon the Son besides Him, and after the Son the Spirit. Now, what difference would there be between us and them, if there were not this distinction *which you are for breaking down*? What need would there be of the gospel, which is the substance of the New Covenant, laying down (as it does) that the Law and the Prophets lasted until John *the Baptist*, if thenceforward the Father, the Son, and the Spirit are not both believed in as Three, and as making One Only God? God was pleased to renew His covenant with man in such a way as that His Unity might be believed in, after a new manner, through the Son and the Spirit, in order that God might now be known openly, in His proper Names and Persons, who in ancient times was not plainly understood, though declared through the Son and the Spirit. Away, then, with those Antichrists who deny the Father and the Son. For they deny the Father, when they say that He is the same as the Son; and they deny the Son, when they suppose Him to be the same as the Father, by assigning to Them things which are not *Theirs*, and taking away from Them things which are *Theirs*. But whosoever shall confess that (Jesus) Christ is the Son of God (not the Father), God dwells in him, and he in God. 1 John 4:15 We believe not the testimony of God in which He testifies to us of His Son. He that has not the Son, has not life. 1 John 5:12 And that man has not the Son, who believes Him to be any other than the Son.

Scorpiace (Antidote to Scorpion's Bite)



Translated by Sydney Thelwall

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Chapter 1

The earth brings forth, as if by suppuration, great evil from the diminutive scorpion. The poisons are as many as are the kinds of it, the disasters as many as are also the species of it, the pains as many as are also the colors of it. Nicander writes *on the subject of scorpions*, and depicts them. And yet to smite with the tail — which tail will be whatever is prolonged from the hindmost part of the body, and scourges — is the one movement which they all use when making an assault. Wherefore that succession of knots in the scorpion, which in the inside is a thin poisoned veinlet, rising up with a bow-like bound, draws tight a barbed sting at the end, after the manner of an engine for shooting missiles. From which circumstance they also call after the scorpion, the warlike implement which, by its being drawn back, gives an impetus to the arrows. The point in their case is also a duct of extreme minuteness, to inflict the wound; and where it penetrates, it pours out poison. The usual time of danger is the summer season: fierceness hoists the sail when the wind is from the south and the south-west. Among cures, *certain* substances supplied by nature have very great efficacy; magic also puts on some bandage; the art of healing counteracts with lancet and cup. For some, making haste, take also beforehand a protecting draught; but sexual intercourse drains it off, and they are dry again. We have faith for a defense, if we are not smitten with distrust itself also, in immediately making the sign and adjuring, and besmearing the heel with the beast. Finally, we often aid in this way even the heathen, seeing we have been endowed by God with that power which the apostle first used when he despised the viper's bite. Acts 28:3 What, then, does this pen of yours offer, if faith is safe by what it has of its own? That it may be safe by what it has of its own also at other times, when it is subjected to scorpions of its own. These, too, have a troublesome littleness, and are of different sorts, and are armed in one manner, and are stirred up at a definite time, and that not another than one of burning heat. This among Christians is a *season of persecution*. When, therefore, faith is greatly agitated, and the Church burning, as represented by the bush, Exodus 3:2 then the Gnostics break out, then the Valentinians creep forth, then all the opponents of martyrdom bubble up, being themselves also hot to strike, penetrate, kill. For, because they know that many are artless and also

inexperienced, and weak moreover, that a very great number in truth are Christians who veer about with the wind and conform to its moods, they perceive that they are never to be approached more than when fear has opened the entrances to the soul, especially when some *display of ferocity* has already arrayed with a crown the faith of martyrs. Therefore, drawing along the tail hitherto, they first of all apply it to the feelings, or whip with it as if on empty space. Innocent persons undergo such suffering. So that you may suppose *the speaker* to be a brother or a heathen of the better sort. A sect troublesome to nobody so dealt with! Then they pierce. Men are perishing without a reason. For that they are perishing, and without a reason, is the first insertion. Then they now strike mortally. But the unsophisticated souls know not what is written, and what meaning it bears, where and when and before whom we must confess, *or ought*, save that this, to die for God, is, since He preserves me, not even artlessness, but folly, nay madness. If He kills me, how will it be His duty to preserve me? Once for all Christ died for us, once for all He was slain that we might not be slain. If He demands the like from me in return, does He also look for salvation from my death by violence? Or does God importune for the blood of men, especially if He refuses that of bulls and he-goats? Assuredly He had rather have the repentance than the death of the sinner. Ezekiel 33:11 And how is He eager for the death of those who are not sinners? Whom will not these, and perhaps other subtle devices containing heretical poisons, pierce either for doubt if not for destruction, or for irritation if not for death? As for you, therefore, do you, if faith is on the alert, smite on the spot the scorpion with a curse, so far as you can, with your sandal, and leave it dying in its own stupefaction? But if it gluts the wound, it drives the poison inwards, and makes it hasten into the bowels; immediately all the former senses become dull, the blood of the mind freezes, the flesh of the spirit pines away, loathing for the Christian name is accompanied by a sense of sourness. Already the understanding also seeks for itself a place where it may throw up; and thus, once for all, the weakness with which it has been smitten breathes out wounded faith either in heresy or in heathenism. And now the present state of matters is *such, that we are in* the midst of an intense heat, the very dog-star of persecution — a state originating doubtless with the dog-headed one himself. Of some Christians the fire, of others the sword, of others the beasts, have made trial; others are hungering in prison for the

martyrdoms of which they have had a taste in the meantime by being subjected to clubs and claws besides. We ourselves, having been appointed for pursuit, are like hares being hemmed in from a distance; and heretics go about according to their wont. Therefore the state of the times has prompted me to prepare by my pen, in opposition to the little beasts which trouble our sect, our antidote against poison, that I may thereby effect cures. You who read will at the same time drink. Nor is the draught bitter. If the utterances of the Lord are sweeter than honey and the honeycombs, the juices are from that source. If the promise of God flows with milk and honey, Exodus 3:17 the ingredients which go to make that draught have the smack of this. But woe to them who turn sweet into bitter, and light into darkness. Isaiah 5:20 For, in like manner, they also who oppose martyrdoms, representing salvation to be destruction, transmute sweet into bitter, as well as light into darkness; and thus, by preferring this very wretched life to that most blessed one, they put bitter for sweet, as well as darkness for light.

Chapter 2

But not yet about the good to be got from martyrdom must we learn, without our having first *heard* about the duty of suffering it; nor must we *learn* the usefulness of it, before we have *heard* about the necessity for it. The (question of the) divine warrant goes first — whether God has willed and also commanded ought of the kind, so that they who assert that it is not good are not plied with arguments for thinking it profitable save when they have been subdued. It is proper that heretics be driven to duty, not enticed. Obstinacy must be conquered, not coaxed. And, certainly, that will be pronounced beforehand quite good enough, which will be shown to have been instituted and also enjoined by God. Let the Gospels wait a little, while I set forth their root the Law, while I ascertain the will of God from those writings from which I recall to mind Himself also: *I am*, says He, God, your God, who have brought you out of the land of Egypt. You shall have no other gods besides me. You shall not make unto you a likeness of those things which are in heaven, and which are in the earth beneath, and which are in the sea under the earth. You shall not worship them, nor serve them. For I am the Lord your God. Exodus 20:2 Likewise in the same *book of* Exodus: You yourselves have seen that I have talked with you from heaven. You shall not make unto you gods of silver, neither shall you make unto you gods of gold. Exodus 20:22-23 To the following effect also, in Deuteronomy: Hear, O Israel; The Lord your God is one: and you shall love the Lord your God with all your heart and all your might, and with all your soul. Deuteronomy 6:4 And again: Neither do you forget the Lord your God, who brought you forth from the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. You shall fear the Lord your God, and serve Him only, and cleave to Him, and swear by His name. You shall not go after strange gods, and the gods of the nations which are round about you, because the Lord your God is also a jealous God among you, and lest His anger should be kindled against you, and destroy you from off the face of the earth. Deuteronomy 6:12 But setting before them blessings and curses, He also says: Blessings shall be yours, if you obey the commandments of the Lord your God, whatsoever I command you this day, and do not wander from the way which I have commanded you, to go and serve other gods whom you know not. Deuteronomy 11:27 And as to rooting them out in every way: You shall

utterly destroy all the places wherein the nations, which you shall possess by inheritance, served their gods, upon mountains and hills, and under shady trees. You shall overthrow all their altars, you shall overturn and break in pieces their pillars, and cut down their groves, and burn with fire the graven images of the gods themselves, and destroy the names of them out of that place. Deuteronomy 12:2-3 He further urges, when they (the Israelites) had entered the land of promise, and driven out its nations: Take heed to your self, that you do not follow them after they be driven out from before you, that you do not inquire after their gods, saying, As the nations serve their gods, so let me do likewise. Deuteronomy 12:30 But also says He: If there arise among you a prophet himself, or a dreamer of dreams, and gives you a sign or a wonder, and it come to pass, and he say, Let us go and serve other gods, whom you know not, do not hearken to the words of that prophet or dreamer, for the Lord your God proves you, to know whether you fear God with all your heart and with all your soul. After the Lord your God you shall go, and fear Him, and keep His commandments, and obey His voice, and serve Him, and cleave unto Him. But that prophet or dreamer shall die; for he has spoken to turn you away from the Lord your God. Deuteronomy 13:1 But also in another section, If, however, your brother, the son of your father or of your mother, or your son, or your daughter, or the wife of your bosom, or your friend who is as your own soul, solicit you, saying secretly, Let us go and serve other gods, which you know not, nor did your fathers, of the gods of the nations which are round about you, very near unto you or far off from you, do not consent to go with him, and do not hearken to him. Your eye shall not spare him, neither shall you pity, neither shall you preserve him; you shall certainly inform upon him. Your hand shall be first upon him to kill him, and afterwards the hand of your people; and you shall stone him, and he shall die, seeing he has sought to turn you away from the Lord your God. Deuteronomy 13:6 He adds likewise concerning cities, that if it appeared that one of these had, through the advice of unrighteous men, passed over to other gods, all its inhabitants should be slain, and everything belonging to it become accursed, and all the spoil of it be gathered together into all its places of egress, and be, even with all the people, burned with fire in all its streets in the sight of the Lord God; and, says He, it shall not be for dwelling in for ever: it shall not be built again any more, and there shall cleave to your hands nought of its

accursed plunder, that the Lord may turn from the fierceness of His anger. Deuteronomy 13:16 He has, from His abhorrence of idols, framed a series of curses too: Cursed be the man who makes a graven or a molten image, an abomination, the work of the hands of the craftsman, and puts it in a secret place. Deuteronomy 27:15 But in Leviticus He says: Go not after idols, nor make to yourselves molten gods: I am the Lord your God. Revelation 19:4 And in other passages: The children of Israel are my household servants; these are they whom I led forth from the land of Egypt: I am the Lord your God. You shall not make you idols fashioned by the hand, neither rear you up a graven image. Nor shall you set up a remarkable stone in your land (to worship it): I am the Lord your God. These words indeed were first spoken by the Lord by the lips of Moses, being applicable certainly to whomsoever the Lord God of Israel may lead forth in like manner from the Egypt of a most superstitious world, and from the abode of human slavery. But from the mouth of every prophet in succession, sound forth also utterances of the same God, augmenting the same law of His by a renewal of the same commands, and in the first place announcing no other duty in so special a manner as the being on guard against all making and worshipping of idols; as when by the mouth of David He says: The gods of the nations are silver and gold: they have eyes, and see not; they have ears, and hear not; they have a nose, and smell not; a mouth, and they speak not; hands, and they handle not; feet and they walk not. Like to them shall be they who make them, and trust in them.

Chapter 3

Nor should I think it needful to discuss whether God pursues a worthy course in forbidding His own name and honour to be given over to a lie, or does so in not consenting that such as He has plucked from the maze of false religion should return again to Egypt, or does so in not suffering to depart from Him them whom He has chosen for Himself. Thus that, too, will not require to be treated by us, whether He has wished to be kept the rule which He has chosen to appoint, and whether He justly avenges the abandonment of the rule which He has wished to be kept; since He would have appointed it to no purpose if He had not wished it kept, and would have to no purpose wished it kept if He had been unwilling to uphold it. My next step, indeed, is to put to the test these appointments of God in opposition to false religions, the completely vanquished as well as also the punished, since on these will depend the entire argument for martyrdoms. Moses was apart with God on the mountain, when the people, not brooking his absence, which was so needful, seek to make gods for themselves, which, for his own part, he will prefer to destroy. Exodus xxxii Aaron is importuned, and commands that the earrings of their women be brought together, that they may be thrown into the fire. For the people were about to lose, as a judgment upon themselves, the true ornaments for the ears, the words of God. The wise fire makes for them the molten likeness of a calf, reproaching them with having the heart where they have their treasure also — in Egypt, to wit, which clothed with sacredness, among the other animals, a certain ox likewise. Therefore the slaughter of three thousand by their nearest relatives, because they had displeased their so very near relative God, solemnly marked both the commencement and the deserts of the trespass. Israel having, as we are told in Numbers, Numbers 25:1 turned aside at Sethim, the people go to the daughters of Moab to gratify their lust: they are allured to the idols, so that they committed whoredom with the spirit also: finally, they eat of their defiled *sacrifices*; then they both worship the gods of the nation, and are admitted to the rites of Beelphegor. For this lapse, too, into idolatry, sister to adultery, it took the slaughter of twenty-three thousand by the swords of their countrymen to appease the divine anger. After the death of Joshua the son of Nave they forsake the God of their fathers, and serve idols, Baalim and Ashtaroth; Judges 2:8-13 and the Lord in anger delivered them up

to the hands of spoilers, and they continued to be spoiled by them, and to be sold to their adversaries, and could not at all stand before their enemies. Whithersoever they went forth, His hand was upon them for evil, and they were greatly distressed. And after this God sets judges (*critas*), the same as our censors, over them. But not even these did they continue steadfastly to obey. So soon as one of the judges died, they proceeded to transgress more than their fathers had done by going after the gods of others, and serving and worshipping them. Therefore the Lord was angry. Since, indeed, He says, this nation have transgressed my covenant which I established with their fathers, and have not hearkened to my voice, I also will give no heed to remove from before them a man of the nations which Joshua left at his death. Judges 2:20-21 And thus, throughout almost all the annals of the judges and of the kings who succeeded them, while the strength of the surrounding nations was preserved, He meted wrath out to Israel by war and captivity and a foreign yoke, as often as they turned aside from Him, especially to idolatry.

Chapter 4

If, therefore, it is evident that from the beginning this kind of worship has both been forbidden — witness the commands so numerous and weighty — and that it has never been engaged in without punishment following, as examples so numerous and impressive show, and that no offense is counted by God so presumptuous as a trespass of this sort, we ought further to perceive the purport of both the divine threatenings and their fulfilments, which was even then commended not only by the not calling in question, but also by the enduring of martyrdoms, for which certainly He had given occasion by forbidding idolatry. For otherwise martyrdoms would not take place. And certainly He had supplied, as a warrant for these, His own authority, willing those events to come to pass for the occurrence of which He had given occasion. At present (it is important), for we are getting severely stung concerning the will of God, and the scorpion repeats the prick, denying the existence of this will, finding fault with it, so that he either insinuates that there is another god, such that this is not his will, or none the less overthrows ours, seeing such is his will, or altogether denies *this* will of God, if he cannot deny Himself. But, for our part, contending elsewhere about God, and about all the rest of the body of heretical teaching, we now draw before us definite lines for one form of encounter, maintaining that this will, such as to have given occasion for martyrdoms, is that of not another god than the God of Israel, on the ground of the commandments relating to an always forbidden, as well as of the judgments upon a punished, idolatry. For if the keeping of a command involves the suffering of violence, this will be, so to speak, a command about keeping the command, requiring me to suffer that through which I shall be able to keep the command, violence namely, whatever of it threatens me when on my guard against idolatry. And certainly (in the case supposed) the Author of the command extorts compliance with it. He could not, therefore, have been unwilling that those events should come to pass by means of which the compliance will be manifest. The injunction is given me not to make mention of any other god, not even by speaking — as little by the tongue as by the hand — to fashion a god, and not to worship or in any way show reverence to another than Him only who thus commands me, whom I am both bid fear that I may not be forsaken by Him, and love with my whole

being, that I may die for Him. Serving as a soldier under this oath, I am challenged by the enemy. If I surrender to them, I am as they are. In maintaining this oath, I fight furiously in battle, am wounded, hewn in pieces, slain. Who wished this fatal issue to his soldier, but he who sealed him by such an oath?

Chapter 5

You have therefore the will of my God. We have cured this prick. Let us give good heed to another thrust touching the character of His will. It would be tedious to show that my God is good — a truth with which the Marcionites have now been made acquainted by us. Meanwhile it is enough that He is called God for its being necessary that He should be believed to be good. For if any one make the supposition that God is evil, he will not be able to take his stand on both the constituents thereof: he will be bound either to affirm that he whom he has thought to be evil is not God, or that he whom he has proclaimed to be God is good. Good, therefore, will be the will also of him who, unless he is good, will not be God. The goodness of the thing itself also which God has willed — of martyrdom, I mean — will show this, because only one who is good has willed what is good. I stoutly maintain that martyrdom is good, as required by the God by whom likewise idolatry is forbidden and punished. For martyrdom strives against and opposes idolatry. But to strive against and oppose evil cannot be ought but good. Not as if I denied that there is a rivalry in evil things with one another, as well as in good also; but this ground for it requires a different state of matters. For martyrdom contends with idolatry, not from some malice which they share, but from its own kindness; for it delivers from idolatry. Who will not proclaim that to be good which delivers from idolatry? What else is the opposition between idolatry and martyrdom, than that between life and death? Life will be counted to be martyrdom as much as idolatry to be death. He who will call life an evil, has death to speak of as a good. This frowardness also appertains to men — to discard what is wholesome, to accept what is baleful, to avoid all dangerous cures, or, in short, to be eager to die rather than to be healed. For they are many who flee from the aid of physic also, many in folly, many from fear and false modesty. And the healing art has manifestly an apparent cruelty, by reason of the lancet, and of the burning iron, and of the great heat of the mustard; yet to be cut and burned, and pulled and bitten, is not on that account an evil, for it occasions helpful pains; nor will it be refused merely because it afflicts, but because it afflicts inevitably will it be applied. The good accruing is the apology for the frightfulness of the work. In short, that man who is howling and groaning and bellowing in the hands of a physician will presently

load the same hands with a fee, and proclaim that they are the best operators, and no longer affirm that they are cruel. Thus martyrdoms also rage furiously, but for salvation. God also will be at liberty to heal for everlasting life by means of fires and swords, and all that is painful. But you will admire the physician at least even in that respect, that for the most part he employs like properties in the cures to counteract the properties of the diseases, when he aids, as it were, the wrong way, succouring by means of those things to which the affliction is owing. For he both checks heat by heat, by laying on a greater load; and subdues inflammation by leaving thirst unappeased, by tormenting rather; and contracts the superabundance of bile by every bitter little draught, and stops hemorrhage by opening a veinlet in addition. But you will think that God must be found fault with, and that for being jealous, if He has chosen to contend with a disease and to do good by imitating the malady, to destroy death by death, to dissipate killing by killing, to dispel tortures by tortures, to disperse punishments by punishments, to bestow life by withdrawing it, to aid the flesh by injuring it, to preserve the soul by snatching it away. The wrongheadedness, as you deem it to be, is reasonableness; what you count cruelty is kindness. Thus, seeing God by brief (sufferings) effects cures for eternity, extol your God for your prosperity; you have fallen into His hands, but have happily fallen. He also fell into your sicknesses. Man always first provides employment for the physician; in short, he has brought upon himself the danger of death. He had received from his own Lord, as from a physician, the salutary enough rule to live according to the law, that he should eat of all indeed (that the garden produced) and should refrain from only one little tree which in the meantime the Physician Himself knew as a perilous one. He gave ear to him whom he preferred, and broke through self-restraint. He ate what was forbidden, and, surfeited by the trespass, suffered indigestion tending to death; he certainly richly deserving to lose his life altogether who wished to do so. But the inflamed tumour due to the trespass having been endured until in due time the medicine might be mixed, the Lord gradually prepared the means of healing — all the rules of faith, they also bearing a resemblance to (the causes of) the ailment, seeing they annul the word of death by the word of life, and diminish the trespass-listening by a listening of allegiance. Thus, even when that Physician commands one to die, He drives out the lethargy of death. Why does man show reluctance to suffer now from a cure, what he was

not reluctant then to suffer from a disorder? Does he dislike being killed for salvation, who did not dislike being killed for destruction? — Will he feel squeamish with reference to the counter poison, who gaped for the poison?

Chapter 6

But if, for the contest's sake, God had appointed martyrdoms for us, that thereby we might make trial with our opponent, in order that He may now keep bruising him by whom man chose to be bruised, here too generosity rather than harshness in God holds sway. For He wished to make man, now plucked from the devil's throat by faith, trample upon him likewise by courage, that he might not merely have escaped from, but also completely vanquished, his enemy. He who had called to salvation has been pleased to summon to glory also, that they who were rejoicing in consequence of their deliverance may be in transports when they are crowned likewise. With what good-will the world celebrates those games, the combative festivals and superstitious contests of the Greeks, involving forms both of worship and of pleasure, has now become clear in Africa also. As yet cities, by sending their congratulations severally, annoy Carthage, which was presented with the Pythian game after the racecourse had attained to an old age. Thus, by the world it has been believed to be a most proper mode of testing proficiency in studies, to put in competition the forms of skill, to elicit the existing condition of bodies and of voices, the reward being the informer, the public exhibition the judge, and pleasure the decision. Where there are mere contests, there are some wounds: fists make reel, heels kick like butting rams, boxing-gloves mangle, whips leave gashes. Yet there will be no one reproaching the superintendent of the contest for exposing men to outrage. Suits for injuries lie outside the racecourse. But to the extent that those persons deal in discoloration, and gore, and swellings, he will design for them crowns, doubtless, and glory, and a present, political privileges, contributions by the citizens, images, statues, and — of such sort as the world can give — an eternity of fame, a resurrection by being kept in remembrance. The pugilist himself does not complain of feeling pain, for he wishes it; the crown closes the wounds, the palm hides the blood: he is excited more by victory than by injury. Will you count this man hurt whom you see happy? But not even the vanquished himself will reproach the superintendent of the contest for his misfortune. Shall it be unbecoming in God to bring forth kinds of skill and rules of His own into public view, into this open ground of the world, to be seen by men, and angels, and all powers? — to test flesh and spirit as to

steadfastness and endurance? — to give to this one the palm, to this one distinction, to that one the privilege of citizenship, to that one pay? — to reject some also, and after punishing to remove them with disgrace? You dictate to God, forsooth, the times, or the ways, or the places in which to institute a trial concerning His own troop (of competitors) as if it were not proper for the Judge to pronounce the preliminary decision also. Well now, if He had put forth faith to suffer martyrdoms not for the contest's sake, but for its own benefit, ought it not to have had some store of hope, for the increase of which it might restrain desire of its own, and check its wish in order that it might strive to mount up, seeing they also who discharge earthly functions are eager for promotion? Or how will there be many mansions in our Father's house, if not to accord with a diversity of deserts? How will one star also differ from another star in glory, unless in virtue of disparity in their rays? 1 Corinthians 15:41 But further, if, on that account, some increase of brightness also was appropriate to loftiness of faith, that gain ought to have been of some such sort as would cost great effort, poignant suffering, torture, death. But consider the requital, when flesh and life are paid away — than which in man there is nought more precious, the one from the hand of God, the other from His breath — that the very things are paid away in obtaining the benefit of which the benefit consists; that the very things are expended which may be acquired; that the same things are the price which are also the commodities. God had foreseen also other weaknesses incident to the condition of man — the stratagems of the enemy, the deceptive aspects of the creatures, the snares of the world; that faith, even after baptism, would be endangered; that the most, after attaining unto salvation, would be lost again, through soiling the wedding-dress, through failing to provide oil for their torchlets — would be such as would have to be sought for over mountains and woodlands, and carried back upon the shoulders. He therefore appointed as second supplies of comfort, and the last means of succour, the fight of martyrdom and the baptism — thereafter free from danger — of blood. And concerning the happiness of the man who has partaken of these, David says: Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin. For, strictly speaking, there cannot any longer be reckoned ought against the martyrs, by whom in the baptism (of blood) life itself is laid down. Thus, love covers the multitude of sins; 1 Peter

4:8 and loving God, to wit, with all its strength (by which in the endurance of martyrdom it maintains the fight), with all its life Matthew 22:37 (which it lays down for God), it makes of man a martyr. Shall you call these cures, counsels, methods of judging, spectacles, (illustrations of) even the barbarity of God? Does God covet man's blood? And yet I might venture to affirm that He does, if man also covets the kingdom of heaven, if man covets a sure salvation, if man also covets a second new birth. The exchange is displeasing to no one, which can plead, in justification of itself, that either benefit or injury is shared by the parties making it.

Chapter 7

If the scorpion, swinging his tail in the air, still reproach us with having a murderer for our God, I shall shudder at the altogether foul breath of blasphemy which comes stinking from his heretical mouth; but I will embrace even such a God, with assurance derived from reason, by which reason even He Himself has, in the person of His own Wisdom, by the lips of Solomon, proclaimed Himself to be more than a murderer: Wisdom (*Sophia*), says He has slain her own children. *Sophia* is Wisdom. She has certainly slain them wisely if only into life, and reasonably if only into glory. Of murder by a parent, oh the clever form! Oh the dexterity of crime! Oh the proof of cruelty, which has slain for this reason, that he whom it may have slain may not die! And therefore what follows? Wisdom is praised in hymns, in the places of egress; for the death of martyrs also is praised in song. Wisdom behaves with firmness in the streets, for with good results does she murder her own sons. Nay, on the top of the walls she speaks with assurance, when indeed, according to Esaias, this one calls out, I am God's; and this one shouts, In the name of Jacob; and another writes, In the name of Israel. Isaiah 44:5 O good mother! I myself also wish to be put among the number of her sons, that I may be slain by her; I wish to be slain, that I may become a son. But does she merely murder her sons, or also torture them? For I hear God also, in another passage, say, I will burn them as gold is burned, and will try them as silver is tried. Zechariah 13:9 Certainly by the means of torture which fires and punishments supply, by the testing martyrdoms of faith. The apostle also knows what kind of God he has ascribed to us, when he writes: If God spared not His own Son, but gave Him up for us, how did He not with Him also give us all things? Romans 8:32 You see how divine Wisdom has murdered even her own proper, first-born and only Son, who is certainly about to live, nay, to bring back the others also into life. I can say with the Wisdom of God; It is Christ who gave Himself up for our offenses. Romans 4:25 Already has Wisdom butchered herself also. The character of words depends not on the sound only, but on the meaning also, and they must be heard not merely by ears, but also by minds. He who does not understand, believes God to be cruel; although for him also who does not understand, an announcement has been made to restrain his harshness in understanding otherwise *than aright*.

For who, says *the apostle*, has known the mind of the Lord? Or who has been His counsellor, to teach Him? Or who has pointed out to Him the way of understanding? Romans 11:34 But, indeed, the world has held it lawful for Diana of the Scythians, or Mercury of the Gauls, or Saturn of the Africans, to be appeased by human sacrifices; and in Latium to this day Jupiter has human blood given him to taste in the midst of the city; and no one makes it a matter of discussion, or imagines that it does not occur for some reason, or that it occurs by the will of his God, without having value. If our God, too, to have a sacrifice of His own, had required martyrdoms for Himself, who would have reproached Him for the deadly religion, and the mournful ceremonies, and the altar-pyre, and the undertaker-priest, and not rather have counted happy the man whom God should have devoured?

Chapter 8

We keep therefore the one position, and, in respect of this question only, summon to an encounter, whether martyrdoms have been commanded by God, that you may believe that they have been commanded by reason, if you know that they have been commanded by Him, because God will not command ought without reason. Since the death of His own saints is precious is His sight, as David sings, it is not, I think, that one which falls to the lot of men generally, and is a debt due by all (rather is that one even disgraceful on account of the trespass, and the desert of condemnation *to which it is to be traced*), but that *other* which is met in this very work — in bearing witness for religion, and maintaining the fight of confession in behalf of righteousness and the sacrament. As says Esaias, See how the righteous man perishes, and no one lays it to heart; and righteous men are taken away, and no one considers it: for from before the face of unrighteousness the righteous man perishes, and he shall have honour at his burial. Here, too, you have both an announcement of martyrdoms, and *of* the recompense they bring. From the beginning, indeed, righteousness suffers violence. Forthwith, as soon as God has begun to be worshipped, religion has got ill-will for her portion. He who had pleased God is slain, and that by his brother. Beginning with kindred blood, in order that it might the more easily go in quest of that of strangers, ungodliness made the object of its pursuit, finally, that not only of righteous persons, but even of prophets also. David is persecuted; Elias put to flight; Jeremias stoned; Esaias cut asunder; Zacharias butchered between the altar and the temple, imparting to the hard stones lasting marks of his blood. Matthew 14:3 That person himself, at the close of the law and the prophets, and called not a prophet, but a messenger, is, suffering an ignominious death, beheaded to reward a dancing-girl. And certainly they who were wont to be led by the Spirit of God used to be guided by Himself to martyrdoms; so that they had even already to endure what they had also proclaimed as requiring to be borne. Wherefore the brotherhood of the three also, when the dedication of the royal image was the occasion of the citizens being pressed to offer worship, knew well what faith, which alone in them had not been taken captive, required — namely, that they must resist idolatry to the death. Daniel 3:12 For they remembered also the words of Jeremias writing to those over

whom that captivity was impending: And now you shall see borne upon (men's) shoulders the gods of the Babylonians, of gold and silver and wood, causing fear to the Gentiles. Beware, therefore, that you also do not be altogether like the foreigners, and be seized with fear while you behold crowds worshipping those gods before and behind, but say in your mind, Our duty is to worship You, O Lord. Baruch 6:3 Therefore, having got confidence from God, they said, when with strength of mind they set at defiance the king's threats against the disobedient: There is no necessity for our making answer to this command of yours. For our God whom we worship is able to deliver us from the furnace of fire and from your hands; and then it will be made plain to you that we shall neither serve your idol, nor worship your golden image which you have set up. Daniel 3:16 O martyrdom even without suffering perfect! Enough did they suffer! enough were they burned, whom on this account God shielded, that it might not seem that they had given a false representation of His power. For immediately, certainly, would the lions, with their pent-up and wonted savageness, have devoured Daniel also, a worshipper of none but God, and therefore accused and demanded by the Chaldeans, if it had been right that the worthy anticipation of Darius concerning God should have proved delusive. For the rest, every preacher of God, and every worshipper also, such as, having been summoned to the service of idolatry, had refused compliance, ought to have suffered, agreeably to the tenor of that argument too, by which the truth ought to have been recommended both to those who were then living and to those following in succession, — (namely), that the suffering of its defenders themselves bespeak trust for it, because nobody would have been willing to be slain but one possessing the truth. Such commands as well as instances, remounting to earliest times, show that believers are under obligation to suffer martyrdom.

Chapter 9

It remains for us, lest ancient times may perhaps have had the sacrament (exclusively) their own, to review the modern Christian system, as though, being also from God, it might be different *from what preceded*, and besides, therefore, opposed thereto in its code of rules likewise, so that its Wisdom knows not to murder her own sons! Evidently, in the case of Christ both the divine nature and the will and the sect are different *from any previously known*! He will have commanded either no martyrdoms at all, or those which must be understood in a sense different from the ordinary, being such a person as to urge no one to a risk of this kind as to promise no reward to them who suffer for Him, because He does not wish them to suffer; and therefore does He say, when setting forth His chief commands, Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. The following statement, indeed, applies *first* to all without restriction, then specially to the apostles themselves: Blessed shall you be when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you, for my sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad, since very great is your reward in heaven; for so used their fathers to do even to the prophets. So that He likewise foretold their having to be themselves also slain, after the example of the prophets. Though, even if He had appointed all this persecution in case He were obeyed for those only who were then apostles, assuredly through them along with the entire sacrament, with the shoot of the name, with the layer of the Holy Spirit, the rule about enduring persecution also would have had respect to us too, as to disciples by inheritance, and, (as it were,) bushes from the apostolic seed. For even thus again does He address words of guidance to the apostles: Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves; and, Beware of men, for they will deliver you up to the councils, and they will scourge you in their synagogues; and you shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony against them and the Gentiles, etc. Matthew 10:16 Now when He adds, But the brother will deliver up the brother to death, and the father the child; and the children shall rise up against their parents, and cause them to be put to death, He has clearly announced with reference to the others, (that they would be subjected to) this form of unrighteous conduct, which we do not find *exemplified* in the case of the

apostles. For none of them had experience of a father or a brother as a betrayer, which very many of us have. Then He returns to the apostles: And you shall be hated of all men for my name's sake. How much more shall we, for whom there exists the necessity of being delivered up by parents too! Thus, by allotting this very betrayal, now to the apostles, now to all, He pours out the same destruction upon all the possessors of the name, on whom the name, along with the condition that it be an object of hatred, will rest. But he who will endure on to the end — this man will be saved. By enduring what but persecution — betrayal — death? For to endure to the end is nought else than to suffer the end. And therefore there immediately follow, The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his own lord; because, seeing the Master and Lord Himself was steadfast in suffering persecution, betrayal and death, much more will it be the duty of His servants and disciples to bear the same, that they may not seem as if superior to Him, or to have got an immunity from the assaults of unrighteousness, since this itself should be glory enough for them, to be conformed to the sufferings of their Lord and Master; and, preparing them for the endurance of these, He reminds them that they must not fear such persons as kill the body only, but are not able to destroy the soul, but that they must dedicate fear to Him rather who has such power that He can kill both body and soul, and destroy them in hell. Who, pray, are these slayers of the body only, but the governors and kings aforesaid — men, I suppose? Who is the ruler of the soul also, but God only? Who is this but the threatener of fires *hereafter*, He without whose will not even one of two sparrows falls to the ground; that is, not even one of the two substances of man, flesh or spirit, because the number of our hairs also has been recorded before Him? Fear not, therefore. When He adds, You are of more value than many sparrows, He makes promise that we shall not in vain — that is, not without profit — fall to the ground if we choose to be killed by men rather than by God. Whosoever therefore will confess in me before men, in him will I confess also before my Father who is in heaven; and whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I deny also before my Father who is in heaven. Clear, as I think, are the terms used in announcing, and the way to explain, the confession as well as the denial, although the mode of putting them is different. He who confesses himself a Christian, bears witness that he is Christ's; he who is Christ's must be in Christ. If he is in Christ, he certainly

confesses in Christ, when he confesses himself a Christian. For he cannot be this without being in Christ. Besides, by confessing in Christ he confesses Christ too: since, by virtue of being a Christian, he is in Christ, while *Christ* Himself also is in him. For if you have made mention of day, you have also held out to view the element of light which gives us day, although you may not have made mention of light. Thus, albeit He has not expressly said, He who will confess me, (yet) the conduct involved in daily confession is not different from what is meant in our Lord's declaration. For he who confesses himself to be what he is, that is, a Christian, confesses that likewise by which he is it, that is, Christ. Therefore he who has denied that he is a Christian, has denied in Christ, by denying that he is in Christ while he denies that he is a Christian; and, on the other hand, by denying that Christ is in him, while He denies that he is in Christ, he will deny Christ too. Thus both he who will deny in Christ, will deny Christ, and he who will confess in Christ will confess Christ. It would have been enough, therefore, though our Lord had made an announcement about confessing merely. For, from His mode of presenting confession, it might be decided beforehand with reference to its opposite too — denial, that is — that denial is repaid by the Lord with denial, just as confession is with confession. And therefore, since in the mould in which the confession has been cast the state of (the case with reference to) denial also may be perceived, it is evident that to another manner of denial belongs what the Lord has announced concerning it, in terms different from those in which He speaks of confession, when He says, Who will deny me, not Who will deny in me. For He had foreseen that this form of violence also would, for the most part, immediately follow when any one had been forced to renounce the Christian name — that he who had denied that he was a Christian would be compelled to deny Christ Himself too by blaspheming Him. As not long ago, alas, we shuddered at the struggle waged in this way by some with their entire faith, which had had favourable omens. Therefore it will be to no purpose to say, Though I shall deny that I am a Christian, I shall not be denied by Christ, for I have not denied Himself. For even so much will be inferred from that denial, by which, seeing he denies Christ in him by denying that he is a Christian, he has denied *Christ* Himself also. But there is more, because He threatens likewise shame with shame (in return): Whosoever shall be ashamed of me before men, of him will I also be ashamed

before my Father who is in heaven. For He was aware that denial is produced even most of all by shame, that the state of the mind appears in the forehead, and that the wound of shame precedes that in the body.

Chapter 10

But as to those who think that not here, that is, not within this environment of earth, nor during this period of existence, nor before men possessing this nature shared by us all, has confession been appointed to be made, what a supposition is theirs, being at variance with the whole order of things of which we have experience in these lands, and in this life, and under human authorities! Doubtless, when the souls have departed from their bodies, and begun to be put upon trial in the several stories of the heavens, with reference to the engagement (under which they have come to Jesus), and to be questioned about those hidden mysteries of the heretics, they must then confess before the real powers and the real men, — the Teleti, to wit, and the Abascanti, and the Acineti of Valentinus! For, say *they*, even the Demiurge himself did not uniformly approve of the men of our world, whom he counted as a drop of a bucket, Isaiah 40:15 and the dust of the threshing-floor, and spittle and locusts, *and* put on a level even with brute beasts. Clearly, it is so written. Yet not therefore must we understand that there is, besides us, another kind of man, which — for it is evidently *thus* (in the case proposed) — has been able to assume without invalidating a comparison *between the two kinds*, both the characteristics of the race and a unique property. For even if the life was tainted, so that condemned to contempt it might be likened to objects held in contempt, the nature was not immediately taken away, so that there might be supposed to be another under its name. Rather is the nature preserved, though the life blushes; nor does Christ know other men than those with reference to whom He says, Whom do men say that I am? Matthew 16:13 And, As you would that men should do to you, do likewise so to them. Consider whether He may not have preserved a race such that He is looking for a testimony to Himself from them, as well as consisting of those on whom He enjoins the interchange of righteous dealing. But if I should urgently demand that those heavenly men be described to me, Aratus will sketch more easily Perseus and Cepheus, and Erigone, and Ariadne, among the constellations. But who prevented the Lord from clearly prescribing that confession by men likewise has to be made where He plainly announced that His own would be; so that the statement might have run thus: Whosoever shall confess in me before men in heaven, I also will confess in him before my

Father who is in heaven? He ought to have saved me from this mistake about confession on earth, which He would not have wished me to take part in, if He had commanded one in heaven; for I knew no other men but the inhabitants of the earth, man himself even not having up to that time been observed in heaven. Besides, what is the credibility of the things (alleged), that, being after death raised to heavenly places, I should be put to the test there, whither I would not be translated without being already tested, that I should there be tried in reference to a command where I could not come, but to find admittance? Heaven lies open to the Christian before the way to it does; because there is no way to heaven, but to him to whom heaven lies open; and he who reaches it will enter. What powers, keeping guard at the gate, do I hear you affirm to exist in accordance with Roman superstition, with a certain Carnus, Forculus, and Limentinus? What powers do you set in order at the railings? If you have ever read in David, Lift up your gates, you princes, and let the everlasting gates be lifted up; and the King of glory shall enter in; if you have also heard from Amos, Who builds up to the heavens his way of ascent, and is such as to pour forth his abundance (of waters) over the earth; Amos 9:6 know that both that way of ascent was thereafter levelled with the ground, by the footsteps of the Lord, and an entrance thereafter opened up by the might of Christ, and that no delay or inquest will meet Christians on the threshold, since they have there to be not discriminated from one another, but owned, and not put to the question, but received in. For though you think heaven still shut, remember that the Lord left here to Peter and through him to the Church, the keys of it, which every one who has been here put to the question, and also made confession, will carry with him. But the devil stoutly affirms that we must confess there, to persuade us that we must deny here. I shall send before me fine documents, to be sure, I shall carry with me excellent keys, the fear of them who kill the body only, but do nought against the soul: I shall be graced by the neglect of this command: I shall stand with credit in heavenly places, who could not stand in earthly: I shall hold out against the greater powers, who yielded to the lesser: I shall deserve to be at length let in, though now shut out. It readily occurs to one to remark further, If it is in heaven that men must confess, it is here too that they must deny. For where the one is, there both are. For contraries always go together. There will need to be carried on in heaven persecution even, which is the occasion of

confession or denial. Why, then, do you refrain, O most presumptuous heretic, from transporting to the world above the whole series of means proper to the intimidation of Christians, and especially to put there the very hatred for the name, where Christ rules at the right hand of the Father? Will you plant there both synagogues of the Jews — fountains of persecution — before which the apostles endured the scourge, and heathen assemblages with their own circus, forsooth, where they readily join in the cry, Death to the third race? But you are bound to produce in the same place both our brothers, fathers, children, mothers-in-law, daughters-in-law and those of our household, through whose agency the betrayal has been appointed; likewise kings, governors, and armed authorities, before whom the matter at issue must be contested. Assuredly there will be in heaven a prison also, destitute of the sun's rays or full of light unthankfully, and fetters of the zones perhaps, and, for a rack-horse, the axis itself which whirls *the heavens round*. Then, if a Christian is to be stoned, hail-storms will be near; if burned, thunderbolts are at hand; if butchered, the armed Orion will exercise his function; if put an end to by beasts, the north will send forth the bears, the Zodiac the bulls and the lions. He who will endure these assaults to the end, the same shall be saved. Will there be then, in heaven, both an end, and suffering, a killing, and the first confession? And where will be the flesh requisite for all this? Where the body which alone has to be killed by men? Unerring reason has commanded us to set forth these things in even a playful manner; nor will any one thrust out the bar consisting in this objection (we have offered), so as not to be compelled to transfer the whole array of means proper to persecution, all the powerful instrumentality which has been provided for dealing with this matter, to the place where he has put the court before which confession should be made. Since confession is elicited by persecution, and persecution ended in confession, there cannot but be at the same time, in attendance upon these, the instrumentality which determines both the entrance and the exit, that is, the beginning and the end. But both hatred for the name will be here, persecution breaks out here, betrayal brings men forth here, examination uses force here, torture rages here, and confession or denial completes this whole course of procedure on the earth. Therefore, if the other things are here, confession also is not elsewhere; if confession is elsewhere, the other things also are not here. Certainly the other things are not elsewhere; therefore neither is confession in

heaven. Or, if they will have it that the manner in which the heavenly examination and confession take place is different, it will certainly be also incumbent on them to devise a mode of procedure of their own of a very different kind, and opposed to that method which is indicated in the Scriptures. And we may be able to say, Let them consider (whether what they imagine to exist does so), if so be that this course of procedure, proper to examination and confession on earth — a course which has persecution as the source in which it originates, and which pleads dissension in the state — is preserved to its own faith, if so be that we must believe just as is also written, and understand just as is spoken. Here I endure the entire course (in question), the Lord Himself not appointing a different quarter of the world *for my doing so*. For what does He add after finishing with confession and denial? Think not that I have come to send peace on earth, but a sword, — undoubtedly on the earth. For I have come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the mother-in-law against her daughter-in-law. And a man's foes shall be they of his own household. Matthew 10:34 For so is it brought to pass, that the brother delivers up the brother to death, and the father the son: and the children rise up against the parents, and cause them to die. And he who endures to the end let that man be saved. Matthew 10:21 So that this whole course of procedure characteristic of the Lord's sword, which has been sent not to heaven, but to earth, makes confession also to be there, which by enduring to the end is to issue in the suffering of death.

Chapter 11

In the same manner, therefore, we maintain that the other announcements too refer to the condition of martyrdom. He, says Jesus, who will value his own life also more than me, is not worthy of me, Luke 14:26 — that is, he who will rather live by denying, than die by confessing, me; and he who finds his life shall lose it; but he who loses it for my sake shall find it. Matthew 10:39 Therefore indeed he finds it, who, in winning life, denies; but he who thinks that he wins it by denying, will lose it in hell. On the other hand, he who, through confessing, is killed, will lose it for the present, but is also about to find it unto everlasting life. In fine, governors themselves, when they urge men to deny, say, Save your life; and, Do not lose your life. How would Christ speak, but in accordance with the treatment to which the Christian would be subjected? But when He forbids thinking about what answer to make at a judgment-seat, Matthew 10:19 He is preparing His own servants *for what awaited them*, He gives the assurance that the Holy Spirit will answer *by them*; and when He wishes a brother to be visited in prison, Matthew 25:36 He is commanding that those about to confess be the object of solicitude; and He is soothing their sufferings when He asserts that God will avenge His own elect. Luke 18:7 In the parable also of the withering of the word Matthew 13:3 after the green blade had sprung up, He is drawing a picture with reference to the burning heat of persecutions. If these announcements are not understood as they are made, without doubt they signify something else than the sound indicates; and there will be one thing in the words, another in their meanings, as is the case with allegories, with parables, with riddles. Whatever wind of reasoning, therefore, these scorpions may catch (in their sails), with whatever subtlety they may attack, there is now one line of defense: an appeal will be made to the facts themselves, whether they occur as the Scriptures represent that they would; since another thing will then be meant in the Scriptures if that very one (which seems to be so) is not found in actual facts. For what is written, must needs come to pass. Besides, what is written will then come to pass, if something different does not. But, lo! We are both regarded as persons to be hated by all men for the sake of the name, as it is written; and are delivered up by our nearest of kin also, as it is written; and are brought before magistrates, and examined, and tortured, and make confession, and are

ruthlessly killed, as it is written. So the Lord ordained. If He ordained these events otherwise, why do they not come to pass otherwise than He ordained them, that is, as He ordained them? And yet they do not come to pass otherwise than He ordained. Therefore, as they come to pass, so He ordained; and as He ordained, so they come to pass. For neither would they have been permitted to occur otherwise than He ordained, nor for His part would He have ordained otherwise than He would wish them to occur. Thus these passages of Scripture will not mean ought else than we recognise in actual facts; or if those events are not yet taking place which are announced, how are those taking place which have not been announced? For these events which are taking place have not been announced, if those which are announced are different, and not these which are taking place. Well now, seeing the very occurrences are met with in actual life which are believed to have been expressed with a different meaning in words, what would happen if they were found to have come to pass in a different manner *than had been revealed*? But this will be the waywardness of faith, not to believe what has been demonstrated, to assume the truth of what has not been demonstrated. And to this waywardness I will offer the following objection also, that if these events, which occur as is written, will not be the very ones which are announced, those too (which are meant) ought not to occur as is written, that they themselves also may not, after the example of these *others*, be in danger of exclusion, since there is one thing in the words and another in the facts; and there remains that even the events which have been announced are not seen when they occur, if they are announced otherwise than they have to occur. And how will those be believed (to have come to pass), which will not have been announced as they come to pass? Thus heretics, by not believing what is announced as it has been shown to have taken place, believe what has not been even announced.

Chapter 12

Who, now, should know better the marrow of the Scriptures than the school of Christ itself? — the persons whom the Lord both chose for Himself as scholars, certainly to be fully instructed in all points, and appointed to us for masters to instruct us in all points. To whom would He have rather made known the veiled import of His own language, than to him to whom He disclosed the likeness of His own glory — to Peter, John, and James, and afterwards to Paul, to whom He granted participation in (the joys of) paradise too, prior to his martyrdom? Or do they also write differently from what they think — teachers using deceit, not truth? Addressing the Christians of Pontus, Peter, at all events, says, How great indeed is the glory, if you suffer patiently, without being punished as evildoers! For this is a lovely feature, *and* even hereunto were you called, since Christ also suffered for us, leaving you Himself as an example, that you should follow His own steps. 1 Peter 2:20 And again: Beloved, be not alarmed by the fiery trial which is taking place among you, as though some strange thing happened unto you. For, inasmuch as you are partakers of Christ's sufferings, do you rejoice; that, when His glory shall be revealed, you may be glad also with exceeding joy. If you are reproached for the name of Christ, happy are you; because glory and the Spirit of God rest upon you: if only none of you suffer as a murderer, or as a thief, or as an evil-doer, or as a busybody in other men's matters; yet (if any man suffer) as a Christian, let him not be ashamed, but let him glorify God on this behalf. 1 Peter 4:12 John, in fact, exhorts us to lay down our lives even for our brethren, 1 John 3:16 affirming that there is no fear in love: For perfect love casts out fear, since fear has punishment; and he who fears is not perfect in love. 1 John 4:18 What fear would it be better to understand (as here meant), than that which gives rise to denial? What love does he assert to be perfect, but that which puts fear to flight, and gives courage to confess? What penalty will he appoint as the punishment of fear, but that which he who denies is about to pay, who has to be slain, body and soul, in hell? And if he teaches that we must die for the brethren, how much more for the Lord, — he being sufficiently prepared, by his own Revelation too, for giving such advice! For indeed the Spirit had sent the injunction to the angel of the church in Smyrna: Behold, the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that you may be tried ten

days. Be faithful unto death, and I will give you a crown of life. Revelation 2:10 Also to the angel of the church in Pergamus (mention was made) of Antipas, Revelation 2:13 the very faithful martyr, who was slain where Satan dwells. Also to the angel of the church in Philadelphia Revelation 3:10 (it was signified) that he who had not denied the name of the Lord was delivered from the last trial. Then to every conqueror the Spirit promises now the tree of life, and exemption from the second death; now the hidden manna with the stone of glistening whiteness, and the name unknown (to every man save him that receives it); now power to rule with a rod of iron, and the brightness of the morning star; now the being clothed in white raiment, and not having the name blotted out of the book of life, and being made in the temple of God a pillar with the inscription on it of the name of God and of the Lord, and of the heavenly Jerusalem; now a sitting with the Lord on His throne — which once was persistently refused to the sons of Zebedee. Matthew 20:20-23 Who, pray, are these so blessed conquerors, but martyrs in the strict sense of the word? For indeed theirs are the victories whose also are the fights; theirs, however, are the fights whose also is the blood. But the souls of the martyrs both peacefully rest in the meantime under the altar, Revelation 6:9 and support their patience by the assured hope of revenge; and, clothed in their robes, wear the dazzling halo of brightness, until others also may fully share in their glory. For yet again a countless throng are revealed, clothed in white and distinguished by palms of victory, celebrating their triumph doubtless over Antichrist, since one of the elders says, These are they who come out of that great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. Revelation 7:14 For the flesh is the clothing of the soul. The uncleanness, indeed, is washed away by baptism, but the stains are changed into dazzling whiteness by martyrdom. For Esaias also promises, that out of red and scarlet there will come forth the whiteness of snow and wool. Isaiah 1:18 When great Babylon likewise is represented as drunk with the blood of the saints, Revelation 17:6 doubtless the supplies needful for her drunkenness are furnished by the cups of martyrdoms; and what suffering the fear of martyrdoms will entail, is in like manner shown. For among all the castaways, nay, taking precedence of them all, are the fearful. But the fearful, says John — and then come the others — will have their part in the lake of fire and brimstone. Revelation 21:8 Thus fear, which, as stated in his epistle,

love drives out, has punishment.

Chapter 13

But how Paul, an apostle, from being a persecutor, who first of all shed the blood of the church, though afterwards he exchanged the sword for the pen, and turned the dagger into a plough, being *first* a ravening wolf of Benjamin, then himself supplying food as did Jacob, — how he, (I say,) speaks in favour of martyrdoms, now to be chosen by himself also, when, rejoicing over the Thessalonians, he says, So that we glory in you in the churches of God, for your patience and faith in all your persecutions and tribulations, in which you endure a manifestation of the righteous judgment of God, that you may be accounted worthy of His kingdom, for which you also suffer! 2 Thessalonians 1:4 As also in his Epistle to the Romans: And not only so, but we glory in tribulations also, being sure that tribulation works patience, and patience experience, and experience hope; and hope makes not ashamed. Romans 5:3 And again: And if children, then heirs, heirs indeed of God, and joint-heirs with Christ: if so be that we suffer with Him, that we may be also glorified together. For I reckon that the sufferings of this time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us. Romans 8:17 And therefore he afterward says: Who shall separate us from the love of God? Shall tribulation, or distress, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? (As it is written: For Your sake we are killed all the day long; we have been counted as sheep for the slaughter.) Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors, through Him who loved us. For we are persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor power, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. Romans 8:35 But further, in recounting his own sufferings to the Corinthians, he certainly decided that suffering must be borne: In labours, (he says,) more abundant, in prisons very frequent, in deaths oft. Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes, save one; thrice was I beaten with rods; once was I stoned, 2 Corinthians 11:23 and the rest. And if these severities will seem to be more grievous than martyrdoms, yet once more he says: Therefore I take pleasure in infirmities, in reproaches, in necessities, in persecutions, in distresses for Christ's sake. 2 Corinthians 12:10 He also says, in verses occurring in a previous part of the epistle: Our condition is such, that we are troubled on every side, yet not distressed; and are in need, but not in utter

want; since we are harassed by persecutions, but not forsaken; it is such that we are cast down, but not destroyed; always bearing about in our body the dying of Christ. 2 Corinthians 4:8 But though, says he, our outward man perishes — the flesh doubtless, by the violence of persecutions — yet the inward man is renewed day by day — the soul, doubtless, by hope in the promises. For our light affliction, which is but for a moment, works for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory; while we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen. For the things which are seen are temporal — he is speaking of troubles; but the things which are not seen are eternal — he is promising rewards. But writing in bonds to the Thessalonians, he certainly affirmed that they were blessed, since to them it had been given not only to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for His sake. Having, says he, the same conflict which you both saw in me, and now hear to be in me. Philippians 2:17 For though I am offered upon the sacrifice, I joy and rejoice with you all; in like manner do you also joy and rejoice with me. You see what he decides the bliss of martyrdom to be, in honour of which he is providing a festival of mutual joy. When at length he had come to be very near the attainment of his desire, greatly rejoicing in what he saw before him, he writes in these terms to Timothy: For I am already being offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought the good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; there is laid up for me the crown which the Lord will give me on that day 2 Timothy 4:6 — doubtless of his suffering. Admonition enough did he for his part also give in preceding passages: It is a faithful saying: For if we are dead with Christ, we shall also live with Him; if we suffer, we shall also reign with Him; if we deny Him, He also will deny us; if we believe not, yet He is faithful: He cannot deny Himself. 2 Timothy 2:11 Be not ashamed, therefore, of the testimony of our Lord, nor of me His prisoner; 2 Timothy 1:8 for he had said before: For God has not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind. 2 Timothy 1:7 For we suffer with power from love toward God, and with a sound mind, when we suffer for our blamelessness. But further, if He anywhere enjoins endurance, for what more than for sufferings is He providing it? If anywhere He tears men away from idolatry, what more than martyrdoms takes the lead, in tearing them away to its injury?

Chapter 14

No doubt the apostle admonishes the Romans Romans 13:1 to be subject to all power, because there is no power but of God, and because (the ruler) does not carry the sword without reason, and is the servant of God, nay also, says he, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that does evil. For he had also previously spoken thus: For rulers are not a terror to a good work, but to an evil. Will you then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and you shall have praise of it. Therefore he is a minister of God to you for good. But if you do that which is evil, be afraid. Thus he bids you be subject to the powers, not on an opportunity occurring for his avoiding martyrdom, but when he is making an appeal in behalf of a good life, under the view also of their being as it were assistants bestowed upon righteousness, as it were handmaids of the divine court of justice, which even here pronounces sentence beforehand upon the guilty. Then he goes on also to show how he wishes you to be subject to the powers, bidding you pay tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, Romans 13:6 that is, the things which are Cæsar's to Cæsar, and the things which are God's to God; Matthew 22:21 but man is the property of God alone. Peter, 1 Peter 2:13 no doubt, had likewise said that the king indeed must be honoured, yet so that the king be honoured *only* when he keeps to his own sphere, when he is far from assuming divine honours; because both father and mother will be loved along with God, not put on an equality with Him. Besides, one will not be permitted to love even life more than God.

Chapter 15

Now, then, the epistles of the apostles also are well known. And do *we*, (you say), in all respects guileless souls and doves merely, love to go astray? I should think from eagerness to live. But let it be so, that meaning departs from their epistles. And yet, that the apostles endured such sufferings, we know: the teaching is clear. This only I perceive in running through the Acts. I am not at all on the search. The prisons there, and the bonds, and the scourges, and the big stones, and the swords, and the onsets by the Jews, and the assemblies of the heathen, and the indictments by tribunes, and the hearing of causes by kings, and the judgment-seats of proconsuls and the name of Cæsar, do not need an interpreter. That Peter is struck, that Stephen is overwhelmed *by stones*, Acts 7:59 that James is slain as is a victim at the altar, that Paul is beheaded has been written in their own blood. And if a heretic wishes his confidence to rest upon a public record, the archives of the empire will speak, as would the stones of Jerusalem. We read the lives of the Cæsars: At Rome Nero was the first who stained with blood the rising faith. Then is Peter girt by another, John 21:18 when he is made fast to the cross. Then does Paul obtain a birth suited to Roman citizenship, when in Rome he springs to life again ennobled by martyrdom. Wherever I read of these occurrences, so soon as I do so, I learn to suffer; nor does it signify to me which I follow as teachers of martyrdom, whether the declarations or the deaths of the apostles, save that in their deaths I recall their declarations also. For they would not have suffered ought of a kind they had not previously known they had to suffer. When Agabus, making use of corresponding action too, had foretold that bonds awaited Paul, the disciples, weeping and entreating that he would not venture upon going to Jerusalem, entreated in vain. Acts 21:11 As for him, having a mind to illustrate what he had always taught, he says, Why do you weep, and grieve my heart? But for my part, I could wish not only to suffer bonds, but also to die at Jerusalem, for the name of my Lord Jesus Christ. And so they yielded by saying, Let the will of the Lord be done; feeling sure, doubtless, that sufferings are included in the will of God. For they had tried to keep him back with the intention not of dissuading, but to show love for him; as yearning for (the preservation of) the apostle, not as counselling against martyrdom. And if even then a Prodicus or Valentinus stood by, suggesting

that one must not confess on the earth before men, and must do so the less in truth, that God may not (seem to) thirst for blood, and Christ for a repayment of suffering, as though He besought it with the view of obtaining salvation by it for Himself also, he would have immediately heard from the servant of God what the devil had from the Lord: Get behind me, Satan; you are an offense unto me. It is written, You shall worship the Lord your God, and Him only shall you serve. But even now it will be right that he hear it, seeing that, long after, he has poured forth these poisons, which not even thus are to injure readily any of the weak ones, if any one in faith will drink, before being hurt, or even immediately after, this draught of ours.

De Corona Militis (On the Soldier's Garland)



Translated by Sydney Thelwall

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Chapter 1

Very lately it happened thus: while the bounty of our most excellent emperors was dispensed in the camp, the soldiers, laurel-crowned, were approaching. One of them, more a soldier of God, more steadfast than the rest of his brethren, who had imagined that they could serve two masters, his head alone uncovered, the useless crown in his hand — already even by that peculiarity known to every one as a Christian — was nobly conspicuous. Accordingly, all began to mark him out, jeering him at a distance, gnashing on him near at hand. The murmur is wafted to the tribune, when the person had just left the ranks. The tribune at once puts the question to him, Why are you so different in your attire? He declared that he had no liberty to wear the crown with the rest. Being urgently asked for his reasons, he answered, I am a Christian. O soldier! Boasting yourself in God. Then the case was considered and voted on; the matter was remitted to a higher tribunal; the offender was conducted to the prefects. At once he put away the heavy cloak, his disburdening commenced; he loosed from his foot the military shoe, beginning to stand upon holy ground; he gave up the sword, which was not necessary either for the protection of our Lord; from his hand likewise dropped the laurel crown; and now, purple-clad with the hope of his own blood, shod with the preparation of the gospel, girt with the sharper word of God, completely equipped in the apostles' armour, and crowned more worthily with the white crown of martyrdom, he awaits in prison the largess of Christ. Thereafter adverse judgments began to be passed upon his conduct — whether on the part of Christians I do not know, for those of the heathen are not different — as if he were headstrong and rash, and too eager to die, because, in being taken to task about a mere matter of dress, he brought trouble on the bearers of the Name, — he, forsooth, alone brave among so many soldier-brethren, he alone a Christian. It is plain that as they have rejected the prophecies of the Holy Spirit, they are also purposing the refusal of martyrdom. So they murmur that a peace so good and long is endangered for them. Nor do I doubt that some are already turning their back on the Scriptures, are making ready their luggage, are equipped for flight from city to city; for that is all of the gospel they care to remember. I know, too, their pastors are lions in peace, deer in the fight. As to the questions asked for extorting confessions from us,

we shall teach elsewhere. Now, as they put forth also the objection — But where are we forbidden to be crowned? — I shall take this point up, as more suitable to be treated of here, being the essence, in fact, of the present contention. So that, on the one hand, the inquirers who are ignorant, but anxious, may be instructed; and on the other, those may be refuted who try to vindicate the sin, especially the laurel-crowned Christians themselves, to whom it is merely a question of debate, as if it might be regarded as either no trespass at all, or at least a doubtful one, because it may be made the subject of investigation. That it is neither sinless nor doubtful, I shall now, however, show.

Chapter 2

I affirm that not one of the Faithful has ever a crown upon his head, except at a time of trial. That is the case with all, from catechumens to confessors and martyrs, or (as the case may be) deniers. Consider, then, whence the custom about which we are now chiefly inquiring got its authority. But when the question is raised why it is observed, it is meanwhile evident that it is observed. Therefore that can neither be regarded as no offense, or an uncertain one, which is perpetrated against a practice which is capable of defense, on the ground even of its repute, and is sufficiently ratified by the support of general acceptance. It is undoubted, so that we ought to inquire into the reason of the thing; but without prejudice to the practice, not for the purpose of overthrowing it, but rather of building it up, that you may all the more carefully observe it, when you are also satisfied as to its reason. But what sort of procedure is it, for one to be bringing into debate a practice, when he has fallen from it, and to be seeking the explanation of his having ever had it, when he has left it off? Since, although he may wish to seem on this account desirous to investigate it, that he may show that he has not done wrong in giving it up, it is evident that he nevertheless transgressed previously in its presumptuous observance. If he has done no wrong today in accepting the crown he offended before in refusing it. This treatise, therefore, will not be for those who not in a proper condition for inquiry, but for those who, with the real desire of getting instruction, bring forward, not a question for debate, but a request for advice. For it is from this desire that a true inquiry always proceeds; and I praise the faith which has believed in the duty of complying with the rule, before it has learned the reason of it. An easy thing it is at once to demand where it is written that we should not be crowned. But is it written that we should be crowned? Indeed, in urgently demanding the warrant of Scripture in a different side from their own, men prejudge that the support of Scripture ought no less to appear on their part. For if it shall be said that it is lawful to be crowned on this ground, that Scripture does not forbid it, it will as validly be retorted that just on this ground is the crown unlawful, because the Scripture does not enjoin it. What shall discipline do? Shall it accept both things, as if neither were forbidden? Or shall it refuse both, as if neither were enjoined? But the thing which is not forbidden is freely permitted. I should

rather say that what has not been freely allowed is forbidden.

Chapter 3

And how long shall we draw the saw to and fro through this line, when we have an ancient practice, which by anticipation has made for us the state, i.e., of the question? If no passage of Scripture has prescribed it, assuredly custom, which without doubt flowed from tradition, has confirmed it. For how can anything come into use, if it has not first been handed down? Even in pleading tradition, written authority, you say, must be demanded. Let us inquire, therefore, whether tradition, unless it be written, should not be admitted. Certainly we shall say that it ought not to be admitted, if no cases of other practices which, without any written instrument, we maintain on the ground of tradition alone, and the countenance thereafter of custom, affords us any precedent. To deal with this matter briefly, I shall begin with baptism. When we are going to enter the water, but a little before, in the presence of the congregation and under the hand of the president, we solemnly profess that we disown the devil, and his pomp, and his angels. Hereupon we are thrice immersed, making a somewhat ampler pledge than the Lord has appointed in the Gospel. Then when we are taken up (as new-born children), we taste first of all a mixture of milk and honey, and from that day we refrain from the daily bath for a whole week. We take also, in congregations before daybreak, and from the hand of none but the presidents, the sacrament of the Eucharist, which the Lord both commanded to be eaten at meal-times, and enjoined to be taken by all alike. As often as the anniversary comes round, we make offerings for the dead as birthday honours. We count fasting or kneeling in worship on the Lord's day to be unlawful. We rejoice in the same privilege also from Easter to Whitsunday. We feel pained should any wine or bread, even though our own, be cast upon the ground. At every forward step and movement, at every going in and out, when we put on our clothes and shoes, when we bathe, when we sit at table, when we light the lamps, on couch, on seat, in all the ordinary actions of daily life, we trace upon the forehead the sign.

Chapter 4

If, for these and other such rules, you insist upon having positive Scripture injunction, you will find none. Tradition will be held forth to you as the originator of them, custom as their strengthener, and faith as their observer. That reason will support tradition, and custom, and faith, you will either yourself perceive, or learn from some one who has. Meanwhile you will believe that there is some reason to which submission is due. I add still one case more, as it will be proper to show you how it was among the ancients also. Among the Jews, so usual is it for their women to have the head veiled, that they may thereby be recognised. I ask in this instance for the law. I put the apostle aside. If Rebecca at once drew down her veil, when in the distance she saw her betrothed, this modesty of a mere private individual could not have made a law, or it will have made it only for those who have the reason which she had. Let virgins alone be veiled, and this when they are coming to be married, and not till they have recognised their destined husband. If Susanna also, who was subjected to unveiling on her trial, furnishes an argument for the veiling of women, I can say here also, the veil was a voluntary thing. She had come accused, ashamed of the disgrace she had brought on herself, properly concealing her beauty, even because now she feared to please. But I should not suppose that, when it was her aim to please, she took walks with a veil on in her husband's avenue. Grant, now, that she was always veiled. In this particular case, too, or, in fact, in that of any other, I demand the dress-law. If I nowhere find a law, it follows that tradition has given the fashion in question to custom, to find subsequently (its authorization in) the apostle's sanction, from the true interpretation of reason. This instances, therefore, will make it sufficiently plain that you can vindicate the keeping of even unwritten tradition established by custom; the proper witness for tradition when demonstrated by long-continued observance. But even in civil matters custom is accepted as law, when positive legal enactment is wanting; and it is the same thing whether it depends on writing or on reason, since reason is, in fact, the basis of law. But, (you say), if reason is the ground of law, all will now henceforth have to be counted law, whoever brings it forward, which shall have reason as its ground. Or do you think that every believer is entitled to originate and establish a law, if only it be such as is

agreeable to God, as is helpful to discipline, as promotes salvation, when the Lord says, But why do you not even of your own selves judge what is right? Luke 12:27 And not merely in regard to a judicial sentence, but in regard to every decision in matters we are called on to consider, the apostle also says, If of anything you are ignorant, God shall reveal it unto you; Philippians 3:15 he himself, too, being accustomed to afford counsel though he had not the command of the Lord, and to dictate of himself as possessing the Spirit of God who guides into all truth. Therefore his advice has, by the warrant of divine reason, become equivalent to nothing less than a divine command. Earnestly now inquire of this teacher, keeping intact your regard for tradition, from whomsoever it originally sprang; nor have regard to the author, but to the authority, and especially that of custom itself, which on this very account we should revere, that we may not want an interpreter; so that if reason too is God's gift, you may then learn, not whether custom has to be followed by you, but why.

Chapter 5

The argument for Christian practices becomes all the stronger, when also nature, which is the first rule of all, supports them. Well, she is the first who lays it down that a crown does not become the head. But I think ours is the God of nature, who fashioned man; and, that he might desire, (appreciate, become partaker of) the pleasures afforded by His creatures, endowed him with certain senses, (acting) through members, which, so to speak, are their peculiar instruments. The sense of hearing he has planted in the ears; that of sight, lighted up in the eyes; that of taste, shut up in the mouth; that of smell, wafted into the nose; that of touch, fixed in the tips of the fingers. By means of these organs of the outer man doing duty to the inner man, the enjoyments of the divine gifts are conveyed by the senses to the soul. What, then, in flowers affords you enjoyment? For it is the flowers of the field which are the peculiar, at least the chief, material of crowns. Either smell, you say, or color, or both together. What will be the senses of color and smell? Those of seeing and smelling, I suppose. What members have had these senses allotted to them? The eyes and the nose, if I am not mistaken. With sight and smell, then, make use of flowers, for these are the senses by which they are meant to be enjoyed; use them by means of the eyes and nose, which are the members to which these senses belong. You have got the thing from God, the mode of it from the world; but an extraordinary mode does not prevent the use of the thing in the common way. Let flowers, then, both when fastened into each other and tied together in thread and rush, be what they are when free, when loose — things to be looked at and smelt. You count it a crown, let us say, when you have a bunch of them bound together in a series, that you may carry many at one time that you may enjoy them all at once. Well, lay them in your bosom if they are so singularly pure, and strew them on your couch if they are so exquisitely soft, and consign them to your cup if they are so perfectly harmless. Have the pleasure of them in as many ways as they appeal to your senses. But what taste for a flower, what sense for anything belonging to a crown but its band, have you in the head, which is able neither to distinguish color, nor to inhale sweet perfumes, nor to appreciate softness? It is as much against nature to long after a flower with the head, as it is to crave food with the ear, or sound with the nostril. But everything which is against nature

deserves to be branded as monstrous among all men; but with us it is to be condemned also as sacrilege against God, the Lord and Creator of nature.

Chapter 6

Demanding then a law of God, you have that common one prevailing all over the world, engraven on the natural tables to which the apostle too is wont to appeal, as when in respect of the woman's veil he says, Does not even Nature teach you? 1 Corinthians 11:14 — as when to the Romans, affirming that the heathen do by nature those things which the law requires, Romans 2:14 he suggests both natural law and a law-revealing nature. Yes, and also in the first chapter of the epistle he authenticates nature, when he asserts that males and females changed among themselves the natural use of the creature into that which is unnatural, Romans 1:26 by way of penal retribution for their error. We first of all indeed know God Himself by the teaching of Nature, calling Him God of gods, taking for granted that He is good, and invoking Him as Judge. Is it a question with you whether for the enjoyment of His creatures, Nature should be our guide, that we may not be carried away in the direction in which the rival of God has corrupted, along with man himself, the entire creation which had been made over to our race for certain uses, whence the apostle says that it too unwillingly became subject to vanity, completely bereft of its original character, first by vain, then by base, unrighteous, and ungodly uses? It is thus, accordingly, in the pleasures of the shows, that the creature is dishonoured by those who by nature indeed perceive that all the materials of which shows are got up belong to God, but lack the knowledge to perceive as well that they have all been changed by the devil. But with this topic we have, for the sake of our own play-lovers, sufficiently dealt, and that, too, in a work in Greek.

Chapter 7

Let these dealers in crowns then recognize in the meantime the authority of Nature, on the ground of a common sense as human beings, and the certifications of their peculiar religion, as, according to the last chapter, worshippers of the God of nature; and, as it were, thus over and above what is required, let them consider those other reasons too which forbid us wearing crowns, especially on the head, and indeed crowns of every sort. For we are obliged to turn from the rule of Nature, which we share with mankind in general, that we may maintain the whole peculiarity of our Christian discipline, in relation also to other kinds of crowns which seem to have been provided for different uses, as being composed of different substances, lest, because they do not consist of flowers, the use of which nature has indicated (as it does in the case of this military laurel one itself), they may be thought not to come under the prohibition of our sect, since they have escaped any objections of nature. I see, then, that we must go into the matter both with more research, and more fully, from its beginnings on through its successive stages of growth to its more erratic developments. For this we need to turn to heathen literature, for things belonging to the heathen must be proved from their own documents. The little of this I have acquired, will, I believe, be enough. If there really was a Pandora, whom Hesiod mentions as the first of women, hers was the first head the graces crowned, for she received gifts from all *the gods* whence she got *her name* Pandora. But Moses, a prophet, not a poet-shepherd, shows us the first woman Eve having her loins more naturally girt about with leaves than her temples with flowers. Pandora, then, is a myth. And so we have to blush for the origin of the crown, even on the ground of the falsehood connected with it; and, as will soon appear, on the ground no less of its realities. For it is an undoubted fact that certain persons either originated the thing, or shed lustre on it. Pherecydes relates that Saturn was the first who wore a crown; Diodorus, that Jupiter, after conquering the Titans, was honoured with this gift by the rest of the gods. To Priapus also the same author assigns fillets; and to Ariadne a garland of gold and of Indian gems, the gift of Vulcan, afterwards of Bacchus, and subsequently turned into a constellation. Callimachus has put a vine crown upon Juno. So too at Argos, her statue, vine-wreathed, with a lion's skin placed beneath her feet, exhibits

the stepmother exulting over the spoils of her two step-sons. Hercules displays upon his head sometimes poplar, sometimes wild-olive, sometimes parsley. You have the tragedy of Cerberus; you have Pindar; and besides Callimachus, who mentions that Apollo, too when he had killed the Delphic serpent, as a suppliant, put on a laurel garland; for among the ancients suppliants were wont to be crowned. Harpocration argues that Bacchus the same as Osiris among the Egyptians, was designedly crowned with ivy, because it is the nature of ivy to protect the brain against drowsiness. But that in another way also Bacchus was the originator of the laurel crown (the crown) in which he celebrated his triumph over the Indians, even the rabble acknowledge, when they call the days dedicated to him the great crown. If you open, again, the writings of the Egyptian Leo, you learn that Isis was the first who discovered and wore ears of grain upon her head — a thing more suited to the belly. Those who want additional information will find an ample exposition of the subject in Claudius Saturninus, a writer of distinguished talent who treats this question also, for he has a book on crowns, so explaining their beginnings as well as causes, and kinds, and rites, that you find all that is charming in the flower, all that is beautiful in the leafy branch, and every sod or vine-shoot has been dedicated to some head or other; making it abundantly clear how foreign to us we should judge the custom of the crowned head, introduced as it was by, and thereafter constantly managed for the honour of, those whom the world has believed to be gods. If the devil, a liar from the beginning, is even in this matter working for his false system of godhead (idolatry), he had himself also without doubt provided for his god-lie being carried out. What sort of thing, then, must that be counted among the people of the true God, which was brought in by the nations in honour of the devil's candidates, and was set apart from the beginning to no other than these; and which even then received its consecration to idolatry by idols and in idols yet alive? Not as if an idol were anything, but since the things which others offer up to idols belong to demons. But if the things which *others* offer to them belong to demons how much more what idols offered to themselves, when they were in life! The demons themselves, doubtless, had made provision for themselves by means of those whom they had possessed, while in a state of desire and craving, before provision had been actually made.

Chapter 8

Hold fast in the meantime this persuasion, while I examine a question which comes in our way. For I already hear it is said, that many other things as well as crowns have been invented by those whom the world believes to be gods, and that they are notwithstanding to be met with both in our present usages and in those of early saints, and in the service of God, and in Christ Himself, who did His work as man by no other than these ordinary instrumentalities of human life. Well, let it be so; nor shall I inquire any further back into the origin of this things. Let Mercury have been the first who taught the knowledge of letters; I will own that they are requisite both for the business and commerce of life, and for performing our devotion to God. Nay, if he also first strung the chord to give forth melody, I will not deny, when listening to David, that this invention has been in use with the saints, and has ministered to God. Let Æsculapius have been the first who sought and discovered cures: Esaias Isaiah 38:21 mentions that he ordered Hezekiah medicine when he was sick. Paul, too, knows that a little wine does the stomach good. 1 Timothy 5:23 Let Minerva have been the first who built a ship: I shall see Jonah and the apostles sailing. Nay, there is more than this: for even Christ, we shall find, has ordinary raiment; Paul, too, has his cloak. If at once, of every article of furniture and each household vessel, you name some god of the world as the originator, well, I must recognise Christ, both as He reclines on a couch, and when He presents a basin for the feet of His disciples, and when He pours water into it from a ewer, and when He is girt about with a linen towel John 13:1-5 — a garment specially sacred to Osiris. It is thus in general I reply upon the point, admitting indeed that we use along with others these articles, but challenging that this be judged in the light of the distinction between things agreeable and things opposed to reason, because the promiscuous employment of them is deceptive, concealing the corruption of the creature, by which it has been made subject to vanity. For we affirm that those things only are proper to be used, whether by ourselves or by those who lived before us, and alone befit the service of God and Christ Himself, which to meet the necessities of human life supply what is simply; useful and affords real assistance and honourable comfort, so that they may be well believed to have come from God's own inspiration, who first of all no doubt provided for and

taught and ministered to the enjoyment, I should suppose, of His own man. As for the things which are out of this class, they are not fit to be used among us, especially those which on that account indeed are not to be found either with the world, or in the ways of Christ.

Chapter 9

In short, what patriarch, what prophet, what Levite, or priest, or ruler, or at a later period what apostle, or preacher of the gospel, or bishop, do you ever find the wearer of a crown? I think not even the temple of God itself was crowned; as neither was the ark of the testament, nor the tabernacle of witness, nor the altar, nor the candlestick crowned though certainly, both on that first solemnity of the dedication, and in that second rejoicing for the restoration, crowning would have been most suitable if it were worthy of God. But if these things were figures of us (for we are temples of God, and altars, and lights, and sacred vessels), this too they in figure set forth, that the people of God ought not to be crowned. The reality must always correspond with the image. If, perhaps, you object that Christ Himself was crowned, to that you will get the brief reply: Be you too crowned, as He was; you have full permission. Yet even that crown of insolent ungodliness was not of any decree of the Jewish people. It was a device of the Roman soldiers, taken from the practice of the world — a practice which the people of God never allowed either on the occasion of public rejoicing or to gratify innate luxury: so they returned from the Babylonish captivity with timbrels, and flutes, and psalteries, more suitably than with crowns; and after eating and drinking, uncrowned, they rose up to play. Neither would the account of the rejoicing nor the exposure of the luxury have been silent touching the honour or dishonour of the crown. Thus too Isaiah, as he says, With timbrels, and psalteries, and flutes they drink wine, Isaiah 5:12 would have added with crowns, if this practice had ever had place in the things of God.

Chapter 10

So, when you allege that the ornaments of the heathen deities are found no less with God, with the object of claiming among these for general use the head-crown, you already lay it down for yourself, that we must not have among us, as a thing whose use we are to share with others, what is not to be found in the service of God. Well, what is so unworthy of God indeed as that which is worthy of an idol? But what is so worthy of an idol as that which is also worthy of a dead man? For it is the privilege of the dead also to be thus crowned, as they too straightway become idols, both by their dress and the service of deification, which (deification) is with us a second idolatry. Wanting, then, the sense, it will be theirs to use the thing for which the sense is wanting, just as if in full possession of the sense they wished to abuse it. When there ceases to be any reality in the use, there is no distinction between using and abusing. Who can abuse a thing, when the precipient nature with which he wishes to carry out his purpose is not his to use it? The apostle, moreover, forbids us to abuse, while he would more naturally have taught us not to use, unless on the ground that, where there is no sense for things, there is no wrong use of them. But the whole affair is meaningless, and is, in fact, a dead work so far as concerns the idols; though, without doubt, a living one as respects the demons to whom the religious rite belongs. The idols of the heathen, says David, are silver and gold. They have eyes, and see not; a nose, and smell not; hands, and they will not handle. By means of these organs, indeed, we are to enjoy flowers; but if he declares that those who make idols will be like them, they already are so who use anything after the style of idol adornings. To the pure all things are pure: so, likewise, all things to the impure are impure; Titus 1:15 but nothing is more impure than idols. The substances are themselves as creatures of God without impurity, and in this their native state are free to the use of all; but the ministries to which in their use they are devoted, makes all the difference; for I, too, kill a cock for myself, just as Socrates did for Æsculapius; and if the smell of some place or other offends me, I burn the Arabian product myself, but not with the same ceremony, nor in the same dress, nor with the same pomp, with which it is done to idols. If the creature is defiled by a mere word, as the apostle teaches, But if any one say, This is offered in sacrifice to idols, you must not touch it, 1 Corinthians 10:28

much more when it is polluted by the dress, and rites, and pomp of what is offered to the gods. Thus the crown also is made out to be an offering to idols; for with this ceremony, and dress, and pomp, it is presented in sacrifice to idols, its originators, to whom its use is specially given over, and chiefly on this account, that what has no place among the things of God may not be admitted into use with us as with others. Wherefore the apostle exclaims, Flee idolatry: 1 Corinthians 10:14 certainly idolatry whole and entire he means. Reflect on what a thicket it is, and how many thorns lie hidden in it. Nothing must be given to an idol, and so nothing must be taken from one. If it is inconsistent with faith to recline in an idol temple, what is it to appear in an idol dress? What communion have Christ and Belial? Therefore flee from it; for he enjoins us to keep at a distance from idolatry — to have no close dealings with it of any kind. Even an earthly serpent sucks in men at some distance with its breath. Going still further, John says, My little children, keep yourselves from idols, 1 John 5:21 — not now from idolatry, as if from the service of it, but from idols — that is, from any resemblance to them: for it is an unworthy thing that you, the image of the living God, should become the likeness of an idol and a dead man. Thus far we assert, that this attire belongs to idols, both from the history of its origin, and from its use by false religion; on this ground, besides, that while it is not mentioned as connected with the worship of God, it is more and more given over to those in whose antiquities, as well as festivals and services, it is found. In a word, the very doors, the very victims and altars, the very servants and priests, are crowned. You have, in Claudius, the crowns of all the various colleges of priests. We have added also that distinction between things altogether different from each other — things, namely, agreeable, and things contrary to reason — in answer to those who, because there happens to be the use of some things in common, maintain the right of participation in all things. With reference to this part of the subject, therefore, it now remains that the special grounds for wearing crowns should be examined, that while we show these to be foreign, nay, even opposed to our Christian discipline, we may demonstrate that none of them have any plea of reason to support it, on the basis of which this article of dress might be vindicated as one in whose use we can participate, as even some others may whose instances are cast up to us.

Chapter 11

To begin with the real ground of the military crown, I think we must first inquire whether warfare is proper at all for Christians. What sense is there in discussing the merely accidental, when that on which it rests is to be condemned? Do we believe it lawful for a human oath to be superadded to one divine, for a man to come under promise to another master after Christ, and to abjure father, mother, and all nearest kinsfolk, whom even the law has commanded us to honour and love next to God Himself, to whom the gospel, too, holding them only of less account than Christ, has in like manner rendered honour? Shall it be held lawful to make an occupation of the sword, when the Lord proclaims that he who uses the sword shall perish by the sword? And shall the son of peace take part in the battle when it does not become him even to sue at law? And shall he apply the chain, and the prison, and the torture, and the punishment, who is not the avenger even of his own wrongs? Shall he, forsooth, either keep watch-service for others more than for Christ, or shall he do it on the Lord's day, when he does not even do it for Christ Himself? And shall he keep guard before the temples which he has renounced? And shall he take a meal where the apostle has forbidden him? 1 Corinthians 8:10 And shall he diligently protect by night those whom in the day-time he has put to flight by his exorcisms, leaning and resting on the spear the while with which Christ's side was pierced? Shall he carry a flag, too, hostile to Christ? And shall *he* ask a watchword from the emperor who has already received one from God? Shall *he* be disturbed in death by the trumpet of the trumpeter, who expects to be aroused by the angel's trump? And shall the Christian be burned according to camp rule, when he was not permitted to burn incense to an idol, when to him Christ remitted the punishment of fire? Then how many other offenses there are involved in the performances of camp offices, which we must hold to involve a transgression of God's law, you may see by a slight survey. The very carrying of the name over from the camp of light to the camp of darkness is a violation of it. Of course, if faith comes later, and finds any preoccupied with military service, their case is different, as in the instance of those whom John used to receive for baptism, and of those most faithful centurions, I mean the centurion whom Christ approves, and the centurion whom Peter instructs; yet, at the same

time, when a man has become a believer, and faith has been sealed, there must be either an immediate abandonment of it, which has been the course with many; or all sorts of quibbling will have to be resorted to in order to avoid offending God, and that is not allowed even outside of military service; or, last of all, for God the fate must be endured which a citizen-faith has been no less ready to accept. Neither does military service hold out escape from punishment of sins, or exemption from martyrdom. Nowhere does the Christian change his character. There is one gospel, and the same Jesus, who will one day deny every one who denies, and acknowledge every one who acknowledges God — who will save, too, the life which has been lost for His sake; but, on the other hand, destroy that which for gain has been saved to His dishonour. With Him the faithful citizen is a soldier, just as the faithful soldier is a citizen. A state of faith admits no plea of necessity; they are under no necessity to sin, whose one necessity is, that they do not sin. For if one is pressed to the offering of sacrifice and the sheer denial of Christ by the necessity of torture or of punishment, yet discipline does not connive even at that necessity; because there is a higher necessity to dread denying and to undergo martyrdom, than to escape from suffering, and to render the homage required. In fact, an excuse of this sort overturns the entire essence of our sacrament, removing even the obstacle to voluntary sins; for it will be possible also to maintain that inclination is a necessity, as involving in it, forsooth, a sort of compulsion. I have, in fact, disposed of this very allegation of necessity with reference to the pleas by which crowns connected with official position are vindicated, in support of which it is in common use, since for this very reason offices must be either refused, that we may not fall into acts of sin, or martyrdoms endured that we may get quit of offices. Touching this primary aspect of the question, as to the unlawfulness even of a military life itself, I shall not add more, that the secondary question may be restored to its place. Indeed, if, putting my strength to the question, I banish from us the military life, I should now to no purpose issue a challenge on the matter of the military crown. Suppose, then, that the military service is lawful, as far as the plea for the crown is concerned.

Chapter 12

But I first say a word also about the crown itself. This laurel one is sacred to Apollo or Bacchus — to the former as the god of archery, to the latter as the god of triumphs. In like manner Claudius teaches; when he tells us that soldiers are wont too to be wreathed in myrtle. For the myrtle belongs to Venus, the mother of the Æneadæ, the mistress also of the god of war, who, through Ilia and the Romuli is Roman. But I do not believe that Venus is Roman as well as Mars, because of the vexation the concubine gave her. When military service again is crowned with olive, the idolatry has respect to Minerva, who is equally the goddess of arms — but got a crown of the tree referred to, because of the peace she made with Neptune. In these respects, the superstition of the military garland will be everywhere defiled and all-defiling. And it is further defiled, I should think, also in the grounds of it. Lo the yearly public pronouncing of vows, what does that bear on its face to be? It takes place first in the part of the camp where the general's tent is, and then in the temples. In addition to the places, observe the words also: We vow that you, O Jupiter, will then have an ox with gold-decorated horns. What does the utterance mean? Without a doubt the denial (of Christ). Albeit the Christian says nothing in these places with the mouth, he makes his response by having the crown on his head. The laurel is likewise commanded (to be used) at the distribution of the largess. So you see idolatry is not without its gain, selling, as it does, Christ for pieces of gold, as Judas did for pieces of silver. Will it be You cannot serve God and mammon Matthew 6:24 to devote your energies to mammon, and to depart from God? Will it be Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's, Matthew 22:21 not only not to render the human being to God, but even to take the denarius from Cæsar? Is the laurel of the triumph made of leaves, or of corpses? Is it adorned with ribbons, or with tombs? Is it bedewed with ointments, or with the tears of wives and mothers? It may be of some Christians too; for Christ is also among the barbarians. Has not he who has carried (a crown for) this cause on his head, fought even against himself? Another son of service belongs to the royal guards. And indeed crowns are called (*Castrenses*), as belonging to the camp; *Munificæ* likewise, from the Cæsarean functions they perform. But even then you are still the soldier and the servant of another; and

if of two masters, of God and Cæsar: but assuredly then not of Cæsar, when you owe yourself to God, as having higher claims, I should think, even in matters in which both have an interest.

Chapter 13

For state reasons, the various orders of the citizens also are crowned with laurel crowns; but the magistrates besides with golden ones, as at Athens, and at Rome. Even to those are preferred the Etruscan. This appellation is given to the crowns which, distinguished by their gems and oak leaves of gold, they put on, with mantles having an embroidery of palm branches, to conduct the chariots containing the images of the gods to the circus. There are also provincial crowns of gold, needing now the larger heads of images instead of those of men. But your orders, and your magistracies, and your very place of meeting, the church, are Christ's. You belong to Him, for you have been enrolled in the books of life. Philippians 4:3 There the blood of the Lord serves for your purple robe, and your broad stripe is His own cross; there the axe is already laid to the trunk of the tree; Matthew 3:10 there is the branch out of the root of Jesse. Isaiah 11:1 Never mind the state horses with their crown. Your Lord, when, according to the Scripture, He would enter Jerusalem in triumph, had not even an ass of His own. These (put their trust) in chariots, and these in horses; but we will seek our help in the name of the Lord our God. From so much as a dwelling in that Babylon of John's Revelation we are called away; much more then from its pomp. The rabble, too, are crowned, at one time because of some great rejoicing for the success of the emperors; at another, on account of some custom belonging to municipal festivals. For luxury strives to make her own every occasion of public gladness. But as for you, you are a foreigner in this world, a citizen of Jerusalem, the city above. Our citizenship, the apostle says, is in heaven. Philippians 3:20 You have your own registers, your own calendar; you have nothing to do with the joys of the world; nay, you are called to the very opposite, for the world shall rejoice, but you shall mourn. John 16:20 And I think the Lord affirms, that those who mourn are happy, not those who are crowned. Marriage, too, decks the bridegroom with its crown; and therefore we will not have heathen brides, lest they seduce us even to the idolatry with which among them marriage is initiated. You have the law from the patriarchs indeed; you have the apostle enjoining people to marry in the Lord. 1 Corinthians 7:39 You have a crowning also on the making of a freeman; but *you* have been already ransomed by Christ, and that at a great price. How shall

the world manumit the servant of another? Though it seems to be liberty, yet it will come to be found bondage. In the world everything is nominal, and nothing real. For even then, as ransomed by Christ, you were under no bondage to man; and now, though man has given you liberty, you are the servant of Christ. If you think freedom of the world to be real, so that you even seal it with a crown, you have returned to the slavery of man, imagining it to be freedom; you have lost the freedom of Christ, fancying it is slavery. Will there be any dispute as to the cause of crown-wearing, which contests in the games in their turn supply, and which, both as sacred to the gods and in honour of the dead, their own reason at once condemns? It only remains, that the Olympian Jupiter, and the Nemean Hercules, and the wretched little Archemorus, and the hapless Antinous, should be crowned in a Christian, that he himself may become a spectacle disgusting to behold. We have recounted, as I think, all the various causes of the wearing of the crown, and there is not one which has any place with us: all are foreign to us, unholy, unlawful, having been abjured already once for all in the solemn declaration of the sacrament. For they were of the pomp of the devil and his angels, offices of the world, honours, festivals, popularity huntings, false vows, exhibitions of human servility, empty praises, base glories, and in them all idolatry, even in respect of the origin of the crowns alone, with which they are all wreathed. Claudius will tell us in his preface, indeed, that in the poems of Homer the heaven also is crowned with constellations, and that no doubt by God, no doubt for man; therefore man himself, too, should be crowned by God. But the world crowns brothels, and baths, and bakehouses, and prisons, and schools, and the very amphitheatres, and the chambers where the clothes are stripped from dead gladiators, and the very biers of the dead. How sacred and holy, how venerable and pure is this article of dress, determine not from the heaven of poetry alone, but from the traffickings of the whole world. But indeed a Christian will not even dishonour his own gate with laurel crowns, if so be he knows how many gods the devil has attached to doors; Janus so-called from gate, Limentinus from threshold, Forcus and Carna from leaves and hinges; among the Greeks, too, the Thyraean Apollo, and the evil spirits, the Antelii.

Chapter 14

Much less may the Christian put the service of idolatry on his own head — nay, I might have said, upon Christ, since Christ is the Head of the Christian man — (for his head) is as free as even Christ is, under no obligation to wear a covering, not to say a band. But even the head which is bound to have the veil, I mean woman's, as already taken possession of by this very thing, is not open also to a band. She has the burden of her own humility to bear. If she ought not to appear with her head uncovered on account of the angels, much more with a crown on it will she offend those (elders) who perhaps are then wearing crowns above. Revelation 4:4 For what is a crown on the head of a woman, but beauty made seductive, but mark of utter wantonness — a notable casting away of modesty, a setting temptation on fire? Therefore a woman, taking counsel from the apostles' foresight, will not too elaborately adorn herself, that she may not either be crowned with any exquisite arrangement of her hair. What sort of garland, however, I pray you, did He who is the Head of the man and the glory of the woman, Christ Jesus, the Husband of the church, submit to in behalf of both sexes? Of thorns, I think, and thistles — a figure of the sins which the soil of the flesh brought forth for us, but which the power of the cross removed, blunting, in its endurance by the head of our Lord, death's every sting. Yes, and besides the figure, there is contumely with ready lip, and dishonour, and infamy, and the ferocity involved in the cruel things which then disfigured and lacerated the temples of the Lord, that you may now be crowned with laurel, and myrtle, and olive, and any famous branch, and which is of more use, with hundred-leaved roses too, culled from the garden of Midas, and with both kinds of lily, and with violets of all sorts, perhaps also with gems and gold, so as even to rival that crown of Christ which He afterwards obtained. For it was after the gall He tasted the honeycomb and He was not greeted as King of Glory in heavenly places till He had been condemned to the cross as King of the Jews, having first been made by the Father for a time a little less than the angels, and so crowned with glory and honour. If for these things, you owe your own head to Him, repay it if you can, such as He presented His for yours; or be not crowned with flowers at all, if you cannot be with thorns, because you may not be with flowers.

Chapter 15

Keep for God His own property untainted; He will crown it if He choose. Nay, then, He does even choose. He calls us to it. To him who conquers He says, I will give a crown of life. Be *you*, too, faithful unto death, and fight *you*, too, the good fight, whose crown the apostle 2 Timothy 4:8 feels so justly confident has been laid up for him. The angel Revelation 6:2 also, as he goes forth on a white horse, conquering and to conquer, receives a crown of victory; and another Revelation 10:1 is adorned with an encircling rainbow (as it were in its fair colors) — a celestial meadow. In like manner, the elders sit crowned around, crowned too with a crown of gold, and the Son of Man Himself flashes out above the clouds. If such are the appearances in the vision of the seer, of what sort will be the realities in the actual manifestation? Look at those crowns. Inhale those odours. Why condemn you to a little chaplet, or a twisted headband, the brow which has been destined for a diadem? For Christ Jesus has made us even kings to God and His Father. What have you in common with the flower which is to die? You have a flower in the Branch of Jesse, upon which the grace of the Divine Spirit in all its fullness rested — a flower undefiled, unfading, everlasting, by choosing which the good soldier, too, has got promotion in the heavenly ranks. Blush, you fellow-soldiers of his, henceforth not to be condemned even by him, but by some soldier of Mithras, who, at his initiation in the gloomy cavern, in the camp, it may well be said, of darkness, when at the sword's point a crown is presented to him, as though in mimicry of martyrdom, and thereupon put upon his head, is admonished to resist and cast it off, and, if you like, transfer it to his shoulder, saying that Mithras is his crown. And thenceforth he is never crowned; and he has that for a mark to show who he is, if anywhere he be subjected to trial in respect of his religion; and he is at once believed to be a soldier of Mithras if he throws the crown away — if he say that in his god he has his crown. Let us take note of the devices of the devil, who is wont to ape some of God's things with no other design than, by the faithfulness of his servants, to put us to shame, and to condemn us.

De velandis Virginibus (On Veiling Virgins)



Translated by Sydney Thelwall

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Chapter 1. Truth Rather to Be Appealed to Than Custom, and Truth Progressive in Its Developments

Having already undergone the trouble peculiar to my opinion, I will show in Latin also that it behooves our virgins to be veiled from the time that they have passed the turning-point of their age: that this observance is exacted by truth, on which no one can impose prescription — no space of times, no influence of persons, no privilege of regions. For these, for the most part, are the sources whence, from some ignorance or simplicity, custom finds its beginning; and then it is successionaly confirmed into an usage, and thus is maintained in opposition to truth. But our Lord Christ has surnamed Himself Truth, not Custom. If Christ is always, and prior to all, equally truth is a thing sempiternal and ancient. Let those therefore look to themselves, to whom that is new which is intrinsically old. It is not so much novelty as truth which convicts heresies. Whatever savours of opposition to truth, this will be heresy, even (if it be an) ancient custom. On the other hand, if any is ignorant of anything, the ignorance proceeds from his own defect. Moreover, whatever is matter of ignorance ought to have been as carefully *inquired into* as whatever is matter of acknowledgment *received*. The rule of faith, indeed, is altogether one, alone immoveable and irreformable; the rule, to wit, of believing in one only God omnipotent, the Creator of the universe, and His Son Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate, raised again the third day from the dead, received in the heavens, sitting now at the right (hand) of the Father, destined to come to judge quick and dead through the resurrection of the flesh as well (as of the spirit). This law of faith being constant, the other succeeding points of discipline and conversation admit the novelty of correction; the grace of God, to wit, operating and advancing even to the end. For what kind of (supposition) is it, that, while the devil is always operating and adding daily to the ingenuities of iniquity, the work of God should either have ceased, or else have desisted from advancing? Whereas the reason why the Lord sent the Paraclete was, that, since human mediocrity was unable to take in all things at once, discipline should, little by little, be directed, and ordained, and carried on to perfection, by that Vicar of the Lord, the Holy Spirit. Still, He said, I have many things to say to you, but you are not yet able to bear them: when that Spirit of truth shall have come, He will conduct you

into all truth, and will report to you the supervening (things). But above, withal, He made a declaration concerning this His work. What, then, is the Paraclete's administrative office but this: the direction of discipline, the revelation of the Scriptures, the reformation of the intellect, the advancement toward the better things? Nothing is without stages of growth: all things await their season. In short, the preacher says, A time to everything. Look how creation itself advances little by little to fructification. First comes the grain, and from the grain arises the shoot, and from the shoot struggles out the shrub: thereafter boughs and leaves gather strength, and the whole that we call a tree expands: then follows the swelling of the germen, and from the germen bursts the flower, and from the flower the fruit opens: that fruit itself, rude for a while, and unshapely, little by little, keeping the straight course of its development, is trained to the mellowness of its flavour. So, too, righteousness — for the God of righteousness and of creation is the same — was first in a rudimentary state, having a natural fear of God: from that stage it advanced, through the Law and the Prophets, to infancy; from that stage it passed, through the Gospel, to the fervour of youth: now, through the Paraclete, it is settling into maturity. He will be, after Christ, the only one to be called and revered as Master; for He speaks not from Himself, but what is commanded by Christ. He is the only prelate, because He alone succeeds Christ. They who have received Him set truth before custom. They who have heard Him prophesying even to the present time, not of old, bid virgins be wholly covered.

Chapter 2. Before Proceeding Farther, Let the Question of Custom Itself Be Sifted

But I will not, meantime, attribute this usage to Truth. Be it, for a while, custom: that to custom I may likewise oppose custom.

Throughout Greece, and certain of its barbaric provinces, the majority of Churches keep their virgins covered. There are places, too, beneath this (African) sky, where this practice obtains; lest any ascribe the custom to Greek or barbarian Gentilehood. But I have proposed (as models) those Churches which were founded by apostles or apostolic men; and antecedently, I think, to certain (founders, who shall be nameless). Those Churches therefore, as well (as others), have the self-same authority of custom (to appeal to); in opposing phalanx they range times and teachers, more than these later (Churches do). What shall we observe? What shall we choose? We cannot contemptuously reject a custom which we cannot condemn, inasmuch as it is not strange, since it is not among strangers that we find it, but among those, to wit, with whom we share the law of peace and the name of brotherhood. They and we have one faith, one God, the same Christ, the same hope, the same baptismal sacraments; let me say it once for all, we are one Church. Thus, whatever belongs to our brethren is ours: only, the body divides us.

Still, here (as generally happens in all cases of various practice, of doubt, and of uncertainty), examination ought to have been made to see which of two so diverse customs were the more compatible with the discipline of God. And, of course, that ought to have been chosen which keeps virgins veiled, as being known to God alone; who (besides that glory must be sought from God, not from men) ought to blush even at their own privilege. You put a virgin to the blush more by praising than by blaming her; because the front of sin is more hard, learning shamelessness from and in the sin itself. For that custom which belies virgins while it exhibits them, would never have been approved by any except by some men who must have been similar in character to the virgins themselves. Such eyes will wish that a virgin be seen as has the virgin who shall wish to be seen. The same kinds of eyes reciprocally crave after each other. Seeing and being seen belong to the self-same lust. To blush if he see a virgin is as much a mark of a chaste man, as of a chaste virgin if seen by a

man.

Chapter 3. Gradual Development of Custom, and Its Results. Passionate Appeal to Truth

But not even between customs have those most chaste teachers chosen to examine. Still, until very recently, among *us*, either custom was, with comparative indifference, admitted to communion. The matter had been left to choice, for each virgin to veil herself or expose herself, as she might have chosen, just as (she had equal liberty) as to marrying, which itself withal is neither enforced nor prohibited. Truth had been content to make an agreement with custom, in order that under the name of custom it might enjoy itself even partially. But when the power of discerning began to advance, so that the licence granted to either fashion was becoming the mean whereby the indication of the better part emerged; immediately the great adversary of good things — and much more of good institutions — set to his own work. The virgins of men go about, in opposition to the virgins of God, with front quite bare, excited to a rash audacity; and the semblance of *virgins* is exhibited by women who have the power of asking somewhat from *husbands*, not to say such a request as that (forsooth) their rivals — all the more free in that they are the hand-maids of Christ alone — may be surrendered to them. We are scandalized, they say, because others walk otherwise (than we do); and they prefer being scandalized to being provoked (to modesty). A scandal, if I mistake not, is an example not of a good thing, but of a bad, tending to sinful edification. Good things scandalize none but an evil mind. If modesty, if bashfulness, if contempt of glory, anxious to please God alone, are good things, let women who are scandalized by such good learn to acknowledge their own evil. For what if the incontinent withal say they are scandalized by the continent? Is continence to be recalled? And, for fear the multinubists be scandalized, is monogamy to be rejected? Why may not these latter rather complain that the petulance, the impudence, of ostentatious virginity is a scandal to *them*? Are therefore chaste virgins to be, for the sake of these marketable creatures, dragged into the church, blushing at being recognised in public, quaking at being unveiled, as if they had been invited as it were to rape? For they are no less unwilling to suffer even this. Every public exposure of an honourable virgin is (to her) a suffering of rape: and yet the suffering of carnal violence is the less (evil), because it comes of natural office. But when

the very spirit itself is violated in a virgin by the abstraction of her covering, she has learned to lose what she used to keep. O sacrilegious hands, which have had the hardihood to drag off a dress dedicated to God! What worse could any persecutor have done, if he had known that this (garb) had been chosen by a virgin? You have denuded a maiden in regard of her head, and immediately she wholly ceases to be a virgin to herself; she has undergone a change! Arise, therefore, Truth; arise, and as it were burst forth from Your patience! No *custom* do I wish You to defend; for by this time even that custom under which You enjoyed your own liberty is being stormed! Demonstrate that it is Yourself who art the coverer of virgins. Interpret in person Your own Scriptures, which Custom understands not; for, if she had, she never would have had an existence.

Chapter 4. Of the Argument Drawn from 1 Cor. XI. 5-16.

But in so far as it is the custom to argue even from the Scriptures in opposition to truth, there is immediately urged against us the fact that no mention of virgins is made by the apostle where he is prescribing about the veil, but that 'women' only are named; whereas, if he had willed virgins as well to be covered, he would have pronounced concerning 'virgins' also together with the 'women' named; just as, says (our opponent), in that passage where he is treating of marriage, he declares likewise with regard to 'virgins' what observance is to be followed. And accordingly (it is urged) that they are not comprised in the law of veiling the head, as not being named in this law; nay rather, that this is the origin of their being *unveiled*, inasmuch as they who are not *named* are not *bidden*.

But we withal retort the self-same line of argument. For he who knew elsewhere how to make mention of each sex — of *virgin* I mean, and *woman*, that is, *not-virgin* — for distinction's sake; in these (passages), in which he does *not* name a *virgin*, points out (by not making the distinction) community of condition. Otherwise he could here also have marked the difference between *virgin* and *woman*, just as elsewhere he says, Divided is the *woman* and the *virgin*. Therefore those whom, by passing them over in silence, he has not divided, he has included in the other species.

Nor yet, because in that case divided is both *woman* and *virgin*, will this division exert its patronizing influence in the present case as well, as some will have it. For how many sayings, uttered on another occasion, have no weight — in cases, to wit, where they are *not* uttered — unless the subject-matter be the same as on the other occasion, so that the one utterance may suffice! But the former case of *virgin* and *woman* is widely divided from the present question. Divided, he says, is the *woman* and the *virgin*. Why? Inasmuch as the unmarried, that is, the *virgin*, is anxious about those (things) which are the Lord's, that she may be holy both in body and in spirit; but the married, that is, the *not-virgin*, is anxious how she may please her husband. This will be the interpretation of that division, having no place in this passage (now under consideration); in which pronouncement is made neither about marriage, nor about the mind and the thought of *woman* and of *virgin*, but

about the veiling of the head. Of which (veiling) the Holy Spirit, willing that there should be no distinction, willed that by the one name of *woman* should likewise be understood the *virgin*; whom, by not specially naming, He has not separated from the *woman*, and, by not separating, has conjoined to her from whom He has not separated her.

Is it now, then, a novelty to use the primary word, and nevertheless to have the other (subordinate divisions) understood in that word, in cases where there is no necessity for individually distinguishing the (various parts of the) universal whole? Naturally, a compendious style of speech is both pleasing and necessary; inasmuch as diffuse speech is both tiresome and vain. So, too, we are content with general words, which comprehend in themselves the understanding of the specialties. Proceed we, then, to the word itself. The word (expressing the) *natural* (distinction) is *female*. Of the natural word, the *general* word is *woman*. Of the *general*, again, the *special* is *virgin*, or *wife*, or *widow*, or whatever other names, even of the successive stages of life, are added hereto. Subject, therefore, the *special* is to the *general* (because the general is prior); and the *succedent* to the *antecedent*, and the *partial* to the *universal*: (each) is implied in the word itself to which it is subject; and is signified in it, because contained in it. Thus neither *hand*, nor *foot*, nor any one of the *members*, requires to be signified when the *body* is named. And if you say the *universe*, therein will be both the heaven and the things that are in it — sun and moon, and constellations and stars — and the earth and the seas, and everything that goes to make up the list of elements. You will have named all, when you have named that which is made up of all. So, too, by naming *woman*, he has named whatever is *woman*'s.

Chapter 5. Of the Word Woman, Especially in Connection with Its Application to Eve

But since they use the name of *woman* in such a way as to think it inapplicable save to her alone who has known a man, the pertinence of the propriety of this word to the sex itself, not to a grade of the sex, must be proved by us; that *virgins* as well (as others) may be commonly comprised in it.

When this kind of second human being was made by God for man's assistance, that *female* was immediately named *woman*; still happy, still worthy of paradise, still *virgin*. She shall be called, said (Adam), Woman. And accordingly you have the name — I say, not already *common* to a *virgin*, but — *proper* (to her; a name) which from the beginning was allotted to a *virgin*. But some ingeniously will have it that it was said of the *future*, She *shall be* called *woman*, as if she were destined to be so when she had resigned her virginity; since he added withal: For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and be conglutinated to his own *woman*; and the two shall be one flesh. Let them therefore among whom that subtlety obtains show us first, if she were surnamed *woman* with a future reference, what name she meantime received. For without a name expressive of her *present* quality she cannot have been. But what kind of (hypothesis) is it that one who, with an eye to the future, was called by a definite name, at the present time should have nothing for a surname? On all animals Adam imposed names; and on none on the ground of future condition, but on the ground of the present purpose which each particular nature served; called (as each nature was) by that to which from the beginning it showed a propensity. What, then, was she at that time called? Why, as often as she is named in the Scripture, she has the appellation *woman* before she was *wedded*, and never *virgin* while she *was* a *virgin*.

This name was at that time the only one she had, and (that) when nothing was (as yet) said prophetically. For when the Scripture records that the two were naked, Adam and his *woman*, neither does this savour of the future, as if it said his *woman* as a presage of *wife*; but because his *woman* was withal unwedded, as being (formed) from his own substance. This bone, he says, out of my bones, and flesh out of my flesh, shall be called *woman*. Hence, then, it is from the tacit consciousness of nature that the actual divinity of the soul has

educated into the ordinary usage of common speech, unawares to men, (just as *it has thus educed* many other things too which we shall elsewhere be able to show to derive from the Scriptures the origin of their doing and saying,) our fashion of calling our *wives* our *women*, however improperly withal we may in *some* instances speak. For the Greeks, too, who use the name of *woman* more (than we do) in the sense of *wife*, have other names appropriate to *wife*. But I prefer to assign this usage as a testimony to Scripture. For when two are made into one flesh through the marriage-tie, the flesh of flesh and bone of bones is called the *woman* of him of whose substance she begins to be accounted by being made his *wife*. Thus *woman* is not by nature a name of *wife*, but *wife* by condition is a name of *woman*. In fine, *womanhood* is predicable apart from *wifehood*; but *wifehood* apart from *womanhood* is not, because it cannot even exist. Having therefore settled the name of the newly-made female — which (name) is *woman* — and having explained what she formerly was, that is, having sealed the name to her, he immediately turned to the prophetic reason, so as to say, On this account shall a man leave father and mother. The name is so truly separate from the prophecy, as far as (the prophecy) from the individual person herself, that of course it is not with reference to Eve herself that (Adam) has uttered (the prophecy), but with a view to those future females whom he has named in the maternal fount of the feminine race. Besides, Adam was not to leave father and mother — whom he had not — for the sake of Eve. Therefore that which was prophetically said does not apply to Eve, because it does not to Adam either. For it was predicted with regard to the condition of husbands, who were destined to leave their parents for a *woman's* sake; which could not chance to Eve, because it could not to Adam either.

If the case is so, it is apparent that she was not surnamed *woman* on account of a future (circumstance), to whom (that) future (circumstance) did not apply.

To this is added, that (Adam) himself published the reason of the name. For, after saying, She shall be called *woman*, he said, inasmuch as she has been taken out of man — the man himself withal being still a virgin. But we will speak, too, about the name of *man* in its own place. Accordingly, let none interpret with a prophetic reference a name which was deduced from another signification; especially since it is apparent when she *did* receive a name

founded upon a future (circumstance) — there, namely, where she is surnamed Eve, with a *personal* name now, because the *natural* one had gone before. For if Eve means the mother of the living, behold, she is surnamed from a future (circumstance)! Behold, she is pre-announced to be a *wife*, and not a *virgin*! This will be the name of one who is about to wed; for of the bride (comes) the mother.

Thus in this case too it is shown, that it was not from a future (circumstance) that she was at that time named *woman*, who was shortly after to receive the name which would be proper to her future condition.

Sufficient answer has been made to this part (of the question).

Chapter 6. The Parallel Case of Mary Considered

Let us now see whether the apostle withal observes the norm of this name in accordance with Genesis, attributing it to *the sex*; calling the *virgin* Mary a *woman*, just as Genesis (does) Eve. For, writing to the Galatians, God, he says, sent His own Son, made of a *woman*, who, of course, is admitted to have been a *virgin*, albeit Hebion resist (that doctrine). I recognise, too, the angel Gabriel as having been sent to a *virgin*. But when he is blessing her, it is among *women*, not among *virgins*, that he ranks her: Blessed (are) you among *women*. The angel withal knew that even a *virgin* is called a *woman*.

But to these two (arguments), again, there is one who appears to himself to have made an ingenious answer; (to the effect that) inasmuch as Mary was betrothed, therefore it is that both by angel and apostle she is pronounced a *woman*; for a betrothed is in some sense a bride. Still, between in some sense and truth there is difference enough, at all events in the present place: for elsewhere, we grant, we must thus hold. Now, however, it is not as being already wedded that they have pronounced Mary a *woman*, but as being none the less a female even if she had not been espoused; as having been called by this (name) from the beginning: for that must necessarily have a prejudicating force from which the normal type has descended. Else, as far as relates to the present passage, if Mary is here put on a level with a betrothed, so that she is called a *woman* not on the ground of being a *female*, but on the ground of being assigned to a husband, it immediately follows that Christ was not born of a *virgin*, because (born) of one betrothed, who by this fact will have ceased to be a *virgin*. Whereas, if He was born of a *virgin* — albeit withal betrothed, yet intact — acknowledge that even a *virgin*, even an intact one, is called a *woman*. Here, at all events, there can be no semblance of speaking prophetically, as if the apostle should have named a *future woman*, that is, *bride*, in saying made of a *woman*. For he could not be naming a posterior *woman*, from whom Christ had not to be born — that is, one who had known a man; but she who was then present, who was a *virgin*, was withal called a *woman* in consequence of the propriety of this name — vindicated, in accordance with the primordial norm, (as belonging) to a *virgin*, and thus to the universal class of *women*.

Chapter 7. Of the Reasons Assigned by the Apostle for Bidding Women to Be Veiled

Turn we next to the examination of the reasons themselves which lead the apostle to teach that the female ought to be veiled, (to see) whether the self-same (reasons) apply to *virgins* likewise; so that hence also the community of the name between *virgins* and *not-virgins* may be established, while the self-same causes which necessitate the veil are found to exist in each case.

If the man is head of the *woman*, of course (he is) of the *virgin* too, from whom comes the *woman* who has married; unless the *virgin* is a third generic class, some monstrosity with a head of its own. If it is shameful for a *woman* to be shaven or shorn, of course it is so for a *virgin*. (Hence let the world, the rival of God, see to it, if it asserts that close-cut hair is graceful to a virgin in like manner as that flowing hair is to a boy.) To her, then, to whom it is equally *unbecoming* to be shaven or shorn, it is equally becoming to be covered. If the *woman* is the glory of the man, how much more the *virgin*, who is a glory withal to herself! If the *woman* is of the man, and for the sake of the man, that rib of Adam was first a *virgin*. If the woman ought to have power upon the head, all the more justly ought the *virgin*, to whom pertains the essence of the cause (assigned for this assertion). For if (it is) on account of the angels — those, to wit, whom we read of as having fallen from God and heaven on account of concupiscence after females — who can presume that it was bodies already defiled, and relics of human lust, which such angels yearned after, so as not rather to have been inflamed for *virgins*, whose bloom pleads an excuse for human lust likewise? For thus does Scripture withal suggest: And it came to pass, it says, when men had begun to grow more numerous upon the earth, there were withal daughters born them; but the sons of God, having desried the daughters of men, that they were fair, took to themselves wives of all whom they elected. For here the Greek name of *women* does seem to have the sense *wives*, inasmuch as mention is made of marriage. When, then, it says the *daughters* of men, it manifestly purports *virgins*, who would be still reckoned as belonging to their *parents* — for *wedded women* are called their *husbands*’ — whereas it *could* have said the *wives* of men: in like manner not naming the angels adulterers, but husbands, while they take *unwedded* daughters of men, who it has above said were born,

thus also signifying their *virginity*: first, born; but here, wedded to angels. Anything else I know not that they were except born and subsequently wedded. So perilous a face, then, ought to be shaded, which has cast stumbling-stones even so far as heaven: that, when standing in the presence of God, at whose bar it stands accused of the driving of the angels from their (native) confines, it may blush before the other angels as well; and may repress that former evil liberty of its head — (a liberty) now to be exhibited not even before human eyes. But even if they were females already contaminated whom those angels had desired, so much the more on account of the angels would it have been the duty of *virgins* to be veiled, as it would have been the more possible for *virgins* to have been the cause of the angels' sinning. If, moreover, the apostle further adds the prejudgment of nature, that redundancy of locks is an honour to a *woman*, because hair serves for a covering, of course it is most of all to a *virgin* that this is a distinction; for their very adornment properly consists in this, that, by being massed together upon the crown, it wholly covers the very citadel of the head with an encirclement of hair.

Chapter 8. The Argument E Contrario

The contraries, at all events, of all these (considerations) effect that a *man* is *not* to cover his head: to wit, because he has not by nature been gifted with excess of hair; because to be shaven or shorn is not shameful to him; because it was not on his account that the angels transgressed; because his Head is Christ. Accordingly, since the apostle is treating of *man* and *woman* — why the latter ought to be veiled, but the former not — it is apparent why he has been silent as to the *virgin*; allowing, to wit, the *virgin* to be understood in the *woman* by the self-same reason by which he forbore to name the boy as implied in the *man*; embracing the whole order of either sex in the names proper (to each) of *woman* and *man*. So likewise Adam, while still intact, is surnamed in Genesis *man*: She shall be called, says he, *woman*, because she has been taken from her own *man*. Thus was Adam a *man* before nuptial intercourse, in like manner as Eve a *woman*. On either side the apostle has made his sentence apply with sufficient plainness to the universal species of each sex; and briefly and fully, with so well-appointed a definition, he says, *Every woman*. What is every, but of every class, of every order, of every condition, of every dignity, of every age? — if, (as is the case), every means total and entire, and in none of its parts defective. But the *virgin* is withal a *part* of the *woman*. Equally, too, with regard to not veiling the *man*, he says every. Behold two diverse names, *Man* and *woman* — every one in each case: two laws, mutually distinctive; on the one hand (a law) of veiling, on the other (a law) of baring. Therefore, if the fact that it is said every *man* makes it plain that the name of *man* is common even to him who is *not* yet a *man*, a stripling male; (if), moreover, since the *name* is common according to nature, the law of not veiling him who among *men* is a *virgin* is common too according to discipline: why is it that it is not consequently prejudged that, *woman* being named, every *woman-virgin* is similarly comprised in the fellowship of the *name*, so as to be comprised too in the community of the *law*? If a *virgin* is not a *woman*, neither is a *stripling* a *man*. If the *virgin* is not covered on the plea that she is not a *woman*, let the *stripling* be covered on the plea that he is not a *man*. Let identity of *virginity* share equality of indulgence. As *virgins* are not compelled to be veiled, so let *boys* not be bidden to be *unveiled*. Why do we partly acknowledge the definition of the apostle, as absolute with regard to

every *man*, without entering upon disquisitions as to why he has not withal named the *boy*; but partly prevaricate, though it is equally absolute with regard to every *woman*? If any, he says, is contentious, we have not such a custom, nor (has) the Church of God. He shows that there had been some contention about this point; for the extinction whereof he uses the whole compendiousness (of language): not naming the *virgin*, on the one hand, in order to show that there is to be no doubt about her veiling; and, on the other hand, naming every *woman*, whereas he would have named the *virgin* (had the question been confined to her). So, too, did the Corinthians themselves understand him. In fact, at this day the Corinthians do veil their *virgins*. What the apostles taught, their disciples approve.

Chapter 9. Veiling Consistent with the Other Rules of Discipline Observed by Virgins and Women in General

Let us now see whether, as we have shown the arguments drawn from nature and the matter itself to be applicable to the *virgin* as well (as to other *females*), so likewise the precepts of ecclesiastical discipline concerning *women* have an eye to the *virgin*.

It is not permitted to a *woman* to speak in the church; but neither (is it permitted her) to teach, nor to baptize, nor to offer, nor to claim to herself a lot in any manly function, not to say (in any) sacerdotal office. Let us inquire whether any of these be lawful to a *virgin*. If it is *not* lawful to a *virgin*, but she is subjected on the self-same terms (as the *woman*), and the necessity for humility is assigned her together with the *woman*, whence will this one thing be lawful to *her* which is not lawful to any and every *female*? If any is a *virgin*, and has proposed to sanctify her flesh, what prerogative does she (thereby) earn adverse to her own condition? Is the reason why it is granted her to dispense with the veil, that she may be notable and marked as she enters the church? That she may display the honour of sanctity in the liberty of her head? More worthy distinction could have been conferred on her by according her some prerogative of manly rank or office! I know plainly, that in a certain place a *virgin* of less than twenty years of age has been placed in the order of *widows*! Whereas if the bishop had been bound to accord her any relief, he might, of course, have done it in some other way without detriment to the respect due to discipline; that such a miracle, not to say monster, should not be pointed at in the church, a *virgin-widow*! the more portentous indeed, that not even as a *widow* did she veil her head; denying herself either way; both as *virgin*, in that she is counted a *widow*, and as *widow*, in that she is styled a *virgin*. But the authority which licenses her sitting in that seat *uncovered* is the same which allows her to sit there as a *virgin*: a seat to which (besides the sixty years not merely single-husbanded (*women*) — that is, *married women* — are at length elected, but mothers to boot, yes, and educators of children; in order, forsooth, that their experimental training in all the affections may, on the one hand, have rendered them capable of readily aiding all others with counsel and comfort, and that, on the other, they may none the less have travelled down the whole course of probation whereby a *female* can be tested.

So true is it, that, on the ground of her position, nothing in the way of public honour is permitted to a *virgin*.

Chapter 10. If the Female Virgins are to Be Thus Conspicuous, Why Not the Male as Well?

Nor, similarly, (is it permitted) on the ground of any distinctions whatever. Otherwise, it were sufficiently discourteous, that while *females*, subjected as they are throughout to men, bear in their front an honourable mark of their virginity, whereby they may be looked up to and gazed at on all sides and magnified by the brethren, so many *men-virgins*, so many voluntary eunuchs, should carry their glory in secret, carrying no token to make *them*, too, illustrious. For *they*, too, will be bound to claim some distinctions for themselves — either the feathers of the Garamantes, or else the fillets of the barbarians, or else the cicadas of the Athenians, or else the curls of the Germans, or else the tattoo-marks of the Britons; or else let the opposite course be taken, and let them lurk in the churches with head *veiled*. Sure we are that the Holy Spirit could rather have made some such concession to *males*, if He had made it to *females*; forasmuch as, besides the authority of sex, it would have been more becoming that *males* should have been honoured on the ground of continency itself likewise. The more their sex is eager and warm toward *females*, so much the more toil does the continence of (this) greater ardour involve; and therefore the worthier is it of all ostentation, if ostentation of *virginity* is dignity. For is not continence withal superior to *virginity*, whether it be the continence of the *widowed*, or of those who, by consent, have already renounced the common disgrace (which matrimony involves)? For constancy of *virginity* is maintained by *grace*; of *continence*, by *virtue*. For great is the struggle to overcome concupiscence when you have become accustomed to such concupiscence; whereas a concupiscence the enjoyment whereof you have never known you will subdue easily, not having an adversary (in the shape of) the concupiscence of enjoyment. How, then, would God have failed to make any such concession to *men* more (than to *women*), whether on the ground of nearer intimacy, as being His own image, or on the ground of harder toil? But if nothing (has been thus conceded) to the *male*, much more to the *female*.

Chapter 11. The Rule of Veiling Not Applicable to Children

But what we intermitted above for the sake of the subsequent discussion — not to dissipate its coherence — we will now discharge by an answer. For when we joined issue about the apostle's absolute definition, that *every woman* must be understood (as meaning *woman*) of even *every age*, it might be replied by the opposite side, that in that case it behooved the *virgin* to be veiled from her nativity, and from the first entry of her age (upon the roll of time).

But it is not so; but from the time when she begins to be self-conscious, and to awake to the sense of her own nature, and to emerge from the *virgin's* (sense), and to experience that novel (sensation) which belongs to the succeeding age. For withal the founders of the race, Adam and Eve, so long as they were without intelligence, went naked; but after they tasted of the tree of recognition, they were first sensible of nothing more than of their cause for shame. Thus they each marked their intelligence of their own sex by a covering. But even if it is on account of the angels that she is to be veiled, doubtless the age from which the law of the veil will come into operation will be that from which the daughters of men were able to invite concupiscence of their persons, and to experience marriage. For a *virgin* ceases to be a *virgin* from the time that it becomes possible for her *not* to be one. And accordingly, among Israel, it is unlawful to deliver one to a husband except after the attestation by blood of her maturity; thus, before this indication, the nature is unripe. Therefore if she is a *virgin* so long as she is unripe, she ceases to be a *virgin* when she is perceived to be ripe; and, as *not-virgin*, is now subject to the law, just as she is to marriage. And the *betrothed* indeed have the example of Rebecca, who, when she was being conducted — herself still unknown — to an unknown betrothed, as soon as she learned that he whom she had sighted from afar was the man, awaited not the grasp of the hand, nor the meeting of the kiss, nor the interchange of salutation; but confessing what she had felt — namely, that she had been (already) wedded in spirit — denied herself to be a *virgin* by then and there veiling herself. Oh *woman* already belonging to Christ's discipline! For she showed that marriage likewise, as fornication is, is transacted by gaze and mind; only that a *Rebecca* likewise some do still veil.

With regard to the rest, however (that is, those who are *not* betrothed), let the procrastination of their parents, arising from straitened means or scrupulosity, look (to them); let the vow of continence itself look (to them). In no respect does (such procrastination) pertain to an age which is already running its own assigned course, and paying its own dues to maturity. Another secret mother, Nature, and another hidden father, Time, have wedded their daughter to their own laws. Behold that *virgin-daughter* of yours already wedded — her soul by expectancy, her flesh by transformation — for whom you are preparing a second husband! Already her voice is changed, her limbs fully formed, her shame everywhere clothing itself, the months paying their tributes; and do you deny her to be a *woman* whom you assert to be undergoing *womanly* experiences? If the contact of a *man* makes a *woman*, let there be no covering except after actual experience of marriage. Nay, but even among the heathens (the betrothed) are led *veiled* to the husband. But if it is at *betrothal* that they are veiled, because (then) both in body and in spirit they have mingled with a male, through the kiss and the right hands, through which means they first in spirit unsealed their modesty, through the common pledge of conscience whereby they mutually plighted their whole confusion; how much more will time veil them? — (time) without which espoused they cannot be; and by whose urgency, without espousals, they cease to be *virgins*. Time even the heathens observe, that, in obedience to the law of nature, they may render their own rights to the (different) ages. For their *females* they dispatch to their businesses from (the age of) twelve years, but the *male* from two years later; decreeing puberty (to consist) in years, not in espousals or nuptials. Housewife one is called, albeit a *virgin*, and house-father, albeit a stripling. By *us* not even natural *laws* are observed; as if the God of nature were some other than ours!

Chapter 12. Womanhood Self-Evident, and Not to Be Concealed by Just Leaving the Head Bare

Recognise the *woman*, ay, recognise the *wedded woman*, by the testimonies both of body and of spirit, which she experiences both in conscience and in flesh. These are the earlier tablets of *natural* espousals and nuptials. Impose a veil externally upon her who has (already) a covering internally. Let her whose lower parts are not bare have her upper likewise covered. Would you know what is the authority which age carries? Set before yourself each (of these two); one prematurely compressed in *woman's* garb, and one who, though advanced in maturity, persists in *virginity* with its appropriate garb: the former will more easily be denied to be a *woman* than the latter believed a *virgin*. Such is, then, the honesty of age, that there is no overpowering it even by garb. What of the fact that these (*virgins*) of ours confess their change of age even *by* their garb; and, as soon as they have understood themselves to be *women*, withdraw themselves from *virgins*, laying aside (beginning with their head itself) their former selves: dye their hair; and fasten their hair with more wanton pin; professing manifest *womanhood* with their hair parted from the front. The next thing is, they consult the looking-glass to aid their beauty, and thin down their over-exacting face with washing, perhaps withal vamp it up with cosmetics, toss their mantle about them with an air, fit tightly the multiform shoe, carry down more ample appliances to the baths. Why should I pursue particulars? But their manifest appliances alone exhibit their perfect *womanhood*: yet they wish to play the *virgin* by the sole fact of leaving their head bare — denying by one single feature what they profess by their entire deportment.

Chapter 13. If Unveiling Be Proper, Why Not Practise It Always, Out of the Church as Well as in It?

If on account of men they adopt a false garb, let them carry out that garb fully even for that end; and as they veil their head in presence of heathens, let them at all events *in the church* conceal their virginity, which they do veil outside the church. They fear strangers: let them stand in awe of the brethren too; or else let them have the consistent hardihood to appear as *virgins* in the streets as well, as they have the hardihood to do in the churches. I will praise their vigour, if they succeed in selling anything of virginity among the heathens withal. Identity of nature abroad as at home, identity of custom in the presence of men as of the Lord, consists in identity of liberty. To what purpose, then, do they thrust their glory out of sight abroad, but expose it in the church? I demand a reason. Is it to please the brethren, or God Himself? If God Himself, He is as capable of beholding whatever is done in secret, as He is just to remunerate what is done for His sole honour. In fine, He enjoins us not to trumpet forth any one of those things which will merit reward in His sight, nor get compensation for them from men. But if we are prohibited from letting our left hand know when we bestow the gift of a single halfpenny, or any eleemosynary bounty whatever, how deep should be the darkness in which we ought to enshroud ourselves when we are offering God so great an oblation of our very body and our very spirit — when we are consecrating to Him our very nature! It follows, therefore, that what cannot appear to be done for God's sake (because God wills not that it be done in such a way) is done for the sake of men — a thing, of course, primarily unlawful, as betraying a lust of glory. For glory is a thing unlawful to those whose probation consists in humiliation of every kind. And if it is by God that the virtue of continence is conferred, why do you glory, as if you have not received? If, however, you have *not* received it, what have you which has not been given you? But by this very fact it is plain that it has not been given you *by God* — that it is not *to God* alone that you offer it. Let us see, then, whether what is *human* be firm and true.

Chapter 14. Perils to the Virgins Themselves Attendant Upon Not-Veiling

They report a saying uttered at one time by some one when first this question was mooted, And how shall we invite the other (*virgins*) to similar conduct? Forsooth, it is their numbers that will make us happy, and not the grace of God and the merits of each individual! Is it *virgins* who (adorn or commend) the Church in the sight of God, or the Church which adorns or commends *virgins*? (Our objector) has therefore confessed that glory lies at the root of the matter. Well, where glory is, there is solicitation; where solicitation, there compulsion; where compulsion, there necessity; where necessity, there infirmity. Deservedly, therefore, while they do not cover their head, in order that they may be solicited for the sake of glory, they are forced to cover their bellies by the ruin resulting from infirmity. For it is emulation, not religion, which impels them. Sometimes it is that god — their belly — himself; because the brotherhood readily undertakes the maintenance of *virgins*. But, moreover, it is not merely that they are ruined, but they draw after them a long rope of sins. For, after being brought forth into the midst (of the church), and elated by the public appropriation of their property, and laden by the brethren with every honour and charitable bounty, so long as they do not fall, — when any sin has been committed, they meditate a deed as disgraceful as the honour was high which they had. (It is this.) If an uncovered head is a recognised mark of virginity, (then) if any *virgin* falls from the grace of *virginity*, she remains permanently with head uncovered for fear of discovery, and walks about in a garb which then indeed is another's. Conscious of a now undoubted *womanhood*, they have the audacity to draw near to God with head bare. But the jealous God and Lord, who has said, Nothing covered which shall not be revealed, brings such in general before the public gaze; for confess they will not, unless betrayed by the cries of their infants themselves. But, in so far as they are more numerous, will you not just have them suspected of the more crimes? I will say (albeit I would rather not) it is a difficult thing for one to turn *woman* once for all who fears to do so, and who, when already so turned (in secret), has the power of (still) falsely pretending to be a *virgin* under the eye of God. What audacities, again, will (such an one) venture on with regard to her womb, for fear of being detected in being a *mother* as well! God knows

how many infants He has helped to perfection and through gestation till they were born sound and whole, after being long fought against by their mothers! Such *virgins* ever conceive with the readiest facility, and have the happiest deliveries, and children indeed most like to their fathers!

These crimes does a forced and unwilling *virginity* incur. The very concupiscence of non-concealment is not modest: it experiences somewhat which is no mark of a *virgin* — the study of pleasing, of course, ay, and (of pleasing) *men*. Let her strive as much as you please with an honest mind; she must necessarily be imperilled by the public exhibition of herself, while she is penetrated by the gaze of untrustworthy and multitudinous' eyes, while she is tickled by pointing fingers, while she is too well loved, while she feels a warmth creep over her amid assiduous embraces and kisses. Thus the forehead hardens; thus the sense of shame wears away; thus it relaxes; thus is learned the desire of pleasing in another way!

Chapter 15. Of Fascination

Nay, but true and absolute and pure *virginity* fears nothing more than itself. Even *female* eyes it shrinks from encountering. Other eyes itself has. It betakes itself for refuge to the veil of the head as to a helmet, as to a shield, to protect its glory against the blows of temptations, against the dam of scandals, against suspicions and whispers and emulation; (against) envy also itself. For there is a something even among the heathens to be apprehended, which they call Fascination, the too unhappy result of excessive praise and glory. This we sometimes interpretatively ascribe to the devil, for of him comes hatred of good; sometimes we attribute it to God, for of Him comes judgment upon haughtiness, exalting, as He does, the humble, and depressing the elated. The more holy *virgin*, accordingly, will fear, even under the name of fascination, on the one hand the adversary, on the other God, the envious disposition of the former, the censorial light of the latter; and will joy in being known to herself alone and to God. But even if she has been recognized by any other, she is wise to have blocked up the pathway against temptations. For who will have the audacity to intrude with his eyes upon a shrouded face? A face without feeling? A face, so to say, morose? Any evil cogitation whatsoever will be broken by the very severity. She who conceals her *virginity*, by that fact denies even her *womanhood*.

Chapter 16. Tertullian, Having Shown His Defence to Be Consistent with Scripture, Nature, and Discipline, Appeals to the Virgins Themselves

Herein consists the defense of our opinion, in accordance with Scripture, in accordance with Nature, in accordance with Discipline. Scripture founds the law; Nature joins to attest it; Discipline exacts it. Which of these (three) does a custom founded on (mere) opinion appear in behalf of? Or what is the color of the opposite view? God's is Scripture; God's is Nature; God's is Discipline. Whatever is contrary to these is not God's. If Scripture is uncertain, Nature is manifest; and concerning Nature's testimony Scripture cannot be uncertain. If there is a doubt about Nature, Discipline points out what is more sanctioned by God. For nothing is to Him dearer than humility; nothing more acceptable than modesty; nothing more offensive than glory and the study of men-pleasing. Let that, accordingly, be to you Scripture, and Nature, and Discipline, which you shall find to have been sanctioned by God; just as you are bidden to examine all things, and diligently follow whatever is better.

It remains likewise that we turn to (the *virgins*) themselves, to induce them to accept these (suggestions) the more willingly. I pray you, be you mother, or sister, or *virgin*-daughter — let me address you according to the names proper to your years — veil your head: if a mother, for your sons' sakes; if a sister, for your brethren's sakes; if a daughter for your fathers' sakes. All ages are perilled in your person. Put on the panoply of modesty; surround yourself with the stockade of bashfulness; rear a rampart for your sex, which must neither allow your own eyes egress nor ingress to other people's. Wear the full garb of *woman*, to preserve the standing of *virgin*. Belie somewhat of your inward consciousness, in order to exhibit the truth to God alone. And yet you do *not* belie yourself in appearing as a bride. For wedded you are to Christ: to Him you have surrendered your flesh; to Him you have espoused your maturity. Walk in accordance with the will of your Espoused. Christ is He who bids the espoused and wives of others veil themselves; (and,) of course, much more His own.

Chapter 17. An Appeal to the Married Women

But we admonish you, too, *women* of the second (degree of) modesty, who have fallen into wedlock, not to outgrow so far the discipline of the veil, not even in a moment of an hour, as, because you cannot *refuse* it, to take some other means to *nullify* it, by going neither covered nor bare. For some, with their turbans and woollen bands, do not *veil* their head, but bind it up; protected, indeed, in front, but, where the head properly lies, bare. Others are to a certain extent covered over the region of the brain with linen coifs of small dimensions — I suppose for fear of pressing the head — and not reaching quite to the ears. If they are so weak in their hearing as not to be able to hear through a covering, I pity them. Let them know that the whole head constitutes the *woman*. Its limits and boundaries reach as far as the place where the robe begins. The region of the veil is co-extensive with the space covered by the hair when unbound; in order that the necks too may be encircled. For it is *they* which must be subjected, for the sake of which power ought to be had on the head: the veil is their yoke. Arabia's heathen *females* will be your judges, who cover not only the head, but the face also, so entirely, that they are content, with one eye free, to enjoy rather half the light than to prostitute the entire face. A *female* would rather see than be seen. And for this reason a certain Roman queen said that they were most unhappy, in that they could more easily fall in love than be fallen in love with; whereas they are rather *happy* in their immunity from that second (and indeed more frequent) infelicity, that females are more apt to be fallen in love with than to fall in love. And the modesty of heathen discipline, indeed, is more simple, and, so to say, more barbaric. To *us* the Lord has, even by revelations, measured the space for the veil to extend over. For a certain sister of ours was thus addressed by an angel, beating her neck, as if in applause: Elegant neck, and deservedly bare! It is well for you to unveil yourself from the head right down to the loins, lest withal this freedom of your neck profit you not! And, of course, what you have said to one you have said to all. But how severe a chastisement will *they* likewise deserve, who, amid (the recital of) the Psalms, and at any mention of (the name of) God, continue uncovered; (who) even when about to spend time in prayer itself, with the utmost readiness place a fringe, or a tuft, or any thread whatever, on the crown of their heads, and

suppose themselves to be covered? Of so small extent do they falsely imagine their head to be! Others, who think the palm of their hand plainly greater than any fringe or thread, misuse their head no less; like a certain (creature), more beast than bird, albeit winged, with small head, long legs, and moreover of erect carriage. She, they say, when she has to hide, thrusts away into a thicket her head alone — plainly the *whole* of it, (though) — leaving all the rest of herself exposed. Thus, while she is secure in *head*, (but) bare in her larger parts, she is taken wholly, head and all. Such will be their plight withal, covered as they are less than is useful.

It is incumbent, then, at all times and in every place, to walk mindful of the law, prepared and equipped in readiness to meet every mention of God; who, if He be in the heart, will be recognised as well in the head of *females*. To such as read these (exhortations) with good will, to such as prefer Utility to Custom, may peace and grace from our Lord Jesus Christ redound: as likewise to Septimius Tertullianus, whose this tractate is.

De Exhortatione Castitatis (On Exhortation to Chastity)



Translated by Sydney Thelwall

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Chapter 1. Introduction. Virginity Classified Under Three Several Species

I doubt not, brother, that after the premission in peace of your wife, you, being wholly bent upon the composing of your mind (to a right frame), are seriously thinking about the end of your lone life, and of course are standing in need of counsel. Although, in cases of this kind, each individual ought to hold colloquy with his own faith, and consult its strength; still, inasmuch as, in this (particular) species (of trial), the *necessity of the flesh* (which generally is faith's antagonist at the bar of the same inner consciousness, to which I have alluded) sets cogitation astir, faith has need of counsel from without, as an advocate, as it were, to oppose the *necessities of the flesh*: which necessity, indeed, may very easily be circumscribed, if the *will* rather than the *indulgence* of God be considered. No one deserves (favour) by availing himself of the indulgence, but by rendering a prompt obedience to the will, (of his master). The will of God is our sanctification, for He wishes His image — us — to become likewise His likeness; that we may be holy just as Himself is holy. That good — sanctification, I mean — I distribute into several species, that in some one of those species we may be found. The first species is, virginity from one's birth: the second, virginity from one's *second* birth, that is, from the font; which (second virginity) either in the marriage state keeps (its subject) pure by mutual compact, or else perseveres in widowhood from choice: a third grade remains, monogamy, when, after the interception of a marriage once contracted, there is thereafter a renunciation of sexual connection. The first virginity is (the virginity) of happiness, (and consists in) total ignorance of that from which you will afterwards wish to be freed: the second, of virtue, (and consists in) contemning that the power of which you know full well: the remaining species, (that) of marrying no more after the disjunction of matrimony by death, besides being the glory of virtue, is (the glory) of moderation likewise; for moderation is the not regretting a thing which has been taken away, and taken away by the Lord God, without whose will neither does a leaf glide down from a tree, nor a sparrow of one farthing's worth fall to the earth.

Chapter 2. The Blame of Our Misdeeds Not to Be Cast Upon God. The One Power Which Rests with Man is the Power of Volition

What moderation, in short, is there in that utterance, The Lord gave, the Lord has taken away; as seemed (good) to the Lord, so has it been done! And accordingly, if we renew nuptials which have been taken away, doubtless we strive against the will of God, willing to have over again a thing which He has not willed us to have. For had He willed (that we should), He would not have taken it away; unless we interpret this, too, to be the will of God, as if He again willed us to have what He just now did not will. It is not the part of good and solid faith to refer all things to the will of God in such a manner as that; and that each individual should so flatter himself by saying that nothing is done without His permission, as to make us fail to understand that there is a something in our own power. Else every sin will be excused if we persist in contending that nothing is done by us without the will of God; and that definition will go to the destruction of (our) whole discipline, (nay), even of God Himself; if either He produce by His own will things which He wills not, or else (if) there is nothing which God wills not. But as there are some things which He forbids, against which He denounces even eternal punishment — for, of course, things which He *forbids*, and by which withal He is *offended*, He does not *will* — so too, on the contrary, what He *does* will, He enjoins and sets down as acceptable, and repays with the reward of eternity. And so, when we have learned from His precepts each (class of actions), what He does not will and what He does, we still have a volition and an arbitrating power of electing the one; just as it is written, Behold, I have set before you good and evil: for you have tasted of the tree of knowledge. And accordingly we ought not to lay to the account of the Lord's will that which lies subject to our own choice; (on the hypothesis) that He does not will, or else (positively) nills what is good, who does nill what is evil. Thus, it is a volition of our own when we will what is evil, in antagonism to God's will, who wills what is good. Further, if you inquire whence comes that volition whereby we will anything in antagonism to the will of God, I shall say, It has its source in ourselves. And I shall not make the assertion rashly — for you must needs correspond to the seed whence you spring — if indeed it be true, (as it is), that the originator

of our race and our sin, Adam, willed the sin which he committed. For the devil did not impose upon him the volition to sin, but subministered material to the volition. On the other hand, the will of God had come to be a question of obedience. In like manner you, too, if you fail to obey God, who has trained you by setting before you the precept of free action, will, through the liberty of your will, willingly turn into the downward course of doing what God nills: and thus you think yourself to have been subverted by the devil; who, albeit he does *will* that you should will something which God nills still does not *make* you will it, inasmuch as he did not *reduce* those our protoplasts to the volition of sin; nay, nor (did *reduce* them at all) against their will, or in ignorance as to what God nilled. For, of course, He nilled (a thing) to be done when He made death the destined consequence of its commission. Thus the work of the devil is one: to make trial whether you do will that which it rests with you to will. But when you *have* willed, it follows that he subjects you to himself; not by having *wrought* volition in you, but by having found a favourable opportunity in your volition. Therefore, since the only thing which is in our power is volition — and it is herein that our mind toward God is put to proof, whether we will the things which coincide with His will — deeply and anxiously must the will of God be pondered again and again, I say, (to see) what even in *secret* He may will.

Chapter 3. Of Indulgence and Pure Volition. The Question Illustrated.

For what things are *manifest* we all know; and *in what sense* these very things are manifest must be thoroughly examined. For, albeit some things seem to savour of the will of God, seeing that they are *allowed* by Him, it does not immediately follow that everything which is *permitted* proceeds out of the mere and absolute will of him who permits. *Indulgence* is the source of all *permission*. And albeit indulgence is not independent of volition, still, inasmuch as it has its *cause* in him to whom the indulgence is granted, it comes (as it were) from *unwilling* volition, having experienced a producing cause of itself which *constrains* volition. See what is the nature of a volition of which some second party is the cause. There is, again, a second species of *pure* volition to be considered. God wills us to do some acts pleasing to Himself, in which it is not indulgence which patronizes, but discipline which lords it. If, however, He has given a preference over these to some other acts — (acts), of course, which He *more* wills — is there a doubt that the acts which we are to pursue are those which He *more* wills; since those which He *less* wills (because He wills others *more*) are to be similarly regarded as if He did *not* will them? For, by showing what He *more* wills, He has effaced the lesser volition by the greater. And in as far as He has proposed each (volition) to your knowledge, in so far has He defined it to be your duty to pursue that which He has declared that He *more* wills. Then, if the object of His declaring has been that you may pursue that which He *more* wills; doubtless, unless you do so, you savour of contrariety to His volition, by savouring of contrariety to His *superior* volition; and you rather offend than merit reward, by doing what He wills indeed, and rejecting what He *more* wills. Partly, you sin; partly, if you sin not, still you deserve no reward. Moreover, is not even the unwillingness to deserve reward a sin?

If, therefore, second marriage finds the source of its allowance in that will of God which is called indulgence, we shall deny that that which has indulgence for its cause is volition pure; if in that to which some other — that, namely, which regards continence as more desirable — is preferred as superior, we shall have learned (by what has been argued above), that the not-superior is rescinded by the superior. Allow me to have touched upon these

considerations, in order that I may now follow the course of the apostle's words. But, in the first place, I shall not be thought irreligious if I remark on what he himself professes; (namely), that he has introduced all *indulgence* in regard to marriage from his own (judgment) — that is, from human sense, not from divine prescript. For, withal, when he has laid down the definitive rule with reference to the widowed and the unwedded, that they are to marry if they cannot contain, because better it is to marry than to burn, he turns round to the other class, and says: But to the wedded I make official declaration — not indeed I, but the Lord. Thus he shows, by the transfer of his own personality to the Lord, that what he had said above he had pronounced not in the Lord's person, but in his own: Better it is to marry than to burn. Now, although that expression pertain to such as *are apprehended by the faith* in an unwedded or widowed condition, still, inasmuch as all cling to it with a view to licence in the way of marrying, I should wish to give a thorough treatment to the inquiry what kind of good he is pointing out which is better than a penalty; which cannot seem good but by comparison with something very bad; so that the reason why marrying is good, is that burning is worse. Good is worthy of the name if it continue to keep that name without comparison, I say not with evil, but even with some second good; so that, even if it is compared to some other good, and is by some other cast into the shade, it do nevertheless remain in possession of the name good. If, however, it is the nature of an *evil* which is the means which compels the predicating good, it is not so much good as a species of inferior evil, which by being obscured by a superior evil is driven to the name of good. Take away, in short, the condition of comparison, so as not to say, Better it is to marry than to burn; and I question whether you will have the hardihood to say, Better it is to marry, not adding what that is which is better. Therefore what is not *better*, of course is not *good* either; inasmuch as you have taken away and removed the condition of comparison, which, while it makes the thing better, so compels it to be regarded as good. Better it is to marry than to burn is to be understood in the same way as, Better it is to lack one eye than two: if, however, you withdraw from the comparison, it will not be better to have one eye, inasmuch as it is not good either. Let none therefore catch at a defense (of marriage) from this paragraph, which properly refers to the unmarried and widows, for whom no (matrimonial) conjunction is yet reckoned: although I hope I have shown that

even such must understand the nature of the *permission*.

Chapter 4. Further Remarks Upon the Apostle's Language

However, touching second marriage, we know plainly that the apostle has pronounced: You have been loosed from a wife; seek not a wife. But if you shall marry, you will not sin. Still, as in the former case, he has introduced the order of this discourse too from his personal suggestion, not from a divine precept. But there is a wide difference between a precept of God and a suggestion of man. Precept of the Lord, says he, I have not; but I give advice, as having obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful. In fact, neither in the Gospel nor in Paul's own Epistles will you find a precept of God as the source whence repetition of marriage is permitted. Whence the doctrine that unity (of marriage) must be observed derives confirmation; inasmuch as that which is not found to be *permitted* by the Lord is acknowledged to be *forbidden*. Add (to this consideration) the fact, that even this very introduction of human advice, as if already beginning to reflect upon its own extravagance, immediately restrains and recalls itself, while it subjoins, However, such shall have pressure of the flesh; while he says that he spares them; while he adds that the time is wound up, so that it behooves even such as have wives to act as if they had not; while he compares the solicitude of the wedded and of the unwedded: for, in teaching, by means of these considerations, the reasons why marrying is not expedient, he dissuades from that to which he had above granted indulgence. And this is the case with regard to first marriage: how much more with regard to second! When, however, he exhorts us to the imitation of his own example, of course, in showing what he *does* wish us to be; that is, continent; he equally declares what he does *not* wish us to be, that is, *incontinent*. Thus he, too, while he *wills* one thing, gives no spontaneous or true permission to that which he nills. For had he willed, he would not have *permitted*; nay, rather, he would have *commanded*. But see again: a woman when her husband is dead, he says, can marry, if she wish to marry any one, only 'in the Lord.' Ah! But happier will she be, he says, if she shall remain permanently as she is, according to my opinion. I think, moreover, I too have the Spirit of God. We see two advices: that whereby, above, he grants the indulgence of marrying; and that whereby, just afterwards, he teaches continence with regard to marrying. To which, then, you say, shall we assent?

Look at them carefully, and choose. In granting indulgence, he alleges the advice of a prudent *man*; in enjoining continence, he affirms the advice of the Holy Spirit . Follow the admonition which has divinity for its patron. It is true that believers likewise have the Spirit of God; but not all believers are apostles. When then, he who had called himself a believer, added thereafter that he had the Spirit of God, which no one would doubt even in the case of an (ordinary) believer; his reason for saying so was, that he might reassert for himself apostolic dignity. For apostles have the Holy Spirit properly, who have Him fully, in the operations of prophecy, and the efficacy of (healing) virtues, and the evidences of tongues; not partially, as all others have. Thus he attached the Holy Spirit's authority to that form (of advice) to which he willed us rather to attend; and immediately it became not an *advice* of the Holy Spirit, but, in consideration of His majesty, a *precept*.

Chapter 5. Unity of Marriage Taught by Its First Institution, and by the Apostle's Application of that Primal Type to Christ and the Church

For the laying down of the law of once marrying, the very origin of the human race is our authority; witnessing as it emphatically does what God constituted in the beginning for a type to be examined with care by posterity. For when He had moulded man, and had foreseen that a peer was necessary for him, He borrowed from his ribs one, and fashioned for him one woman; whereas, of course, neither the Artificer nor the material would have been insufficient (for the creation of more). There were more ribs in Adam, and hands that knew no weariness in God; but not more wives in the eye of God. And accordingly the man of God, Adam, and the woman of God, Eve, discharging mutually (the duties of) one marriage, sanctioned for mankind a type by (the considerations of) the authoritative precedent of their origin and the primal will of God. Finally, there shall be, said He, two in one flesh, not three nor four. On any other hypothesis, there would no longer be one flesh, nor two (joined) into one flesh. These will be so, if the conjunction and the growing together in unity take place *once for all*. If, however, (it take place) a second time, or oftener, immediately (the flesh) ceases to be one, and there will not be two (joined) into one flesh, but plainly one rib (divided) into more. But when the apostle interprets, The two shall be (joined) into one flesh of the Church and Christ, according to the spiritual nuptials of the Church and Christ (for Christ is one, and one is His Church), we are bound to recognise a duplication and additional enforcement for *us* of the law of unity of marriage, not only in accordance with the foundation of our race, but in accordance with the sacrament of Christ. From one marriage do we derive our origin in each case; carnally in Adam, spiritually in Christ. The two births combine in laying down one prescriptive rule of monogamy. In regard of each of the two, is he degenerate who transgresses the limit of monogamy. Plurality of marriage began with an accursed man. Lamech was the first who, by marrying himself to two women, caused *three* to be (joined) into one flesh.

Chapter 6. The Objection from the Polygamy of the Patriarchs Answered

But withal the blessed patriarchs, you say, made mingled alliances not only with more wives (than one), but with concubines likewise. Shall that, then, make it lawful for us also to marry without limit? I grant that it will, if there still remain types — sacraments of something future — for your nuptials to figure; or if even now there is room for that command, Grow and multiply; that is, if no other command has yet supervened: The time is already wound up; it remains that both they who have wives act as if they had not: for, of course, by enjoining continence, and restraining concubinance, the seminary of our race, (this latter command) has abolished that Grow and multiply. As I think, moreover, each pronouncement and arrangement is (the act) of one and the same God; who did then indeed, in the beginning, send forth a sowing of the race by an indulgent laxity granted to the reins of connubial alliances, until the world should be replenished, until the material of the new discipline should attain to forwardness: now, however, at the extreme boundaries of the times, has checked (the command) which He had sent out, and recalled the indulgence which He had granted; not without a reasonable ground for the extension (of that indulgence) in the beginning, and the limitation of it in the end. Laxity is always allowed to the beginning (of things). The reason why any one plants a wood and lets it grow, is that at his own time he may cut it. The wood was the old order, which is being pruned down by the new Gospel, in which withal the axe has been laid at the roots. So, too, Eye for eye, and tooth for tooth, has now grown old, ever since Let none render evil for evil grew young. I think, moreover, that even with a view to *human* institutions and decrees, things later prevail over things primitive.

Chapter 7. Even the Old Discipline Was Not Without Precedents to Enforce Monogamy. But in This as in Other Respects, the New Has Brought in a Higher Perfection

Why, moreover, should we not rather recognise, from among (the store of) primitive precedents, those which communicate with the later (order of things) in respect of discipline, and transmit to novelty the typical form of antiquity? For look, in the old law I find the pruning-knife applied to the licence of repeated marriage. There is a caution in Leviticus: My priests shall not pluralize marriages. I may affirm even that that is plural which is not once for all. That which is not unity is number. In short, after unity begins number. Unity, moreover, is everything which is once for all. But for Christ was reserved, as in all other points so in this also, the fulfilling of the law. Thence, therefore, among *us* the prescript is more fully and more carefully laid down, that they who are chosen into the sacerdotal order must be men of one marriage; which rule is so rigidly observed, that I remember some removed from their office for digamy. But you will say, Then all others may (marry more than once), whom he excepts. Vain shall we be if we think that what is not lawful for priests is lawful for laics. Are not even we laics priests? It is written: A kingdom also, and priests to His God and Father, has He made us. It is the authority of the Church, and the honour which has acquired sanctity through the joint session of the Order, which has established the difference between the Order and the laity. Accordingly, where there is no joint session of the ecclesiastical Order, you offer, and baptize, and are priest, alone for yourself. But where three are, a church is, albeit they be laics. For each individual lives by his own faith, nor is there exception of persons with God; since it is not hearers of the law who are justified by the Lord, but doers, according to what the apostle withal says. Therefore, if you have the *right* of a priest in your own person, in cases of necessity, it behooves you to have likewise the *discipline* of a priest whenever it may be necessary to have the right of a priest. If you are a digamist, do you baptize? If you are a digamist, do you offer? How much more capital (a crime) is it for a digamist laic to act as a priest, when the priest himself, if he turn digamist, is deprived of the power of acting the priest! But to necessity, you say, indulgence is granted. No

necessity is excusable which is avoidable. In a word, shun to be found guilty of digamy, and you do not expose yourself to the necessity of administering what a digamist may not lawfully administer. God wills us all to be so conditioned, as to be ready at all times and places to undertake (the duties of) His sacraments. There is one God, one faith, one discipline too. So truly is this the case, that unless the laics as well observe the rules which are to guide the choice of presbyters, how will there be presbyters at all, who are chosen to that office from among the laics? Hence we are bound to contend that the command to abstain from second marriage relates *first* to the laic; so long as no other can be a presbyter than a laic, provided he have been *once for all* a husband.

Chapter 8. If It Be Granted that Second Marriage is Lawful, Yet All Things Lawful are Not Expedient

Let it now be granted that repetition of marriage is lawful, if everything which is lawful is good. The same apostle exclaims: All things are lawful, but all are not profitable. Pray, can what is not profitable be called good? If even things which do not make for salvation are lawful, it follows that even things which are not good are lawful. But what will it be your duty rather to choose; that which is good because it is lawful, or that which is so because it is profitable? A wide difference I take to exist between licence and salvation. Concerning the good it is not said it is lawful; inasmuch as good does not expect to be permitted, but to be assumed. But that is permitted about which a doubt exists whether it be good; which may likewise *not* be permitted, if it have not some first (extrinsic) cause of its being: — inasmuch as it is *on account of the danger of incontinence* that second marriage, (for instance), is permitted: — because, unless the licence of some not (absolutely) good thing were subject (so our choice), there were no means of proving who rendered a willing obedience to the Divine will, and who to his own power; which of us follows presentiality, and which embraces the opportunity of licence. Licence, for the most part, is a trial of discipline; since it is through trial that discipline is proved, and through licence that trial operates. Thus it comes to pass that all things are lawful, but not all are expedient, so long as (it remains true that) whoever has a permission granted is (thereby) tried, and is (consequently) judged during the process of trial in (the case of the particular) permission. Apostles, withal, had a licence to marry, and lead wives about (with them). They had a licence, too, to live by the Gospel. But he who, when occasion required, did not use this right, provokes us to imitate his own example; teaching us that our probation consists in that wherein licence has laid the groundwork for the experimental proof of abstinence.

Chapter 9. Second Marriage a Species of Adultery, Marriage Itself Impugned, as Akin to Adultery

If we look deeply into his meanings, and interpret them, second marriage will have to be termed no other than a species of fornication. For, since he says that married persons make this their solicitude, how to please one another (not, of course, *morally*, for a good solicitude he would not impugn); and (since), he wishes them to be understood to be solicitous about dress, and ornament, and every kind of personal attraction, with a view to increasing their power of allurement; (since), moreover, to please by personal beauty and dress is the genius of carnal concupiscence, which again is the cause of fornication: pray, does second marriage seem to you to border upon fornication, since in it are detected those ingredients which are appropriate to fornication? The Lord Himself said, Whoever has seen a woman with a view to concupiscence has already violated her in his heart. But has he who has seen her with a view to marriage done so less or more? What if he have even married her? — which he would not do had he not desired her with a view to marriage, and seen her with a view to concupiscence; unless it is possible for a wife to be married whom you have not seen or desired. I grant it makes a wide difference whether a married man or an unmarried desire another woman. Every woman, (however), even to an unmarried man, is another, so long as she belongs to some one else; nor yet is the mean through which she becomes a married woman any other than that through which withal (she becomes) an adulteress. It is laws which seem to make the difference between marriage and fornication; through diversity of illicitness, not through the nature of the thing itself. Besides, what is the thing which takes place in all men and women to produce marriage and fornication? Commixture of the flesh, of course; the concupiscence whereof the Lord put on the same footing with fornication. Then, says (some one), are you by this time destroying first — that is, single — marriage too? And (if so) not without reason; inasmuch as it, too, consists of that which is the essence of fornication. Accordingly, the best thing for a man is not to touch a woman; and accordingly the virgin's is the principal sanctity, because it is free from affinity with fornication. And since these considerations may be advanced, even in the case of first and single marriage, to forward the cause of continence, how much more will they

afford a prejudgment for refusing second marriage? Be thankful if God has once for all granted you indulgence to marry. Thankful, moreover, you will be if you know not that He has granted you that indulgence a second time. But you abuse indulgence if you avail yourself of it without moderation. Moderation is understood (to be derived) from *modus*, a limit. It does not suffice you to have fallen back, by marrying, from that highest grade of immaculate virginity; but you roll yourself down into yet a third, and into a fourth, and perhaps into more, after you have failed to be continent in the second stage; inasmuch as he who has treated about contracting second marriages has not willed to prohibit even more. Marry we, therefore, daily. And marrying, let us be overtaken by the last day, like Sodom and Gomorrha; that day when the woe pronounced over such as are with child and giving suck shall be fulfilled, that is, over the married and the incontinent: for from marriage result wombs, and breasts, and infants. And when an end of marrying? I believe after the end of living!

Chapter 10. Application of the Subject. Advantages of Widowhood

Renounce we things carnal, that we may at length bear fruits spiritual. Seize the opportunity — albeit not earnestly desired, yet favourable — of not having any one to whom to pay a debt, and by whom to be (yourself) repaid! You have ceased to be a debtor. Happy man! You have released your debtor; sustain the loss. What if you come to feel that what we have called a loss is a gain? For continence will be a mean whereby you will traffic in a mighty substance of sanctity; by parsimony of the flesh you will gain the Spirit. For let us ponder over our conscience itself, (to see) how different a man feels himself when he chances to be deprived of his wife. He savours spiritually. If he is making prayer to the Lord, he is near heaven. If he is bending over the Scriptures, he is wholly in them. If he is singing a psalm, he satisfies himself. If he is adjuring a demon, he is confident in himself. Accordingly, the apostle added (the recommendation of) a temporary abstinence for the sake of adding an efficacy to prayers, that we might know that what is profitable for a time should be always practised by us, that it may be always profitable. Daily, every moment, prayer is necessary to men; of course continence (is so) too, since prayer is necessary. Prayer proceeds from conscience. If the conscience blush, prayer blushes. It is the spirit which conducts prayer to God. If the spirit be self-accused of a blushing conscience, how will it have the hardihood to conduct prayer to the altar; seeing that, if prayer blush, the holy minister (of prayer) itself is suffused too? For there is a prophetic utterance of the Old Testament: Holy shall you be, because God is holy; and again: With the holy you shall be sanctified; and with the innocent man you shall be innocent; and with the elect, elect. For it is our duty so to walk in the Lord's discipline as is worthy, not according to the filthy concupiscences of the flesh. For so, too, does the apostle say, that to savour according to the flesh is death, but to savour according to the spirit is life eternal in Jesus Christ our Lord. Again, through the holy prophetess Prisca the Gospel is thus preached: that the holy minister knows how to minister sanctity. For purity, says she, is harmonious, and they see visions; and, turning their face downward, they even hear manifest voices, as salutary as they are withal secret. If this dulling (of the spiritual faculties), even when the carnal nature is allowed room for exercise

in first marriage, averts the Holy Spirit; how much more when it is brought into play in second marriage!

Chapter 11. The More the Wives, the Greater the Distraction of the Spirit

For (in that case) the shame is double; inasmuch as, in second marriage, two wives beset the same husband — one in spirit, one in flesh. For the first wife you cannot hate, for whom you retain an even more religious affection, as being already received into the Lord's presence; for whose spirit you make request; for whom you render annual oblations. Will you stand, then, before the Lord with as many wives as you commemorate in prayer; and will you offer for two; and will you commend those two (to God) by the ministry of a priest ordained (to his sacred office) on the score of monogamy, or else consecrated (thereto) on the score even of virginity, surrounded by widows married but to one husband? And will your sacrifice ascend with unabashed front, and — among all the other (graces) of a good mind — will you request for yourself and for your wife chastity?

Chapter 12. Excuses Commonly Urged in Defence of Second Marriage. Their Futility, Especially in the Case of Christians, Pointed Out

I am aware of the excuses by which we color our insatiable carnal appetite. Our pretexts are: the necessities of props to lean on; a house to be managed; a family to be governed; chests and keys to be guarded; the wool-spinning to be dispensed; food to be attended to; cares to be generally lessened. Of course the houses of none but married men fare well! The families of celibates, the estates of eunuchs, the fortunes of military men, or of such as travel without wives, have gone to rack and ruin! For are not we, too, soldiers? Soldiers, indeed, subject to all the stricter discipline, that we are subject to so great a General? Are not we, too, travellers in this world? Why moreover, Christian, are you so conditioned, that you cannot (so travel) without a wife? In my present (widowed) state, too, a consort in domestic works is necessary. (Then) take some spiritual wife. Take to yourself from among the widows one fair in faith, dowered with poverty, sealed with age. You will (thus) make a good marriage. A plurality of *such* wives is pleasing to God. But Christians concern themselves about posterity — to whom there is no tomorrow! Shall the servant of God yearn after heirs, who has disinherited himself from the world? And is it to be a reason for a man to repeat marriage, if from his first (marriage) he have no children? And shall he thus have, as the first benefit (resulting therefrom), this, that he should desire longer life, when the apostle himself is in haste to be with the Lord? Assuredly, most free will he be from encumbrance in persecutions, most constant in martyrdoms, most prompt in distributions of his goods, most temperate in acquisitions; lastly, undistracted by cares will he die, when he has left children behind him — perhaps to perform the last rites over his grave! Is it then, perchance, in forecast for the commonwealth that such (marriages) are contracted? For fear the States fail, if no rising generations be trained up? For fear the rights of law, for fear the branches of commerce, sink quite into decay? For fear the temples be quite forsaken? For fear there be none to raise the acclaim, The lion for the Christians? — for these are the acclamations which they desire to hear who go in quest of offspring! Let the well-known burdensomeness of children — especially in *our* case — suffice to counsel widowhood: (children) whom men

are compelled by laws to undertake (the charge of); because no wise man would ever willingly have desired sons! What, then, will you do if you succeed in filling your new wife with your own conscientious scruples? Are you to dissolve the conception by aid of drugs? I think to *us* it is no more lawful to hurt (a child) in process of birth, than one (already) born. But perhaps at that time of your wife's pregnancy you will have the hardihood to beg from God a remedy for so grave a solicitude, which, when it lay in your own power, you refused? Some (naturally) barren woman, I suppose, or (some woman) of an age already feeling the chill of years, will be the object of your forecasting search. A course prudent enough, and, above all, worthy of a believer! For there is no woman whom we have believed to have borne (a child) when barren or old, when God so willed! Which he is all the more likely to do if any one, by the presumption of this foresight of his own, provoke emulation on the part of God. In fine, we know a case among our brethren, in which one of them took a barren woman in second marriage for his daughter's sake, and became as well for the second time a father as for the second time a husband.

Chapter 13. Examples from Among the Heathen, as Well as from the Church, to Enforce the Foregoing Exhortation

To this my exhortation, best beloved brother, there are added even heathenish examples; which have often been set by ourselves as well (as by others) in evidence, when anything good and pleasing to God is, even among strangers, recognised and honoured with a testimony. In short, monogamy among the heathen is so held in highest honour, that even virgins, when legitimately marrying, have a woman never married but once appointed them as brideswoman; and if *you say that* this is for the sake of the omen, of course it is for the sake of a *good* omen; again, that in some solemnities and official functions, single-husbandhood takes the precedence: at all events, the wife of a Flamen must be but once married, which is the law of the Flamen (himself) too. For the fact that the chief pontiff himself must not iterate marriage is, of course, a glory to monogamy. When, however, Satan affects God's sacraments, it is a challenge to us; nay, rather, a cause for blushing, if we are slow to exhibit to God a continence which some render to the devil, by perpetuity sometimes of virginity, sometimes of widowhood. We have heard of Vesta's virgins, and Juno's at the town of Achaia, and Apollo's among the Delphians, and Minerva's and Diana's in some places. We have heard, too, of continent *men*, and (among others) the priests of the famous Egyptian bull: women, moreover, (dedicated) to the African Ceres, in whose honour they even spontaneously abdicate matrimony, and so live to old age, shunning thenceforward all contact with males, even so much as the kisses of their sons. The devil, forsooth, has discovered, after voluptuousness, even a chastity which shall work perdition; that the guilt may be all the deeper of the Christian who refuses the chastity which helps to salvation! A testimony to us shall be, too, some of heathendom's women, who have won renown for their obstinate persistence in single-husbandhood: some Dido, (for instance), who, refugee as she was on alien soil, when she ought rather to have desired, without any external solicitation, marriage with a king, did yet, for fear of experiencing a second union, prefer, contrariwise, to burn rather than to marry; or the famous Lucretia, who, albeit it was but once, by force, and against her will, that she had suffered a strange man, washed her stained flesh

in her own blood, lest she should live, when no longer single-husbanded in her own esteem! A little more care will furnish you with more examples from our own (sisters); and *those* indeed, superior to the others, inasmuch as it is a greater thing to live in chastity than to die for it. Easier it is to lay down your life because you have lost a blessing, than to keep by living that for which you would rather die outright. How many men, therefore, and how many women, in Ecclesiastical Orders, owe their position to continence, who have preferred to be wedded to God; who have restored the honour of their flesh, and who have already dedicated themselves as sons of that (future) age, by slaying in themselves the concupiscence of lust, and that whole (propensity) which could not be admitted within Paradise! Whence it is presumable that such as shall wish to be received within Paradise, ought at last to begin to cease from that thing from which Paradise is intact.

De Fuga in Persecutione (On Flight in Persecution)



Translated by Sydney Thelwall

1. My brother Fabius, you very lately asked, because some news or other were communicated, whether or not we ought to flee in persecution. For my part, having on the spot made some observations in the negative suited to the place and time, I also, owing to the rudeness of some persons, took away with me the subject but half treated, meaning to set it forth now more fully by my pen; for your inquiry had interested me in it, and the state of the times had already on its own account pressed it upon me. As persecutions in increasing number threaten us, so the more are we called on to give earnest thought to the question of how faith ought to receive them, and the duty of carefully considering it concerns you no less, who no doubt, by not accepting the Comforter, the guide to all truth, have, as was natural, opposed us hitherto in regard to other questions also. We have therefore applied a methodical treatment, too, to your inquiry, as we see that we must first come to a decision as to how the matter stands in regard to persecution itself, whether it comes on us from God or from the devil, that with the less difficulty we may get on firm ground as to our duty to meet it; for of everything one's knowledge is clearer when it is known from whom it has its origin. It is enough indeed to lay it down, (in bar of all besides,) that nothing happens without the will of God. But lest we be diverted from the point before us, we shall not by this deliverance at once give occasion to the other discussions if one make answer — Therefore evil and sin are both from God; the devil henceforth, and even we ourselves, are entirely free. The question in hand is persecution. With respect to this, let me in the meantime say, that nothing happens without God's will; on the ground that persecution is especially worthy of God, and, so to speak, requisite, for the approving, to wit, or if you will, the rejection of His professing servants. For what is the issue of persecution, what other result comes of it, but the approving and rejecting of faith, in regard to which the Lord will certainly sift His people? Persecution, by means of which one is declared either approved or rejected, is just the judgment of the Lord. But the

judging properly belongs to God alone. This is that fan which even now cleanses the Lord's threshing-floor — the Church, I mean — winnowing the mixed heap of believers, and separating the grain of the martyrs from the chaff of the deniers; and this is also the ladder of which Jacob dreams, on which are seen, some mounting up to higher places, and others going down to lower. So, too, persecution may be viewed as a contest. By whom is the conflict proclaimed, but by Him by whom the crown and the rewards are offered? You find in the Revelation its edict, setting forth the rewards by which He incites to victory — those, above all, whose is the distinction of conquering in persecution, in very deed contending in their victorious struggle not against flesh and blood, but against spirits of wickedness. So, too, you will see that the adjudging of the contest belongs to the same glorious One, as umpire, who calls us to the prize. The one great thing in persecution is the promotion of the glory of God, as He tries and casts away, lays on and takes off. But what concerns the glory of God will surely come to pass by His will. And when is trust in God more strong, than when there is a greater fear of Him, and when persecution breaks out? The Church is awe-struck. Then is faith both more zealous in preparation, and better disciplined in fasts, and meetings, and prayers, and lowliness, in brotherly-kindness and love, in holiness and temperance. There is no room, in fact, for ought but fear and hope. So even by this very thing we have it clearly proved that persecution, improving as it does the servants of God, cannot be imputed to the devil.

2. If, because injustice is not from God, but from the devil, and persecution consists of injustice (for what more unjust than that the bishops of the true God, that all the followers of the truth, should be dealt with after the manner of the vilest criminals?), persecution therefore seems to proceed from the devil, by whom the injustice which constitutes persecution is perpetrated, we ought to know, as you have neither persecution without the injustice of the devil, nor the trial of faith without persecution, that the injustice necessary for the trial of faith does not give a warrant for persecution, but supplies an agency; that in reality, in reference to the trial of faith, which is the reason of persecution, the will of God goes first, but that as the instrument of persecution, which is the way of trial, the injustice of the devil follows. For in other respects, too, injustice in proportion to the enmity it displays against righteousness affords occasion for attestations of that to which it is opposed as

an enemy, that so righteousness may be perfected in injustice, as strength is perfected in weakness. For the weak things of the world have been chosen by God to confound the strong, and the foolish things of the world to confound its wisdom. Thus even injustice is employed, that righteousness may be approved in putting unrighteousness to shame. Therefore, since the service is not of free-will, but of subjection (for persecution is the appointment of the Lord for the trial of faith, but its ministry is the injustice of the devil, supplied that persecution may be got up), we believe that persecution comes to pass, no question, by the devil's agency, but not by the devil's origination. Satan will not be at liberty to do anything against the servants of the living God unless the Lord grant leave, either that He may overthrow Satan himself by the faith of the elect which proves victorious in the trial, or in the face of the world show that apostatizers to the devil's cause have been in reality His servants. You have the case of Job, whom the devil, unless he had received authority from God, could not have visited with trial, not even, in fact, in his property, unless the Lord had said, "Behold, all that he has I put at your disposal; but do not stretch out your hand against himself." In short, he would not even have stretched it out, unless afterwards, at his request, the Lord had granted him this permission also, saying, "Behold, I deliver him to you; only preserve his life." So he asked in the case of the apostles likewise an opportunity to tempt them, having it only by special allowance, since the Lord in the Gospel says to Peter, "Behold, Satan asked that he might sift you as grain; but I have prayed for you that your faith fail not;" that is, that the devil should not have power granted him sufficient to endanger his faith. Whence it is manifest that both things belong to God, the shaking of faith as well as the shielding of it, when both are sought from Him — the shaking by the devil, the shielding by the Son. And certainly, when the Son of God has faith's protection absolutely committed to Him, beseeching it of the Father, from whom He receives all power in heaven and on earth, how entirely out of the question is it that the devil should have the assailing of it in *his* own power! But in the prayer prescribed to us, when we say to our Father, "Lead us not into temptation" (now what greater temptation is there than persecution?), we acknowledge that that comes to pass by His will whom we beseech to exempt us from it. For this is what follows, "But deliver us from the wicked one," that is, do not lead us into temptation by giving us up to the wicked one, for then are we

delivered from the power of the devil, when we are not handed over to him to be tempted. Nor would the devil's legion have had power over the herd of swine unless they had got it from God; so far are they from having power over the sheep of God. I may say that the bristles of the swine, too, were then counted by God, not to speak of the hairs of holy men. The devil, it must be owned, seems indeed to have power — in this case really his own — over those who do not belong to God, the nations being once for all counted by God as a drop of the bucket, and as the dust of the threshing-floor, and as the spittle of the mouth, and so thrown open to the devil as, in a sense, a free possession. But against those who belong to the household of God he may not do ought as by any right of his own, because the cases marked out in Scripture show when — that is, for what reasons — he may touch them. For either, with a view to their being approved, the power of trial is granted to him, challenged or challenging, as in the instances already referred to, or, to secure an opposite result, the sinner is handed over to him, as though he were an executioner to whom belonged the inflicting of punishment, as in the case of Saul. “And the Spirit of the Lord,” says Scripture, “departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord troubled and stifled him;” or the design is to humble, as the apostle tells us, that there was given him a stake, the messenger of Satan, to buffet him; and even this sort of thing is not permitted in the case of holy men, unless it be that at the same time strength of endurance may be perfected in weakness. For the apostle likewise delivered Phygellus and Hermogenes over to Satan that by chastening they might be taught not to blaspheme. You see, then, that the devil receives more suitably power even from the servants of God; so far is he from having it by any right of his own.

3. Seeing therefore, too, these cases occur in persecutions more than at other times, as there is then among us more of proving or rejecting, more of abusing or punishing, it must be that their general occurrence is permitted or commanded by Him at whose will they happen even partially; by Him, I mean, who says, “I am He who make peace and create evil,” — that is, war, for that is the antithesis of peace. But what other war has our peace than persecution? If in its issues persecution emphatically brings either life or death, either wounds or healing, you have the author, too, of this. “I will smite and heal, I will make alive and put to death.” “I will burn them,” He

says, “as gold is burned; and I will try them,” He says, “as silver is tried,” for when the flame of persecution is consuming us, then the steadfastness of our faith is proved. These will be the fiery darts of the devil, by which faith gets a ministry of burning and kindling; yet by the will of God. As to this I know not who can doubt, unless it be persons with frivolous and frigid faith, which seizes upon those who with trembling assemble together in the church. For you say, seeing we assemble without order, and assemble at the same time, and flock in large numbers to the church, the heathen are led to make inquiry about us, and we are alarmed lest we awaken their anxieties. Do ye not know that God is Lord of all? And if it is God’s will, then you shall suffer persecution; but if it is not, the heathen will be still. Believe it most surely, if indeed you believe in that God without whose will not even the sparrow, a penny can buy, falls to the ground. But we, I think, are better than many sparrows.

4. Well, then, if it is evident from whom persecution proceeds, we are able at once to satisfy your doubts, and to decide from these introductory remarks alone, that men should not flee in it. For if persecution proceeds from God, in no way will it be our duty to flee from what has God as its author; a twofold reason opposing; for what proceeds from God ought not on the one hand to be avoided, and it cannot be evaded on the other. It ought not to be avoided, because it is good; for everything must be good on which God has cast His eye. And with this idea has perhaps this statement been made in Genesis, “And God saw because it is good;” not that He would have been ignorant of its goodness unless He had seen it, but to indicate by this expression that it was good because it was viewed by God. There are many events indeed happening by the will of God, and happening to somebody’s harm. Yet for all that, a thing is therefore good because it is of God, as divine, as reasonable; for what is divine, and not reasonable and good? What is good, yet not divine? But if to the universal apprehension of mankind this seems to be the case, in judging, man’s faculty of apprehension does not predetermine the nature of things, but the nature of things his power of apprehension. For every several nature is a certain definite reality, and it lays it on the perceptive power to perceive it just as it exists. Now, if that which comes from God is good indeed in its natural state (for there is nothing from God which is not good, because it is divine, and reasonable), but seems evil only to the human

faculty, all will be right in regard to the former; with the latter the fault will lie. In its real nature a very good thing is chastity, and so is truth, and righteousness; and yet they are distasteful to many. Is perhaps the real nature on this account sacrificed to the sense of perception? Thus persecution in its own nature too is good, because it is a divine and reasonable appointment; but those to whom it comes as a punishment do not feel it to be pleasant. You see that as proceeding from Him, even that evil has a reasonable ground, when one in persecution is cast out of a state of salvation, just as you see that you have a reasonable ground for the good also, when one by persecution has his salvation made more secure. Unless, as it depends on the Lord, one either perishes irrationally, or is irrationally saved, he will not be able to speak of persecution as an evil, which, while it is under the direction of reason, is, even in respect of its evil, good. So, if persecution is in every way a good, because it has a natural basis, we on valid grounds lay it down, that what is good ought not to be shunned by us, because it is a sin to refuse what is good; besides that, what has been looked upon by God can no longer indeed be avoided, proceeding as it does from God, from whose will escape will not be possible. Therefore those who think that they should flee, either reproach God with doing what is evil, if they flee from persecution as an evil (for no one avoids what is good); or they count themselves stronger than God: so they think, who imagine it possible to escape when it is God's pleasure that such events should occur.

5. But, says some one, I flee, the thing it belongs to me to do, that I may not perish, if I deny; it is for Him on His part, if He chooses, to bring me, when I flee, back before the tribunal. First answer me this: Are you sure you will deny if you do not flee, or are you not sure? For if you are sure, you have denied already, because by presupposing that you will deny, you have given yourself up to that about which you have made such a presupposition; and now it is vain for you to think of flight, that you may avoid denying, when in intention you have denied already. But if you are doubtful on that point, why do you not, in the incertitude of your fear wavering between the two different issues, presume that you are able rather to act a confessor's part, and so add to your safety, that you may not flee, just as you presuppose denial to send you off a fugitive? The matter stands thus — we have either both things in our own power, or they wholly lie with God. If it is ours to confess or to deny,

why do we not anticipate the nobler thing, that is, that we shall confess? If you are not willing to confess, you are not willing to suffer; and to be unwilling to confess is to deny. But if the matter is wholly in God's hand, why do we not leave it to His will, recognising His might and power in that, just as He can bring us back to trial when we flee, so is He able to screen us when we do not flee; yes, and even living in the very heart of the people? Strange conduct, is it not, to honour God in the matter of flight from persecution, because He can bring you back from your flight to stand before the judgment-seat; but in regard of witness-bearing, to do Him high dishonour by despairing of power at His hands to shield you from danger? Why do you not rather on this, the side of constancy and trust in God, say, I do my part; I depart not; God, if He choose, will Himself be my protector? It beseems us better to retain our position in submission to the will of God, than to flee at our own will. Rutilius, a saintly martyr, after having oftentimes fled from persecution from place to place, nay, having bought security from danger, as he thought, by money, was, notwithstanding the complete security he had, as he thought, provided for himself, at last unexpectedly seized, and being brought before the magistrate, was put to the torture and cruelly mangled, — a punishment, I believe, for his fleeing, — and thereafter he was consigned to the flames, and thus paid to the mercy of God the suffering which he had shunned. What else did the Lord mean to show us by this example, but that we ought not to flee from persecution because it avails us nothing if God disapproves?

6. Nay, says some one, he fulfilled the command, when he fled from city to city. For so a certain individual, but a fugitive likewise, has chosen to maintain, and others have done the same who are unwilling to understand the meaning of that declaration of the Lord, that they may use it as a cloak for their cowardice, although it has had its persons as well as its times and reasons to which it specially applies. "When they begin," He says, "to persecute you, flee from city to city." We maintain that this belongs specially to the persons of the apostles, and to their times and circumstances, as the following sentences will show, which are suitable only to the apostles: "Do not go into the way of the Gentiles, and into a city of the Samaritans do not enter: but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." But to us the way of the Gentiles is also open, as in it we in fact were found, and to the very

last we walk; and no city has been excepted. So we preach throughout all the world; nay, no special care even for Israel has been laid upon us, save as also we are bound to preach to all nations. Yes, and if we are apprehended, we shall not be brought into Jewish councils, nor scourged in Jewish synagogues, but we shall certainly be cited before Roman magistrates and judgment-seats. So, then, the circumstances of the apostles even required the injunction to flee, their mission being to preach first to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. That, therefore, this preaching might be fully accomplished in the case of those among whom this behoved first of all to be carried out — that the sons might receive bread before the dogs, for that reason He commanded them to flee then for a time — not with the object of eluding danger, under the plea strictly speaking which persecution urges (rather He was in the habit of proclaiming that they would suffer persecutions, and of teaching that these must be endured); but in order to further the proclamation of the Gospel message, lest by their being at once put down, the diffusion of the Gospel too might be prevented. Neither were they to flee to any city as if by stealth, but as if everywhere about to proclaim their message; and for this, everywhere about to undergo persecutions, until they should fulfil their teaching. Accordingly the Saviour says, “Ye will not go over all the cities of Israel.” So the command to flee was restricted to the limits of Judea. But no command that shows Judea to be specially the sphere for preaching applies to us, now that the Holy Spirit has been poured out upon all flesh. Therefore Paul and the apostles themselves, mindful of the precept of the Lord, bear this solemn testimony before Israel, which they had now filled with their doctrine — saying, “It was necessary that the word of God should have been first delivered to you; but seeing ye have rejected it, and have not thought yourselves worthy of eternal life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles.” And from that time they turned their steps away, as those who went before them had laid it down, and departed into the way of the Gentiles, and entered into the cities of the Samaritans; so that, in very deed, their sound went forth into all the earth, and their words to the end of the world. If, therefore, the prohibition against setting foot in the way of the Gentiles, and entering into the cities of the Samaritans, has come to an end, why should not the command to flee, which was issued at the same time, have come also to an end? Accordingly, from the time when, Israel having had its full measure, the apostles went over to the

Gentiles, they neither fled from city to city, nor hesitated to suffer. Nay, Paul too, who had submitted to deliverance from persecution by being let down from the wall, as to do so was at this time a matter of command, refused in like manner now at the close of his ministry, and after the injunction had come to an end, to give in to the anxieties of the disciples, eagerly entreating him that he would not risk himself at Jerusalem, because of the sufferings in store for him which Agabus had foretold; but doing the very opposite, it is thus he speaks, "What do ye, weeping and disquieting my heart? For I could wish not only to suffer bonds, but also to die at Jerusalem, for the name of my Lord Jesus Christ." And so they all said, "Let the will of the Lord be done." What was the will of the Lord? Certainly no longer to flee from persecution. Otherwise they who had wished him rather to avoid persecution, might also have adduced that prior will of the Lord, in which He had commanded flight. Therefore, seeing even in the days of the apostles themselves, the command to flee was temporary, as were those also relating to the other things at the same time enjoined, that [command] cannot continue with us which ceased with our teachers, even although it had not been issued specially for them; or if the Lord wished it to continue, the apostles did wrong who were not careful to keep fleeing to the last.

7. Let us now see whether also the rest of our Lord's ordinances accord with a lasting command of flight. In the first place, indeed, if persecution is from God, what are we to think of our being ordered to take ourselves out of its way, by the very party who brings it on us? For if He wanted it to be evaded, He had better not have sent it, that there might not be the appearance of His will being thwarted by another will.

For He wished us either to suffer persecution or to flee from it. If to flee, how to suffer? If to suffer, how to flee? In fact, what utter inconsistency in the decrees of One who commands to flee, and yet urges to suffer, which is the very opposite! "Him who will confess Me, I also will confess before My Father." How will he confess, fleeing? How flee, confessing? "Of him who shall be ashamed of Me, will I also be ashamed before My Father." If I avoid suffering, I am ashamed to confess. "Happy they who suffer persecution for My name's sake." Unhappy, therefore, they who, by running away, will not suffer according to the divine command. "He who shall endure to the end shall be saved." How then, when you bid me flee, do you wish me to endure

to the end? If views so opposed to each other do not comport with the divine dignity, they clearly prove that the command to flee had, at the time it was given, a reason of its own, which we have pointed out. But it is said, the Lord, providing for the weakness of some of His people, nevertheless, in His kindness, suggested also the haven of flight to them. For He was not able even without flight — a protection so base, and unworthy, and servile — to preserve in persecution such as He knew to be weak! Whereas in fact He does not cherish, but ever rejects the weak, teaching first, not that we are to fly from our persecutors, but rather that we are not to fear them. “Fear not them who are able to kill the body, but are unable to do ought against the soul; but fear Him who can destroy both body and soul in hell.” And then what does He allot to the fearful? “He who will value his life more than Me, is not worthy of Me; and he who takes not up his cross and follows Me, cannot be My disciple.” Last of all, in the Revelation, He does not propose flight to the “fearful,” but a miserable portion among the rest of the outcast, in the lake of brimstone and fire, which is the second death.

8. He sometimes also fled from violence Himself, but for the same reason as had led Him to command the apostles to do so: that is, He wanted to fulfil His ministry of teaching; and when it was finished, I do not say He stood firm, but He had no desire even to get from His Father the aid of hosts of angels: finding fault, too, with Peter’s sword. He likewise acknowledged, it is true, that His “soul was troubled, even unto death,” and the flesh weak; with the design, (however,) first of all, that by having, as His own, trouble of soul and weakness of the flesh, He might show you that both the substances in Him were truly human; lest, as certain persons have now brought it in, you might be led to think either the flesh or the soul of Christ different from ours; and then, that, by an exhibition of their states, you might be convinced that they have no power at all of themselves without the spirit. And for this reason He puts first “the willing spirit,” that, looking to the natures respectively of both the substances, you may see that you have in you the spirit’s strength as well as the flesh’s weakness; and even from this may learn what to do, and by what means to do it, and what to bring under what, — the weak, namely, under the strong, that you may not, as is now your fashion, make excuses on the ground of the weakness of the flesh, forsooth, but put out of sight the strength of the spirit. He also asked of His Father, that if it might be, the cup of suffering

should pass from Him. So ask you the like favour; but as He did, holding your position, — merely offering supplication, and adding, too, the other words: “but not what I will, but what Thou wilt.” But when you run away, how will you make this request? taking, in that case, into your own hands the removal of the cup from you, and instead of doing what your Father wishes, doing what you wish yourself.

9. The teaching of the apostles was surely in everything according to the mind of God: they forgot and omitted nothing of the Gospel. Where, then, do you show that they renewed the command to flee from city to city? In fact, it was utterly impossible that they should have laid down anything so utterly opposed to their own examples as a command to flee, while it was just from bonds, or the islands in which, for confessing, not fleeing from the Christian name, they were confined, they wrote their letters to the Churches. Paul bids us support the weak, but most certainly it is not when they flee. For how can the absent be supported by you? By bearing with them? Well, he says that people must be supported, if anywhere they have committed a fault through the weakness of their faith, just as (he enjoins) that we should comfort the faint-hearted; he does not say, however, that they should be sent into exile. But when he urges us not to give place to evil, he does not offer the suggestion that we should take to our heels, he only teaches that passion should be kept under restraint; and if he says that the time must be redeemed, because the days are evil, he wishes us to gain a lengthening of life, not by flight, but by wisdom. Besides, he who bids us shine as sons of light, does not bid us hide away out of sight as sons of darkness. He commands us to stand steadfast, certainly not to act an opposite part by fleeing; and to be girt, not to play the fugitive or oppose the Gospel. He points out weapons, too, which persons who intend to run away would not require. And among these he notes the shield too, that ye may be able to quench the darts of the devil, when doubtless ye resist him, and sustain his assaults in their utmost force. Accordingly John also teaches that we must lay down our lives for the brethren; much more, then, we must do it for the Lord. This cannot be fulfilled by those who flee. Finally, mindful of his own Revelation, in which he had heard the doom of the fearful, (and so) speaking from personal knowledge, he warns us that fear must be put away. “There is no fear,” says he, “in love; but perfect love casteth out fear; because fear has torment” — the

fire of the lake, no doubt. "He that feareth is not perfect in love" — to wit, the love of God. And yet who will flee from persecution, but he who fears? Who will fear, but he who has not loved? Yes; and if you ask counsel of the Spirit, what does He approve more than that utterance of the Spirit? For, indeed, it incites all almost to go and offer themselves in martyrdom, not to flee from it; so that we also make mention of it. If you are exposed to public infamy, says he, it is for your good; for he who is not exposed to dishonour among men is sure to be so before the Lord. Do not be ashamed; righteousness brings you forth into the public gaze. Why should you be ashamed of gaining glory? The opportunity is given you when you are before the eyes of men. So also elsewhere: seek not to die on bridal beds, nor in miscarriages, nor in soft fevers, but to die the martyr's death, that He may be glorified who has suffered for you.

10. But some, paying no attention to the exhortations of God, are readier to apply to themselves that Greek versicle of worldly wisdom, "He who fled will fight again;" perhaps also in the battle to flee again. And when will he who, as a fugitive, is a defeated man, be conqueror? A worthy soldier he furnishes to his commander Christ, who, so amply armed by the apostle, as soon as he hears persecution's trumpet, runs off from the day of persecution. I also will produce in answer a quotation taken from the world: "Is it a thing so very sad to die?" He must die, in whatever way of it, either as conquered or as conqueror. But although he has succumbed in denying, he has yet faced and battled with the torture. I had rather be one to be pitied than to be blushed for. More glorious is the soldier pierced with a javelin in battle, than he who has a safe skin as a fugitive. Do you fear man, O Christian? — you who ought to be feared by the angels, since you are to judge angels; who ought to be feared by evil spirits, since you have received power also over evil spirits; who ought to be feared by the whole world, since by you, too, the world is judged. You are Christ-clothed, you who flee before the devil, since into Christ you have been baptized. Christ, who is in you, is treated as of small account when you give yourself back to the devil, by becoming a fugitive before him. But, seeing it is from the Lord you flee, you taunt all runaways with the futility of their purpose. A certain bold prophet also had fled from the Lord, he had crossed over from Joppa in the direction of Tarsus, as if he could as easily transport himself away from God; but I find him, I do not say

in the sea and on the land, but, in fact, in the belly even of a beast, in which he was confined for the space of three days, unable either to find death or even thus escape from God. How much better the conduct of the man who, though he fears the enemy of God, does not flee from, but rather despises him, relying on the protection of the Lord; or, if you will, having an awe of God all the greater, the more that he has stood in His presence, says, "It is the Lord, He is mighty. All things belong to Him; wherever I am, I am in His hand: let Him do as He wills, I go not away; and if it be His pleasure that I die, let Him destroy me Himself, while I save myself for Him. I had rather bring odium upon Him by dying by His will, than by escaping through my own anger."

11. Thus ought every servant of God to feel and act, even one in an inferior place, that he may come to have a more important one, if he has made some upward step by his endurance of persecution. But when persons in authority themselves — I mean the very deacons, and presbyters, and bishops — take to flight, how will a layman be able to see with what view it was said, Flee from city to city? Thus, too, with the leaders turning their backs, who of the common rank will hope to persuade men to stand firm in the battle? Most assuredly a good shepherd lays down his life for the sheep, according to the word of Moses, when the Lord Christ had not as yet been revealed, but was already shadowed forth in himself: "If you destroy this people," he says, "destroy me also along with it." But Christ, confirming these foreshadowings Himself, adds: "The bad shepherd is he who, on seeing the wolf, flees, and leaves the sheep to be torn in pieces." Why, a shepherd like this will be turned off from the farm; the wages to have been given him at the time of his discharge will be kept from him as compensation; nay, even from his former savings a restoration of the master's loss will be required; for "to him who hath shall be given, but from him who hath not shall be taken away even that which he seemeth to have." Thus Zechariah threatens: "Arise, O sword, against the shepherds, and pluck ye out the sheep; and I will turn my hand against the shepherds." And against them both Ezekiel and Jeremiah declaim with kindred threatenings, for their not only wickedly eating of the Sheep, — they feeding themselves rather than those committed to their charge, — but also scattering the flock, and giving it over, shepherdless, a prey to all the beasts of the field. And this never happens more than when in persecution the Church is abandoned by the clergy. If any one recognises the Spirit also, he

will hear him branding the runaways. But if it does not become the keepers of the flock to flee when the wolves invade it — nay, if that is absolutely unlawful (for He who has declared a shepherd of this sort a bad one has certainly condemned him; and whatever is condemned has, without doubt, become unlawful) — on this ground it will not be the duty of those who have been set over the Church to flee in the time of persecution. But otherwise, if the flock should flee, the overseer of the flock would have no call to hold his ground, as his doing so in that case would be, without good reason, to give to the flock protection, which it would not require in consequence of its liberty, forsooth, to flee.

12. So far, my brother, as the question proposed by you is concerned, you have our opinion in answer and encouragement. But he who inquires whether persecution ought to be shunned by us must now be prepared to consider the following question also: Whether, if we should not flee from it, we should at least buy ourselves off from it. Going further than you expected, therefore, I will also on this point give you my advice, distinctly affirming that persecution, from which it is evident we must not flee, must in like manner not even be bought off. The difference lies in the payment; but as flight is a buying off without money, so buying off is money-flight. Assuredly you have here too the counselling of fear. Because you fear, you buy yourself off; and so you flee. As regards your feet, you have stood; in respect of the money you have paid, you have run away. Why, in this very standing of yours there was a fleeing from persecution, in the release from persecution which you bought; but that you should ransom with money a man whom Christ has ransomed with His blood, how unworthy is it of God and His ways of acting, who spared not His own Son for you, that He might be made a curse for us, because cursed is he that hangeth on a tree, — Him who was led as a sheep to be a sacrifice, and just as a lamb before its shearer, so opened He not His mouth; but gave His back to the scourges, nay, His cheeks to the hands of the smiter, and turned not away His face from spitting, and, being numbered with the transgressors, was delivered up to death, nay, the death of the cross. All this took place that He might redeem us from our sins. The sun ceded to us the day of our redemption; hell re-transferred the right it had in us, and our covenant is in heaven; the everlasting gates were lifted up, that the King of Glory, the Lord of might, might enter in, after having redeemed man from

earth, nay, from hell, that he might attain to heaven. What, now, are we to think of the man who strives against that glorious One, nay, slights and defiles His goods, obtained at so great a ransom — no less, in truth, than His most precious blood? It appears, then, that it is better to flee than to fall in value, if a man will not lay out for himself as much as he cost Christ. And the Lord indeed ransomed him from the angelic powers which rule the world — from the spirits of wickedness, from the darkness of this life, from eternal judgment, from everlasting death. But *you* bargain for him with an informer, or a soldier or some paltry thief of a ruler — under, as they say, the folds of the tunic — as if *he* were stolen goods whom Christ purchased in the face of the whole world, yes, and set at liberty. Will you value, then, this free man at any price, and possess him at any price, but the one, as we have said, it cost the Lord, — namely, His own blood? (And if not,) why then do you purchase Christ in the man in whom He dwells, as though He were some human property? No otherwise did Simon even try to do, when he offered the apostles money for the Spirit of Christ. Therefore this man also, who in buying himself has bought the Spirit of Christ, will hear that word, “Your money perish with you, since you have thought that the grace of God is to be had at a price!” Yet who will despise him for being (what he is), a denier? For what says that extorter? Give me money: assuredly that he may not deliver him up, since he tries to sell you nothing else than that which he is going to give you for money. When you put that into his hands, it is certainly your wish *not* to be delivered up. But not delivered up, had you to be held up to public ridicule? While, then, in being unwilling to be delivered up, you are not willing to be thus exposed; by this unwillingness of yours you have denied that you are what you have been unwilling to have it made public that you are. Nay, you say, While I am unwilling to be held up to the public as being what I am, I have acknowledged that I am what I am unwilling to be so held up as being, that is, a Christian. Can Christ, therefore, claim that you, as a witness for Him, have stedfastly shown Him forth? He who buys himself off does nothing in that way. Before *one* it might, I doubt not, be said, You have confessed Him; so also, on the account of your unwillingness to confess Him before many you have denied Him. A man’s very safety will pronounce that he has fallen while getting out of persecution’s way. He has fallen, therefore, whose desire has been to escape. The refusal of martyrdom is denial. A

Christian is preserved by his wealth, and for this end has his treasures, that he may not suffer, while he will be rich toward God. But it is the case that Christ was rich in blood for him. Blessed therefore are the poor, because, He says, the kingdom of heaven is theirs who have the soul only treasured up. If we cannot serve God and mammon, can we be redeemed both by God and by mammon? For who will serve mammon more than the man whom mammon has ransomed? Finally, of what example do you avail yourself to warrant your averting by money the giving of you up? When did the apostles, dealing with the matter, in any time of persecution trouble, extricate themselves by money? And money they certainly had from the prices of lands which were laid down at their feet, there being, without a doubt, many of the rich among those who believed — men, and also women, who were wont, too, to minister to their comfort. When did Onesimus, or Aquila, or Stephen, give them aid of this kind when they were persecuted? Paul indeed, when Felix the governor hoped that he should receive money for him from the disciples, about which matter he also dealt with the apostle in private, certainly neither paid it himself, nor did the disciples for him. Those disciples, at any rate, who wept because he was equally persistent in his determination to go to Jerusalem, and neglectful of all means to secure himself from the persecutions which had been foretold as about to occur there, at last say, “Let the will of the Lord be done.” What was that will? No doubt that he should suffer for the name of the Lord, not that he should be bought off. For as Christ laid down His life for us, so, too, we should do for Him; and not only for the Lord Himself, nay, but likewise for our brethren on His account. This, too, is the teaching of John when he declares, not that we should pay for our brethren, but rather that we should die for them. It makes no difference whether the thing not to be done by you is to buy *off* a Christian, or to *buy* one. And so the will of God accords with this. Look at the condition — certainly of God’s ordaining, in whose hand the king’s heart is — of kingdoms and empires. For increasing the treasury there are daily provided so many appliances — registerings of property, taxes in kind benevolences, taxes in money; but never up to this time has ought of the kind been provided by bringing Christians under some purchase-money for the person and the sect, although enormous gains could be reaped from numbers too great for any to be ignorant of them. Bought with blood, paid for with blood, we owe no money for our head, because

Christ is our Head. It is not fit that Christ should cost us money. How could martyrdoms, too, take place to the glory of the Lord, if by tribute we should pay for the liberty of our sect? And so he who stipulates to have it at a price, opposes the divine appointment. Since, therefore, Cæsar has imposed nothing on us after this fashion of a tributary sect — in fact, such an imposition never can be made, — with Antichrist now close at hand, and gaping for the blood, not for the money of Christians — how can it be pointed out to me that there is the command, “Render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar’s?” A soldier, be he an informer or an enemy, extorts money from me by threats, exacting nothing on Cæsar’s behalf; nay, doing the very opposite, when for a bribe he lets me go — Christian as I am, and by the laws of man a criminal. Of another sort is the *denarius* which I owe to Cæsar, a thing belonging to him, about which the question then was started, it being a tribute coin due indeed by those subject to tribute, not by children. Or how shall I render to God the things which are God’s, — certainly, therefore, His own likeness and money inscribed with His name, that is, a Christian man? But what do I owe God, as I do Cæsar the *denarius*, but the blood which His own Son shed for me? Now if I owe God, indeed, a human being and my own blood; but I am now in this juncture, that a demand is made upon me for the payment of that debt, I am undoubtedly guilty of cheating God if I do my best to withhold payment. I have well kept the commandment, if, rendering to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar’s, I refuse to God the things which are God’s!

13. But also to every one who asks me I will give on the plea of charity, not under any intimidation. Who asks? He says. But he who uses intimidation does not ask. One who threatens if he does not receive, does not crave, but compels. It is not alms he looks for, who comes not to be pitied, but to be feared. I will give, therefore, because I pity, not because I fear, when the recipient honours God and returns me his blessing; not when rather he both believes that he has conferred a favour on me, and, beholding his plunder, says, “Guilt money.” Shall I be angry even with an enemy? But enmities have also other grounds. Yet withal he did not say a betrayer, or persecutor, or one seeking to terrify you by his threats. For how much more shall I heap coals upon the head of a man of this sort, if I do not redeem myself by money? “In like manner,” says Jesus, “to him who has taken away your coat, grant even your cloak also.” But that refers to him who has sought

to take away my property, not my faith. The cloak, too, I will grant, if I am not threatened with betrayal. If he threatens, I will demand even my coat back again. Even now, the declarations of the Lord have reasons and laws of their own. They are not of unlimited or universal application. And so He commands us to give to every one who asks, yet He Himself does not give to those who ask a sign. Otherwise, if you think that we should give indiscriminately to all who ask, that seems to me to mean that you would give, I say not wine to him who has a fever, but even poison or a sword to him who longs for death. But how we are to understand, "Make to yourselves friends of mammon," let the previous parable teach you. The saying was addressed to the Jewish people; inasmuch as, having managed ill the business of the Lord which had been entrusted to them, they ought to have provided for themselves out of the men of mammon, which we then were, friends rather than enemies, and to have delivered us from the dues of sins which kept us from God, if they bestowed the blessing upon us, for the reason given by the Lord, that when grace began to depart from them, they, betaking themselves to our faith, might be admitted into everlasting habitations. Hold now any other explanation of this parable and saying you like, if only you clearly see that there is no likelihood of our opposers, should we make them friends with mammon, then receiving us into everlasting abodes. But of what will not cowardice convince men? As if Scripture both allowed them to flee, and commanded them to buy off! Finally, it is not enough if one or another is so rescued. Whole Churches have imposed tribute *en masse* on themselves. I know not whether it is matter for grief or shame when among hucksters, and pickpockets, and bath-thieves, and gamesters, and pimps, Christians too are included as taxpayers in the lists of free soldiers and spies. Did the apostles, with so much foresight, make the office of overseer of this type, that the occupants might be able to enjoy their rule free from anxiety, under colour of providing (a like freedom for their flocks)? For such a peace, forsooth, Christ, returning to His Father, commanded to be bought from the soldiers by gifts like those you have in the Saturnalia!

14. But how shall we assemble together? say you; how shall we observe the ordinances of the Lord? To be sure, just as the apostles also did, who were protected by faith, not by money; which faith, if it can remove a mountain, can much more remove a soldier. Be your safeguard wisdom, not a bribe. For

you will not have at once complete security from the people also, should you buy off the interference of the soldiers. Therefore all you need for your protection is to have both faith and wisdom: if you do not make use of these, you may lose even the deliverance which you have purchased for yourself; while, if you do employ them, you can have no need of any ransoming. Lastly, if you cannot assemble by day, you have the night, the light of Christ luminous against its darkness. You cannot run about among them one after another. Be content with a church of threes. It is better that you sometimes should not see your crowds, than subject yourselves (to a tribute bondage). Keep pure for Christ His betrothed virgin; let no one make gain of her. These things, my brother, seem to you perhaps harsh and not to be endured; but recall that God has said, "He who receives it, let him receive it," that is, let him who does not receive it go his way. He who fears to suffer, cannot belong to Him who suffered. But the man who does not fear to suffer, he will be perfect in love — in the love, it is meant, of God; "for perfect love casteth out fear." "And therefore many are called, but few chosen." It is not asked who is ready to follow the broad way, but who the narrow. And therefore the Comforter is requisite, who guides into all truth, and animates to all endurance. And they who have received Him will neither stoop to flee from persecution nor to buy it off, for they have the Lord Himself, One who will stand by us to aid us in suffering, as well as to be our mouth when we are put to the question.

Elucidations.

I.

(Persecutions threaten, .)

We have reserved this heroic tract to close our series of the ascetic essays of our author because it places even his sophistical enthusiasm in a light which shows much to admire. Strange that this defiant hero should have died (as we may infer) in his bed, and in extreme old age. Great man, how much, alike for weal and woe, the ages have been taught by thee!

This is the place for a tabular view of the *ten persecutions of the Ante-Nicene Church*. They are commonly enumerated as follows: —

1. Under Nero — a.d. 64.
2. Under Trajan — a.d. 95.
3. Under Trajan — a.d. 107.
4. Under Hadrian (a.d. 118 and) — a.d. 134.
5. Under Aurelius (a.d. 177) and Severus — a.d. 202.
6. Under Maximin — a.d. 235.
7. Under Decius — a.d. 250.
8. Under Valerian — a.d. 254.
9. Under Aurelian — a.d. 270.
10. Under Diocletian (a.d. 284 and) — a.d. 303.

Periods of Comparative Rest.

1. Under Antoninus Pius — a.d. 151.
2. Under Commodus — a.d. 185.
3. Under Alexander Severus — a.d. 223.
4. Under Philip — a.d. 248.
5. Under Diocletian — a.d. 284 till a.d. 303.

In thus chastising and sifting his Church in the years of her gradual growth “from the smallest of all seeds,” we see illustrations of the Lord’s Epistles to the seven churches of the Apocalypse. Who can doubt that Tertullian’s writings prepared the North-African Church for the Decian furnace, and all believers for the “seven times hotter” fires of Diocletian?

II.

(To the fearful, .)

In the *Patientia* Tertullian reflects the views of Catholics, and seems to allow those “persecuted in one city to flee to another.” So also in the *Ad Uxorem*, as instanced by Kaye. In the *Fuga* we have the enthusiast, but not as Gibbon will have it, the most wild and fanatical of declaimers. On the whole subject we again refer our readers to the solid and sober comments of Kaye on the martyrdoms and persecutions of the early faithful, and on the patristic views of the same.

III.

(Enormous gains from numbers, .)

Christians were now counted by millions. The following tabular view of the Christian population of the world from the beginning has been attributed to *Sharon Turner*. I do not find it in any of his works with which I am familiar. The *nineteenth century* is certainly credited too low, according to the modern computists; but I insert it merely for the centuries we are now considering.

Growth of the Church in Numbers.

1. First century — 500,000
2. Second century — 2,000,000
3. Third century — 5,000,000
4. Fourth century — 10,000,000
5. Fifth century — 15,000,000
6. Sixth century — 20,000,000
7. Seventh century — 24,000,000
8. Eighth century — 30,000,000
9. Ninth century — 40,000,000
10. Tenth century — 50,000,000
11. Eleventh century — 70,000,000
12. Twelfth century — 80,000,000
13. Thirteenth century — 75,000,000
14. Fourteenth century — 80,000,000
15. Fifteenth century — 100,000,000

16. Sixteenth century — 125,000,000
17. Seventeenth century — 155,000,000
18. Eighteenth century — 200,000,000
19. Nineteenth century — 400,000,000

De Monogamia (On Monogamy)



Translated by Sydney Thelwall

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Chapter 1. Different Views in Regard to Marriage Held by Heretics, Psychic, and Spiritualists

Heretics do away with marriages; Psychics accumulate them. The former marry not *even* once; the latter not *only* once. What do you do, Law of the Creator? Between alien eunuchs and your own grooms, you complain as much of the over-obedience of your own household as of the contempt of strangers. They who abuse you, do you equal hurt with them who use you not. In fact, neither is such continence laudable because it is heretical, nor such licence defensible because it is psychical. The former is blasphemous, the latter wanton; the former destroys the God of marriages, the latter puts Him to the blush. Among *us*, however, whom the recognition of spiritual gifts entitles to be deservedly called Spiritual, continence is as religious as licence is modest; since both the one and the other are in harmony with the Creator. Continence honours the law of marriage, licence tempers it; the former is not forced, the latter is regulated; the former recognises the power of free choice, the latter recognises a limit. We admit one marriage, just as we do one God. The law of marriage reaps an accession of honour where it is associated with shamefastness. But to the Psychics, since they receive not the Spirit, the things which are the Spirit's are not pleasing. Thus, so long as the things which are the Spirit's please them not, the things which are of the flesh will please, as being the contraries of the Spirit. The flesh, says (the apostle), lusts against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh. But what will the flesh lust after, except what is more *of* the flesh? For which reason withal, in the beginning, it became estranged from the Spirit. My Spirit, says (God), shall not permanently abide in these men eternally, for that they are flesh.

Chapter 2. The Spiritualists Vindicated from the Charge of Novelty

And so they upbraid the discipline of monogamy with being a heresy; nor is there any other cause whence they find themselves compelled to deny the Paraclete more than the fact that they esteem Him to be the institutor of a novel discipline, and a discipline which they find most harsh: so that this is already the first ground on which we must join issue in a general handling (of the subject), whether there is room for maintaining that the Paraclete has taught any such thing as can either be charged with novelty, in opposition to catholic tradition, or with burdensomeness, in opposition to the light burden of the Lord.

Now concerning each point the Lord Himself has pronounced. For in saying, I still have many things to say unto you, but you are not yet able to bear them: when the Holy Spirit shall be come, He will lead you into all truth, He sufficiently, of course, sets before us that He will bring such (teachings) as may be esteemed alike *novel*, as having never before been published, and finally *burdensome*, as if that were the reason why they were not published. It follows, you say, that by this line of argument, anything you please which is novel and burdensome may be ascribed to the Paraclete, even if it have come from the adversary spirit. No, of course. For the adversary spirit would be apparent from the diversity of his preaching, beginning by adulterating the rule of faith, and so (going on to) adulterating the order of discipline; because the corruption of that which holds the first grade, (that is, of faith, which is prior to discipline,) comes first. A man must of necessity hold heretical views of God first, and then of His institution. But the Paraclete, having many things to teach fully which the Lord deferred till He came, (according to the pre-definition,) will begin by bearing emphatic witness to Christ, (as being) such as we believe (Him to be), together with the whole order of God the Creator, and will glorify Him, and will bring to remembrance concerning Him. And when He has thus been recognised (as the promised Comforter), on the ground of the cardinal rule, He will reveal those many things which appertain to disciplines; while the integrity of His preaching commands credit for these (revelations), albeit they be novel, inasmuch as they are now in course of revelation, albeit they be burdensome, inasmuch as not even *now* are they

found bearable: (revelations), however, of none other Christ than (the One) who said that He had withal other many things which were to be fully taught by the Paraclete, no less burdensome to men of our own day than to them, by whom they were then not yet able to be borne.

Chapter 3. The Question of Novelty Further Considered in Connection with the Words of the Lord and His Apostles

But (as for the question) whether monogamy be burdensome, let the still shameless infirmity of the flesh look to that: let us meantime come to an agreement as to whether it be novel. This (even) broader assertion we make: that even if the Paraclete had in this our day definitely prescribed a virginity or continence total and absolute, so as not to permit the heat of the flesh to foam itself down even in single marriage, even thus He would seem to be introducing nothing of novelty; seeing that the Lord Himself opens the kingdoms of the heavens to eunuchs, as being Himself, withal, a virgin; to whom looking, the apostle also — himself too for this reason abstinent — gives the preference to continence. (Yes), you say, but saving the law of marriage. Saving it, plainly, and we will see under what limitations; nevertheless already destroying it, in so far as he gives the preference to continence. Good, he says, (it is) for a man not to have contact with a woman. It follows that it is evil to have contact with her; for nothing is contrary to good except evil. And accordingly (he says), It remains, that both they who have wives so be as if they have not, that it may be the more binding on them who have not to abstain from having them. He renders reasons, likewise, for so advising: that the unmarried think about God, but the married about how, in (their) marriage, each may please his (partner). And I may contend, that what is *permitted* is not absolutely good. For what is absolutely good is not *permitted*, but needs no asking to make it lawful. Permission has its cause sometimes even in *necessity*. Finally, in this case, there is no volition on the part of him who permits marriage. For his *volition* points another way. I *will*, he says, that you all so be as I too (am). And when he shows that (so to abide) is better, what, pray, does he demonstrate himself to will, but what he has premised is better? And thus, if he *permits* something other *than what* he has willed — permitted not voluntarily, but of necessity — he shows that what he has unwillingly granted as an indulgence is not absolutely good. Finally, when he says, Better it is to marry than to burn, what sort of good must that be understood to be which is better than a penalty? Which cannot seem better except when compared to a thing very bad? Good is that which keeps this

name *per se*; without comparison — I say not with an evil, but even — with some other good: so that, even if it be compared to and overshadowed by another good, it nevertheless remains in (possession of) the name of good. If, on the other hand, comparison with evil is the mean which obliges it to be called good; it is not so much good as a species of inferior evil, which, when obscured by a higher evil, is driven to the name of good. Take away, in short, the condition, so as not to say, Better it is to marry than to burn; and I question whether you will have the hardihood to say, Better (it is) to marry, not adding *than what* it is better. This done, then, it becomes *not* better; and while not better, not good either, the condition being taken away which, while making it better than another thing, in that sense obliges it to be considered good. Better it is to lose one eye than two. If, however, you withdraw from the comparison of either evil, it will not be better to have one eye, because it is not even good.

What, now, if he accommodately grants all indulgence to marry on the ground of his own (that is, of human) sense, out of the necessity which we have mentioned, inasmuch as better it is to marry than to burn? In fact, when he turns to the second case, by saying, But to the married I officially announce — not I, but the Lord — he shows that those things which he had said above had not been (the dictates) of the Lord's authority, but of human judgment. When, however, he turns their minds back to continence, (But I will you all so to be,) I think, moreover, he says, I too have the Spirit of God; in order that, if he had granted any indulgence out of necessity, that, by the Holy Spirit's authority, he might recall. But John, too, when advising us that we ought so to walk as the Lord withal did, of course admonished us to walk as well in accordance with sanctity of the flesh (as in accordance with His example in other respects). Accordingly he says more manifestly: And every (man) who has this hope in Him makes himself chaste, just as Himself withal is chaste. For elsewhere, again, (we read): Be holy, just as He withal was holy — in the flesh, namely. For of the Spirit he would not have said (that), inasmuch as the Spirit is without any external influence recognised as holy, nor does He wait to be admonished to sanctity, which is His proper nature. But the flesh *is taught* sanctity; and that withal, in Christ, was holy.

Therefore, if all these (considerations) obliterate the licence of marrying, whether we look into the condition on which the licence is granted, or the preference of continence which is imposed, why, after the apostles, could not

the same Spirit, supervening for the purpose of conducting discipline into all truth through the gradations of the times (according to what the preacher says, A time to everything), impose by this time a final bridle upon the flesh, no longer obliquely calling us away from marriage, but openly; since now more (than ever) the time has become wound up, — about 160 years having elapsed since then? Would you not spontaneously ponder (thus) in your own mind: This discipline is old, shown beforehand, even at that early date, in the Lord's flesh and will, (and) successively thereafter in both the counsels and the examples of His apostles? Of old we were destined to this sanctity. Nothing of novelty is the Paraclete introducing. What He premonished, He is (now) definitively appointing; what He deferred, He is (now) exacting. And presently, by revolving these thoughts, you will easily persuade yourself that it was much more competent to the Paraclete to preach unity of marriage, who could withal have preached its annulling; and that it is more credible that He should have tempered what it would have become Him even to have abolished, if you understand what Christ's will is. Herein also you ought to recognise the Paraclete in His character of Comforter, in that He excuses your infirmity from (the stringency of) an absolute continence.

Chapter 4. Waiving Allusion to the Paraclete, Tertullian Comes to the Consideration of the Ancient Scriptures, and Their Testimony on the Subject in Hand

Waiving, now, the mention of the Paraclete, as of some authority of our own, evolve we the common instruments of the primitive Scriptures. This very thing is demonstrable by us: that the rule of monogamy is neither novel nor strange, nay rather, is both ancient, and proper to Christians; so that you may be sensible that the Paraclete is rather its *restitutor* than *institutor*. As for what pertains to antiquity, what more ancient formal type can be brought forward, than the very original fount of the human race? One female did God fashion for the male, culling one rib of his, and (of course) (one) out of a plurality. But, moreover, in the introductory speech which preceded the work itself, He said, It is not good for the man that he be alone; let us make an help-meet for him. For He would have said helpers if He had destined him to have more wives (than one). He added, too, a law concerning the future; if, that is, (the words) And two shall be (made) into one flesh — not three, nor more; else they would be no more two if (there were) more — were prophetically uttered. The law stood (firm). In short, the unity of marriage lasted to the very end in the case of the authors of our race; not because there were no other women, but because the reason *why* there were none was that the first-fruits of the race might not be contaminated by a double marriage. Otherwise, had God (so) willed, there *could* withal have been (others); at all events, he might have taken from the abundance of his own daughters — having no less an Eve (taken) out of his own bones and flesh — if piety had allowed it to be done. But where the first crime (is found) homicide, inaugurated in fratricide — no crime was so worthy of the second place as a double marriage. For it makes no difference whether a man have had two wives singly, or whether individuals (taken) at the same time have made two. The number of (the individuals) conjoined and separate is the same. Still, God's institution, after once for all suffering violence through Lamech, remained firm to the very end of that race. Second Lamech there arose none, in the way of being husband to two wives. What Scripture does not note, it denies. Other iniquities provoke the deluge: (iniquities) once for all avenged, whatever was their nature; not, however, seventy-seven times, which (is the vengeance which) double

marriages have deserved.

But again: the reformation of the second human race is traced from monogamy as its mother. Once more, two (joined) into one flesh undertake (the duty of) growing and multiplying, — Noah, (namely), and his wife, and their sons, in single marriage. Even in the very animals monogamy is recognised, for fear that even beasts should be born of adultery. Out of all beasts, said (God), out of all flesh, two shall you lead into the ark, that they may live with you, male and female: they shall be (taken) from all flying animals according to (their) kind, and from all creepers of the earth according to their kind; two out of all shall enter unto you, male and female. In the same formula, too, He orders sets of sevens, made up of pairs, to be gathered to him, consisting of male and female — one male and one female. What more shall I say? Even unclean birds were not allowed to enter with two females each.

Chapter 5. Connection of These Primeval Testimonies with Christ

Thus far for the testimony of things primordial, and the sanction of our origin, and the prejudgment of the divine institution, which of course is a law, not (merely) a memorial inasmuch as, if it was so done from the beginning, we find ourselves directed to the beginning by Christ: just as, in the question of divorce, by saying that that had been permitted by Moses on account of their hard-heartedness but from the beginning it had not been so, He doubtless recalls to the beginning the (law of) the individuality of marriage. And accordingly, those whom God from the beginning conjoined, two into one flesh, man shall not at the present day separate. The apostle, too, writing to the Ephesians, says that God had proposed in Himself, at the dispensation of the fulfilment of the times, to recall to the head (that is, to the beginning) things universal in Christ, which are above the heavens and above the earth in Him. So, too, the two letters of Greece, the first and the last, the Lord assumes to Himself, as figures of the beginning and end! Which concur in Himself: so that, just as Alpha rolls on till it reaches Omega, and again Omega rolls back till it reaches Alpha, in the same way He might show that in Himself is both the downward course of the beginning on to the end, and the backward course of the end up to the beginning; so that every economy, ending in Him through whom it began — through the Word of God, that is, who was made flesh, — may have an end correspondent to its beginning. And so truly in Christ are all things recalled to the beginning, that even faith returns from circumcision to the integrity of that (original) flesh, as it was from the beginning; and freedom of meats and abstinence from blood alone, as it was from the beginning; and the individuality of marriage, as it was from the beginning; and the restriction of divorce, which *was not* from the beginning; and lastly, the whole man into Paradise, where he was from the beginning. Why, then, ought He not to restore Adam there at least as a monogamist, who cannot present him in so entire perfection as he was when dismissed thence? Accordingly, so far as pertains to the restitution of the beginning, the logic both of the dispensation you live under, and of your hope, exact this from you, that what was from the beginning (should be) in accordance with the beginning; which (beginning) you find counted in Adam, and recounted in Noah. Make your election, in

which of the two you account your beginning. In both, the censorial power of monogamy claims you for itself. But again: if the beginning passes on to the end (as Alpha to Omega), as the end passes back to the beginning (as Omega to Alpha), and thus our origin is transferred to Christ, the animal to the spiritual — inasmuch as (that was) not first which is spiritual, but (that) which (is) animal; then what (is) spiritual, — let us, in like manner (as before), see whether you owe this very (same) thing to this second origin also: whether the last Adam also meet you in the selfsame form as the first; since the last Adam (that is, Christ) was entirely unwedded, as was even the first Adam before his exile. But, presenting to your weakness the gift of the example of His own flesh, the more perfect Adam — that is, Christ, more perfect on this account as well (as on others), that He was more entirely pure — stands before you, if you are willing (to copy Him), as a voluntary celibate in the flesh. If, however, you are unequal (to that perfection), He stands before you a monogamist in spirit, having one Church as His spouse, according to the figure of Adam and of Eve, which (figure) the apostle interprets of that great sacrament of Christ and the Church, (teaching that), through the spiritual, it was analogous to the carnal monogamy. You see, therefore, after what manner, renewing your origin even in Christ, you cannot trace down that (origin) without the profession of monogamy; unless, (that is), you be in flesh what He is in spirit; albeit withal, what He was in flesh, you equally ought to have been.

Chapter 6. The Case of Abraham, and Its Bearing on the Present Question

But let us proceed with our inquiry into some eminent chief fathers of our origin: for there are some to whom our monogamist parents Adam and Noah are not pleasing, nor perhaps Christ either. To Abraham, in fine, they appeal; prohibited though they are to acknowledge any other father than God. Grant, now, that Abraham is our father; grant, too, that Paul is. In the Gospel, says he, I have begotten you. Show yourself a son even of Abraham. For your origin in him, you must know, is not referable to every period of his life: there is a definite time at which he is your father. For if faith is the source whence we are reckoned to Abraham as his sons (as the apostle teaches, saying to the Galatians, You know, consequently, that (they) who are of faith, these are sons of Abraham), *when* did Abraham believe God and it was accounted to him for righteousness? I suppose when still in monogamy, since (he was) not yet in circumcision. But if afterwards he changed to either (opposite) — to digamy through cohabitation with his handmaid, and to circumcision through the seal of the testament — you cannot acknowledge him as your father except at that time when he believed God, if it is true that it is according to *faith* that you are his son, not according to *flesh*. Else, if it be the later Abraham whom you follow as your father — that is, the digamist (Abraham) — receive him withal in his circumcision. If you reject his circumcision, it follows that you will refuse his digamy too. Two characters of his mutually diverse in two several ways, you will not be able to blend. His digamy began with circumcision, his monogamy with uncircumcision. You receive digamy; admit circumcision too. You retain uncircumcision; you are bound to monogamy too. Moreover, so true is it that it is of the monogamist Abraham that you are the son, just as of the uncircumcised, that if you be circumcised you immediately cease to be his son, inasmuch as you will not be of faith, but of the *seal* of a faith which had been justified in uncircumcision. You have the apostle: learn (of him), together with the Galatians. In like manner, too, if you have involved yourself in digamy, you are not the son of that Abraham whose faith preceded in monogamy. For albeit it is subsequently that he is called a father of many nations, still it is of *those* (nations) who, as the fruit of the faith which precedes digamy, had to be accounted sons of Abraham.

Thenceforward let matters see to themselves. Figures are one thing; laws another. Images are one thing; statutes another. Images pass away when fulfilled: statutes remain permanently to be fulfilled. Images prophesy: statutes govern. What that digamy of Abraham portends, the same apostle fully teaches, the interpreter of each testament, just as he likewise lays it down that our seed is called in Isaac. If you are of the free woman, and belong to Isaac, he, at all events, maintained unity of marriage to the last.

These accordingly, I suppose, are they in whom my origin is counted. All others I ignore. And if I glance around at their examples — (examples) of some David heaping up marriages for himself even through sanguinary means, of some Solomon rich in wives as well as in other riches — you are bidden to follow the better things; and you have withal Joseph but once wedded, and on this score I venture to say better than his father; you have Moses, the intimate eye-witness of God; you have Aaron the chief priest. The second Moses, also, of the second People, who led our representatives into the (possession of) the promise of God, in whom the Name (of Jesus) was first inaugurated, was no digamist.

Chapter 7. From Patriarchal, Tertullian Comes to Legal, Precedents

After the ancient examples of the patriarchs, let us equally pass on to the ancient documents of the legal Scriptures, that we may treat in order of all our canon. And since there are some who sometimes assert that they have nothing to do with the law (which Christ has not dissolved, but fulfilled), sometimes catch at such parts of the law as they choose; plainly do we too assert that the law has deceased in this sense, that its burdens — according to the sentence of the apostles — which not even the fathers were able to sustain, have wholly ceased: such (parts), however, as relate to righteousness not only permanently remain reserved, but even amplified; in order, to be sure, that our righteousness may be able to redound above the righteousness of the scribes and of the Pharisees. If righteousness must, of course chastity must too. If, then, forasmuch as there is in the law a precept that a man is to take in marriage the wife of his brother if he have died without children, for the purpose of raising up seed to his brother; and this may happen repeatedly to the same person, according to that crafty question of the Sadducees; men for that reason think that frequency of marriage is permitted in other cases as well: it will be their duty to understand first the reason of the precept itself; and thus they will come to know that that reason, now ceasing, is among those parts of the law which have been cancelled. Necessary it was that there should be a succession to the marriage of a brother if he died childless: first, because that ancient benediction, Grow and multiply, had still to run its course; secondly, because the sins of the fathers used to be exacted even from the sons; thirdly, because eunuchs and barren persons used to be regarded as ignominious. And thus, for fear that such as had died childless, not from natural inability, but from being prematurely overtaken by death, should be judged equally accursed (with the other class); for this reason a vicarious and (so to say) posthumous offspring used to be supplied them. But (now), when the extremity of the times has cancelled (the command) Grow and multiply, since the apostles (another command), It remains, that both they who have wives so be as if they have not, because the time is compressed; and the sour grape chewed by the fathers has ceased to set the sons' teeth on edge, for, each one shall die in his own sin; and eunuchs not only have lost ignominy,

but have even deserved grace, being invited into the kingdoms of the heavens: the law of succeeding to the wife of a brother being buried, its contrary has obtained — that of *not* succeeding to the wife of a brother. And thus, as we have said before, what has ceased to be valid, on the cessation of its reason, cannot furnish a ground of argument to another. Therefore a wife, when her husband is dead, will not marry; for if she marry, she will of course be marrying (his) brother: for all we are brethren. Again, the woman, if intending to marry, has to marry in the Lord; that is, not to an heathen, but to a brother, inasmuch as even the ancient law forbids marriage with members of another tribe. Since, moreover, even in Leviticus there is a caution, Whoever shall have taken (his) brother's wife, (it) is uncleanness — turpitude; without children shall (he) die; beyond doubt, while the man is prohibited from marrying a second time, the woman is prohibited too, having no one to marry except a brother. In what way, then, an agreement shall be established between the apostle and the Law (which he is not impugning in its entirety), shall be shown when we shall have come to his own epistle. Meantime, so far as pertains to the law, the lines of argument drawn from it are more suitable for us (than for our opponents). In short, the same (law) prohibits priests from marrying a second time. The daughter also of a priest it bids, if widowed or repudiated, if she have had no seed, to return into her father's home and be nourished from his bread. The reason why (it is said), If she have had no seed, is not that if she have she may marry again — for how much more will she abstain from marrying if she have sons? — but that, if she have, she may be nourished by her son rather than by her father; in order that the son, too, may carry out the precept of God, Honour father and mother. Us, moreover, Jesus, the Father's Highest and Great Priest, clothing us from His own store — inasmuch as they who are baptized in Christ have put on Christ — has made priests to God His Father, according to John. For the reason why He recalls that young man who was hastening to his father's obsequies, is that He may show that we are called priests by Him; (priests) whom the Law used to forbid to be present at the sepulture of parents: Over every dead soul, it says, the priest shall not enter, and over his own father and over his own mother he shall not be contaminated. Does it follow that we too are bound to observe *this* prohibition? No, of course. For our one Father, God, *lives*, and our mother, the Church; and neither are we dead who live to God, nor do we bury

our dead, inasmuch as they too are living in Christ. At all events, priests we are called by Christ; debtors to monogamy, in accordance with the pristine Law of God, which prophesied at that time of us in its own priests.

Chapter 8. From the Law Tertullian Comes to the Gospel. He Begins with Examples Before Proceeding to Dogmas

Turning now to the law, which is properly ours — that is, to the Gospel — by what kind of examples are we met, until we come to definite dogmas? Behold, there immediately present themselves to us, on the threshold as it were, the two priestesses of Christian sanctity, Monogamy and Continence: one modest, in Zechariah the priest; one absolute, in John the forerunner: one appeasing God; one preaching Christ: one proclaiming a perfect priest; one exhibiting more than a prophet, — him, namely, who has not only preached or personally pointed out, but even baptized Christ. For who was more worthily to perform the initiatory rite on the body of the Lord, than flesh similar in kind to that which conceived and gave birth to that (body)? And indeed it was a virgin, about to marry once for all after her delivery, who gave birth to Christ, in order that each title of sanctity might be fulfilled in Christ's parentage, by means of a mother who was both virgin, and wife of one husband. Again, when He is presented as an infant in the temple, who is it who receives Him into his hands? Who is the first to recognise Him in spirit? A man just and circumspect, and of course no digamist, (which is plain) even (from this consideration), lest (otherwise) Christ should presently be more worthily preached by a woman, an aged widow, and the wife of one man; who, living devoted to the temple, was (already) giving in her own person a sufficient token what sort of persons ought to be the adherents to the spiritual temple, — that is, the Church. Such eye-witnesses the Lord in infancy found; no different ones had He in adult age. Peter alone do I find — through (the mention of) his mother-in-law — to have been married. Monogamist I am led to presume him by consideration of the Church, which, built upon him, was destined to appoint every grade of her Order from monogamists. The rest, while I do not find them married, I must of necessity understand to have been either eunuchs or continent. Nor indeed, if, among the Greeks, in accordance with the carelessness of custom, women and wives are classed under a common name — however, there is a name proper to *wives* — shall we therefore so interpret Paul as if he demonstrates the apostles to have had wives? For if he were disputing about marriages, as he does in the sequel, where the apostle could

better have named some particular example, it would appear right for him to say, For have we not the power of leading about *wives*, like the other apostles and Cephas? But when he subjoins those (expressions) which show his abstinence from (insisting on) the supply of maintenance, saying, For have we not the power of eating and drinking? he does not demonstrate that wives were led about by the apostles, whom even such as have not still have the power of eating and drinking; but simply women, who used to minister to them in the same way (as they did) when accompanying the Lord. But further, if Christ reproves the scribes and Pharisees, sitting in the official chair of Moses, but not doing what they taught, what kind of (supposition) is it that He Himself withal should set upon His own official chair men who were mindful rather to enjoin — (but) not likewise to practise — sanctity of the flesh, which (sanctity) He had in all ways recommended to their teaching and practising? — first by His own example, then by all other arguments; while He tells (them) that the kingdom of heavens is children's; while He associates with these (children) others who, after marriage, remained (or became) virgins; while He calls (them) to (copy) the simplicity of the dove, a bird not merely innocuous, but modest too, and whereof one male knows one female; while He denies the Samaritan woman's (partner to be) a husband, that He may show that manifold husbandry is adultery; while, in the revelation of His own glory, He prefers, from among so many saints and prophets, to have with him Moses and Elias — the one a monogamist, the other a voluntary celibate (for Elias was nothing else than John, who came in the power and spirit of Elias); while that man gluttonous and toying, the frequenter of luncheons and suppers, in the company of publicans and sinners, sups once for all at a single marriage, though, of course, many were marrying (around Him); for He willed to *attend* (marriages) only so often as (He willed) them to *be*.

Chapter 9. From Examples Tertullian Passes to Direct Dogmatic Teachings. He Begins with the Lord's Teaching

But grant that these argumentations may be thought to be forced and founded on conjectures, if no dogmatic teachings have stood parallel with them which the Lord uttered in treating of divorce, which, permitted formerly, He now prohibits, first because from the beginning it was not so, like plurality of marriage; secondly, because What God has conjoined, man shall not separate, — for fear, namely, that he contravene the Lord: for He alone shall separate who has conjoined (separate, moreover, not through the harshness of divorce, which (harshness) He censures and restrains, but through the debt of death) if, indeed, one of two sparrows falls not on the ground without the Father's will. Therefore if those whom God has conjoined man shall not separate by divorce, it is equally congruous that those whom God has separated by death man is not to conjoin by marriage; the joining of the separation will be just as contrary to God's will as would have been the separation of the conjunction.

So far as regards the non- *destruction* of the will of God, and the *restruction* of the law of the beginning. But another reason, too, conspires; nay, not another, but (one) which imposed the law of the beginning, and moved the will of God to prohibit divorce: the fact that (he) who shall have dismissed his wife, except on the ground of adultery, makes her commit adultery; and (he) who shall have married a (woman) dismissed by her husband, of course commits adultery. A divorced woman cannot even marry legitimately; and if she commit any such act without the name of marriage, does it not fall under the category of adultery, in that adultery is crime in the way of marriage? Such is God's verdict, within straiter limits than men's, that universally, whether through marriage or promiscuously, the admission of a second man (to intercourse) is pronounced adultery by Him. For let us see what marriage is in the eye of God; and thus we shall learn what adultery equally is. Marriage is (this): when God joins two into one flesh; or else, finding (them already) joined in the same flesh, has given His seal to the conjunction. Adultery is (this): when, the two having been — in whatsoever way — *disjoined*, other — nay, rather alien — flesh is mingled (with either): flesh concerning which it cannot be affirmed, This is flesh out of my flesh, and this bone out of my bones. For this, once for all done and pronounced, as

from the beginning, so now too, cannot apply to other flesh. Accordingly, it will be without cause that you will say that God wills not a divorced woman to be joined to another man while her husband lives, as if He do will it when he is dead; whereas if she is not bound to him when dead, no more is she when living. Alike when divorce dissevers marriage as when death does, she will not be bound to him by whom the binding medium has been broken off. To whom, then, will she be bound? In the eye of God, it matters nought whether she marry during her life or after his death. For it is not against him that she sins, but against herself. Any sin which a man may have committed is external to the body; but (he) who commits adultery sins against his own body. But — as we have previously laid down above — whoever shall intermingle with himself other flesh, over and above that pristine flesh which God either conjoined into two or else found (already) conjoined, commits adultery. And the reason why He has abolished divorce, which was not from the beginning, is, that He may strengthen that which was from the beginning — the permanent conjunction, (namely), of two into one flesh: for fear that necessity or opportunity for a *third* union of flesh may make an irruption (into His dominion); permitting divorce to no cause but one — if, (that is), the (evil) against which precaution is taken chance to have occurred beforehand. So true, moreover, is it that divorce was not from the beginning, that among the Romans it is not till after the six hundredth year from the building of the city that this kind of hard-heartedness is set down as having been committed. But *they* indulge in promiscuous adulteries, even without divorcing (their partners): to *us*, even if we do divorce them, even marriage will not be lawful.

Chapter 10. St. Paul's Teaching on the Subject

From this point I see that we are challenged by an appeal to the apostle; for the more easy apprehension of whose meaning we must all the more earnestly inculcate (the assertion), that a woman is more bound when her husband is dead not to admit (to marriage) another husband. For let us reflect that divorce either is caused by discord, or else causes discord; whereas death is an event resulting from the law of God, not from an offense of man; and that it is a debt which all owe, even the unmarried. Therefore, if a divorced woman, who has been separated (from her husband) in soul as well as body, through discord, anger, hatred, and the causes of these — injury, or contumely, or whatsoever cause of complaint — is bound to a personal enemy, not to say a husband, how much more will one who, neither by her own nor her husband's fault, but by an event resulting from the Lord's law, has been — not separated from, but left behind by — her consort, be his, even when dead, to whom, even when dead, she owes (the debt of) concord? From him from whom she has heard no (word of) divorce she does not turn away; with him she is, to whom she has written no (document of) divorce; him whom she was unwilling to have lost, she retains. She has within her the licence of the mind, which represents to a man, in imaginary enjoyment, all things which he has not. In short, I ask the woman herself, Tell me, sister, have you sent your husband before you (to his rest) in peace? What will she answer? (Will she say), In discord? In that case she is the more bound to him with whom she has a cause (to plead) at the bar of God. She who is bound (to another) has not departed (from him). But (will she say), In peace? In that case, she must necessarily persevere in that (peace) with him whom she will no longer have the power to divorce; not that she would, even if she had been able to divorce him, have been marriageable. Indeed, she prays for his soul, and requests refreshment for him meanwhile, and fellowship (with him) in the first resurrection; and she offers (her sacrifice) on the anniversaries of his falling asleep. For, unless she does these deeds, she has in the true sense divorced him, so far as in her lies; and indeed the more iniquitously — inasmuch as (she did it) as far as *was* in her power — because she had *no* power (to do it); and with the more indignity, inasmuch as it is with more indignity if (her reason for doing it is) because he did *not* deserve it. Or else shall we, pray, cease to be after death, according to (the

teaching of) some Epicurus, and not according to (that of) Christ? But if we believe the resurrection of the dead, of course we shall be bound to them with whom we are destined to rise, to render an account the one of the other. But if ‘in that age they will neither marry nor be given in marriage, but will be equal to angels,’ is not the fact that there will be no restitution of the conjugal relation a reason why we shall *not* be bound to our departed consorts? Nay, but the more shall we *be* bound (to them), because we are destined to a better estate — destined (as we are) to rise to a spiritual consortship, to recognise as well our own selves as them who are ours. Else how shall we sing thanks to God to eternity, if there shall remain in us no sense and memory of this debt; if we shall be *re*-formed in substance, not in consciousness? Consequently, we who shall be with God shall be together; since we shall all be with the one God — albeit the wages be various, albeit there be many mansions, in the house of the same Father having laboured for the one penny of the self-same hire, that is, of eternal life; in which (eternal life) God will still less separate them whom He has conjoined, than in this lesser life He forbids them to be separated.

Since this is so, how will a woman have room for another husband, who is, even to futurity, in the possession of her own? (Moreover, we speak to each sex, even if our discourse address itself but to the one; inasmuch as one discipline is incumbent [on both].) She will have one in spirit, one in flesh. This will be adultery, the conscious affection of one woman for two men. If the one has been disjoined from her flesh, but remains in her heart — in that place where even cogitation without carnal contact achieves beforehand both adultery by concupiscence, and matrimony by volition — he is to this hour her husband, possessing the very thing which is the mean whereby he became so — her mind, namely, in which withal, if another shall find a habitation, this will be a crime. Besides, excluded he is not, if he *has* withdrawn from viler carnal commerce. A more honourable husband is he, in proportion as he has become more pure.

Chapter 11. Further Remarks Upon St. Paul's Teaching

Grant, now, that you marry in the Lord, in accordance with the law and the apostle — if, notwithstanding, you care even about this — with what face do you request (the solemnizing of) a matrimony which is unlawful to those of whom you request it; of a monogamist bishop, of presbyters and deacons bound by the same solemn engagement, of widows whose Order you have in your own person refused? And they, plainly, will give husbands and wives as they would morsels of bread; for this is their rendering of To every one who asks you you shall give! And they will join you together in a virgin church, the one betrothed of the one Christ! And you will pray for your *husbands*, the new and the old. Make your election, to which of the two you will play the adulteress. I think, to both. But if you have any wisdom, be silent on behalf of the dead one. Let your silence be to him a divorce, already endorsed in the dotal gifts of another. In this way you will earn the new husband's favour, if you forget the old. You ought to take more pains to please him for whose sake you have not preferred to please God! Such (conduct) the Psychics will have it the apostle approved, or else totally failed to think about, when he wrote: The woman is bound for such length of time as her husband lives; but if he shall have died, she is free; whom she will let her marry, only in the Lord. For it is out of this passage that they draw their defense of the licence of second marriage; nay, even of (marriages) to any amount, if of second (marriage): for that which has ceased to *be once for all*, is open to *any and every number*. But the sense in which the apostle did write will be apparent, if first an agreement be come to that he did *not* write it in the sense of which the Psychics avail themselves. Such an agreement, moreover, will be come to if one first recall to mind those (passages) which are diverse from the passage in question, when tried by the standard of doctrine, of volition, and of Paul's own discipline. For, if he permits second nuptials, which were *not* from the beginning, how does he affirm that all things are being recollected *to* the beginning in Christ? If he wills us to iterate conjugal connections, how does he maintain that our seed is called in the but once married Isaac as its author? How does he make monogamy the base of his disposition of the whole Ecclesiastical Order, if this rule does not antecedently hold good in the case of laics, from whose ranks the Ecclesiastical Order proceeds? How does he call away from the enjoyment

of marriage such as are still in the married position, saying that the time is wound up, if he calls back again into marriage such as through death had escaped from marriage? If these (passages) are diverse from that one about which the present question is, it will be agreed (as we have said) that he did not write in that sense of which the Psychics avail themselves; inasmuch as it is easier (of belief) that that one passage should have some explanation agreeable with the others, than that an apostle should seem to have taught (principles) mutually diverse. That explanation we shall be able to discover in the subject-matter itself. What was the subject-matter which led the apostle to write such (words)? The inexperience of a new and just rising Church, which he was rearing, to wit, with milk, not yet with the solid food of stronger doctrine; inexperience so great, that that infancy of faith prevented them from yet knowing what they were to do in regard of carnal and sexual necessity. The very phases themselves of this (inexperience) are intelligible from (the apostle's) rescripts, when he says: But concerning these (things) which you write; good it is for a man not to touch a woman; but, on account of fornications, let each one have his own wife. He shows that there were who, having been apprehended by the faith in (the state of) marriage, were apprehensive that it might not be lawful for them thenceforward to enjoy their marriage, because they had believed on the holy flesh of Christ. And yet it is by way of allowance that he makes the concession, not by way of command; that is, indulging, not enjoining, the practice. On the other hand, he willed rather that all should be what he himself was. Similarly, too, in sending a rescript on (the subject of) divorce, he demonstrates that some had been thinking over that also, chiefly because withal they did not suppose that they were to persevere, after faith, in heathen marriages. They sought counsel, further, concerning virgins — for precept of the Lord there was none — (and were told) that it is good for a man if he so remain permanently; (so), of course, as he may have been found by the faith. You have been bound to a wife, seek not loosing; you have been loosed from a wife, seek not a wife. But if you shall have taken to (yourself) a wife, you have not sinned; because to one who, before believing, had been loosed from a wife, she will not be counted a *second* wife who, subsequently to believing, is the *first*: for it is from (the time of our) believing that our life itself dates its origin. But here he says that he is sparing them; else pressure of the flesh would shortly follow, in

consequence of the straits of the times, which shunned the encumbrances of marriage: yea, rather solicitude must be felt about earning the Lord's favour than a husband's. And thus he recalls his permission. So, then, in the very same passage in which he definitely rules that each one ought permanently to remain in that calling in which he shall be called; adding, A woman is bound so long as her husband lives; but if he shall have fallen asleep, she is free: whom she shall wish let her marry, only in the Lord, he hence also demonstrates that such a woman is to be understood as has withal herself been found (by the faith) loosed from a husband, similarly as the husband loosed from a wife — the loosing having taken place through death, of course, not through divorce; inasmuch as to the *divorced* he would grant no permission to marry, in the teeth of the primary precept. And so a woman, if she shall have married, will not sin; because he will not be reckoned a second husband who is, subsequently to her believing, the first, any more (than a wife thus taken will be counted a second wife). And so truly is this the case, that he *therefore* adds, only in the Lord; because the question in agitation was about her who had had a *heathen* (husband), and had believed *subsequently to losing him*: for fear, to wit, that she might presume herself able to marry a heathen even *after* believing; albeit not even *this* is an object of care to the Psychics. Let us plainly know that, in the Greek original, it does not stand in the form which (through the either crafty or simple alteration of two syllables) has gone out into common use, But if her husband *shall have* fallen asleep, as if it were speaking of the future, and thereby seemed to pertain to her who has lost her husband when already in a believing state. If this indeed had been so, licence let loose without limit would have granted a (fresh) husband as often as one had been lost, without any such modesty in marrying as is congruous even to heathens. But even if it had been so, as if referring to future time, If any (woman's) husband *shall have* died, even the future would just as much pertain to her whose husband shall die before she believed. Take it which way you will, provided you do not overturn the rest. For since these (other passages) agree to the sense (given above): You have been called (as) a slave; care not: You have been called in uncircumcision; be not circumcised: You have been called in circumcision; become not uncircumcised: with which concurs, You have been bound to a wife; seek not loosing: you have been loosed from a wife; seek not a wife, — manifest enough it is that these

passages pertain to such as, finding themselves in a new and recent calling, were consulting (the apostle) on the subject of those (circumstantial conditions) in which they had been apprehended by the faith.

This will be the interpretation of that passage, to be examined as to whether it be congruous with the time and the occasion, and with the examples and arguments preceding as well as with the sentences and senses succeeding, and primarily with the individual advice and practice of the apostle himself: for nothing is so much to be guarded as (the care) that no one be found self-contradictory.

Chapter 12. The Explanation of the Passage Offered by the Psychics Considered

Listen, withal, to the very subtle argumentation on the contrary side. So true is it, say (our opponents), that the apostle has permitted the iteration of marriage, that it is only such as are in the Clerical Order that he has stringently bound to the yoke of monogamy. For that which he prescribes to certain (individuals) he does not prescribe to all. Does it then follow, too, that to bishops alone he does *not* prescribe what he does enjoin upon all; if what he does prescribe to bishops he does *not* enjoin upon all? Or is it *therefore* to all *because* to bishops? And *therefore* to bishops *because* to all? For whence is it that the bishops and clergy come? Is it not from *all*? If *all* are not bound to monogamy, whence are monogamists (to be taken) into the clerical rank? Will some separate order of monogamists have to be instituted, from which to make selection for the clerical body? (No); but when we are extolling and inflating ourselves in opposition to the clergy, then we are all one: then we are all priests, because He has made us priests to (His) God and Father. When we are challenged to a thorough equalization with the sacerdotal discipline, we lay down the (priestly) fillets, and (still) are on a par! The question in hand (when the apostle was writing), was with reference to Ecclesiastical Orders — what son of men ought to be ordained. It was therefore fitting that all the form of the common discipline should be set forth on its fore-front, as an edict to be in a certain sense universally and carefully attended to, that the laity might the better know that they must themselves observe that order which was indispensable to their overseers; and that even the office of honour itself might not flatter itself in anything tending to licence, as if on the ground of privilege of position. The Holy Spirit foresaw that some would say, All things are lawful to bishops; just as that bishop of Utina of yours feared not even the Scantinian law. Why, how many digamists, too, preside in your churches; insulting the apostle, of course: at all events, not blushing when these passages are read under their presidency!

Come, now, you who think that an exceptional law of monogamy is made with reference to bishops, abandon withal your remaining disciplinary titles, which, together with monogamy, are ascribed to bishops. Refuse to be irreprehensible, sober, of good morals, orderly, hospitable, easy to be taught;

may, indeed, (be) given to wine, prompt with the hand to strike, combative, money-loving, not ruling your house, nor caring for your children's discipline, — no, nor courting good renown even from strangers. For if bishops have a law of their own teaching monogamy, the other (characteristics) likewise, which will be the fitting concomitants of monogamy, will have been written (exclusively) for bishops. With laics, however, to whom monogamy is not suitable, the other (characteristics) also have nothing to do. (Thus), Psychic, you have (if you please) evaded the bonds of discipline in its entirety! Be consistent in prescribing, that what is enjoined upon certain (individuals) is not enjoined upon all; or else, if the other (characteristics) indeed are common, but monogamy is imposed upon bishops alone, (tell me), pray, whether *they* alone are to be pronounced *Christians* upon whom is conferred the entirety of discipline?

Chapter 13. Further Objections from St. Paul Answered

But again, writing to Timotheus, he ‘wills the very young (women) to marry, bear children, act the housewife.’ He is (here) directing (his speech) to such as he denotes above — very young widows, who, after being, apprehended in widowhood, and (subsequently) wooed for some length of time, after they have had Christ in their affections, wish to marry, having judgment, because they have rescinded the first faith, — that (faith), to wit, by which they were found in widowhood, and, after professing it, do not persevere. For which reason he wills them to marry, for fear of their subsequently rescinding the first faith of professed widowhood; not to sanction their marrying as often as ever they may refuse to persevere in a widowhood plied with temptation — nay, rather, spent in indulgence.

We read him withal writing to the Romans: ‘But the woman who is under an husband, is bound to her husband (while) living; but if he shall have died, she has been emancipated from the law of the husband.’ Doubtless, then, the husband living, she will be thought to commit adultery if she shall have been joined to a second husband. If, however, the husband shall have died, she has been freed from (his) law, (so) that she is not an adulteress if made (wife) to another husband. But read the sequel as well in order that this sense, which flatters you, may evade (your grasp). And so, he says, my brethren, be too made dead to the law through the body of Christ, that you may be made (subject) to a second — to Him, namely, who has risen from the dead, that we may bear fruit to God. For when we were in the flesh, the passions of sin, which (passions) used to be efficiently caused through the law, (wrought) in our members unto the bearing of fruit to death; but now we have been emancipated from the law, being dead (to that) in which we used to be held, unto the serving of God in newness of spirit, and not in oldness of letter. Therefore, if he bids us be made dead to the law through the body of Christ, (which is the Church, which consists in the spirit of newness,) not through the letter of oldness, (that is, of the law,) — taking you away from the law, which does not keep a wife, when her husband is dead, from becoming (wife) to another husband — he reduces you to (subjection to) the contrary condition, that you are *not* to marry when you have lost your husband; and in as far as you would *not* be accounted an adulteress if you became (wife) to a second

husband after the death of your (first) husband, if you were still bound to act in (subjection to) the law, in so far as a result of the diversity of (your) condition, he *does* prejudge you (guilty) of adultery if, after the death of your husband, you do marry another: inasmuch as you have now been made dead to the law, it cannot be lawful for you, now that you have withdrawn from that (law) in the eye of which it *was* lawful for you.

Chapter 14. Even If the Permission Had Been Given by St. Paul in the Sense Which the Psychics Allege, It Was Merely Like the Mosaic Permission of Divorce — A Condescension to Human Hard-Heartedness

Now, if the apostle had even absolutely permitted marriage when one's partner has been lost *subsequently to* (conversion to) the faith, he would have done (it), just as (he did) the other (actions) which he did adversely to the (strict) letter of his own rule, to suit the circumstances of the times: circumcising Timotheus on account of supposititious false brethren; and leading certain shaven men into the temple on account of the observant watchfulness of the Jews — he who chastises the Galatians when they desire to live in (observance of) the law. But so did circumstances require him to become all things to all, in order to gain all; travailing in birth with them until Christ should be formed in them; and cherishing, as it were a nurse, the little ones of faith, by teaching them some things by way of indulgence, not by way of command — for it is one thing to *indulge*, another to *bid* — permitting a temporary licence of re-marriage on account of the weakness of the flesh, just as Moses of divorcing on account of the hardness of the heart.

And here, accordingly, we will render the supplement of this (his) meaning. For if Christ abrogated what Moses enjoined, because from the beginning (it) was not so; and (if) — this being so — Christ will not therefore be reputed to have come from some other Power; why may not the Paraclete, too, have abrogated an indulgence which Paul granted — because second marriage withal was not from the beginning — without deserving on this account to be regarded with suspicion, as if he were an alien spirit, provided only that the superinduction be worthy of God and of Christ? If it was worthy of God and of Christ to check hard-heartedness when the time (for its indulgence) was fully expired, why should it not be *more* worthy both of God and of Christ to shake off infirmity of the flesh when the time is already *more* wound up? If it is just that marriage be not severed, it is, of course, honourable too that it be not iterated. In short, in the estimation of the world, each is accounted a mark of good discipline: one under the name of concord; one, of modesty. Hardness of heart reigned till Christ's time; let infirmity of the flesh (be content to) have reigned till the time of the Paraclete. The New

Law abrogated divorce — it had (somewhat) to abrogate; the New Prophecy (abrogates) second marriage, (which is) no less a divorce of the former (marriage). But the hardness of heart yielded to Christ more readily than the infirmity of the flesh. The latter claims Paul in its own support more than the former Moses; if, indeed, it is claiming him in its support when it catches at his indulgence, (but) refuses his prescript — eluding his more deliberate opinions and his constant wills, not suffering us to render to the apostle the (obedience) which he prefers.

And how long will this most shameless infirmity persevere in waging a war of extermination against the better things? The time for its indulgence was (the interval) until the Paraclete began His operations, to whose coming were deferred by the Lord (the things) which in His day could not be endured; which it is now no longer competent for any one to be unable to endure, seeing that He through whom the power of enduring is granted is not wanting. How long shall we allege the flesh, because the Lord said, the flesh is weak? But He has withal premised that the Spirit is prompt, in order that the Spirit may vanquish the flesh — that the weak may yield to the stronger. For again He says, Let him who is able to receive, receive (it); that is, let him who is *not* able go his way. That rich man *did* go his way who had not received the precept of dividing his substance to the needy, and was abandoned by the Lord to his own opinion. Nor will harshness be on this account imputed to Christ, the ground of the vicious action of each individual free-will. Behold, says He, I have set before you good and evil. Choose that which is good: if you cannot, because you will not — for that you can if you will He has shown, because He has proposed each to your free-will — you ought to depart from Him whose will you do not.

Chapter 15. Unfairness of Charging the Disciples of the New Prophecy with Harshness. The Charge Rather to Be Retorted Upon the Psychics

What harshness, therefore, is here on our part, if we renounce (communion with) such as do not the will of God? What heresy, if we judge second marriage, as being unlawful, akin to adultery? For what is adultery but unlawful marriage? The apostle sets a brand upon those who were wont entirely to forbid marriage, who were wont at the same time to lay an interdict on meats which God has created. We, however, no more do away with marriage if we abjure its repetition, than we reprobate meats if we fast oftener (than others). It is one thing to do away with, another to regulate; it is one thing to lay down a law of not marrying, it is another to fix a limit to marrying. To speak plainly, if they who reproach us with harshness, or esteem heresy (to exist) in this (our) cause, foster the infirmity of the flesh to such a degree as to think it must have support accorded to it in frequency of marriage; why do they in another case neither accord it support nor foster it with indulgence — when, (namely), torments have reduced it to a denial (of the faith)? For, of course, that (infirmity) is more capable of excuse which has fallen in battle, than (that) which (has fallen) in the bed-chamber; (that) which has succumbed on the rack, than (that) which (has succumbed) on the bridal bed; (that) which has yielded to cruelty, than (that) which (has yielded) to appetite; that which has been overcome groaning, than (that) which (has been overcome) in heat. But the former they excommunicate, because it has not endured unto the end: the latter they prop up, as if withal it has endured unto the end. Propose (the question) why each has not endured unto the end; and you will find the cause of that (infirmity) to be more honourable which has been unable to sustain savagery, than (of that) which (has been unable to sustain) modesty. And yet not even a bloodwring — not to say an immodest — defection does the infirmity of the flesh excuse!

Chapter 16. Weakness of the Pleas Urged in Defence of Second Marriage

But I smile when (the plea of) infirmity of the flesh is advanced in opposition (to us: infirmity) which is (rather) to be called the height of strength. Iteration of marriage is an affair of strength: to rise again from the ease of continence to the works of the flesh, is (a thing requiring) substantial reins. Such infirmity is equal, to a third, and a fourth, and even (perhaps) a seventh marriage; as (being a thing) which increases its strength as often as its weakness; which will no longer have (the support of) an apostle's authority, but of some Hermogenes — wont to marry more women than he paints. For in him matter is abundant: whence he presumes that even the soul is material; and therefore much more (than other men) he has *not* the Spirit from God, being no longer even a Psychic, because even his psychic element is not derived from God's afflatus! What if a man allege indigence, so as to profess that his flesh is openly prostituted, and given in marriage for the sake of maintenance; forgetting that there is to be no careful thought about food and clothing? He has God (to look to), the Foster-father even of ravens, the Rearer even of flowers. What if he plead the loneliness of his home? As if one woman afforded company to a man ever on the eve of flight! He has, of course, a widow (at hand), whom it will be lawful for him to take. Not one such wife, but even a plurality, it is permitted to have. What if a man thinks on posterity, with thoughts like the eyes of Lot's wife; so that a man is to make the fact that from his former marriage he has had no children a reason for repeating marriage? A Christian, forsooth, will seek heirs, disinherited as he is from the entire world! He has brethren; he has the Church as his mother. The case is different if men believe that, at the bar of Christ as well (as of Rome), action is taken on the principle of the Julian laws; and imagine that the unmarried and childless cannot receive their portion in full, in accordance with the testament of God. Let such (as thus think), then, marry to the very end; that in this confusion of flesh they, like Sodom and Gomorrha, and the day of the deluge, may be overtaken by the fated final end of the world. A third saying let them add, Let us eat, and drink, *and marry*, for tomorrow we shall die; not reflecting that the woe (denounced) on such as are with child, and are giving suck, will fall far more heavily and bitterly in the universal shaking of the

entire world than it did in the devastation of one fraction of Judæa. Let them accumulate by their iterated marriages fruits right seasonable for the last times — breasts heaving, and wombs qualmish, and infants whimpering. Let them prepare for Antichrist (children) upon whom he may more passionately (than Pharaoh) spend his savagery. He will lead to them murderous midwives.

Chapter 17. Heathen Examples Cry Shame Upon This Infirmity of the Flesh.

They will have plainly a specious privilege to plead before Christ — the everlasting infirmity of the flesh! But upon this (infirmity) will sit in judgment no longer an Isaac, our monogamist father; or a John, a noted voluntary celibate of Christ's; or a Judith, daughter of Merari; or so many other examples of saints. Heathens are wont to be destined our judges. There will arise a queen of Carthage, and give sentence upon the Christians, who, refugee as she was, living on alien soil, and at that very time the originator of so mighty a state, whereas she ought unasked to have craved royal nuptials, yet, for fear she should experience a second marriage, preferred on the contrary rather to burn than to marry. Her assessor will be the Roman matron who, having — albeit it was through nocturnal violence, nevertheless — known another man, washed away with blood the stain of her flesh, that she might avenge upon her own person (the honour of) monogamy. There have been, too, who preferred to die for their husbands rather than marry after their husbands' death. To idols, at all events, both monogamy and widowhood serve as apparitors. On Fortuna Muliebris, as on Mother Matuta, none but a once wedded woman hangs the wreath. Once for all do the Pontifex Maximus and the wife of a Flamen marry. The priestesses of Ceres, even during the lifetime and with the consent of their husbands, are widowed by amicable separation. There are, too, who may judge us on the ground of absolute continence: the virgins of Vesta, and of the Achaian Juno, and of the Scythian Diana, and of the Pythian Apollo. On the ground of continence the priests likewise of the famous Egyptian bull will judge the infirmity of Christians. Blush, O flesh, who hast put on Christ! Suffice it you once for all to marry, whereto from the beginning you were created, whereto by the end you are being recalled! Return at least to the former Adam, if to the last you can not! Once for all did he taste of the tree; once for all felt concupiscence; once for all veiled his shame; once for all blushed in the presence of God; once for all concealed his guilty hue; once for all was exiled from the paradise of holiness; once for all thenceforward married. If you were in him, you have your norm; if you have passed over into Christ, you will be bound to be (yet) better. Exhibit (to us) a third Adam, and him a digamist; and then you will be able to

be what, between the two, you cannot.

De Jejuniis, adversus psychicos (On Fasting, against the materialists)



Translated by Sydney Thelwall

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Chapter 16. Instances from Scripture of Divine Judgments Upon the Self-Indulgent; And Appeals to the Practices of Heathens

Chapter 1. Connection of Gluttony and Lust. Grounds of Psychical Objections Against the Montanists

I should wonder at the Psychics, if they were enthralled to voluptuousness alone, which leads them to repeated marriages, if they were not likewise bursting with gluttony, which leads them to hate fasts. Lust without voracity would certainly be considered a monstrous phenomenon; since these two are so united and concrete, that, had there been any possibility of disjoining them, the pudenda would not have been affixed to the belly itself rather than elsewhere. Look at the body: the region (of these members) is one and the same. In short, the order of the vices is proportionate to the arrangement of the members. First, the belly; and then immediately the materials of all other species of lasciviousness are laid subordinately to daintiness: through love of eating, love of impurity finds passage. I recognise, therefore, *animal* faith by its care of the flesh (of which it wholly consists) — as prone to manifold feeding as to manifold marrying — so that it deservedly accuses the *spiritual* discipline, which according to its ability opposes it, in this species of continence as well; imposing, as it does, reins upon the appetite, through taking, sometimes no meals, or late meals, or dry meals, just as upon lust, through allowing but one marriage.

It is really irksome to engage with such: one is really ashamed to wrangle about subjects the very defense of which is offensive to modesty. For how am I to protect chastity and sobriety without taxing their adversaries? What those adversaries are I will once for all mention: they are the exterior and interior *botuli* of the Psychics. It is these which raise controversy with the Paraclete; it is on this account that the New Prophecies are rejected: not that Montanus and Priscilla and Maximilla preach another God, nor that they disjoin Jesus Christ (from God), nor that they overturn any particular rule of faith or hope, but that they plainly teach more frequent fasting than marrying. Concerning the limit of marrying, we have already published a defense of monogamy. Now our battle is the battle of the secondary (or rather the primary) continence, in regard of the chastisement of diet. They charge us with keeping fasts of our own; with prolonging our Stations generally into the evening; with observing xerophagies likewise, keeping our food unmoistened by any flesh, and by any juiciness, and by any kind of specially succulent fruit; and with not eating or

drinking anything with a winey flavour; also with abstinence from the bath, congruent with our dry diet. They are therefore constantly reproaching us with novelty; concerning the unlawfulness of which they lay down a prescriptive rule, that either it must be adjudged *heresy*, if (the point in dispute) is a human presumption; or else pronounced *pseudo-prophecy*, if it is a spiritual declaration; provided that, either way, we who reclaim hear (sentence of) anathema.

Chapter 2. Arguments of the Psychics, Drawn from the Law, the Gospel, the Acts, the Epistles, and Heathenish Practices

For, so far as pertains to fasts, they oppose to us the definite days appointed by God: as when, in Leviticus, the Lord enjoins upon Moses the tenth day of the seventh month (as) a day of atonement, saying, Holy shall be to you the day, and you shall vex your souls; and every soul which shall not have been vexed in that day shall be exterminated from his people. At all events, in the Gospel they think that those days were definitely appointed for fasts in which the Bridegroom was taken away; and that these are now the only legitimate days for Christian fasts, the legal and prophetic antiquities having been abolished: for wherever it suits their wishes, they recognise what is the meaning of the Law and the prophets until John. Accordingly, (they think) that, with regard to the future, fasting was to be indifferently observed, by the New Discipline, of choice, not of command, according to the times and needs of each individual: that this, withal, had been the observance of the apostles, imposing (as they did) no other yoke of definite fasts to be observed by all generally, nor similarly of Stations either, which (they think) have withal days of their own (the fourth and sixth days of the week), but yet take a wide range according to individual judgment, neither subject to the law of a given precept, nor (to be protracted) beyond the last hour of the day, since even prayers the ninth hour generally concludes, after Peter's example, which is recorded in the Acts. Xerophagies, however, (they consider) the novel name of a studied duty, and very much akin to heathenish superstition, like the abstemious rigours which purify an Apis, an Isis, and a Magna Mater, by a restriction laid upon certain kinds of food; whereas faith, free in Christ, owes no abstinence from particular meats to the Jewish Law even, admitted as it has been by the apostle once for all to the whole range of the meat-market — (the apostle, I say), that detester of such as, in like manner as they prohibit marrying, so bid us abstain from meats created by God. And accordingly (they think) *us* to have been even then prenoted as in the latest times departing from the faith, giving heed to spirits which seduce the world, having a conscience inburnt with doctrines of liars. (Inburnt?) With what fires, prithee? The fires, I suppose, which lead us to repeated contracting of nuptials and daily cooking

of dinners! Thus, too, they affirm that we share with the Galatians the piercing rebuke (of the apostle), as observers of days, and of months, and of years. Meantime they huff in our teeth the fact that Isaiah withal has authoritatively declared, Not such a fast has the Lord elected, that is, not abstinence from food, but the works of righteousness, which he there appends: and that the Lord Himself in the Gospel has given a compendious answer to every kind of scrupulousness in regard to food; that not by such things as are introduced into the mouth is a man defiled, but by such as are produced out of the mouth; while Himself withal was wont to eat and drink till He made Himself noted thus; Behold, a gormandizer and a drinker: (finally), that so, too, does the apostle teach that food commends us not to God; since we neither abound if we eat, nor lack if we eat not.

By the instrumentalities of these and similar passages, they subtly tend at last to such a point, that every one who is somewhat prone to appetite finds it possible to regard as superfluous, and not so very necessary, the duties of abstinence from, or diminution or delay of, food, since God, forsooth, prefers the works of justice and of innocence. And we know the quality of the hortatory addresses of carnal conveniences, how easy it is to say, I must believe with my whole heart; I must love God, and my neighbour as myself: for ‘on these two precepts the whole Law hangs, and the prophets,’ not on the emptiness of my lungs and intestines.

Chapter 3. The Principle of Fasting Traced Back to Its Earliest Source

Accordingly we are bound to affirm, before proceeding further, this (principle), which is in danger of being secretly subverted; (namely), of what value in the sight of God this emptiness you speak of is: and, first of all, whence has proceeded the rationale itself of earning the favour of God in this way. For the necessity of the observance will then be acknowledged, when the authority of a rationale, to be dated back from the very beginning, shall have shone out to view.

Adam had received from God the law of not tasting of the tree of recognition of good and evil, with the doom of death to ensue upon tasting. However, even (Adam) himself at that time, reverting to the condition of a Psychic after the spiritual ecstasy in which he had prophetically interpreted that great sacrament with reference to Christ and the Church, and no longer being capable of the things which were the Spirit's, yielded more readily to his belly than to God, heeded the meat rather than the mandate, and sold salvation for his gullet! He ate, in short, and perished; saved (as he would) else (have been), if he had preferred to fast from one little tree: so that, even from this early date, *animal faith* may recognise its own seed, deducing from thence onward its appetite for carnalities and rejection of spiritualities. I hold, therefore, that from the very beginning the murderous gullet was to be punished with the torments and penalties of hunger. Even if God had enjoined no preceptive fasts, still, by pointing out the source whence Adam was slain, He who had demonstrated the offense had left to my intelligence the remedies for the offense. Unbidden, I would, in such ways and at such times as I might have been able, have habitually accounted food as poison, and taken the antidote, hunger; through which to purge the primordial cause of death — a cause transmitted to me also, concurrently with my very generation; certain that God willed that whereof He nilled the contrary, and confident enough that the care of continence will be pleasing to Him by whom I should have understood that the crime of *incontinence* had been condemned. Further: since He Himself both commands fasting, and calls a soul wholly shattered — properly, of course, by straits of diet — a sacrifice; who will any longer doubt that of all dietary macerations the rationale has been this, that by a renewed

interdiction of food and observation of precept the primordial sin might now be expiated, in order that man may make God satisfaction through the self-same causative material through which he had offended, that is, through interdiction of food; and thus, in emulous wise, hunger might rekindle, just as satiety had extinguished, salvation, condemning for the sake of one unlawful more lawful (gratifications)?

Chapter 4. The Objection is Raised, Why, Then, Was the Limit of Lawful Food Extended After the Flood? The Answer to It

This rationale was constantly kept in the eye of the providence of God — modulating all things, as He does, to suit the exigencies of the times — lest any from the opposite side, with the view of demolishing our proposition, should say: Why, in that case, did not God immediately institute some definite restriction upon food? Nay, rather, why did He withal enlarge His permission? For, at the beginning indeed, it had only been the food of herbs and trees which He had assigned to man: ‘Behold, I have given you all grass fit for sowing, seeding seed, which is upon the earth; and every tree which has in itself the fruit of seed fit for sowing shall be to you for food.’ Afterwards, however, after enumerating to Noah the subjection (to him) of ‘all beasts of the earth, and fowls of the heaven, and things moving on earth, and the fish of the sea, and every creeping thing,’ He says, ‘They shall be to you for food: just like grassy vegetables have I given (them) you universally: but flesh in the blood of its own soul shall you not eat.’ For even by this very fact, that He exempts from eating that flesh only the ‘soul’ of which is not out-shed through ‘blood,’ it is manifest that He has conceded the use of all other flesh. To this we reply, that it was not suitable for man to be burdened with any further special law of abstinence, who so recently showed himself unable to tolerate so light an interdiction — of one single fruit, to wit; that, accordingly, having had the rein relaxed, he was to be strengthened by his very liberty; that equally after the deluge, in the *reformation* of the human race, (as before it), *one* law — of abstaining from blood — was sufficient, the use of all things else being allowed. For the Lord had already shown His judgment through the deluge; had, moreover, likewise issued a comminatory warning through the requisition of blood from the hand of a brother, and from the hand of every beast. And thus, preministering the justice of judgment, He issued the materials of liberty; preparing through allowance an undergrowth of discipline; permitting all things, with a view to take some away; meaning to exact more if He had committed more; to command abstinence since He had foresent indulgence: in order that (as we have said) the primordial sin might be the more expiated by the operation of a greater abstinence in the (midst of

the) opportunity of a greater licence.

Chapter 5. Proceeding to the History of Israel, Tertullian Shows that Appetite Was as Conspicuous Among Their Sins as in Adam's Case. Therefore the Restraints of the Levitical Law Were Imposed

At length, when a familiar people began to be chosen by God to Himself, and the restoration of man was able to be essayed, then all the laws and disciplines were imposed, even such as curtailed food; certain things being prohibited as unclean, in order that man, by observing a perpetual abstinence in certain particulars, might at last the more easily tolerate absolute fasts. For the first People had withal reproduced the first man's crime, being found more prone to their belly than to God, when, plucked out from the harshness of Egyptian servitude by the mighty hand and sublime arm of God, they were seen to be its lord, destined to the land flowing with milk and honey; but immediately, stumbled at the surrounding spectacle of an incopious desert sighing after the lost enjoyments of Egyptian satiety, they murmured against Moses and Aaron: Would that we had been smitten to the heart by the Lord, and perished in the land of Egypt, when we were wont to sit over our jars of flesh and eat bread unto the full! How did you lead us out into these deserts, to kill this assembly by famine? From the self-same belly preference were they destined (at last) to deplore (the fate of) the self-same leaden of their own and eye-witnesses of (the power of) God, whom, by their regretful hankering after flesh, and their recollection of their Egyptian plenties, they were ever exacerbating: Who shall feed us with flesh? Here have come into our mind the fish which in Egypt we were wont to eat freely, and the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlic. But now our soul is arid: nought save manna do our eyes see! Thus used they, too, (like the Psychics), to find the angelic bread of xerophagy displeasing: they preferred the fragrance of garlic and onion to that of heaven. And therefore from men so ungrateful all that was more pleasing and appetizing was withdrawn, for the sake at once of punishing gluttony and exercising continence, that the former might be condemned, the latter practically learned.

Chapter 6. The Physical Tendencies of Fasting and Feeding Considered. The Cases of Moses and Elijah

Now, if there has been temerity in our retracing to primordial experiences the reasons for God's having laid, and our duty (for the sake of God) to lay, restrictions upon food, let us consult common conscience. Nature herself will plainly tell with what qualities she is ever wont to find us endowed when she sets us, *before* taking food and drink, with our saliva still in a virgin state, to the transaction of matters, by the sense especially whereby things divine are handled; whether (it be not) with a mind much more vigorous, with a heart much more alive, than when that whole habitation of our interior man, stuffed with meats, inundated with wines, fermenting for the purpose of excremental secretion, is already being turned into a premeditatory of privies, (a premeditatory) where, plainly, nothing is so proximately supersequent as the savouring of lasciviousness. The people ate and drank, and they arose to play. Understand the modest language of Holy Scripture: play, unless it had been immodest, it would not have reprehended. On the other hand, how many are there who are mindful of religion, when the seats of the memory are occupied, the limbs of wisdom impeded? No one will suitably, fitly, usefully, remember God at that time when it is customary for a man to forget his own self. All discipline food either slays or else wounds. I am a liar, if the Lord Himself, when upbraiding Israel with forgetfulness, does not impute the cause to fullness: (My) beloved is waxen thick, and fat, and distent, and has quite forsaken God, who made him, and has gone away from the Lord his Saviour. In short, in the self-same Deuteronomy, when bidding precaution to be taken against the self-same cause, He says: Lest, when you shall have eaten — and drunken, and built excellent houses, your sheep and oxen being multiplied, and (your) silver and gold — your heart is elated, and you are forgetful of the Lord your God. To the corrupting power of riches He made the enormity of edacity antecedent, for which riches themselves are the procuring agents. Through them, to wit, had the heart of the People been made thick, lest they should see with the eyes, and hear with the ears, and understand with a heart obstructed by the fats of which He had expressly forbidden the eating, teaching man not to be studious of the stomach.

On the other hand, he whose heart was habitually found lifted up rather

than fattened up, who in forty days and as many nights maintained a fast above the power of human nature, while spiritual faith subministered strength (to his body), both saw with his eyes God's glory, and heard with his ears God's voice, and understood with his heart God's law: while He taught him even then (by experience) that man lives not upon bread alone, but upon every word of God; in that the People, though fatter than he, could not constantly contemplate even Moses himself, fed as he had been upon God, nor his leanness, sated as it had been with His glory! Deservedly, therefore, even while in the flesh, did the Lord show Himself to him, the colleague of His own fasts, no less than to Elijah. For Elijah withal had, by this fact primarily, that he had imprecated a famine, already sufficiently devoted himself to fasts: The Lord lives, he said, before whom I am standing in His sight, if there shall be dew in these years, and rain-shower. Subsequently, fleeing from threatening Jezebel, after one single (meal of) food and drink, which he had found on being awakened by an angel, he too himself, in a space of forty days and nights, his belly empty, his mouth dry, arrived at Mount Horeb; where, when he had made a cave his inn, with how familiar a meeting with God was he received! What are you, Elijah, (doing) here? Much more friendly was this voice than, Adam, where are you? For the latter voice was uttering a threat to a fed man, the former soothing a fasting one. Such is the prerogative of circumscribed food, that it makes God tent-fellow with man — peer, in truth, with peer! For if the eternal God will not hunger, as He testifies through Isaiah, this will be the time for man to be made equal with God, when he lives without food.

Chapter 7. Further Examples from the Old Testament in Favour of Fasting

And thus we have already proceeded to examples, in order that, by its profitable efficacy, we may unfold the powers of this duty which reconciles God, even when angered, to man.

Israel, before their gathering together by Samuel on occasion of the drawing of water at Mizpeh, had sinned; but so immediately do they wash away the sin by a fast, that the peril of battle is dispersed by them simultaneously (with the water on the ground). At the very moment when Samuel was offering the holocaust (in no way do we learn that the clemency of God was more procured than by the *abstinence* of the people), and the aliens were advancing to battle, then and there the Lord thundered with a mighty voice upon the aliens, and they were thrown into confusion, and fell in a mass in the sight of Israel; and the men of Israel went forth out of Mizpeh, and pursued the aliens, and smote them unto Bethor, — the unfed (chasing) the fed, the unarmed the armed. Such will be the strength of them who fast to God. For such, Heaven fights. You have (before you) a condition upon which (divine) defense will be granted, necessary even to spiritual wars.

Similarly, when the king of the Assyrians, Sennacherib, after already taking several cities, was volleying blasphemies and menaces against Israel through Rabshakeh, nothing else (but fasting) diverted him from his purpose, and sent him into the Ethiopias. After that, what else swept away by the hand of the angel an hundred eighty and four thousand from his army than Hezekiah the king's humiliation? If it is true, (as it is), that on hearing the announcement of the harshness of the foe, he rent his garment, put on sackcloth, and bade the elders of the priests, similarly habited, approach God through Isaiah — fasting being, of course, the escorting attendant of their prayers. For peril has no time for food, nor sackcloth any care for satiety's refinements. Hunger is ever the attendant of mourning, just as gladness is an accessory of fullness.

Through this attendant of mourning, and (this) hunger, even that sinful state, Nineveh, is freed from the predicted ruin. For repentance for sins had sufficiently commended the fast, keeping it up in a space of three days, starving out even the cattle with which God was not angry. Sodom also, and

Gomorrha, would have escaped if they had fasted. This remedy even Ahab acknowledges. When, after his transgression and idolatry, and the slaughter of Naboth, slain by Jezebel on account of his vineyard, Elijah had upbraided him, How have you killed, and possessed the inheritance? In the place where dogs had licked up the blood of Naboth, yours also shall they lick up, — he abandoned himself, and put sackcloth upon his flesh, and fasted, and slept in sackcloth. And then (came) the word of the Lord unto Elijah, You have seen how Ahab has shrunk in awe from my face: for that he has shrunk in awe I will not bring the hurt upon (him) in his own days; but in the days of his son I will bring it upon (him) — (his son), who was not to fast. Thus a God-ward fast is a work of reverential awe: and by its means also Hannah the wife of Elkanah making suit, barren as she had been beforetime, easily obtained from God the filling of her belly, empty of food, with a son, ay, and a prophet.

Nor is it merely change of nature, or aversion of perils, or obliteration of sins, but likewise the recognition of mysteries, which fasts will merit from God. Look at Daniel's example. About the dream of the King of Babylon all the sophists are troubled: they affirm that, without external aid, it cannot be discovered by human skill. Daniel alone, trusting to God, and knowing what would tend to the deserving of God's favour, requires a space of three days, fasts with his fraternity, and — his prayers thus commended — is instructed throughout as to the order and signification of the dream; quarter is granted to the tyrant's sophists; God is glorified; Daniel is honoured; destined as he was to receive, even subsequently also, no less a favour of God in the first year, of King Darius, when, after careful and repeated meditation upon the times predicted by Jeremiah, he set his face to God in fasts, and sackcloth, and ashes. For the angel, withal, sent to him, immediately professed this to be the cause of the Divine approbation: I have come, he said, to demonstrate to you, since you are pitiable — by fasting, to wit. If to God he was pitiable, to the lions in the den he was formidable, where, six days fasting, he had breakfast provided him by an angel.

Chapter 8. Examples of a Similar Kind from the New

We produce, too, our remaining (evidences). For we now hasten to modern proofs. On the threshold of the Gospel, Anna the prophetess, daughter of Phanuel, who both recognised the infant Lord, and preached many things about Him to such as were expecting the redemption of Israel, after the pre-eminent distinction of long-continued and single-husbanded widowhood, is additionally graced with the testimony of fastings also; pointing out, as she does, what the duties are which should characterize attendants of the Church, and (pointing out, too, the fact) that Christ is understood by none more than by the once married and often fasting.

By and by the Lord Himself consecrated His own baptism (and, in His own, that of all) by fasts; having (the power) to make loaves out of stones, say, to make Jordan flow with wine perchance, if He had been such a glutton and toper. Nay, rather, by the virtue of contemning food He was initiating the new man into a severe handling of the old, that He might show that (new man) to the devil, again seeking to tempt him by means of *food*, (to be) too strong for the whole power of hunger.

Thereafter He prescribed to fasts a law — that they are to be performed without sadness: for why should what is salutary be sad? He taught likewise that fasts are to be the weapons for battling with the more direful demons: for what wonder if the same operation is the instrument of the iniquitous spirit's egress as of the Holy Spirit's ingress? Finally, granting that upon the centurion Cornelius, even *before baptism*, the honourable gift of the Holy Spirit, together with the gift of prophecy besides, had hastened to descend, we see that *his fasts* had been heard, I think, moreover, that the apostle too, in the Second of Corinthians, among his labours, and perils, and hardships, after hunger and thirst, enumerates fasts also very many.

Chapter 9. From Fasts Absolute Tertullian Comes to Partial Ones and Xerophagies

This principal species in the category of dietary restriction may already afford a prejudgment concerning the inferior operations of abstinence also, as being themselves too, in proportion to their measure, useful or necessary. For the exception of certain kinds from use of food is a partial fast. Let us therefore look into the question of the novelty or vanity of xerophagies, to see whether in them too we do not find an operation alike of most ancient as of most efficacious religion. I return to Daniel and his brethren, preferring as they did a diet of vegetables and the beverage of water to the royal dishes and decanters, and being found as they were therefore more handsome (lest any be apprehensive on the score of his paltry body, to boot!), besides being spiritually cultured into the bargain. For God gave to the young men knowledge and understanding in every kind of literature, and to Daniel in every word, and in dreams, and in every kind of wisdom; which (wisdom) was to make him wise in this very thing also — namely, by what means the recognition of mysteries was to be obtained from God. Finally, in the third year of Cyrus king of the Persians, when he had fallen into careful and repeated meditation on a vision, he provided another form of humiliation. In those days, he says, I Daniel was mourning during three weeks: pleasant bread I ate not; flesh and wine entered not into my mouth; with oil I was not anointed; until three weeks were consummated: which being elapsed, an angel was sent out (from God), addressing him on this wise: Daniel, you are a man pitiable; fear not: since, from the first day on which you gave your soul to recogitation and to humiliation before God, your word has been heard, and I am entered at your word. Thus the pitiable spectacle and the humiliation of xerophagies expel fear, and attract the ears of God, and make men masters of secrets.

I return likewise to Elijah. When the ravens had been wont to satisfy him with bread and *flesh*, why was it that afterwards, at Beersheba of Judea, that certain angel, after rousing him from sleep, offered him, beyond doubt, bread *alone*, and water? Had ravens been wanting, to feed him more liberally? Or had it been difficult to the angel to carry away from some pan of the banquet-room of the king some attendant with his amply-furnished waiter, and transfer

him to Elijah, just as the breakfast of the reapers was carried into the den of lions and presented to Daniel in his hunger? But it behooved that an example should be set, teaching us that, at a time of pressure and persecution and whatsoever difficulty, we must live on xerophagies. With such food did David express his own exomologesis; eating ashes indeed as it were bread, that is, bread dry and foul like ashes: mingling, moreover, his drink with weeping — of course, instead of wine. For *abstinence from wine* withal has honourable badges of its own: (an abstinence) which had dedicated Samuel, and consecrated Aaron, to God. For of Samuel his mother said: And wine and that which is intoxicating shall he not drink: for such was her condition withal when praying to God. And the Lord said to Aaron: Wine and spirituous liquor shall you not drink, you and your son after you, whenever you shall enter the tabernacle, or ascend unto the sacrificial altar; and you shall not die. So true is it, that such as shall have ministered in the Church, being not sober, shall die. Thus, too, in recent times He upbraids Israel: And you used to give my sanctified ones wine to drink. And, moreover, this limitation upon drink is the portion of xerophagy. Anyhow, wherever abstinence from wine is either exacted by God or vowed by man, there let there be understood likewise a restriction of *food* fore-furnishing a formal type to *drink*. For the quality of the drink is correspondent to that of the eating. It is not probable that a man should sacrifice to God *half* his appetite; temperate in waters, and intemperate in meats. Whether, moreover, the apostle had any acquaintance with xerophagies — (the apostle) who had repeatedly practised greater rigours, hunger, and thirst, and fasts many, who had forbidden drunkennesses and revellings — we have a sufficient evidence even from the case of his disciple Timotheus; whom when he admonishes, for the sake of his stomach and constant weaknesses, to use a little wine, from which he was abstaining not from rule, but from devotion — else the custom would rather have been beneficial to his stomach — by this very fact he has advised abstinence from wine as worthy of God, which, on a ground of *necessity*, he has dissuaded.

Chapter 10. Of Stations, and of the Hours of Prayer

In like manner they censure on the count of novelty our Stations as being *enjoined*; some, moreover, (censure them) too as being prolonged habitually too late, saying that this duty also ought to be observed of free choice, and not continued beyond the ninth hour — (deriving their rule), of course, from their own practice. Well: as to that which pertains to the question of *injunction*, I will once for all give a reply to suit all causes. Now, (turning) to the point which is proper to this particular cause — concerning the limit of time, I mean — I must first demand from themselves whence they derive this prescriptive law for concluding Stations at the ninth hour. If it is from the fact that we read that Peter and he who was with him entered the temple at the ninth (hour), the hour of prayer, who will prove to me that they had that day been performing a Station, so as to interpret the ninth hour as the hour for the conclusion and discharge of the Station? Nay, but you would more easily find that Peter at the *sixth* hour had, for the sake of taking food, gone up first on the roof to pray; so that the *sixth* hour of the day may the rather be made the limit to this duty, which (in Peter's case) was apparently to finish that duty, after prayer. Further: since in the self-same commentary of Luke the *third* hour is demonstrated as an hour of prayer, about which hour it was that they who had received the initiatory gift of the Holy Spirit were held for drunkards; and the *sixth*, at which Peter went up on the roof; and the *ninth*, at which they entered the temple: why should we not understand that, with absolutely perfect indifference, we must pray always, and everywhere, and at every time; yet still that these three hours, as being more marked in things human — (hours) which divide the day, which distinguish businesses, which re-echo in the public ear — have likewise ever been of special solemnity in divine prayers? A persuasion which is sanctioned also by the corroborative fact of Daniel praying thrice in the day; of course, through exception of certain stated hours, no other, moreover, than the more marked and subsequently apostolic (hours) — the third, the sixth, the ninth. And hence, accordingly, I shall affirm that Peter too had been led rather by ancient usage to the observance of the ninth hour, praying at the third specific interval, (the interval) of final prayer.

These (arguments), moreover, (we have advanced) for their sakes who think that they are acting in conformity with Peter's model, (a model) of

which they are ignorant: not as if we slighted the ninth hour, (an hour) which, on the fourth and sixth days of the week, we most highly honour; but because, of those things which are observed on the ground of tradition, we are bound to adduce so much the more worthy reason, that they lack the authority of Scripture, until by some signal celestial gift they be either confirmed or else corrected. And if, says (the apostle), there are matters which you are ignorant about, the Lord will reveal to you. Accordingly, setting out of the question the confirmer of all such things, the Paraclete, the guide of universal truth, inquire whether there be not a worthier reason adduced among *us* for the observing of the ninth hour; so that this reason (of ours) must be attributed even to Peter if he observed a Station at the time in question. For (the practice) comes from the death of the Lord; which death albeit it behooves to be commemorated always, without difference of hours; yet are we at that time more impressively commended to its commemoration, according to the actual (meaning of the) name of Station. For even soldiers, though never unmindful of their military oath, yet pay a greater deference to Stations. And so the pressure must be maintained up to that hour in which the orb — involved from the sixth hour in a general darkness — performed for its dead Lord a sorrowful act of duty; so that we too may then return to enjoyment when the universe regained its sunshine. If this savours more of the spirit of Christian religion, while it celebrates more the glory of Christ, I am equally able, from the self-same order of events, to fix the condition of *late protraction of the Station*; (namely), that we are to fast till a late hour, awaiting the time of the Lord's sepulture, when Joseph took down and entombed the body which he had requested. Thence (it follows) that it is even irreligious for the flesh of the servants to take refreshment before their Lord did.

But let it suffice to have thus far joined issue on the *argumentative* challenge; rebutting, as I have done, conjectures by conjectures, and yet (as I think) by conjectures more worthy of a believer. Let us see whether any such (principle) drawn from the ancient times takes us under its patronage.

In Exodus, was not that position of Moses, battling against Amalek by prayers, maintained as it was perseveringly even till sunset, a late Station? Think we that Joshua the Son of Nun, when warring down the Amorites, had breakfasted on that day on which he ordered the very elements to keep a Station? The sun stood in Gibeon, and the moon in Ajalon; the sun and the

moon stood in station until the People was avenged of his enemies, and the sun stood in the mid heaven. When, moreover, (the sun) did draw toward his setting and the end of the one day, there was no such day beforetime and in the latest time (of course, (no day) so *long*), that God, says (the writer), should hear a man — (a man,) to be sure, the sun's peer, so long persistent in his duty — a Station longer even than *late*.

At all events, Saul himself, when engaged in battle, manifestly *enjoined* this duty: Cursed (be) the man who shall have eaten bread until evening, until I avenge me on mine enemy; and his whole people tasted not (food), and (yet) the whole earth was breakfasting! So solemn a sanction, moreover, did God confer on the edict which enjoined that Station, that Jonathan the son of Saul, although it had been in ignorance of the fast having been appointed till a late hour that he had allowed himself a taste of honey, was both presently convicted, by lot, of sin, and with difficulty exempted from punishment through the prayer of the People: for he had been convicted of gluttony, although of a simple kind. But withal Daniel, in the first year of King Darius, when, fasting in sackcloth and ashes, he was doing exomologesis to God, said: And while I was still speaking in prayer, behold, the man whom I had seen in dreams at the beginning, swiftly flying, approached me, as it were, at the hour of the evening sacrifice. This will be a late Station which, fasting *until the evening*, sacrifices a fatter (victim of) prayer to God!

Chapter 11. Of the Respect Due to Human Authority; And of the Charges of Heresy And Pseudo-Prophecy.

But all these (instances) I believe to be unknown to those who are in a state of agitation at our proceedings; or else known by the reading alone, not by careful study as well; in accordance with the greater bulk of the unskilled among the overboastful multitude, to wit, of the Psychics. This is why we have steered our course straight through the different individual species of fastings, of xerophagies, of stations: in order that, while we recount, according to the materials which we find in either Testament, the advantages which the dutiful observances of abstinence from, or curtailment or deferment of, food confer, we may refute those who invalidate these things as empty observances; and again, while we similarly point out in what rank of religious duty they have always had place, may confute those who accuse them as novelties: for neither is that novel which has always been, nor that empty which is useful.

The question, however, still lies before us, that some of these observances, having been commanded by God to man, have constituted this practice legally binding; some, offered by man to God, have discharged some votive obligation. Still, even a vow, when it has been accepted by God, constitutes a law for the time to come, owing to the authority of the Acceptor; for he who has given his approbation to a deed, when done, has given a mandate for its doing thenceforward. And so from this consideration, again, the wrangling of the opposite party is silenced, while they say: It is either a pseudo-prophecy, if it is a spiritual voice which institutes these your solemnities; or else a heresy, if it is a human presumption which devises them. For, while censuring that form in which the ancient economies ran their course, and at the same time drawing out of that form arguments to hurl back (upon us) which the very adversaries of the ancient economies will in their turn be able to retort, they will be bound either to reject those arguments, or else to undertake these proven duties (which they impugn): necessarily so; chiefly because these very duties (which they impugn), from whatsoever institutor they are, be he a spiritual man or merely an ordinary believer, direct their course to the honour of the same God as the ancient economies. For, indubitably, both heresy and pseudo-prophecy will, in the eyes of us who are all priests of one only God

the Creator and of His Christ, be judged by diversity of divinity: and so far forth I defend this side indifferently, offering my opponents to join issue on whatever ground they choose. It is the spirit of the devil, you say, O Psychic. And how is it that he enjoins duties which belong to our God, and enjoins them to be offered to none other than our God? Either contend that the devil works with our God, or else let the Paraclete be held to be Satan. But you affirm it is a human Antichrist: for by this name heretics are called in John. And how is it that, whoever he is, he has in (the name of) our Christ directed these duties toward our Lord; whereas withal antichrists have (ever) gone forth (professedly teaching) towards God, (but) in opposition to our Christ? On which side, then, do you think the Spirit is confirmed as existing among us; when He commands, or when He approves, what our God has always both commanded and approved? But you again set up boundary-posts to God, as with regard to grace, so with regard to discipline; as with regard to gifts, so, too, with regard to solemnities: so that our observances are supposed to have ceased in like manner as His benefits; and you thus deny that He still continues to impose duties, because, in this case again, the Law and the prophets (were) until John. It remains for you to banish Him wholly, being, as He is, so far as lies in *you*, so otiose.

Chapter 12. Of the Need for Some Protest Against the Psychics and Their Self-Indulgence

For, by this time, in this respect as well as others, you are reigning in wealth and satiety — not making inroads upon such sins as fasts diminish, nor feeling need of such revelations as xerophagies extort, nor apprehending such wars of your own as Stations dispel. Grant that from the time of John the Paraclete had grown mute; we ourselves would have arisen as prophets to ourselves, for this cause chiefly: I say not now to bring down by our prayers God's anger, nor to obtain his protection or grace; but to secure by premunition the moral position of the latest times; enjoining every species of ταπεινοφρόνησις, since the prison must be familiarized to us, and hunger and thirst practised, and capacity of enduring as well the absence of food as anxiety about it acquired: in order that the Christian may enter into prison in like condition as if he had (just) come forth of it — to suffer there not penalty, but discipline, and not the world's tortures, but his own habitual observances; and to go forth out of custody to (the final) conflict with all the more confidence, having nothing of sinful false care of the flesh about him, so that the tortures may not even have material to work on, since he is cuirassed in a mere dry skin, and cased in horn to meet the claws, the succulence of his blood already sent on (heavenward) before him, the baggage as it were of his soul — the soul herself withal now hastening (after it), having already, by frequent fasting, gained a most intimate knowledge of death!

Plainly, *your* habit is to furnish cookshops in the prisons to untrustworthy martyrs, for fear they should miss their accustomed usages, grow weary of life, (and) be stumbled at the novel discipline of abstinence; (a discipline) which not even the well-known Pristinus — *your* martyr, no *Christian* martyr — had ever come in contact with: he whom — stuffed as he had long been, thanks to the facilities afforded by the free custody (now in vogue, and) under an obligation, I suppose, to all the baths (as if they were better than baptism!), and to all the retreats of voluptuousness (as if they were more secret than those of the Church!), and to all the allurements of this life (as if they were of more worth than those of life eternal!), not to be willing to die — on the very last day of trial, at high noon, you premedicated with drugged wine as an antidote, and so completely enervated, that on being tickled — for his

intoxication made it feel like tickling — with a few claws, he was unable any more to make answer to the presiding officer interrogating him whom he confessed to be Lord; and, being now put on the rack for this silence, when he could utter nothing but hiccoughs and belchings, died in the very act of apostasy! This is why they who preach sobriety are false prophets; this why they who practise it are heretics! Why then hesitate to believe that the Paraclete, whom you deny in a Montanus, exists in an Apicius?

Chapter 13. Of the Inconsistencies of the Psychics

You lay down a prescription that this faith has its solemnities appointed by the Scriptures or the tradition of the ancestors; and that no further addition in the way of observance must be added, on account of the unlawfulness of innovation. Stand on that ground, if you can. For, behold, I impeach you of fasting besides on the Paschal-day, beyond the limits of those days in which the Bridegroom was taken away; and interposing the half-fasts of Stations; and you, (I find), sometimes living on bread and water, when it has seemed meet to each (so to do). In short, you answer that these things are to be done of choice, not of command. You have changed your ground, therefore, by exceeding tradition, in undertaking observances which have not been appointed. But what kind of deed is it, to permit to your own choice what you grant not to the command of God? Shall human volition have more licence than Divine power? I am mindful that I am free from *the world*, not from God. Thus it is my part to perform, without external suggestion thereto, an act of respect to my Lord, it is His to enjoin. I ought not merely to pay a willing obedience to Him, but withal to court Him; for the former I render to His command, the latter to my own choice.

But it is enough for me that it is a customary practice for the bishops withal to issue mandates for fasts to the universal commonalty of the Church; I do not mean for the special purpose of collecting contributions of alms, as your beggarly fashion has it, but sometimes too from some particular cause of ecclesiastical solicitude. And accordingly, if you practise *ταπεινοφρόνησις* at the bidding of a man's edict, and all unitedly, how is it that in our case you set a brand upon the very unity also of our fastings, and xerophagies, and Stations? — unless, perhaps, it is against the decrees of the senate and the mandates of the emperors which are opposed to meetings that we are sinning! The Holy Spirit, when He was preaching in whatsoever lands He chose, and through whomsoever He chose, was wont, from foresight of the imminence either of temptations to befall the Church, or of plagues to befall the world, in His character of Paraclete (that is, Advocate for the purpose of winning over the judge by prayers), to issue mandates for observances of this nature; for instance, at the present time, with the view of practising the discipline of sobriety and abstinence: we, who receive Him, must necessarily observe also

the appointments which He then made. Look at the Jewish calendar, and you will find it nothing novel that all succeeding posterity guards with hereditary scrupulousness the precepts given to the fathers. Besides, throughout the provinces of Greece there are held in definite localities those councils gathered out of the universal Churches, by whose means not only all the deeper questions are handled for the common benefit, but the actual representation of the whole Christian name is celebrated with great veneration. (And how worthy a thing is this, that, under the auspices of faith, men should congregate from all quarters to Christ! See, how good and how enjoyable for brethren to dwell in unity! This psalm *you* know not easily how to sing, except when you are supping with a goodly company!) But those conclaves first, by the operations of Stations and fastings, know what it is to grieve with the grieving, and thus at last to rejoice in company with the rejoicing. If we also, in our diverse provinces, (but) present mutually in spirit, observe those very solemnities, whose then celebration our present discourse has been defending, that is the sacramental law.

Chapter 14. Reply to the Charge of Galaticism.

Being, therefore, observers of seasons for these things, and of days, and months, and years, we *Galaticize*. Plainly we do, if we are observers of *Jewish* ceremonies, of *legal* solemnities: for *those* the apostle unteaches, suppressing the continuance of the Old Testament which has been buried in Christ, and establishing that of the New. But if there is a new creation in Christ, our solemnities too will be bound to be new: else, if the apostle has erased *all* devotion absolutely of seasons, and days, and months, and years, why do we celebrate the passover by an *annual* rotation in the *first month*? Why in the *fifty* ensuing *days* do we spend our time in all exultation? Why do we devote to Stations the *fourth* and *sixth* days of the week, and to fasts the *preparation-day*? Anyhow, *you* sometimes continue your Station even over the Sabbath — a day never to be kept as a fast except at the passover season, according to a reason elsewhere given. With us, at all events, *every* day likewise is celebrated by an ordinary consecration. And it will not, then, be, in the eyes of the apostle, the *differentiating principle* — distinguishing (as he is doing) things new and old — which will be ridiculous; but (in this case too) it will be your own unfairness, while you taunt us with the *form* of *antiquity* all the while you are laying against us the *charge* of *novelty*.

Chapter 15. Of the Apostle's Language Concerning Food

The apostle reprobates likewise such as bid to abstain from meats; but he does so from the foresight of the Holy Spirit, precondemning already the heretics who would enjoin *perpetual* abstinence to the extent of destroying and despising the works of the Creator; such as I may find in the person of a Marcion, a Tatian, or a Jupiter, the Pythagorean heretic of today; not in the person of the Paraclete. For how limited is the extent of *our* interdiction of meats! Two weeks of xerophagies in the year (and not the whole of these — the Sabbaths, to wit, and the Lord's days, being excepted) we offer to God; abstaining from things which we do not *reject*, but *defer*. But further: when writing to the Romans, the apostle now gives *you* a home-thrust, detractors as you are of this observance: Do not for the sake of food, he says, undo the work of God. What work? That about which he says, It is good not to eat flesh, and not to drink wine: for he who in these points does service, is pleasing and propitious to our God. One believes that all things may be eaten; but another, being weak, feeds on vegetables. Let not him who eats lightly esteem him who eats not. Who are you, who judges another's servant? Both he who eats, and he who eats not, gives God thanks. But, since he forbids *human* choice to be made matter of controversy, how much more *Divine*! Thus he knew how to chide certain restricters and interdicters of food, such as abstained from it of contempt, not of duty; but to approve such as did so to the honour, not the insult, of the Creator. And if he has delivered you the keys of the meat-market, permitting the eating of all things with a view to establishing the exception of things offered to idols; still he has not included the kingdom of God in the meat-market: For, he says, the kingdom of God is neither meat nor drink; and, Food commends us not to God — not that you may think this said about *dry* diet, but rather about rich and carefully prepared, if, when he subjoins, Neither, if we shall have eaten, shall we abound; nor, if we shall not have eaten, shall we be deficient, the ring of his words suits, (as it does), you rather (than us), who think that you do abound if you eat, and are deficient if you eat not; and for this reason disparage these observances.

How unworthy, also, is the way in which you interpret to the favour of your own lust the fact that the Lord ate and drank promiscuously! But I think that He must have likewise fasted inasmuch as He has pronounced, not the

full, but the hungry and thirsty, blessed: (He) who was wont to profess food to be, not that which His disciples had supposed, but the thorough doing of the Father's work; teaching to labour for the meat which is permanent unto life eternal; in our ordinary prayer likewise commanding us to request bread, not the wealth of Attalus besides. Thus, too, Isaiah has *not* denied that God has chosen *a* fast; but has particularized in detail the *kind* of fast which He has *not* chosen: for in the days, he says, of your fasts your own wills are found (indulged), and all who are subject to you, you stealthily sting; or else you fast with a view to abuse and strifes, and you smite with the fists. Not *such* a fast have I elected; but such an one as He has subjoined, and by subjoining has not abolished, but confirmed.

Chapter 16. Instances from Scripture of Divine Judgments Upon the Self-Indulgent; And Appeals to the Practices of Heathens

For even if He does *prefer* the works of righteousness, still not without a sacrifice, which is a soul afflicted with fasts. He, at all events, is the God to whom neither a People incontinent of appetite, nor a priest, nor a prophet, was pleasing. To this day the monuments of concupiscence remain, where the People, greedy of flesh, till, by devouring without digesting the quails, they brought on cholera, were buried. Eli breaks his neck before the temple doors, his sons fall in battle, his daughter-in-law expires in child-birth: for such was the blow which had been deserved at the hand of God by the shameless house, the defrauder of the fleshly sacrifices. Sameas, a man of God, after prophesying the issue of the idolatry introduced by King Jeroboam — after the drying up and immediate restoration of that king's hand — after the rending in two of the sacrificial altar — being on account of these signs invited (home) by the king by way of recompense, plainly declined (for he had been prohibited by God) to touch food at all in that place; but having presently afterwards rashly taken food from another old man, who lyngly professed himself a prophet, he was deprived, in accordance with the word of God then and there uttered over the table, of burial in his fathers' sepulchres. For he was prostrated by the rushing of a lion upon him in the way, and was buried among strangers; and thus paid the penalty of his breach of fast.

These will be warnings both to people and to bishops, even spiritual ones, in case they may ever have been guilty of incontinence of appetite. Nay, even in Hades the admonition has not ceased to speak; where we find in the person of the rich feaster, convivialities tortured; in that of the pauper, fasts refreshed; having — (as convivialities and fasts alike had) — as preceptors Moses and the prophets. For Joel withal exclaimed: Sanctify a fast, and a religious service; foreseeing even then that other apostles and prophets would sanction fasts, and would preach observances of special service to God. Whence it is that even they who court their *idols* by dressing them, and by adorning them in their sanctuary, and by saluting them at each particular hour, are said to do them *service*. But, more than that, the heathens recognise every form of ταπεινοφρόνησις . When the heaven is rigid and the year arid, barefooted

processions are enjoined by public proclamation; the magistrates lay aside their purple, reverse the fasces, utter prayer, offer a victim. There are, moreover, some colonies where, besides (these extraordinary solemnities, the inhabitants), by an annual rite, clad in sackcloth and besprent with ashes, present a suppliant importunity to their idols, (while) baths and shops are kept shut till the ninth hour. They have one single fire in public — on the altars; no water even in their platters. There is, I believe, a Ninevitan suspension of business! A Jewish fast, at all events, is universally celebrated; while, neglecting the temples, throughout all the shore, in every open place, they continue long to send prayer up to heaven. And, albeit by the dress and ornamentation of mourning they disgrace the duty, still they do affect a faith in abstinence, and sigh for the arrival of the long-lingering evening star to sanction (their feeding). But it is enough for me that you, by heaping blasphemies upon *our* xerophagies, put them on a level with the chastity of an Isis and a Cybele. I admit the comparison in the way of evidence. Hence (our xerophagy) will be proved divine, which the devil, the emulator of things divine, imitates. It is out of truth that falsehood is built; out of religion that superstition is compacted. Hence *you* are more irreligious, in proportion as a heathen is more conformable. He, in short, sacrifices his appetite to an idol-god; *you* to (the true) God will not. For to you your belly is god, and your lungs a temple, and your paunch a sacrificial altar, and your cook the priest, and your fragrant smell the Holy Spirit, and your condiments spiritual gifts, and your belching prophecy.

Chapter 17. Conclusion

Old you are, if we will say the truth, you who are so indulgent to appetite, and justly do you vaunt your priority: always do I recognise the savour of Esau, the hunter of wild beasts: so unlimitedly studious are you of catching fieldfares, so do you come from the field of your most lax discipline, so faint are you in spirit. If I offer you a paltry lentile dyed red with must well boiled down, immediately you will sell all your primacies: with you love shows its fervour in sauce-pans, faith its warmth in kitchens, hope its anchorage in waiters; but of greater account is love, because that is the means whereby your young men sleep with their sisters! Appendages, as we all know, of appetite are lasciviousness and voluptuousness. Which alliance the apostle withal was aware of; and hence, after premising, Not in drunkenness and revels, he adjoined, nor in couches and lusts.

To the indictment of your appetite pertains (the charge) that double honour is with you assigned to your presiding (elders) by double shares (of meat and drink); whereas the apostle has given them double honour as being both *brethren* and *officers*. Who, among you, is superior in holiness, except him who is more frequent in banqueting, more sumptuous in catering, more learned in cups? Men of soul and flesh alone as you are, justly do you reject things spiritual. If the prophets were pleasing to *such*, my (prophets) they were not. Why, then, do not you constantly preach, Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we shall die? just as *we* do not hesitate manfully to command, Let us fast, brethren and sisters, lest tomorrow perchance we die. Openly let us vindicate our disciplines. Sure we are that they who are in the flesh cannot please God; not, of course, those who are in the *substance* of the flesh, but in the *care*, the *affection*, the *work*, the *will*, of it. Emaciation displeases not us; for it is not by weight that God bestows flesh, any more than He does the Spirit by measure. More easily, it may be, through the strait gate of salvation will slenderer flesh enter; more speedily will lighter flesh rise; longer in the sepulchre will drier flesh retain its firmness. Let Olympic cestus-players and boxers cram themselves to satiety. To them bodily ambition is suitable to whom bodily strength is necessary; and yet they also strengthen themselves by xerophagies. But ours are other thews and other sinews, just as our contests withal are other; we whose wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but

against the world's power, against the spiritualities of malice. Against these it is not by robustness of flesh and blood, but of faith and spirit, that it behooves us to make our antagonistic stand. On the other hand, an over-fed Christian will be more necessary to bears and lions, perchance, than to God; only that, even to encounter beasts, it will be his duty to practise emaciation.

De Pudicitia (On Modesty)



Translated by Sydney Thelwall

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Chapter 1. God Just as Well as Merciful; Accordingly, Mercy Must Not Be Indiscriminate.

Modesty, the flower of manners, the honour of our bodies, the grace of the sexes, the integrity of the blood, the guarantee of our race, the basis of sanctity, the pre-indication of every good disposition; rare though it is, and not easily perfected, and scarce ever retained in perpetuity, will yet up to a certain point linger in the world, if nature shall have laid the preliminary groundwork of it, discipline persuaded to it, censorial rigour curbed its excesses — on the hypothesis, that is, that every mental good quality is the result either of birth, or else of training, or else of external compulsion.

But as the conquering power of things evil is on the increase — which is the characteristic of the last times — things good are now not allowed either to be born, so corrupted are the seminal principles; or to be trained, so deserted are studies; nor to be enforced, so disarmed are the laws. In fact, (the modesty) of which we are now beginning (to treat) is by this time grown so obsolete, that it is not the abjuration but the moderation of the appetites which modesty is believed to be; and he is held to be chaste *enough* who has not been *too* chaste. But let the world's modesty see to itself, together with the world itself: together with its inherent nature, if it was wont to originate in birth; its study, if in training; its servitude, if in compulsion: except that it had been even more unhappy if it had remained only to prove fruitless, in that it had not been in God's household that its activities had been exercised. I should prefer no good to a vain good: what profits it that that should exist whose existence profits not? It is *our own* good things whose position is now sinking; it is the system of *Christian* modesty which is being shaken to its foundation — (Christian modesty), which derives its all from heaven; its nature, through the laver of regeneration; its discipline, through the instrumentality of preaching; its censorial rigour, through the judgments which each Testament exhibits; and is subject to a more constant external compulsion, arising from the apprehension or the desire of the eternal fire or kingdom.

In opposition to this (modesty), could I not have acted the dissembler? I hear that there has even been an edict set forth, and a peremptory one too. The *Pontifex Maximus* — that is, the bishop of bishops — issues an edict: I remit,

to such as have discharged (the requirements of) repentance, the sins both of adultery and of fornication. O edict, on which cannot be inscribed, Good deed! And where shall this liberality be posted up? On the very spot, I suppose, on the very gates of the sensual appetites, beneath the very titles of the sensual appetites. There is the place for promulgating such repentance, where the delinquency itself shall haunt. There is the place to read the pardon, where entrance shall be made under the hope thereof. But it is in the church that this (edict) is read, and in the church that it is pronounced; and (the church) is a virgin! Far, far from Christ's betrothed be such a proclamation! She, the true, the modest, the saintly, shall be free from stain even of her ears. She has none to whom to make such a promise; and if she have had, she does not make it; since even the earthly temple of God can sooner have been called by the Lord a den of robbers, than of adulterers and fornicators.

This too, therefore, shall be a count in my indictment against the Psychics; against the fellowship of sentiment also which I myself formerly maintained with them; in order that they may the more cast this in my teeth for a mark of fickleness. Repudiation of fellowship is never a pre-indication of sin. As if it were not easier to err with the majority, when it is in the company of the few that truth is loved! But, however, a profitable fickleness shall no more be a disgrace to me, than I should wish a hurtful one to be an ornament. I blush not at an error which I have ceased to hold, because I am delighted at having ceased to hold it, because I recognise myself to be better and more modest. No one blushes at his own improvement. Even in Christ, knowledge had its stages of growth; through which stages the apostle, too, passed. When I was a child, he says, as a child I spoke, as a child I understood; but when I became a man, those (things) which had been the child's I abandoned: so truly did he turn away from his early opinions: nor did he sin by becoming an emulator not of ancestral but of Christian traditions, wishing even the precision of them who advised the retention of circumcision. And would that the same fate might befall those, too, who obtruncate the pure and true integrity of the flesh; amputating not the extremest superficialities, but the inmost image of modesty itself, while they promise pardon to adulterers and fornicators, in the teeth of the primary discipline of the Christian Name; a discipline to which heathendom itself bears such emphatic witness, that it strives to punish that discipline in the persons of our females rather by defilements of the flesh than

tortures; wishing to wrest from them that which they hold dearer than life! But now this glory is being extinguished, and that by means of those who ought with all the more constancy to refuse concession of any pardon to defilements of this kind, that they make the fear of succumbing to adultery and fornication their reason for marrying as often as they please — since better it is to marry than to burn. No doubt it is for continence sake that incontinence is necessary — the burning will be extinguished by fires! Why, then, do they withal grant indulgence, under the name of repentance, to crimes for which they furnish remedies by their law of multinuptialism? For remedies will be idle while crimes are indulged, and crimes will remain if remedies are idle. And so, either way, they trifle with solicitude and negligence; by taking emptiest precaution against (crimes) to which they grant quarter, and granting absurdest quarter to (crimes) against which they take precaution: whereas either precaution is not to be taken where quarter is given, or quarter not given where precaution is taken; for they take precaution, as if they were unwilling that something should be committed; but grant indulgence, as if they were willing it should be committed: whereas, if they be unwilling it should be committed, they ought not to grant indulgence; if they be willing to grant indulgence, they ought not to take precaution. For, again, adultery and fornication will not be ranked at the same time among the moderate and among the greatest sins, so that each course may be equally open with regard to them — the solicitude which takes precaution, and the security which grants indulgence. But since they are such as to hold the culminating place among crimes, there is no room at once for their indulgence as if they were moderate, and for their precaution as if they were greatest. But by *us* precaution is thus also taken against the greatest, or, (if you will), *highest* (crimes, viz.,) in that it is not permitted, after believing, to know even a second marriage, differentiated though it be, to be sure, from the work of adultery and fornication by the nuptial and dotal tablets: and accordingly, with the utmost strictness, we excommunicate digamists, as bringing infamy upon the Paraclete by the irregularity of their discipline. The self-same liminal limit we fix for adulterers also and fornicators; dooming them to pour forth tears barren of peace, and to regain from the Church no ampler return than the publication of their disgrace.

Chapter 2. God Just as Well as Merciful; Accordingly, Mercy Must Not Be Indiscriminate.

But, say they, God is ‘good,’ and ‘most good,’ and ‘pitiful-hearted,’ and ‘a pitier,’ and ‘abundant in pitiful-heartedness,’ which He holds ‘dearer than all sacrifice,’ ‘not thinking the sinner’s death of so much worth as his repentance,’ ‘a Saviour of all men, most of all of believers.’ And so it will be becoming for ‘the sons of God?’ too to be ‘pitiful-hearted’ and ‘peacemakers;’ ‘giving in their turn just as Christ withal has given to us;’ ‘not judging, that we be not judged.’ For ‘to his own lord a man stands or falls; who are you, to judge another’s servant?’ ‘Remit, and remission shall be made to you.’ Such and so great futilities of theirs wherewith they flatter God and pander to themselves, effeminating rather than invigorating discipline, with how cogent and contrary (arguments) are we for our part able to rebut — (arguments) which set before us warningly the severity of God, and provoke our own constancy? Because, albeit God is by nature good, still He is just too. For, from the nature of the case, just as He knows how to heal, so does He withal know how to smite; making peace, but withal creating evils; preferring repentance, but withal commanding Jeremiah not to pray for the aversion of ills on behalf of the sinful People — since, if they shall have fasted, says He, I will not listen to their entreaty. And again: And pray not unto (me) on behalf of the People, and request not on their behalf in prayer and supplication, since I will not listen to (them) in the time wherein they shall have invoked me, in the time of their affliction. And further, above, the same preferrer of mercy above sacrifice (says): And pray not unto (me) on behalf of this People, and request not that they may obtain mercy, and approach not on their behalf unto me, since I will not listen to (them) — of course when they sue for mercy, when out of repentance they weep and fast, and when they offer their self-affliction to God. For God is jealous, and is One who is not contemptuously derided — derided, namely, by such as flatter His goodness — and who, albeit patient, yet threatens, through Isaiah, an end of (His) patience. I have held my peace; shall I withal always hold my peace and endure? I have been quiet as (a woman) in birth-throes; I will arise, and will make (them) to grow arid. For a fire shall proceed before His face, and shall utterly burn His enemies; striking down not the body only, but the souls too, into hell. Besides, the Lord

Himself demonstrates the manner in which He threatens such as judge: For with what judgment you judge, judgment shall be given on you. Thus He has not prohibited judging, but taught (how to do it). Whence the apostle withal judges, and that in a case of fornication, that such a man must be surrendered to Satan for the destruction of the flesh; chiding them likewise because brethren were not judged at the bar of the saints: for he goes on and says, To what (purpose is it) for me to judge those who are without? But you remit, in order that remission may be granted you by God. The sins which are (thus) cleansed are such as a man may have committed against his brother, not against God. We profess, in short, in our prayer, that we will grant remission to our debtors; but it is not becoming to distend further, on the ground of the authority of such Scriptures, the cable of contention with alternate pull into diverse directions; so that one (Scripture) may seem to draw tight, another to relax, the reins of discipline — in uncertainty, as it were — and the latter to debase the remedial aid of repentance through lenity, the former to refuse it through austerity. Further: the authority of Scripture will stand within its own limits, without reciprocal opposition. The remedial aid of repentance is determined by its own conditions, without unlimited concession; and the causes of it themselves are anteriorly distinguished without confusion in the proposition. We agree that the causes of repentance are sins. These we divide into two issues: some will be remissible, some irremissible: in accordance wherewith it will be doubtful to no one that some deserve chastisement, some condemnation. Every sin is dischargeable either by pardon or else by penalty: by pardon as the result of chastisement, by penalty as the result of condemnation. Touching this difference, we have not only already premised certain antithetical passages of the Scriptures, on one hand retaining, on the other remitting, sins; but John, too, will teach us: If any knows his brother to be sinning a sin not unto death, he shall request, and life shall be given to him; because he is not sinning unto death, this will be remissible. (There) is a sin unto death; not for this do I say that any is to request — this will be irremissible. So, where there is the efficacious power of making request, there likewise is that of remission: where there is no (efficacious power) of making request, there equally is none of remission either. According to this difference of sins, the condition of repentance also is discriminated. There will be a condition which may possibly obtain pardon — in the case, namely, of a

remissible sin: there will be a condition which can by no means obtain it — in the case, namely, of an irremissible sin. And it remains to examine specially, with regard to the position of adultery and fornication, to which class of sins they ought to be assigned.

Chapter 3. An Objection Anticipated Before the Discussion Above Promised is Commenced.

But before doing this, I will make short work with an answer which meets us from the opposite side, in reference to that species of repentance which we are just defining as being without pardon. Why, if, say they, there is a repentance which lacks pardon, it immediately follows that such repentance must withal be wholly unpractised by you. For nothing is to be done in vain. Now repentance will be practised in vain, if it is without pardon. But *all* repentance *is* to be practised. Therefore let (us allow that) *all* obtains pardon, that it may not be practised in vain; because it will not be to be practised, if it be practised in vain. Now, in vain it is practised, if it shall lack pardon. Justly, then, do they allege (this argument) against us; since they have usurpingly kept in their own power the fruit of this as of other repentance — that is, pardon; for, so far as *they* are concerned, at whose hands (repentance) obtains *man's* peace, (it is in vain). As regards *us*, however, who remember that the Lord alone concedes (the pardon of) sins, (and of course of *mortal* ones,) it will *not* be practised in vain. For (the repentance) being referred back to the Lord, and thenceforward lying prostrate before Him, will by this very fact the rather avail to win pardon, that it gains it by entreaty *from God alone*, that it believes not that *man's* peace is adequate to its guilt, that as far as regards the Church it prefers the blush of shame to the privilege of communion. For before her doors it stands, and by the example of its own stigma admonishes all others, and calls at the same time to its own aid the brethren's tears, and returns with an even richer merchandise — their compassion, namely — than their communion. And if it reaps not the harvest of peace here, yet it sows the seed of it with the Lord; nor does it lose, but prepares, its fruit. It will not fail of emolument if it do not fail in duty. Thus, neither is such repentance vain, nor such discipline harsh. Both honour God. The former, by laying no flattering unction to itself, will more readily win success; the latter, by assuming nothing to itself, will more fully aid.

Chapter 4. Adultery and Fornication Synonymous.

Having defined the distinction (between the kinds) of repentance, we are by this time, then, able to return to the assessment of the sins — whether they be such as can obtain pardon at the hand of men. In the first place, (as for the fact) that we call adultery likewise fornication, usage requires (us so to do). Faith, withal, has a familiar acquaintance with sundry appellations. So, in every one of our little works, we carefully guard usage. Besides, if I shall say adulterium, and if stuprum, the indictment of contamination of the flesh will be one and the same. For it makes no difference whether a man assault another's bride or widow, provided it be not his own female; just as there is no difference made by places — whether it be in chambers or in towers that modesty is massacred. Every homicide, even outside a wood, is banditry. So, too, whoever enjoys any other than nuptial intercourse, in whatever place, and in the person of whatever woman, makes himself guilty of adultery and fornication. Accordingly, among us, secret connections as well — connections, that is, not first professed in presence of the Church — run risk of being judged akin to adultery and fornication; nor must we let them, if thereafter woven together by the covering of marriage, elude the charge. But all the other frenzies of passions — impious both toward the bodies and toward the sexes — beyond the laws of nature, we banish not only from the threshold, but from all shelter of the Church, because they are not sins, but monstrosities.

Chapter 5. Of the Prohibition of Adultery in the Decalogue.

Of how deep guilt, then, adultery — which is likewise a matter of fornication, in accordance with its criminal function — is to be accounted, the Law of God first comes to hand to show us; if it is true, (as it is), that after interdicting the superstitious service of alien gods, and the making of idols themselves, after commending (to religious observance) the veneration of the Sabbath, after commanding a religious regard toward parents second (only to that) toward God, (that Law) laid, as the next substratum in strengthening and fortifying such counts, no other precept than You shall not commit adultery. For after spiritual chastity and sanctity followed corporeal integrity. And this (the Law) accordingly fortified, by immediately prohibiting its foe, adultery. Understand, consequently, what kind of sin (that must be), the repression of which (the Law) ordained next to (that of) idolatry. Nothing that is a second is remote from the first; nothing is so close to the first as the second. That which results from the first is (in a sense) another first. And so adultery is bordering on idolatry. For idolatry withal, often cast as a reproach upon the People under the name of adultery and fornication, will be alike conjoined therewith in fate as in following — will be alike co-heir therewith in condemnation as in co-ordination. Yet further: premising You shall not commit adultery, (the Law) adjoins, You shall not kill. It honoured adultery, of course, to which it gives the precedence over murder, in the very fore-front of the most holy law, among the primary counts of the celestial edict, marking it with the inscription of the very principal sins. From its place you may discern the measure, from its rank the station, from its neighbourhood the merit, of each thing. Even evil has a dignity, consisting in being stationed at the summit, or else in the centre, of the superlatively bad. I behold a certain pomp and circumstance of adultery: on the one side, Idolatry goes before and leads the way; on the other, Murder follows in company. Worthily, without doubt, has she taken her seat between the two most conspicuous eminences of misdeeds, and has completely filled the vacant space, as it were, in their midst, with an equal majesty of crime. Enclosed by such flanks, encircled and supported by such ribs, who shall dislocate her from the corporate mass of coherencies, from the bond of neighbour crimes, from the embrace of kindred wickednesses, so as to

set apart her alone for the enjoyment of repentance? Will not on one side Idolatry, on the other Murder, detain her, and (if they have any voice) reclaim: This is our wedge, this our compacting power? By (the standard of) Idolatry we are measured; by her disjunctive intervention we are conjoined; to her, outjutting from our midst, we are united; the Divine Scripture has made us concorporate; the very letters are our glue; herself can no longer exist without us. ‘Many and many a time do I, Idolatry, subminister occasion to Adultery; witness my groves and my mounts, and the living waters, and the very temples in cities, what mighty agents we are for overthrowing modesty.’ ‘I also, Murder, sometimes exert myself on behalf of Adultery. To omit tragedies, witness nowadays the poisoners, witness the magicians, how many seductions I avenge, how many rivalries I revenge; how many guards, how many informers, how many accomplices, I make away with. Witness the midwives likewise, how many adulterous conceptions are slaughtered.’ Even among Christians there is no adultery without us. Wherever the business of the unclean spirit is, there are idolatries; wherever a man, by being polluted, is slain, there too is murder. Therefore the remedial aids of repentance will not be suitable to *them*, or else they will likewise be to *us*. We either detain Adultery, or else follow her. These words the sins themselves do speak. If the sins are deficient in speech, hard by (the door of the church) stands an idolater, hard by stands a murderer; in their midst stands, too, an adulterer. Alike, as the duty of repentance bids, they sit in sackcloth and bristle in ashes; with the self-same weeping they groan; with the selfsame prayers they make their circuits; with the self-same knees they supplicate; the self-same mother they invoke. What are you doing, gentlest and humanest Discipline? Either to *all* these will it be your duty so to be, for blessed are the peacemakers; or else, if not to *all*, it will be your duty to range yourself on our side. Do you once for all condemn the idolater and the murderer, but take the adulterer out from their midst? — (the adulterer), the successor of the idolater, the predecessor of the murderer, the colleague of each? It is an accepting of person: the more pitiable repentances you have left (unpitied) behind!

Chapter 6. Examples of Such Offences Under the Old Dispensation No Pattern for the Disciples of the New. But Even the Old Has Examples of Vengeance Upon Such Offences.

Plainly, if you show by what patronages of heavenly precedents and precepts it is that you open to adultery alone — and therein to fornication also — the gate of repentance, at this very line our hostile encounter will immediately cross swords. Yet I must necessarily prescribe you a law, not to stretch out your hand after the old things, not to look backwards: for the old things are passed away, according to Isaiah; and a renewing has been renewed, according to Jeremiah; and forgetful of former things, we are reaching forward, according to the apostle; and the law and the prophets (were) until John, according to the Lord. For even if we are just now beginning with the Law in demonstrating (the nature of) adultery, it is justly with that phase of the law which Christ has not dissolved, but fulfilled. For it is the burdens of the law which were until John, not the remedial virtues. It is the yokes of works that have been rejected, not those of disciplines. Liberty in Christ has done no injury to innocence. The law of piety, sanctity, humanity, truth, chastity, justice, mercy, benevolence, modesty, remains in its entirety; in which law blessed (is) the man who shall meditate by day and by night. About that (law) the same David (says) again: The law of the Lord (is) unblameable, converting souls; the statutes of the Lord (are) direct, delighting hearts; the precept of the Lord far-shining, enlightening eyes. Thus, too, the apostle: And so the law indeed is holy, and the precept holy and most good — You shall not commit adultery, of course. But he had withal said above: Are we, then, making void the law through faith? Far be it; but we are establishing the law — forsooth in those (points) which, being even now interdicted by the New Testament, are prohibited by an even more emphatic precept: instead of, You shall not commit adultery, Whoever shall have seen with a view to concupiscence, has already committed adultery in his own heart; and instead of, You shall not kill, Whoever shall have said to his brother, Racha, shall be in danger of hell. Ask (yourself) whether the law of not committing adultery be still in force, to which has been added that of not indulging concupiscence. Besides, if any precedents (taken from the Old Dispensation) shall favour you

in (the secrecy of) your bosom, they shall not be set in opposition to this discipline which we are maintaining. For it is in vain that an additional law has been reared, condemning the *origin* even of sins — that is, concupiscences and wills — no less than the actual deeds; if the fact that pardon was of old in some cases conceded to adultery is to be a reason why it shall be conceded at the present day. What will be the reward attaching to the restrictions imposed upon the more fully developed discipline of the present day, except that the elder (discipline) may be made the agent for granting indulgence to your prostitution? In that case, you will grant pardon to the idolater too, and to every apostate, because we find the People itself, so often guilty of these crimes, as often reinstated in their former privileges. You will maintain communion, too, with the murderer: because Ahab, by deprecation, washed away (the guilt of) Naboth's blood; and David, by confession, purged Uriah's slaughter, together with its cause — adultery. That done, you will condone incests, too, for Lot's sake; and fornications combined with incest, for Judah's sake; and base marriages with prostitutes, for Hosea's sake; and not only the frequent repetition of marriage, but its simultaneous plurality, for our fathers' sakes: for, of course, it is meet that there should also be a perfect equality of grace in regard of *all* deeds to which indulgence was in days bygone granted, if on the ground of some pristine precedent pardon is claimed for *adultery*. We, too, indeed have precedents in the self-same antiquity on the side of our opinion — (precedents) of judgment not merely not waived, but even summarily executed upon fornication. And of course it is a sufficient one, that so vast a number — (the number) of 24,000 — of the People, when they committed fornication with the daughters of Madian, fell in one plague. But, with an eye to the glory of Christ, I prefer to derive (my) discipline from Christ. Grant that the pristine days may have had — if the Psychics please — even a *right* of (indulging) every immodesty; grant that, before Christ, the flesh may have disported itself, nay, may have *perished* before its Lord went to seek and bring it back: not yet was it worthy of the gift of salvation; not yet apt for the office of sanctity. It was still, up to that time, accounted as being *in Adam*, with its own vicious nature, easily indulging concupiscence after whatever it had seen to be attractive to the sight, and looking back at the lower things, and checking its itching with fig-leaves. Universally inherent was the virus of lust — the dregs which are formed out of milk contain it — (dregs)

fitted (for so doing), in that even the waters themselves had not yet been bathed. But when the Word of God descended into flesh — (flesh) not unsealed even by marriage, — and the Word was made flesh, — (flesh) never to be unsealed by marriage, — which was to find its way to the tree not of incontinence, but of endurance; which was to taste from that tree not anything sweet, but something bitter; which was to pertain not to the infernal regions, but to heaven; which was to be precinct not with the leaves of lasciviousness, but the flowers of holiness; which was to impart to the waters its own purities — thenceforth, whatever flesh (is) in Christ has lost its pristine soils, is now a thing different, emerges in a new state, no longer (generated) of the slime of natural seed, nor of the grime of concupiscence, but of pure water and a clean Spirit. And, accordingly, why excuse it on the ground of pristine precedent? It did not bear the names of body of Christ, of members of Christ, of temple of God, at the time when it used to obtain pardon for adultery. And thus if, from the moment when it changed its condition, and having been baptized into Christ put on Christ, and was redeemed with a great price — the blood, to wit, of the Lord and Lamb — you take hold of any one precedent (be it precept, or law, or sentence,) of indulgence granted, or to be granted, to adultery and fornication — you have likewise at our hands a definition of the time from which the age of the question dates.

Chapter 7. Of the Parables of the Lost Ewe and the Lost Drachma.

You shall have leave to begin with the parables, where you have the lost ewe re-sought by the Lord, and carried back on His shoulders. Let the very paintings upon your cups come forward to show whether even in them the figurative meaning of that sheep will shine through (the outward semblance, to teach) whether a Christian or heathen sinner be the object it aims at in the matter of restoration. For we put in a demurrer arising out of the teaching of nature, out of the law of ear and tongue, out of the soundness of the mental faculty, to the effect that such answers are always given as are called forth (by the question — answers), that is, to the (questions) which call them forth. That which was calling forth (an answer in the present case) was, I take it, the fact that the Pharisees were muttering in indignation at the Lord's admitting to His society heathen publicans and sinners, and communicating with them in food. When, in reply to this, the Lord had figured the restoration of the lost ewe, to whom else is it credible that he configured it but to the lost *heathen*, about whom the question was then in hand — not about a *Christian*, who up to that time had no existence? Else, what kind of (hypothesis) is it that the Lord, like a quibbler in answering, omitting the present subject-matter which it was His duty to refute, should spend His labour about one yet future? But a 'sheep' properly means a Christian, and the Lord's 'flock' is the people of the Church, and the 'good shepherd' is Christ; and hence in the 'sheep' we must understand a Christian who has erred from the Church's 'flock.' In that case, you make the Lord to have given no answer to the Pharisees' muttering, but to your presumption. And yet you will be bound so to defend that presumption, as to deny that the (points) which you think applicable to Christians are referable to a heathen. Tell me, is not all mankind one flock of God? Is not the same God both Lord and Shepherd of the universal nations? Who more perishes from God than the heathen, so long as he errs? Who is more re-sought by God than the heathen, when he is recalled by Christ? In fact, it is among heathens that this order finds antecedent place; if, that is, Christians are not otherwise made out of heathens than by being first lost, and re-sought by God, and carried back by Christ. So likewise ought this order to be kept, that we may interpret any such (figure) with reference to those in whom it

finds prior place. But you, I take it, would wish this: that He should represent the ewe as lost not from a flock, but from an ark or a chest! In like manner, albeit He calls the remaining number of the heathens righteous, it does not follow that He shows them to be *Christians*; dealing as He is with *Jews*, and at that very moment refuting them, because they were indignant at the hope of the heathens. But in order to express, in opposition to the Pharisees' envy, His own grace and goodwill even in regard of one heathen, He preferred the salvation of one sinner by repentance to theirs by righteousness; or else, pray, were the Jews *not* righteous, and such as had no need of repentance, having, as they had, as pilotages of discipline and instruments of fear, the Law and the Prophets? He set them therefore in the parable — and if not such as they were, yet such as they ought to have been — that they might blush the more when they heard that repentance was necessary to others, and not to themselves.

Similarly, the parable of the drachma, as being called forth out of the same subject-matter, we equally interpret with reference to a heathen; albeit it had been lost in a house, as it were in the church; albeit found by aid of a lamp, as it were by aid of God's word. Nay, but this whole world is the one house of all; in which world it is more the heathen, who is found in darkness, whom the grace of God enlightens, than the Christian, who is already in God's light. Finally, it is *one* straying which is ascribed to the ewe and the drachma: (and this is an evidence in my favour); for if the parables had been composed with a view to a *Christian* sinner, after the loss of his faith, a *second* loss and restoration of them would have been noted.

I will now withdraw for a short time from this position; in order that I may, even by withdrawing, the more recommend it, when I shall have succeeded even thus also in confuting the presumption of the opposite side. I admit that the sinner portrayed in each parable is one who is already a Christian; yet not that on this account must he be affirmed to be such an one as can be restored, through repentance, from the crime of adultery and fornication. For although he be said to have perished, there will be the *kind* of perdition to treat of; inasmuch as the ewe perished not by dying, but by straying; and the drachma not by being destroyed, but by being hidden. In this sense, a thing which is safe may be said to have perished. Therefore the believer, too, perishes, by lapsing out of (the right path) into a public exhibition of chariotteering frenzy, or gladiatorial gore, or scenic foulness, or athletic vanity; or else if he has lent

the aid of any special arts of curiosity to sports, to the convivialities of heathen solemnity, to official exigence, to the ministry of another's idolatry; if he has impaled himself upon some word of ambiguous denial, or else of blasphemy. For some such cause he has been driven outside the flock; or even himself, perhaps, by anger, by pride, by jealousy, (or) — as, in fact, often happens — by disdaining to submit to chastisement, has broken away (from it). He ought to be re-sought and recalled. That which can be recovered does not perish, unless it persist in remaining outside. You will well interpret the parable by recalling the sinner *while he is still living*. But, for the adulterer and fornicator, who is there who has not pronounced him to be *dead* immediately upon commission of the crime? With what face will you restore to the flock one who is dead, on the authority of that parable which recalls a sheep *not* dead?

Finally, if you are mindful of the prophets, when they are chiding the shepherds, there is a word — I think it is Ezekiel's: Shepherds, behold, you devour the milk, and clothe you with the fleeces: what is strong you have slain; what is weak you have not tended; what is shattered you have not bound; what has been driven out you have not brought back; what has perished you have not re-sought. Pray, does he withal upbraid them at all concerning that which is *dead*, that they have taken no care to restore that too to the flock? Plainly, he makes it an additional reproach that they have caused the sheep to perish, and to be eaten up by the beasts of the field; nor can they either perish mortally, or be eaten up, if they are left remaining. Is it not possible — (granting) that ewes which have been mortally lost, and eaten up, are recovered — that (in accordance also with the example of the drachma (lost and found again) even within the house of God, the Church) there may be some sins of a moderate character, proportionable to the small size and the weight of a drachma, which, lurking in the same Church, and by and by in the same discovered, immediately are brought to an end in the same with the joy of amendment? But of adultery and fornication it is not a drachma, but a talent, (which is the measure); and for searching them out there is need not of the javelin-light of a lamp, but of the spear-like ray of the entire sun. No sooner has (such a) man made his appearance than he is expelled from the Church; nor does he remain there; nor does he cause joy to the Church which discovers him, but grief; nor does he invite the congratulation of her

neighbours, but the fellowship in sadness of the surrounding fraternities.

By comparison, even in this way, of this our interpretation with theirs, the arguments of both the ewe and the drachma will all the more refer to the heathen, that they cannot possibly apply to the Christian guilty of the sin for the sake of which they are wrested into a forced application to the Christian on the opposite side.

Chapter 8. Of the Prodigal Son.

But, however, the majority of interpreters of the parables are deceived by the self-same result as is of very frequent occurrence in the case of embroidering garments with purple. When you think that you have judiciously harmonized the proportions of the hues, and believe yourself to have succeeded in skilfully giving vividness to their mutual combination; presently, when each body (of color) and (the various) lights are fully developed, the convicted diversity will expose all the error. In the self-same darkness, accordingly, with regard to the parable of the two sons also, they are led by some figures (occurring in it), which harmonize in hue with the present (state of things), to wander out of the path of the true light of that comparison which the subject-matter of the parable presents. For they set down, as represented in the two sons, two peoples — the elder the Jewish, the younger the Christian: for they cannot in the sequel arrange for the Christian sinner, in the person of the younger son, to obtain pardon, unless in the person of the elder they first portray the Jewish. Now, if I shall succeed in showing that the Jewish fails to suit the comparison of the elder son, the consequence of course will be, that the Christian will not be admissible (as represented) by the joint figure of the younger son. For although the Jew withal be called a son, and an elder one, inasmuch as he had priority in adoption; although, too, he envy the Christian the reconciliation of God the Father — a point which the opposite side most eagerly catches at — still it will be no speech of a Jew to the Father: Behold, in how many years do I serve You, and Your precept have I never transgressed. For when has the Jew *not* been a transgressor of the law; hearing with the ear, and not hearing; holding in hatred him who reproves in the gates, and in scorn holy speech? So, too, it will be no speech of the Father to the Jew: You are always with Me, and all Mine are yours. For the Jews are pronounced apostate sons, begotten indeed and raised on high, but who have not understood the Lord, and who have quite forsaken the Lord, and have provoked unto anger the Holy One of Israel. That all things, plainly, were *conceded* to the Jew, we shall admit; but he has likewise had every more savoury morsel torn from his throat, not to say the very land of paternal promise. And accordingly the Jew at the present day, no less than the younger son, having squandered God's substance, is a beggar in alien territory, serving

even until now its princes, that is, the princes of this world. Seek, therefore, the Christians some other as their brother; for the Jew the parable does not admit. Much more aptly would they have matched the Christian with the elder, and the Jew with the younger son, according to the analogy of faith, if the order of each people as intimated from Rebecca's womb permitted the inversion: only that (in that case) the concluding paragraph would oppose them; for it will be fitting for the Christian to rejoice, and not to grieve, at the restoration of Israel, if it be true, (as it is), that the whole of our hope is intimately united with the remaining expectation of Israel. Thus, even if some (features in the parable) are favourable, yet by others of a contrary significance the thorough carrying out of this comparison is destroyed; although (albeit all points be capable of corresponding with mirror-like accuracy) there be one cardinal danger in interpretations — the danger lest the felicity of our comparisons be tempered with a different aim from that which the subject-matter of each particular parable has bidden us (temper it). For we remember (to have seen) actors withal, while accommodating allegorical gestures to their ditties, giving expression to such as are far different from the immediate plot, and scene, and character, and *yet with the utmost congruity*. But away with extraordinary ingenuity, for it has nothing to do with our subject. Thus heretics, too, apply the self-same parables where they list, and exclude them (in other cases) — not where they *ought* — with the utmost aptitude. Why the utmost aptitude? Because from the very beginning they have moulded together the very subject-matters of their doctrines in accordance with the opportune incidences of the parables. Loosed as they are from the constraints of the rule of truth, they have had leisure, of course, to search into and put together those things of which the parables seem (to be symbolic).

Chapter 9. Certain General Principles of Parabolic Interpretation. These Applied to the Parables Now Under Consideration, Especially to that of the Prodigal Son.

We, however, who do not make the parables the sources whence we devise our subject-matters, but the subject-matters the sources whence we interpret the parables, do not labour hard, either, to twist all things (into shape) in the exposition, while we take care to avoid all contradictions. Why an hundred sheep? and why, to be sure, ten drachmas? And what is that besom? Necessary it was that He who was desiring to express the extreme pleasure which the salvation of *one* sinner gives to God, should name some special quantity of a numerical whole from which to describe that one had perished. Necessary it was that the style of one engaged in searching for a drachma in a house, should be aptly fitted with the helpful accompaniment of a besom as well as of a lamp. For curious niceties of this kind not only render some things suspected, but, by the subtlety of forced explanations, generally lead away from the truth. There are, moreover, some points which are just simply introduced with a view to the structure and disposition and texture of the parable, in order that they may be worked up throughout to the end for which the typical example is being provided. Now, of course the (parable of) the two sons will point to the same end as (those of) the drachma and the ewe: for it has the self-same cause (to call it forth) as those to which it coheres, and the selfsame muttering, of course, of the Pharisees at the intercourse between the Lord and heathens. Or else, if any doubts that in the land of Judea, subjugated as it had been long since by the hand of Pompey and of Lucullus, the publicans were heathens, let him read Deuteronomy: There shall be no tribute-weighter of the sons of Israel. Nor would the name of publicans have been so execrable in the eyes of the Lord, unless as being a strange name — a (name) of such as put up the pathways of the very sky, and earth, and sea, for sale. Moreover, when (the writer) adjoins sinners to publicans, it does not follow that he shows them to have been Jews, albeit some may possibly have been so; but by placing on a par the one *genus* of heathens — some sinners by office, that is, publicans; some by nature, that is, not publicans — he has drawn a distinction between them. Besides, the Lord would not have been

censured for partaking of food with Jews, but with heathens, from whose board the Jewish discipline excludes (its disciples).

Now we must proceed, in the case of the prodigal son, to consider first that which is more useful; for no adjustment of examples, albeit in the most nicely-poised balance, shall be admitted if it shall prove to be most hurtful to salvation. But the whole system of salvation, as it is comprised in the maintenance of discipline, we see is being subverted by that interpretation which is affected by the opposite side. For if it is a *Christian* who, after wandering far from his Father, squanders, by living heathenishly, the substance received from God his Father — (the substance), of course, of baptism — (the substance), of course, of the Holy Spirit, and (in consequence) of eternal hope; if, stripped of his mental goods, he has even handed his service over to the prince of the world — who else but the devil? — and by him being appointed over the business of feeding swine — of tending unclean spirits, to wit — has recovered his senses so as to return to his Father — the result will be, that, not adulterers and fornicators, but idolaters, and blasphemers, and renegades, and every class of apostates, will by this parable make satisfaction to the Father; and in this way (it may) rather (be said that) the whole substance of the sacrament is most truly wasted away. For who will fear to squander what he has the power of afterwards recovering? Who will be careful to preserve to perpetuity what he will be able to lose *not* to perpetuity? Security in sin is likewise an appetite for it. Therefore the apostate withal will recover his former garment, the robe of the Holy Spirit; and a renewal of the ring, the sign and seal of baptism; and Christ will again be slaughtered; and he will recline on that couch from which such as are *unworthily clad* are wont to be lifted by the torturers, and cast away into darkness, — much more such as have been *stripped*. It is therefore a further step if it is not *expedient*, (any more than *reasonable*), that the story of the prodigal son should apply to a Christian. Wherefore, if the image of a son is not entirely suitable to a Jew either, our interpretation shall be simply governed with an eye to the object the Lord had in view. The Lord had come, of course, to save that which had perished; a Physician necessary to the sick more than to the whole. This fact He was in the habit both of typifying in parables and preaching in direct statements. Who among men perishes, who falls from health, but he who knows not the Lord? Who is safe and sound, but he who knows the Lord?

These two classes — brothers by birth — this parable also will signify. See whether the heathen have in God the Father the substance of origin, and wisdom, and natural power of Godward recognition; by means of which power the apostle withal notes that in the wisdom of God, the world through wisdom knew not God, — (wisdom) which, of course, it had received originally from God. This (substance), accordingly, he squandered; having been cast by his moral habits far from the Lord, amid the errors and allurements and appetites of the world, where, compelled by hunger after truth, he handed himself over to the prince of this age. He set him over swine, to feed that flock familiar to demons, where he would not be master of a supply of vital food, and at the same time would see others (engaged) in a divine work, having abundance of heavenly bread. He remembers his Father, God; he returns to Him when he has been satisfied; he receives again the pristine garment, — the condition, to wit, which Adam by transgression had lost. The ring also he is then wont to receive for the first time, wherewith, after being interrogated, he publicly seals the agreement of faith, and thus thenceforward feeds upon the fatness of the Lord's body — the Eucharist, to wit. This will be the prodigal son, who never in days bygone was thrifty; who was from the first prodigal, because *not* from the first a Christian. Him withal, returning from the world to the Father's embraces, the Pharisees mourned over, in the persons of the publicans and sinners. And accordingly to this point alone the elder brother's envy is adapted: not because the Jews were innocent, and obedient to God, but because they envied the nation salvation; being plainly they who *ought* to have been ever with the Father. And of course it is immediately over the *first* calling of the Christian that the Jew groans, not over his *second* restoration: for the former reflects its rays even upon the heathen; but the latter, which takes place in the churches, is not known even to the Jews. I think that I have advanced interpretations more consonant with the subject-matter of the parables, and the congruity of things, and the preservation of disciplines. But if the view with which the opposite party is eager to mould the ewe, and the drachma, and the voluptuousness of the son to the shape of the Christian sinner, is that they may endow adultery and fornication with (the gift of) repentance; it will be fitting either that all other crimes equally capital should be conceded remissible, or else that their peers, adultery and fornication, should be retained inconcessible.

But it is more (to the point) that it is not lawful to draw conclusions about anything else than the subject which was immediately in hand. In short, if it were lawful to transfer the parables to other ends (than they were originally intended for), it would be rather to *martyrdom* that we would direct the hope drawn from those now in question; for that is the only thing which, after all his substance has been squandered, will be able to restore the son; and will joyfully proclaim that the drachma has been found, albeit among all (rubbish) on a dungheap; and will carry back into the flock on the shoulders of the Lord Himself the ewe, fugitive though she have been over all that is rough and rugged. But we prefer, if it must be so, to be *less* wise *in* the Scriptures, than to be wise *against* them. We are as much bound to keep the *sense* of the Lord as His *precept*. Transgression in interpretation is not lighter than in conversation.

Chapter 10. Repentance More Competent to Heathens Than to Christians.

When, therefore, the yoke which forbade the discussion of these parables with a view to the heathens has been shaken off, and the necessity once for all discerned or admitted of not interpreting otherwise than is (suitable to) the subject-matter of the proposition; they contend in the next place, that the official proclamation of repentance is not even applicable to heathens, since their sins are not amenable to it, imputable as they are to ignorance, which nature alone renders culpable before God. Hence the remedies are unintelligible to such to whom the perils themselves are unintelligible: whereas the principle of repentance finds there its corresponding place where sin is committed with conscience and will, where both the fault and the favour are intelligible; that he who mourns, he who prostrates himself, is he who knows both what he has lost and what he will recover if he makes to God the offering of his repentance — to God who, of course, offers that repentance rather to sons than to strangers.

Was that, then, the reason why Jonah thought not repentance necessary to the heathen Ninevites, when he tergiversated in the duty of preaching? Or did he rather, foreseeing the mercy of God poured forth even upon strangers, fear that that mercy would, as it were, destroy (the credit of) his proclamation? And accordingly, for the sake of a profane city, not yet possessed of a knowledge of God, still sinning in ignorance, did the prophet nearly perish? Jonah 1:iv except that he suffered a typical example of the Lord's passion, which was to redeem heathens as well (as others) on their repentance. It is enough for me that even John, when strewing the Lord's ways, was the herald of repentance no less to such as were on military service and to publicans, than to the sons of Abraham. The Lord Himself presumed repentance on the part of the Sidonians and Tyrians if they had seen the evidences of His miracles.

Nay, but I will even contend that repentance is *more* competent to natural sinners than to voluntary. For he will merit its fruit who has not yet *used* more than he who has already withal *abused* it; and remedies will be more effective on their first application than when outworn. No doubt the Lord is kind to the unthankful, rather than to the ignorant! And merciful to the reprobates sooner

than to such as have yet had no probation! so that insults offered to His clemency do not rather incur His *anger* than His *caresses*! And He does not more willingly impart to strangers that (clemency) which, in the case of His own sons, He has lost, seeing that He has thus adopted the Gentiles while the Jews make sport of His patience! But what the Psychics mean is this — that God, the Judge of righteousness, prefers the repentance to the death of that sinner who has preferred death to repentance! If this is so, it is by sinning that we merit favour.

Come, you rope-walker upon modesty, and chastity, and every kind of sexual sanctity, who, by the instrumentality of a discipline of this nature remote from the path of truth, mount with uncertain footstep upon a most slender thread, balancing flesh with spirit, moderating your animal principle by faith, tempering your eye by fear; why are you thus wholly engaged in a single step? Go on, if you succeed in finding power and will, while you are so secure, and as it were upon solid ground. For if any wavering of the flesh, any distraction of the mind, any wandering of the eye, shall chance to shake you down from your equipoise, God is good. To His own (children), not to heathens, He opens His bosom: a second repentance will await you; you will again, from being an adulterer, be a Christian! These (pleas) you (will urge) to me, most benignant interpreter of God. But I would yield my ground to you, if the scripture of the Shepherd, which is the only one which favours adulterers, had deserved to find a place in the Divine canon; if it had not been habitually judged by every council of Churches (even of your own) among apocryphal and false (writings); itself adulterous, and hence a patroness of its comrades; from which in other respects, too, you derive initiation; to which, perchance, that Shepherd, will play the patron whom you depict upon your (sacramental) chalice, (depict, I say, as) himself withal a prostitute of the Christian sacrament, (and hence) worthily both the idol of drunkenness, and the brize of adultery by which the chalice will quickly be followed, (a chalice) from which you sip nothing more readily than (the flavour of) the ewe of (your) second repentance! I, however, imbibe the Scriptures of that Shepherd who cannot be broken. Him John immediately offers me, together with the laver and duty of repentance; (and offers Him as) saying, Bear worthy fruits of repentance: and say not, We have Abraham (as our) father — for fear, to wit, lest they should again take flattering unctions for delinquency from the grace shown to the

fathers — for God is able from these stones to raise sons to Abraham. Thus it follows that we too (must judge) such as sin no more (as) bearing worthy fruits of repentance. For what more ripens as the fruit of repentance than the achievement of emendation? But even if *pardon* is rather the fruit of repentance, even pardon cannot co-exist without the cessation from sin. So is the cessation from sin the root of pardon, that pardon may be the fruit of repentance.

Chapter 11. From Parables Tertullian Comes to Consider Definite Acts of the Lord.

From the side of its pertinence to the Gospel, the question of the parables indeed has by this time been disposed of. If, however, the Lord, by His *deeds* withal, issued any such proclamation in favour of sinners; as when He permitted contact even with his own body to the woman, a sinner, — washing, as she did, His feet with tears, and wiping them with her hair, and inaugurating His sepulture with ointment; as when to the Samaritaness — not an adulteress by her now sixth marriage, but a prostitute — He showed (what He did show readily to any one) who He was; — no benefit is hence conferred upon our adversaries, even if it had been to such as were already Christians that He (in these several cases) granted pardon. For we now affirm: This is lawful to the Lord alone: may the power of His indulgence be operative at the present day! At those times, however, in which He lived on earth we lay this down definitively, that it is no prejudgment against us if pardon used to be conferred on sinners — even Jewish ones. For Christian discipline dates from the renewing of the Testament, and (as we have premised) from the redemption of flesh — that is, the Lord's passion. None was perfect before the discovery of the order of faith; none a Christian before the resumption of Christ to heaven; none holy before the manifestation of the Holy Spirit from heaven, the Determiner of discipline itself.

Chapter 12. Of the Verdict of the Apostles, Assembled in Council, Upon the Subject of Adultery.

Accordingly, these who have received another Paraclete in and through the apostles — (a Paraclete) whom, not recognising Him even in His special prophets, they no longer possess in the apostles either — come, now, let them, even from the apostolic instrument, teach us the possibility that the stains of a flesh which after baptism has been repolluted, can by repentance be washed away. Do we not, in the apostles also, recognise the form of the Old Law with regard to the demonstration of adultery, how great (a crime) it is; lest perchance it be esteemed more trivial in the new stage of disciplines than in the old? When first the Gospel thundered and shook the old system to its base, when dispute was being held on the question of retaining or not the Law; this is the first rule which the apostles, on the authority of the Holy Spirit, send out to those who were already beginning to be gathered to their side out of the nations: It has seemed (good), say they, to the Holy Spirit and to us to cast upon you no ampler weight than (that) of those (things) from which it is necessary that abstinence be observed; from sacrifices, and from fornications, and from blood: by abstaining from which you act rightly, the Holy Spirit carrying you. Sufficient it is, that in this place withal there has been preserved to adultery and fornication the post of their own honour between idolatry and murder: for the interdict upon blood we shall understand to be (an interdict) much more upon *human* blood. Well, then, in what light do the apostles will those crimes to appear which alone they select, in the way of careful guarding against, from the pristine Law? Which alone they prescribe as necessarily to be abstained from? Not that they permit others; but that these alone they put in the foremost rank, of course as not remissible; (they,) who, for the heathens' sake, made the other burdens of the law remissible. Why, then, do they release our neck from so heavy a yoke, except to place forever upon those (necks) these compendia of discipline? Why do they indulgently relax so many bonds, except that they may wholly bind us in perpetuity to such as are more necessary? They loosed us from the more numerous, that we might be bound up to abstinence from the more noxious. The matter has been settled by compensation: we have gained much, in order that we may render somewhat. But the compensation is not revocable; if, that is, it will be revoked by

iteration — (iteration) of adultery, of course, and blood and idolatry: for it will follow that the (burden of) the whole law will be incurred, if the condition of pardon shall be violated. But it is not lightly that the Holy Spirit has come to an agreement with us — coming to this agreement even without our asking; whence He is the more to be honoured. His engagement none but an ungrateful man will dissolve. In that event, He will neither accept back what He has discarded, nor discard what He has retained. Of the latest Testament the condition is ever immutable; and, of course the public recitation of that decree, and the counsel embodied therein, will cease (only) with the world. He has definitely enough refused pardon to those crimes the careful avoidance whereof He selectively enjoined; He has claimed whatever He has not inferentially conceded. Hence it is that there is no restoration of peace granted by the Churches to idolatry or to blood. From which final decision of theirs that the apostles should have departed, is (I think) not lawful to believe; or else, if some find it possible to believe so, they will be bound to prove it.

Chapter 13. Of St. Paul, and the Person Whom He Urges the Corinthians to Forgive.

We know plainly at this point, too, the suspicions which they raise. For, in fact, they suspect the Apostle Paul of having, in the second (Epistle) to the Corinthians, granted pardon to the self-same fornicator whom in the first he has publicly sentenced to be surrendered to Satan, for the destruction of the flesh, — impious heir as he was to his father's wedlock; as if he subsequently erased his own words, writing: But if any has wholly saddened, he has not wholly saddened *me*, but in part, lest I burden you all. Sufficient is such a chiding which is given by many; so that, on the contrary, you should prefer to forgive and console, lest, perhaps, by more abundant sadness, such an one be devoured. For which reason, I pray you, confirm toward him affection. For to this end withal have I written, that I may learn a proof of you, that in all (things) you are obedient to me. But if you shall have forgiven any, so (do) I; for I, too, if I have forgiven ought, have forgiven in the person of Christ, lest we be overreached by Satan, since we are not ignorant of his injections. What (reference) is understood here to the fornicator? What to the contaminator of his father's bed? what to the Christian who had overstepped the shamelessness of heathens? — since, of course, he would have absolved by a special pardon one whom he had condemned by a special anger. He is more obscure in his pity than in his indignation. He is more open in his austerity than in his lenity. And yet, (generally), anger is more readily indirect than indulgence. Things of a sadder are more wont to hesitate than things of a more joyous cast. Of course the question in hand concerned some *moderate* indulgence; which (moderation in the indulgence) was now, if ever, to be divined, when it is usual for all the *greatest* indulgences not to be granted without public proclamation, so far (are they from being granted) without particularization. Why, do you yourself, when introducing into the church, for the purpose of melting the brotherhood by his prayers, the repentant adulterer, lead into the midst and prostrate him, all in haircloth and ashes, a compound of disgrace and horror, before the widows, before the elders, suing for the tears of all, licking the footprints of all, clasping the knees of all? And do you, good shepherd and blessed father that you are, to bring about the (desired) end of the man, grace your harangue with all the allurements of mercy in your power,

and under the parable of the ewe go in quest of your goats? do you, for fear lest your ewe again take a leap out from the flock — as if that were no more lawful for the future which was not even once lawful — fill all the rest likewise full of apprehension at the very moment of granting indulgence? And would the apostle so carelessly have granted indulgence to the atrocious licentiousness of fornication burdened with incest, as not at least to have exacted from the criminal even this legally established garb of repentance which you ought to have learned from him? As to have uttered no commination on the past? No allocution touching the future? Nay, more; he goes further, and beseeches that they would confirm toward him affection, as if he were making satisfaction to him, not as if he were granting an indulgence! And yet I hear (him speak of) affection, not communion; as (he writes) withal to the Thessalonians: But if any obey not our word through the epistle, him mark; and associate not with him, that he may feel awed; not regarding (him) as an enemy, but rebuking as a brother. Accordingly, he could have said that to a fornicator, too, affection only was conceded, not communion as well; to an incestuous man, however, not even affection; whom he would, to be sure, have bidden to be banished from their *midst* — much more, of course, from their *mind*. But he was apprehensive lest they should be ‘overreached by Satan’ with regard to the loss of that person whom himself had cast forth to Satan; or else lest, ‘by abundance of mourning, he should be devoured’ whom he had sentenced to ‘destruction of the flesh.’ Here they go so far as to interpret destruction of the flesh of the office of repentance; in that by fasts, and squalor, and every species of neglect and studious ill-treatment devoted to the extermination of the flesh, it seems to make satisfaction to God; so that they argue that that fornicator — that incestuous person rather — having been delivered by the apostle to Satan, not with a view to perdition, but with a view to emendation, on the hypothesis that subsequently he would, on account of the destruction (that is, the general affliction) of the flesh, attain pardon, therefore did actually attain it. Plainly, the selfsame apostle delivered to Satan Hymenæus and Alexander, that they might be emended into not blaspheming, as he writes to his Timotheus. But withal himself says that ‘a stake was given him, an angel of Satan,’ by which he was to be buffeted, lest he should exalt himself. If they touch upon this (instance) withal, in order to lead us to understand that such as were delivered to Satan by him (were so

delivered) with a view to emendation, not to perdition; what similarity is there between blasphemy and incest, and a soul entirely free from these — nay, rather elated from no other source than the highest sanctity and all innocence; which (elation of soul) was being restrained in the apostle by buffets, if you will, by means (as they say) of pain in the ear or head? Incest, however, and blasphemy, deserved to have delivered the entire persons of men to Satan himself for a possession, not to an angel of his. And (there is yet another point): for about this it makes a difference, nay, rather withal in regard to this it is of the utmost consequence, that we find those men delivered by the apostle to Satan, but to the apostle himself an angel of Satan given. Lastly, when Paul is praying the Lord for its removal, what does he hear? Hold my grace sufficient; for virtue is perfected in infirmity. This they who are surrendered to Satan cannot hear. Moreover, if the crime of Hymenæus and Alexander — blasphemy, to wit — is irremissible in this and in the future age, of course the apostle would not, in opposition to the determinate decision of the Lord, have given to Satan, *under a hope of pardon*, men already sunken from the faith into blasphemy; whence, too, he pronounced them shipwrecked with regard to faith, having no longer the solace of the ship, the Church. For to those who, after believing, have struck upon (the rock of) blasphemy, pardon is denied; on the other hand, *heathens* and *heretics* are daily emerging *out of* blasphemy. But even if he did say, I delivered them to Satan, that they might receive the discipline of not blaspheming, he said it of the rest, who, by *their* deliverance to Satan — that is, their projection outside the Church — had to be trained in the knowledge that there must be no blaspheming. So, therefore, the incestuous fornicator, too, he delivered, not with a view to emendation, but with a view to perdition, to Satan, to whom he had already, by sinning above an heathen, gone over; that they might learn there must be no fornicating. Finally, he says, for the *destruction* of the flesh, not its *torture* — condemning the actual substance through which he had fallen out (of the faith), which substance had already perished immediately on the loss of baptism — in order that the spirit, he says, may be saved in the day of the Lord. And (here, again, is a difficulty): for let this point be inquired into, whether *the man's own spirit* will be saved. In that case, a spirit polluted with so great a wickedness will be saved; the object of the perdition of the flesh being, that the spirit may be saved *in penalty*. In that case, the interpretation

which is contrary to ours will recognise a penalty *without the flesh*, if we lose the resurrection of the flesh. It remains, therefore, that his meaning was, that *that* spirit which is accounted to exist *in the Church* must be presented saved, that is, untainted by the contagion of impurities in the day of the Lord, by the ejection of the incestuous fornicator; if, that is, he subjoins: Do you not know, that a little leaven spoils the savour of the whole lump? And yet incestuous fornication was not a little, but a large, leaven.

Chapter 14. The Same Subject Continued.

And — these intervening points having accordingly been got rid of — I return to the second of Corinthians; in order to prove that this saying also of the apostle, Sufficient to such a man be *this rebuke* which (is administered) by many, is not suitable to the person of the fornicator. For if he had sentenced him to be surrendered to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, of course he had *condemned* rather than *rebuked* him. Some other, then, it was to whom he willed the rebuke to be sufficient; if, that is, the fornicator had incurred not rebuke from his sentence, but condemnation. For I offer you withal, for your investigation, this very question: Whether there were in the first Epistle others, too, who wholly saddened the apostle by acting disorderly, and were wholly saddened by him, through incurring (his) rebuke, according to the sense of the second Epistle; of whom some particular one may in that (second Epistle) have received pardon. Direct we, moreover, our attention to the entire first Epistle, written (that I may so say) as a whole, not with ink, but with gall; swelling, indignant, disdainful, comminatory, invidious, and shaped through (a series of) individual charges, with an eye to certain individuals who were, as it were, the proprietors of those charges? For so had schisms, and emulations, and discussions, and presumptions, and elations, and contentions required, that they should be laden with invidiousness, and rebuffed with curt reproof, and filed down by haughtiness, and deterred by austerity. And what kind of invidiousness is the pungency of humility? To God I give thanks that I have baptized none of you, except Crispus and Gaius, lest any say that I have baptized in my own name. For neither did I judge to know anything among you but Jesus Christ, and Him crucified. And, (I think) God has selected us the apostles (as) hindmost, like men appointed to fight with wild beasts; since we have been made a spectacle to this world, both to angels and to men: And, We have been made the offscourings of this world, the refuse of all: And, Am I not free? Am I not an apostle? Have I not seen Christ Jesus our Lord? With what kind of superciliousness, on the contrary, was he compelled to declare, But to me it is of small moment that I be interrogated by you, or by a human court-day; for neither am I conscious to myself (of any guilt); and, My glory none shall make empty. Do you not know that we are to judge angels? Again, of how open censure (does) the free expression (find utterance), how manifest

the edge of the spiritual sword, (in words like these): You are already enriched! You are already satiated! You are already reigning! and, If any thinks himself to know, he knows not yet how it behooves him to know! Is he not even then smiting some one's face, in saying, For who makes *you* to differ? What, moreover, have you which you have not received? Why do you glory as if you have not received? Is he not withal smiting them upon the mouth, (in saying): But some, in (their) conscience, even until now eat (it) as if (it were) an idol-sacrifice. But, so sinning, by shocking the weak consciences of the brethren thoroughly, they will sin against Christ. By this time, indeed, (he mentions individuals) by name: Or have we not a power of eating, and of drinking, and of leading about women, just as the other apostles withal, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas? and, If others attain to (a share) in power over you, (may) not we rather? In like manner he pricks *them*, too, with an individualizing pen: Wherefore, let *him* who thinks himself to be standing, see lest he fall; and, *If any seems* to be contentious, we have not such a custom, nor (has) the Church of the Lord. With such a final clause (as the following), wound up with a malediction, *If any loves not* the Lord Jesus, be he anathema maranatha, he is, of course, striking *some particular individual* through.

But I will rather take my stand at that point where the apostle is more fervent, where the fornicator himself has troubled others also. As if I be not about to come unto you, some are inflated. But I will come with more speed, if the Lord shall have permitted, and will learn not the speech of those who are inflated, but the power. For the kingdom of God is not in speech, but in power. And what will you? Shall I come unto you in a rod, or in a spirit of lenity? For what was to succeed? There is heard among you generally fornication, and such fornication as (is) not (heard) even among the Gentiles, that one should have his own father's wife. And are you inflated, and have you not rather mourned, that he who has committed such a deed may be taken away from the midst of you? *For* whom were they to mourn? Of course, for one dead. *To* whom were they to mourn? Of course, to the Lord, in order that in some way or other he may be taken away from the midst of them; not, of course in order that he may be put outside the Church. For a thing would not have been requested of God which came within the official province of the president (of the Church); but (what would be requested of Him was), that

through death — not only this death common to all, but one specially appropriate to that very flesh which was already a corpse, a tomb leprous with irremediable uncleanness — he might more fully (than by simple excommunication) incur the penalty of being taken away from the Church. And accordingly, in so far as it was meantime possible for him to be taken away, he adjudged such an one to be surrendered to Satan for the destruction of the flesh. For it followed that flesh which was being cast forth to the devil should be accursed, in order that it might be discarded from the sacrament of blessing, never to return into the camp of the Church.

And thus we see in this place the apostle's severity divided, against one who was inflated, and one who was incestuous: (we see the apostle) armed against the one with a rod, against the other with a sentence — a rod, which he was threatening; a sentence, which he was executing: the former (we see) still brandishing, the latter instantaneously hurtling; (the one) wherewith he was rebuking, and (the other) wherewith he was condemning. And certain it is, that immediately thereafter the rebuked one indeed trembled beneath the menace of the uplifted rod, but the condemned perished under the instant infliction of the penalty. Immediately the former retreated fearing the blow, the latter paying the penalty. When a letter of the self-same apostle is sent a second time to the Corinthians, pardon is granted plainly; but it is uncertain *to whom*, because neither person nor cause is advertised. I will compare the cases with the senses. If the incestuous man is set before us, on the same platform will be the inflated man too. Surely the analogy of the case is sufficiently maintained, when the inflated is rebuked, but the incestuous is condemned. To the inflated pardon is granted, but after rebuke; to the incestuous no pardon seems to have been granted, as under condemnation. If it was to him for whom it was feared that he might be devoured by mourning that pardon was being granted, the rebuked one was still in danger of being devoured, losing heart on account of the commination, and mourning on account of the rebuke. The condemned one, however, was permanently accounted as already devoured, alike by his fault and by his sentence; (accounted, that is, as one) who had not to mourn, but to *suffer* that which, before suffering it, he might have mourned. If the reason why pardon was being granted was lest we should be defrauded by Satan, the loss against which precaution was being taken had to do with that which had not yet

perished. No precaution is taken in the use of a thing finally dispatched, but in the case of a thing still safe. But the condemned one — condemned, too, to the possession of Satan — had already perished *from the Church* at the moment when he had committed such a deed, not to say withal at the moment of being forsworn by the Church itself. How should (the Church) fear to suffer a fraudulent loss of him whom she had already lost on his erection, and whom, after condemnation, she could not have held? Lastly, to what will it be becoming for a judge to grant indulgence? To that which by a formal pronouncement he has decisively settled, or to that which by an interlocutory sentence he has left in suspense? And, of course, (I am speaking of) *that* judge who is not wont to rebuild those things which he has destroyed, lest he be held a transgressor.

Come, now, if he had not wholly saddened so many persons in the first Epistle; if he had rebuked none, had terrified none; if he had smitten the incestuous man alone; if, for his cause, he had sent none into panic, had struck (no) inflated one with consternation — would it not be better for you to suspect, and more believing for you to argue, that rather some one far different had been in the same predicament at that time among the Corinthians; so that, rebuked, and terrified, and already wounded with mourning, he therefore — the moderate nature of his fault permitting it — subsequently received pardon, than that you should interpret that (pardon as granted) to an incestuous fornicator? For this you had been bound to read, even if not in an Epistle, yet impressed upon the very character of the apostle, by (his) modesty more clearly than by the instrumentality of a pen: not to steep, to wit, Paul, the apostle of Christ, the teacher of the nations in faith and verity, the vessel of election, the founder of Churches, the censor of discipline, (in the guilt of) levity so great as that he should either have condemned rashly one whom he was presently to absolve, or else rashly absolved one whom he had not rashly condemned, albeit on the ground of that fornication which is the result of simple immodesty, not to say on the ground of incestuous nuptials and impious voluptuousness and parricidal lust — (lust) which he had refused to compare even with (the lusts of) the nations, for fear it should be set down to the account of custom; (lust) on which he would sit in judgment though absent, for fear the culprit should gain the time; (lust) which he had condemned after calling to his aid even the Lord's power, for fear the sentence

should seem human. Therefore he has trifled both with his own spirit, and with the angel of the Church, and with the power of the Lord, if he rescinded what by their counsel he had formally pronounced.

Chapter 15. The Same Subject Continued.

If you hammer out the sequel of that Epistle to illustrate the meaning of the apostle, neither will that sequel be found to square with the obliteration of incest; lest even here the apostle be put to the blush by the incongruity of his later meanings. For what kind (of hypothesis) is it, that the very moment after making a largess of restoration to the privileges of ecclesiastical peace to an incestuous fornicator, he should immediately have proceeded to accumulate exhortations about turning away from impurities, about pruning away of blemishes, about exhortations to deeds of sanctity, as if he had decreed nothing of a contrary nature just before? Compare, in short, (and see) whether it be his province to say, Wherefore, having this ministration, in accordance with (the fact) that we have obtained mercy, we faint not; but renounce the secret things of disgrace, who has just released from condemnation one manifestly convicted of, not disgrace merely, but crime too: whether it be province, again, to excuse a conspicuous immodesty, who, among the counts of his own labours, after straits and pressures, after fasts and vigils, has named chastity also: whether it be, once more, his province to receive back into communion whatsoever reprobates, who writes, For what society (is there) between righteousness and iniquity? What communion, moreover, between light and darkness? What consonance between Christ and Belial? Or what part for a believer with an unbeliever? Or what agreement between the temple of God and idols? Will he not deserve to hear constantly (the reply); And in what manner do you make a separation between things which, in the former part of your Epistle, by restitution of the incestuous one, you have joined? For by his restoration to concorporate unity with the Church, righteousness is made to have fellowship with iniquity, darkness has communion with light, Belial is consonant with Christ, and believer shares the sacraments with unbeliever. And idols may see to themselves: the very vitiator of the temple of God is converted into a temple of God: for here, too, he says, 'For you are a temple of the living God. For He says, That I will dwell in you, and will walk in (you), and will be their God, and they shall be to Me a people. Wherefore depart from the midst of them, be separate, and touch not the unclean.' This (thread of discourse) also you spin out, O apostle, when at the very moment you yourself are offering your hand to so huge a whirlpool of impurities; nay,

you superadd yet further, 'Having therefore this promise, beloved, cleanse we ourselves out from every defilement of flesh and spirit, perfecting chastity in God's fear.' I pray you, had he who fixes such (exhortations) in our minds been recalling some notorious fornicator into the Church? Or is his reason for writing it, to prevent himself from appearing to you in the present day to have so recalled him? These (words of his) will be in duty bound alike to serve as a prescriptive rule for the foregone, and a prejudgment for the following, (parts of the Epistle). For in saying, toward the end of the Epistle, Lest, when I shall have come, God humble me, and I bewail many of those who have formerly sinned, and have not repented of the impurity which they have committed, the fornication, and the vileness, he did not, of course, determine that they were to be received back (by him *into* the Church) if they should have entered (the path of) repentance, whom he was to find *in* the Church, but that they were to be bewailed, and indubitably ejected, that they might lose (the benefit of) repentance. And, besides, it is not congruous that he, who had above asserted that there was no communion between light and darkness, righteousness and iniquity, should in this place have been indicating somewhat touching communion. But all such are ignorant of the apostle as understand anything in a sense contrary to the nature and design of the man himself, contrary to the norm and rule of his doctrines; so as to presume that he, a teacher of every sanctity, even by his own example, an execrator and expiator of every impurity, and universally consistent with himself in these points, restored ecclesiastical privileges to an incestuous person sooner than to some more mild offender.

Chapter 16. General Consistency of the Apostle.

Necessary it is, therefore, that the (character of the) apostle should be continuously pointed out to them; whom I will maintain to be such in the second of Corinthians withal, as I know (him to be) in all his letters. (He it is) who even in the first (Epistle) was the first of all (the apostles) to dedicate the temple of God: Do you not know that you are the temple of God, and that in you the Lord dwells? — who likewise, for the consecrating and purifying (of) that temple, wrote the law pertaining to the temple-keepers: If any shall have marred the temple of God, him shall God mar; for the temple of God is holy, which (temple) are you. Come, now; who in the world has (ever) reintegrated one who has been marred by God (that is, delivered to Satan with a view to destruction of the flesh), after subjoining for that reason, Let none seduce himself; that is, let none presume that one marred by God can possibly be reintegrated anew? Just as, again, among all other crimes — nay, even *before* all others — when affirming that adulterers, and fornicators, and effeminate, and co-habitors with males, will not attain the kingdom of God, he premised, Do not err — to wit, if you think they will attain it. But to them from whom the kingdom is taken away, of course the life which exists in the kingdom is not permitted either. Moreover, by superadding, But such indeed you have been; but you have received ablution, but you have been sanctified, in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Spirit of our God; in as far as he puts on the paid side of the account such sins *before* baptism, in so far *after* baptism he determines them irremissible, if it is true, (as it is), that they are not allowed to receive ablution anew. Recognise, too, in what follows, Paul (in the character of) an immovable column of discipline and its rules: Meats for the belly, and the belly for meats: God makes a full end both of the one and of the others; but the body (is) not for fornication, but for God: for Let Us make man, said God, (conformable) to Our image and likeness. And God made man; (conformable) to the image and likeness of God made He him. The Lord for the body: yes; for the Word was made flesh. Moreover, God both raised up the Lord, and will raise up us through His own power; on account, to wit, of the union of our body with Him. And accordingly, Do you not know your bodies (to be) members of Christ? because Christ, too, is God's temple. Overturn this temple, and I will in three days' space resuscitate it. Taking

away the members of Christ, shall I make (them) members of an harlot? Do you not know, that whoever is agglutinated to an harlot is made one body? (for the two shall be (made) into one flesh): but whoever is agglutinated to the Lord is one spirit? Flee fornication. If revocable by pardon, in what sense am I to flee it, to turn adulterer anew? I shall gain nothing if I do flee it: I shall be one body, to which by communion I shall be agglutinated. Every sin which a human being may have committed is extraneous to the body; but whoever fornicates, sins against his own body. And, for fear you should fly to that statement for a licence to fornication, on the ground that you will be sinning against a thing which is yours, not the Lord's, he takes you away from yourself, and awards you, according to his previous disposition, to Christ: And you are not your own; immediately opposing (thereto), for bought you are with a price — the blood, to wit, of the Lord: glorify and extol the Lord in your body. See whether he who gives this injunction be likely to have pardoned one who has disgraced the Lord, and who has cast Him down from (the empire of) his body, and this indeed through incest. If you wish to imbibe to the utmost all knowledge of the apostle, in order to understand with what an axe of censorship he lops, and eradicates, and extirpates, every forest of lusts, for fear of permitting anything to regain strength and sprout again; behold him desiring souls to keep a fast from the legitimate fruit of nature — the apple, I mean, of marriage: But with regard to what you wrote, good it is for a man to have no contact with a woman; but, on account of fornication, let each one have his own wife: let husband to wife, and wife to husband, render what is due. Who but must know that it was against his will that he relaxed the bond of this good, in order to prevent fornication? But if he either has granted, or does grant, indulgence to fornication, of course he has frustrated the design of his own remedy. and will be bound immediately to put the curb upon the nuptials of continence, if the fornication for the sake of which those nuptials are permitted shall cease to be feared. For (a fornication) which has indulgence granted it will not be feared. And yet he professes that he has granted the use of marriage by way of indulgence, not of command. For he *wills* all to be on a level with himself. But when things lawful are (only) granted by way of indulgence, who hope for things unlawful? To the unmarried also, and widows, he says, It is good, by his example, to persevere (in their present state); but if they were too weak, to marry; because it is

preferable to marry than to burn. With what fires, I pray you, is it preferable to burn — (the fires) of concupiscence, or (the fires) of penalty? Nay, but if fornication is pardonable, it will not be an object of *concupiscence*. But it is more (the manner) of an apostle to take forethought for the fires of *penalty*. Wherefore, if it is *penalty* which burns, it follows that fornication, which *penalty* awaits, is not pardonable. Meantime withal, while prohibiting divorce, he uses the Lord's precept against adultery as an instrument for providing, in place of divorce, either perseverance in widowhood, or else a reconciliation of peace: inasmuch as whoever shall have dismissed a wife (for any cause) except the cause of adultery, makes her commit adultery; and he who marries one dismissed by a husband commits adultery. What powerful remedies does the Holy Spirit furnish, to prevent, to wit, the commission anew of that which He wills not should anew be pardoned!

Now, if in all cases he says it is best for a man thus to be; You are joined to a wife, seek not loosing (that you may give no occasion to adultery); you are loosed from a wife, seek not a wife, that you may reserve an opportunity for yourself: but withal, if you shall have married a wife, and if a virgin shall have married, she sins not; pressure, however, of the flesh such shall have, — even here he is granting a permission by way of sparing them. On the other hand, he lays it down that the time is wound up, in order that even they who have wives may be as if they had them not. For the fashion of this world is passing away, — (this world) no longer, to wit, requiring (the command), Grow and multiply. Thus he wills us to pass our life without anxiety, because the unmarried care about the Lord, how they may please God; the married, however, muse about the world, how they may please their spouse. Thus he pronounces that the preserver of a virgin does better than her giver in marriage. Thus, too, he discriminatingly judges her to be more blessed, who, after losing her husband subsequently to her entrance into the faith, lovingly embraces the opportunity of widowhood. Thus he commends as Divine all these counsels of continence: I think, he says, I too have the Spirit of God.

Who is this your most audacious asserter of all immodesty, plainly a most faithful advocate of the adulterous, and fornicators, and incestuous, in whose honour he has undertaken this cause against the Holy Spirit, so that he recites a false testimony from (the writings of) His apostle? No such indulgence granted Paul, who endeavours to obliterate necessity of the flesh wholly from

(the list of) even honourable pretexts (for marriage unions). He does grant indulgence, I allow — not to adulteries, but to nuptials. He does spare, I allow — marriages, not harlotries. He tries to avoid giving pardon even to nature, for fear he may flatter guilt. He is studious to put restraints upon the union which is heir to blessing, for fear that which is heir to curse be excused. This (one possibility) was left him — to purge the flesh from (natural) dregs, for (cleanse it) from (foul) stains he cannot. But this is the usual way with perverse and ignorant heretics; yes, and by this time even with Psychics universally: to arm themselves with the opportune support of some one ambiguous passage, in opposition to the disciplined host of sentences of the entire document.

Chapter 17. Consistency of the Apostle in His Other Epistles.

Challenge me to front the apostolic line of battle; look at his Epistles: they all keep guard in defense of modesty, of chastity, of sanctity; they all aim their missiles against the interests of luxury, and lasciviousness, and lust. What, in short, does he write to the Thessalonians withal? For our consolation (originated) not of seduction, nor of impurity: and, This is the will of God, your sanctification, that you abstain from fornication; that each one know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour, not in the lust of concupiscence, as (do) the nations which are ignorant of God. What do the Galatians read? Manifest are the works of the flesh. What are these? Among the first he has set fornication, impurity, lasciviousness: (concerning) which I foretell you, as I have foretold, that whoever do such acts are not to attain by inheritance the kingdom of God. The Romans, moreover — what learning is more impressed upon them than that there must be no dereliction of the Lord after believing? What, then, say we? Do we persevere in sin, in order that grace may superabound? Far be it. We, who are dead to sin, how shall we live in it still? Are you ignorant that we who have been baptized in Christ have been baptized into His death? Buried with Him, then, we have been, through the baptism into the death, in order that, as Christ has risen again from the dead, so we too may walk in newness of life. For if we have been buried together in the likeness of His death, why, we shall be (in that) of (His) resurrection too; knowing this, that our old man has been crucified together with Him. But if we died with Christ, we believe that we shall live, too, with Him; knowing that Christ, having been raised from the dead, no more dies, (that) death no more has domination over Him. For in that He died to sin, He died *once for all*; but in that He lives, to God He lives. Thus, too, repute yourselves dead indeed to sin, but living to God through Christ Jesus. Therefore, Christ being once for all dead, none who, subsequently to Christ, has died, can live again to sin, and especially to so heinous a sin. Else, if fornication and adultery may by possibility be anew admissible, Christ withal will be able anew to die. Moreover, the apostle is urgent in prohibiting sin from reigning in our mortal body, whose infirmity of the flesh he knew. For as you have tendered your members to servile impurity and iniquity, so too now

tender them servants to righteousness unto holiness. For even if he has affirmed that good dwells not in his flesh, yet (he means) according to the law of the letter, in which he was: but according to the law of the Spirit, to which he annexes us, he frees us from the infirmity of the flesh. For the law, he says, of the Spirit of life has manumitted you from the law of sin and of death. For albeit he may appear to be partly disputing from the standpoint of Judaism, yet it is to us that he is directing the integrity and plenitude of the rules of discipline — (us), for whose sake soever, labouring (as we were) in the law, God has sent, through flesh, His own Son, in similitude of flesh of sin; and, because of sin, has condemned sin in the flesh; in order that the righteousness of the law, he says, might be fulfilled in us, who walk not according to flesh, but according to (the) Spirit. For they who walk according to flesh are sensible as to those things which are the flesh's, and they who (walk) according to (the) Spirit those which (are) the Spirit's. Moreover, he has affirmed the sense of the flesh to be death; hence too, enmity, and enmity *toward God*; and that they who are in the flesh, that is, in the *sense* of the flesh, cannot please God: and, If you live according to flesh, he says, it will come to pass that you die. But what do we understand the sense of the flesh and the life of the flesh (to mean), except whatever it shames (one) to pronounce? for the other (works) of the flesh even an apostle would have named. Similarly, too, (when writing) to the Ephesians, while recalling past (deeds), he warns (them) concerning the future: In which we too had our conversation, doing the concupiscences and pleasures of the flesh. Branding, in fine, such as had denied themselves — Christians, to wit — on the score of having delivered themselves up to the working of every impurity, But you, he says, not so have learned Christ. And again he says thus: Let him who was wont to steal, steal no more. But, similarly, let him who was wont to commit adultery hitherto, not commit adultery; and he who was wont to fornicate hitherto, not fornicate: for he would have added these (admonitions) too, had he been in the habit of extending pardon to such, or at all willed it to be extended — (he) who, not willing pollution to be contracted even by a word, says, Let no base speech proceed out of your mouth. Again: But let fornication and every impurity not be even named among you, as becomes saints, — so far is it from being excused — knowing this, that every fornicator or impure (person) has not God's kingdom. Let none seduce you

with empty words: on this account comes the wrath of God upon the sons of unbelief. Who seduces with empty words but he who states in a public harangue that adultery is remissible? Not seeing into the fact that its very foundations have been dug out by the apostle, when he puts restraints upon drunkennesses and revellings, as withal here: And be not inebriated with wine, in which is voluptuousness. He demonstrates, too, to the Colossians what members they are to mortify upon earth: fornication, impurity, lust, evil concupiscence, and base talk. Yield up, by this time, to so many and such sentences, the one (passage) to which you cling. Paucity is cast into the shade by multitude, doubt by certainty, obscurity by plainness. Even if, for certain, the apostle had granted pardon of fornication to that Corinthian, it would be another instance of his once for all contravening his own practice to meet the requirement of the time. He circumcised Timotheus alone, and yet did away with circumcision.

Chapter 18. Answer to a Psychical Objection.

But these (passages), says (our opponent), will pertain to the interdiction of all immodesty, and the enforcing of all modesty, yet without prejudice to the place of pardon; which (pardon) is not immediately quite denied when sins are condemned, since the time of the pardon is concurrent with the condemnation which it excludes.

This piece of shrewdness on the part of the Psychics was (naturally) sequent; and accordingly we have reserved for this place the cautions which, even in the times of antiquity, were openly taken with a view to the refusing of ecclesiastical communion to cases of this kind.

For even in the Proverbs, which we call *Parœmiæ*, Solomon specially (treats) of the adulterer (as being) nowhere admissible to expiation. But the adulterer, he says, through indigence of senses acquires perdition to his own soul; sustains dolours and disgraces. His ignominy, moreover, shall not be wiped away for the age. For indignation, full of jealousy, will not spare the man in the day of judgment. If you think this said about a heathen, at all events about believers you have already heard (it said) through Isaiah: Go out from the midst of them, and be separate, and touch not the impure. You have at the very outset of the Psalms, Blessed the man who has not gone astray in the counsel of the impious, nor stood in the way of sinners, and sat in the state-chair of pestilence; whose voice, withal, (is heard) subsequently: I have not sat with the conclave of vanity; and with them who act iniquitously will I not enter — this (has to do with *the church* of such as act ill — and with the impious will I not sit; and, I will wash with the innocent mine hands, and Your altar will I surround, Lord — as being a host in himself — inasmuch as indeed With an holy (man), holy You will be; and with an innocent man, innocent You will be; and with an elect, elect You will be; and with a perverse, perverse You will be. And elsewhere: But to the sinner says the Lord, Why do you expound my righteous acts, and take up my testament through your mouth? If you saw a thief, you ran with him; and with adulterers your portion you made. Deriving his instructions, therefore, from hence, the apostle too says: I wrote to you in the Epistle, not to be mingled up with fornicators: not, of course, with the fornicators of this world — and so forth — else it behooved you to go out from the world. But now I write to you, if any is named a brother

among you, (being) a fornicator, or an idolater (for what so intimately joined?), or a defrauder (for what so near akin?), and so on, with such to take no food even, not to say the Eucharist: because, to wit, withal a little leaven spoils the flavour of the whole lump. Again to Timotheus: Lay hands on no one hastily, nor communicate with others' sins. Again to the Ephesians: Be not, then, partners with them: for you were at one time darkness. And yet more earnestly: Communicate not with the unfruitful works of darkness; nay rather withal convict them. For (the things) which are done by them in secrecy it is disgraceful even to utter. What more disgraceful than immodesties? If, moreover, even from a brother who walks idly he warns the Thessalonians to withdraw themselves, how much more withal from a fornicator! For these are the deliberate judgments of Christ, loving the Church, who has delivered Himself up for her, that He may sanctify her (purifying her utterly by the laver of water) in the word, that He may present the Church to Himself glorious, not having stain or wrinkle — of course *after* the laver — but (that) she may be holy and without reproach; thereafter, to wit, being without wrinkle as a virgin, without stain (of fornication) as a spouse, without disgrace (of vileness), as having been utterly purified.

What if, even here, you should conceive to reply that communion is indeed denied to sinners, very especially such as had been polluted by the flesh, but (only) for the present; to be restored, to wit, as the result of penitential suing: in accordance with that clemency of God which prefers a sinner's repentance to his death? — for this fundamental ground of your opinion must be universally attacked. We say, accordingly, that if it had been competent to the Divine clemency to have guaranteed the demonstration of itself even to the post-baptismally lapsed, the apostle would have said thus: Communicate not with the works of darkness, *unless they shall have repented*; and, With such take not food even, *unless after they shall have wiped, with rolling at their feet, the shoes of the brethren*; and, Him who shall have marred the temple of God, shall God mar, *unless he shall have shaken off from his head in the church the ashes of all hearths*. For it had been his duty, in the case of those things which he had condemned, to have equally determined the extent to which he had (and that conditionally) condemned them — whether he had condemned them with a temporary and conditional, and not a perpetual, severity. However, since in all Epistles he both prohibits such a character, (so

sinning) after believing, from being admitted (to the society of believers); and, if admitted, detrudes him from communion, without hope of any condition or time; he sides more with *our* opinion, pointing out that the repentance which the Lord prefers is that which *before* believing, *before* baptism, is esteemed better than the death of the sinner — (the sinner, I say,) once for all to be washed through the grace of Christ, who once for all has suffered death for our sins. For this (rule), even in his own person, the apostle has laid down. For, when affirming that Christ came for this end, that He might save sinners, of whom himself had been the first, what does he add? And I obtained mercy, because I did (so) ignorantly in unbelief. Thus that clemency of God, preferring the repentance of a sinner to his death, looks at such as are ignorant still, and still unbelieving, for the sake of whose liberation Christ came; not (at such) as already know God, and have learned the sacrament of the faith. But if the clemency of God is applicable to such as are ignorant still, and unbelieving, of course it follows that repentance invites clemency to itself; without prejudice to that species of repentance *after* believing, which either, for lighter sins, will be able to obtain pardon from the bishop, or else, for greater and irremissible ones, from God only.

Chapter 19. Objections from the Revelation and the First Epistle of St. John Refuted.

But how far (are we to treat) of Paul; since even John appears to give some secret countenance to the opposite side? As if in the Apocalypse he has manifestly assigned to fornication the auxiliary aid of repentance, where, to the angel of the Thyatirenes, the Spirit sends a message that He has against him that he kept (in communion) the woman Jezebel, who calls herself a prophet, and teaches, and seduces my servants unto fornicating and eating of idol sacrifice. And I gave her bounteously a space of time, that she might enter upon repentance; nor is she willing to enter upon it on the count of fornication. Behold, I will give her into a bed, and her adulterers with herself into greatest pressure, unless they shall have repented of her works. I am content with the fact that, between apostles, there is a common agreement in rules of faith and of discipline. For, Whether (it be) I, says (Paul), or they, thus we preach. Accordingly, it is material to the interest of the whole sacrament to believe nothing conceded by John, which has been flatly refused by Paul. This harmony of the Holy Spirit whoever observes, shall by Him be conducted into His meanings. For (the angel of the Thyatirene Church) was secretly introducing into the Church, and urging justly to repentance, an heretical woman, who had taken upon herself to teach what she had learned from the Nicolaitans. For who has a doubt that an heretic, deceived by (a spurious baptismal) rite, upon discovering his mischance, and expiating it by repentance, both attains pardon and is restored to the bosom of the Church? Whence even among us, as being on a par with an heathen, nay even more than heathen, an heretic likewise, (such an one) is purged through the baptism of truth from each character, and admitted (to the Church). Or else, if you are certain that that woman had, after a living faith, subsequently expired, and turned heretic, in order that you may claim pardon as the result of repentance, not as it were for an heretical, but as it were for a believing, sinner: let her, I grant, repent; but with the view of ceasing from adultery, not however in the prospect of restoration (to Church-fellowship) as well. For this will be a repentance which we, too, acknowledge to be due much more (than you do); but which we reserve, for pardon, to God.

In short, this Apocalypse, in its later passages, has assigned the infamous

and fornicators, as well as the cowardly, and unbelieving, and murderers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, who have been guilty of any such crime while professing the faith, to the lake of fire, without any *conditional* condemnation. For it will not appear to savour of (a bearing upon) *heathens*, since it has (just) pronounced with regard to *believers*, They who shall have conquered shall have this inheritance; and I will be to them a God, and they to me for sons; and so has subjoined: But to the cowardly, and unbelieving, and infamous, and fornicators, and murderers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, (shall be) a share in the lake of fire and sulphur, which (lake) is the second death. Thus, too, again: Blessed they who act according to the precepts, that they may have power over the tree of life and over the gates, for entering into the holy city. Dogs, sorcerers, fornicators, murderers, out! — of course, such as do *not* act according to the precepts; for *to be sent out* is the portion of those *who have been within*. Moreover, What have I to do to judge them who are without? had preceded (the sentences now in question).

From the Epistle also of John they immediately cull (a proof). It is said: The blood of His Son purifies us utterly from every sin. Always then, and in every form, we will sin, if always and from every sin He utterly purifies us; or else, if not *always*, not again after believing; and if not from sin, not again from fornication. But what is the point whence (John) has started? He had predicated God to be Light, and that darkness is not in Him, and that we lie if we say that we have communion with Him, and walk in darkness. If, however, he says, we walk in the light, we shall have communion with Him, and the blood of Jesus Christ our Lord purifies us utterly from every sin. Walking, then, in the light, do we sin? And, sinning in the light, shall we be utterly purified? By no means. For he who sins is not in the light, but in darkness. Whence, too, he points out the mode in which we shall be utterly purified from sin — (by) walking in the light, in which sin cannot be committed. Accordingly, the sense in which he says we are utterly purified is, not in so far as we sin, but in so far as we do *not* sin. For, walking in the light, but not having communion with darkness, we shall act as they that are utterly purified; sin not being quite laid down, but not being wittingly committed. For this is the virtue of the Lord's blood, that such as it has already purified from sin, and thenceforward has set in the light, it renders thenceforward pure, if they shall continue to persevere walking in the light. But he subjoins, you say,

If we say that we have not sin, we are seducing ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, faithful and just is He to remit them to us, and utterly purify us from every unrighteousness. Does he say from impurity? (No): or else, if that is so, then (He utterly purifies us) from idolatry too. But there is a difference in the sense. For see yet again: If we say, he says, that we have not sinned, we make Him a liar, and His word is not in us. All the more fully: Little children, these things have I written to you, lest you sin; and if you shall have sinned, an Advocate we have with God the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and, He is the propitiation for our sins. According to these words, you say, it will be admitted both that we sin, and that we have pardon. What, then, will become (of your theory), when, proceeding (with the Epistle), I find something different? For he affirms that *we do not sin at all*; and to this end he treats at large, that he may make no such concession; setting forth that sins have been once for all deleted by Christ, not subsequently to obtain pardon; in which statement the sense requires us (to apply the statement) to an admonition to *chastity*. Every one, he says, who has this hope, makes himself chaste, because He too is chaste. Every one who does sin, does withal iniquity; and sin is iniquity. And you know that He has been manifested to take away sins — henceforth, of course, to be no more incurred, if it is true, (as it is,) that he subjoins, Every one who abides in Him sins not; every one who sins neither has seen nor knows Him. Little children, let none seduce you. Every one who does righteousness is righteous, as He withal is righteous. He who does sin is of the devil, inasmuch as the devil sins from the beginning. For unto this end was manifested the Son of God, to undo the works of the devil: for He has undone them withal, by setting man free through baptism, the handwriting of death having been made a gift of to him: and accordingly, he who is being born of God does not sin, because the seed of God abides in him; and he cannot sin, because he has been born of God. Herein are manifest the sons of God and the sons of the devil. *Wherein?* Except it be (thus): the former by not sinning, from the time that they were born from God; the latter by sinning, because they are from the devil, just as if they never were born from God? But if he says, He who is not *righteous* is not of God, how shall he who is not *modest* again become (a son) of God, who has already ceased to be so?

It is therefore nearly equivalent to saying that John has forgotten himself;

asserting, in the former part of his Epistle, that we are not without sin, but now prescribing that we do not sin at all: and in the one case flattering us somewhat with hope of pardon, but in the other asserting with all stringency, that whoever may have sinned are no sons of God. But away with (the thought): for not even we ourselves forget the distinction between sins, which was the starting-point of our digression. And (a right distinction it was); for John has here sanctioned it; in that there are some sins of daily committal, to which we all are liable: for who will be free from the accident of either being angry unjustly, and retaining his anger beyond sunset; or else even using manual violence or else carelessly speaking evil; or else rashly swearing; or else forfeiting his plighted word or else lying, from bashfulness or necessity? In businesses, in official duties, in trade, in food, in sight, in hearing, by how great temptations are we plied! So that, if there were no pardon for such sins as these, salvation would be unattainable to any. Of these, then, there will be pardon, through the successful Suppliant of the Father, Christ. But there are, too, the contraries of these; as the graver and destructive ones, such as are incapable of pardon — murder, idolatry, fraud, apostasy, blasphemy; (and), of course, too, adultery and fornication; and if there be any other violation of the temple of God. For these Christ will no more be the successful Pleader: these will not at all be incurred by one who has been born of God, who will cease to be the son of God if he do incur them.

Thus John's rule of diversity will be established; arranging as he does a distinction of sins, while he now admits and now denies that the sons of God sin. For (in making these assertions) he was looking forward to the final clause of his letter, and for that (final clause) he was laying his preliminary bases; intending to say, in the end, more manifestly: If any knows his brother to be sinning a sin not unto death, he shall make request, and the Lord shall give life to him who sins not unto death. For there is a sin unto death: not concerning that do I say that one should make request. He, too, (as I have been), was mindful that Jeremiah had been prohibited by God to deprecate (Him) on behalf of a people which was committing mortal sins. Every unrighteousness is sin; and there is a sin unto death. But we know that every one who has been born of God sins not — to wit, the sin which is unto death. Thus there is no course left for you, but either to deny that adultery and fornication are mortal sins; or else to confess them irremissible, for which it is

not permitted even to make successful intercession.

Chapter 20. From Apostolic Teaching Tertullian Turns to that of Companions of the Apostles, and of the Law.

The discipline, therefore, of the apostles properly (so called), indeed, instructs and determinately directs, as a principal point, the overseer of all sanctity as regards the temple of God to the universal eradication of every sacrilegious outrage upon modesty, without any mention of restoration. I wish, however, redundantly to superadd the testimony likewise of one particular comrade of the apostles — (a testimony) aptly suited for confirming, by most proximate right, the discipline of his masters. For there is extant withal an Epistle to the Hebrews under the name of Barnabas — a man sufficiently accredited by God, as being one whom Paul has stationed next to himself in the uninterrupted observance of abstinence: Or else, I alone and Barnabas, have not we the power of working? And, of course, the Epistle of Barnabas is more generally received among the Churches than that apocryphal Shepherd of adulterers. Warning, accordingly, the disciples to omit all first principles, and strive rather after perfection, and not lay again the foundations of repentance from the works of the dead, he says: For impossible it is that they who have once been illuminated, and have tasted the heavenly gift, and have participated in the Holy Spirit, and have tasted the word of God and found it sweet, when they shall — their age already setting — have fallen away, should be again recalled unto repentance, crucifying again for themselves the Son of God, and dishonouring Him. For the earth which has drunk the rain often descending upon it, and has borne grass apt for them on whose account it is tilled withal, attains God's blessing; but if it brings forth thorns, it is reprobate, and nighest to cursing, whose end is (doomed) unto utter burning. He who learned this *from* apostles, and taught it *with* apostles, never knew of any second repentance promised by apostles to the adulterer and fornicator.

For excellently was he wont to interpret the law, and keep its figures even in (the dispensation of) the Truth itself. It was with a reference, in short, to this species of discipline that the caution was taken in the case of the leper: But if the speckled appearance shall have become efflorescent over the skin, and shall have covered the whole skin from the head even unto the feet through all the visible surface, then the priest, when he shall have seen, shall utterly cleanse him: since he has wholly turned into white he is clean. But on

the day that there shall have been seen in such an one quick color, he is defiled. (The Law) would have the man who is wholly turned from the pristine habit of the flesh to the whiteness of faith — which (faith) is esteemed a defect and blemish in (the eyes of) the world — and is wholly made new, to be understood to be clean; as being no longer speckled, no longer dappled with the pristine and the new (intermixt). If, however, after the reversal (of the sentence of uncleanness), ought of the old nature shall have revived with its tendencies, that which was beginning to be thought utterly dead to sin in his flesh must again be judged unclean, and must no more be expiated by the priest. Thus adultery, sprouting again from the pristine stock, and wholly blemishing the unity of the new color from which it had been excluded, is a defect that admits of no cleansing. Again, in the case of a house: if any spots and cavities in the party-walls had been reported to the priest, before he entered to inspect that house he bids all (its contents) be taken away from it; thus the belongings of the house would not be unclean. Then the priest, if, upon entering, he had found greenish or reddish cavities, and their appearance to the sight deeper down within the body of the party-wall, was to go out to the gate, and separate the house for a period within seven days. Then, upon returning on the seventh day, if he should have perceived the taint to have become diffused in the party-walls, he was to order those stones in which the taint of the leprosy had been to be extracted and cast away outside the city into an unclean place; and other stones, polished and sound, to be taken and replaced in the stead of the first, and the house to be plastered with other mortar. For, in coming to the High Priest of the Father — Christ — all impediments must first be taken away, in the space of a week, that the house which remains, the flesh and the soul, may be clean; and when the Word of God has entered it, and has found stains of red and green, immediately must the deadly and sanguinary passions be extracted and cast away out of doors — for the Apocalypse withal has set death upon a green horse, but a warrior upon a red — and in their stead must be under-strewn stones polished and apt for conjunction, and firm — such as are made (by God) into (sons) of Abraham, — that thus the man may be fit for God. But if, after the recovery and reformation, the priest again perceived in the same house ought of the pristine disorders and blemishes, he pronounced it unclean, and bade the timbers, and the stones, and all the structure of it, to be pulled down, and cast

away into an unclean place. This will be the man — flesh and soul — who, subsequently to reformation, after baptism and the entrance of the priests, again resumes the scabs and stains of the flesh, and is cast away outside the city into an unclean place, — surrendered, to wit, to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, — and is no more rebuilt in the Church after his ruin. So, too, with regard to lying with a female slave, who had been betrothed to an husband, but not yet redeemed, not yet set free: provision, says (the Law), shall be made for her, and she shall not die, because she was not yet manumitted for him for whom she was being kept. For flesh not yet manumitted to Christ, for whom it was being kept, used to be contaminated with impunity: so now, after manumission, it no more receives pardon.

Chapter 21. Of the Difference Between Discipline and Power, and of the Power of the Keys.

If the apostles understood these (figurative meanings of the Law) better, of course they were more careful (with regard to them than even apostolic men). But I will descend even to this point of contest now, making a separation between the *doctrine* of apostles and their *power*. Discipline governs a man, power sets a seal upon him; apart from the fact that power is the Spirit, but the Spirit is God. What, moreover, used (the Spirit) to teach? That there must be no communicating with the works of darkness. Observe what He bids. Who, moreover, was able to forgive sins? This is His alone prerogative: for who remits sins but God alone? and, of course, (who but He can remit) *mortal* sins, such as have been committed against Himself, and against His temple? For, as far as you are concerned, such as are chargeable with offense against you personally, you are commanded, in the person of Peter, to forgive even seventy times sevenfold. And so, if it were agreed that even the blessed apostles had granted any such indulgence (to any crime) the pardon of which (comes) from God, not from man, it would be competent (for them) to have done so, not in the exercise of discipline, but of power. For they both raised the dead, which God alone (can do), and restored the debilitated to their integrity, which none but Christ (can do); nay, they inflicted plagues too, which Christ would not do. For it did not beseem Him to be severe who had come to suffer. Smitten were both Ananias and Elymas — Ananias with death, Elymas with blindness — in order that by this very fact it might be proved that Christ had *had the power* of doing even *such* (miracles). So, too, had the prophets (of old) granted to the repentant the *pardon* of murder, and therewith of adultery, inasmuch as they gave, at the same time, manifest proofs of *severity*. Exhibit therefore even now to me, apostolic sir, prophetic evidences, that I may recognise your divine virtue, and vindicate to yourself the *power* of remitting such sins! If, however, you have had the functions of *discipline* alone allotted you, and (the duty) of presiding not imperially, but ministerially; who or how great are you, that you should grant indulgence, who, by exhibiting neither the prophetic nor the apostolic character, lack that virtue whose property it is to indulge?

But, you say, *the Church* has the power of forgiving sins. This I

acknowledge and adjudge more (than you; I) who have the Paraclete Himself in the persons of the new prophets, saying, The Church has the power to forgive sins; but I will not do it, lest they commit others withal. What if a pseudo-prophetic spirit has made that declaration? Nay, but it would have been more the part of a subverter on the one hand to commend himself on the score of clemency, and on the other to influence all others to sin. Or if, again, (the pseudo-prophetic spirit) has been eager to affect this (sentiment) in accordance with the Spirit of truth, it follows that the Spirit of truth has indeed the *power* of indulgently granting pardon to fornicators, but *wills* not to do it if it involve evil to the majority.

I now inquire into your opinion, (to see) from what source you usurp this right to the Church.

If, because the Lord has said to Peter, Upon this rock will I build My Church, to you have I given the keys of the heavenly kingdom; or, Whatsoever you shall have bound or loosed in earth, shall be bound or loosed in the heavens, you therefore presume that the power of binding and loosing has derived to you, that is, to every Church akin to Peter, what sort of man are you, subverting and wholly changing the manifest intention of the Lord, conferring (as that intention did) this (gift) personally upon Peter? *On you*, He says, will I build My Church; and, I will give *to you* the keys, not *to the Church*; and, Whatsoever *you shall have loosed or bound*, not what *they* shall have loosed or bound. For so withal the result teaches. In (Peter) himself the Church was reared; that is, *through* (Peter) himself; (Peter) himself essayed the key; you see *what* (key): Men of Israel, let what I say sink into your ears: Jesus the Nazarene, a man destined by God for you, and so forth. (Peter) himself, therefore, was the first to unbar, in Christ's baptism, the entrance to the heavenly kingdom, in which (kingdom) are loosed the sins that were beforetime bound; and those which have not been loosed are bound, in accordance with true salvation; and Ananias he bound with the bond of death, and the weak in his feet he absolved from his defect of health. Moreover, in that dispute about the observance or non-observance of the Law, Peter was the first of all to be endued with the Spirit, and, after making preface touching the calling of the nations, to say, And now why are you tempting the Lord, concerning the imposition upon the brethren of a yoke which neither we nor our fathers were able to support? But however, through the grace of Jesus we

believe that we shall be saved in the same way as they. This sentence both loosed those parts of the law which were abandoned, and bound those which were reserved. Hence the power of loosing and of binding committed to Peter had nothing to do with the capital sins of believers; and if the Lord had given him a precept that he must grant pardon to a brother sinning against *him* even seventy times sevenfold, of course He would have commanded him to bind — that is, to retain — *nothing* subsequently, unless perchance such (sins) as one may have committed against *the Lord*, not against a *brother*. For the forgiveness of (sins) committed in the case of a *man* is a prejudgment against the remission of sins against *God*.

What, now, (has this to do) with the Church, and *your* (church), indeed, Psychic? For, in accordance with the person of Peter, it is to *spiritual* men that this power will correspondently appertain, either to an apostle or else to a prophet. For the very Church itself is, properly and principally, the Spirit Himself, in whom is the Trinity of the One Divinity — Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. (The Spirit) combines that Church which the Lord has made to consist in three. And thus, from that time forward, every number (of persons) who may have combined together into this faith is accounted a Church, from the Author and Consecrator (of the Church). And accordingly the Church, it is true, will forgive sins: but (it will be) the Church of the Spirit, by means of a spiritual man; not the Church which consists of a number of bishops. For the right and arbitrament is the Lord's, not the servant's; God's Himself, not the priest's.

Chapter 22. Of Martyrs, and Their Intercession on Behalf of Scandalous Offenders.

But you go so far as to lavish this power upon martyrs withal! No sooner has any one, acting on a preconceived arrangement, put on the bonds — (bonds), moreover, which, in the nominal custody now in vogue, are soft ones — than adulterers beset him, fornicators gain access to him; instantly prayers echo around him; instantly pools of tears (from the eyes) of all the polluted surround him; nor are there any who are more diligent in purchasing entrance into the prison than they who have lost (the fellowship of) the Church! Men and women are violated in the darkness with which the habitual indulgence of lusts has plainly familiarized them; and they seek peace at the hands of those who are risking their own! Others betake them to the mines, and return, in the character of communicants, from thence, where by this time another martyrdom is necessary for sins committed *after* martyrdom. Well, who on earth and in the flesh is faultless? What martyr (continues to be) an inhabitant of the world supplicating? Pence in hand? Subject to physician and usurer? Suppose, now, (your martyr) beneath the glaive, with head already steadily poised; suppose him on the cross, with body already outstretched; suppose him at the stake, with the lion already let loose; suppose him on the axle, with the fire already heaped; in the very certainty, I say, and possession of martyrdom: who permits *man* to condone (offenses) which are to be reserved for *God*, by whom those (offenses) have been condemned without discharge, which not even apostles (so far as I know) — martyrs withal themselves — have judged condonable? In short, Paul had already fought with beasts at Ephesus, when he decreed destruction to the incestuous person. Let it suffice to the martyr to have purged his own sins: it is the part of ingratitude or of pride to lavish upon others also what one has obtained at a high price. Who has redeemed another's death by his own, but the Son of God alone? For even in His very passion He set the robber free. For to this end had He come, that, being Himself pure from sin, and in all respects holy, He might undergo death on behalf of sinners. Similarly, you who emulate Him in condoning sins, if you yourself have done no sin, plainly suffer in my stead. If, however, you are a sinner, how will the oil of your puny torch be able to suffice for you and for me?

I have, even now, a test whereby to prove (the presence of) Christ (in you). If Christ is in the martyr for this reason, that the martyr may absolve adulterers and fornicators, let Him tell publicly the secrets of the heart, that He may thus concede (pardon to) sins; and He is Christ. For thus it was that the Lord Jesus Christ showed His power: Why do you think evil in your hearts? For which is easier, to say to the paralytic, Your sins are remitted you; or, Rise and walk? Therefore, that you may know the Son of man to have the power upon earth of remitting sins, I say to you, paralytic, Rise, and walk. If the Lord set so much store by the proof of His power as to reveal thoughts, and so impart health by His command, lest He should not be believed to have the power of remitting sins; it is not lawful for me to believe the same power (to reside) in any one, whoever he be, without the same proofs. In the act, however, of urgently entreating from a martyr pardon for adulterers and fornicators, you yourself confess that crimes of that nature are not to be washed away except by the martyrdom of the criminal himself, while you presume (they can be washed away) by another's. If this is so, then martyrdom will be another baptism. For I have withal, says He, another baptism. Whence, too, it was that there flowed out of the wound in the Lord's side water and blood, the materials of either baptism. I ought, then, by the *first* baptism too to (have the right of) setting another free if I can by the *second*: and we must necessarily force upon the mind (of our opponents this conclusion): Whatever authority, whatever reason, restores ecclesiastical peace to the adulterer and fornicator, the same will be bound to come to the aid of the murderer and idolater in their repentance, — at all events, of the apostate, and of course of him whom, in the battle of his confession, after hard struggling with torments, savagery has overthrown. Besides, it were unworthy of God and of His mercy, who prefers the repentance of a sinner to his death, that they should have easier return into (the bosom of) the Church who have fallen in heat of passion, than they who have fallen in hand-to-hand combat. Indignation urges us to speak. Contaminated bodies you will recall rather than gory ones! Which repentance is more pitiable — that which prostrates tickled flesh, or lacerated? Which pardon is, in all causes, more justly concessible — that which a voluntary, or that which an involuntary, sinner implores? No one is compelled *with* his will to apostatize; no one *against* his will commits fornication. Lust is exposed to no violence, except itself: it knows no coercion

whatever. Apostasy, on the contrary, what ingenuities of butchery and tribes of penal inflictions enforce! Which has more truly apostatized — he who has lost Christ amid agonies, or (he who has done so) amid delights? He who when losing Him grieved, or he who when losing Him sported? And yet those scars graven on the Christian combatant — scars, of course, enviable in the eyes of Christ, because they yearned after Conquest, and thus also glorious, because failing to conquer they yielded; (scars) after which even the devil himself yet sighs; (scars) with an infelicity of their own, but a chaste one, with a repentance that mourns, but blushes not, to the Lord for pardon — will anew be remitted to such, because their apostasy was expiable! In their case alone is the flesh weak. Nay, no flesh so strong as that which crushes out the Spirit!

Spurious Works



The ancient Forum at Rome – in ‘de Cultu Femin’ Tertullian records that he visited the city, where he was well known for his abilities, though scholars are unsure if he ever went there as a Christian.

Against All Heresies



Translated by Sydney Thelwall

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Chapter I. — Earliest Heretics: Simon Magus, Menander, Saturninus, Basilides, Nicolaus.

[The Work Begins as a Fragment.]

Of which heretics I will (to pass by a good deal) summarize some few particulars. For of Judaism's heretics I am silent — Dositheus the Samaritan, I mean, who was the first who had the hardihood to repudiate the prophets, on the ground that they had not spoken under inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Of the Sadducees I am silent, who, springing from the root of this error, had the hardihood to adjoin to this heresy the denial likewise of the resurrection of the flesh. The Pharisees I pretermit, who were "divided" from the Jews by their superimposing of certain additaments to the law, which fact likewise made them worthy of receiving this very name; and, together with them, the Herodians likewise, who said that Herod was Christ. To those I betake myself who have chosen to make the gospel the starting-point of their heresies.

Of these the first of all is Simon Magus, who in the Acts of the Apostles earned a condign and just sentence from the Apostle Peter. He had the hardihood to call himself the Supreme Virtue, that is, the Supreme God; and moreover, (to assert) that the universe had been originated by his angels; that he had descended in quest of an erring dæmon, which was Wisdom; that, in a phantasmal semblance of God, he had *not* suffered among the Jews, but was *as if he had suffered*.

After him Menander, his disciple (likewise a magician), saying the same as Simon. Whatever Simon had affirmed himself to be, this did Menander equally affirm himself to be, asserting that none could possibly have salvation without being baptized in his name.

Afterwards, again, followed Saturninus: he, too, affirming that the innascible Virtue, that is God, abides in the highest regions, and that those regions are infinite, and in the regions immediately above us; but that angels far removed from Him made the lower world; and that, because light from above had flashed refulgently in the lower regions, the angels had carefully tried to form man after the similitude of that light; that man lay crawling on the surface of the earth; that this light and this higher virtue was, thanks to mercy, the salvable spark in man, while all the rest of him perishes; that Christ

had not existed in a bodily substance, and had endured a *quasi*-passion in a phantasmal shape merely; that a resurrection of the flesh there will by no means be.

Afterwards broke out the heretic Basilides. He affirms that there is a supreme Deity, by name Abraxas, by whom was created Mind, which in Greek he calls Νοῦς; that thence sprang the Word; that of Him issued Providence, Virtue, and Wisdom; that out of these subsequently were made Principalities, powers, and Angels; that there ensued infinite issues and processions of angels; that by these angels 365 heavens were formed, and the world, in honour of Abraxas, whose name, if computed, has in itself this number. Now, among the last of the angels, those who made this world, he places the God of the Jews latest, that is, the God of the Law and of the Prophets, whom he denies to be a God, but affirms to be an angel. To him, he says, was allotted the seed of Abraham, and accordingly he it was who transferred the sons of Israel from the land of Egypt into the land of Canaan; affirming him to be turbulent above the other angels, and accordingly given to the frequent arousing of seditions and wars, yes, and the shedding of human blood. Christ, moreover, he affirms to have been sent, not by this maker of the world, but by the above-named Abraxas; and to have come in a phantasm, and been destitute of the substance of flesh: that it was not He who suffered among the Jews, but that Simon was crucified in His stead: whence, again, there must be no believing on him who was crucified, lest one confess to having believed on Simon. Martyrdoms, he says, are not to be endured. The resurrection of the flesh he strenuously impugns, affirming that salvation has not been promised to *bodies*.

A brother heretic emerged in Nicolaus. He was one of the seven deacons who were appointed in the Acts of the Apostles. He affirms that Darkness was seized with a concupiscence — and, indeed, a foul and obscene one — after Light: out of this permixture it is a shame to say what fetid and unclean (combinations arose). The rest (of his tenets), too, are obscene. For he tells of certain Æons, sons of turpitude, and of conjunctions of execrable and obscene embraces and permixtures, and certain yet baser outcomes of these. He teaches that there were born, moreover, dæmons, and gods, and spirits seven, and other things sufficiently sacrilegious. alike and foul, which we blush to recount, and at once pass them by. Enough it is for us that this heresy of the

Nicolaitans has been condemned by the Apocalypse of the Lord with the weightiest authority attaching to a sentence, in saying “Because this thou holdest, thou hatest the doctrine of the Nicolaitans, which I too hate.”

Chapter II. — Ophites, Cainites, Sethites.

To these are added those heretics likewise who are called *Ophites*: for they magnify the serpent to such a degree, that they prefer him even to Christ Himself; for it was he, they say, who gave us the origin of the knowledge of good and of evil. His power and majesty (they say) Moses perceiving, set up the brazen serpent; and whoever gazed upon him obtained health. Christ Himself (they say further) in His gospel imitates Moses' serpent's sacred power, in saying: "And as Moses upreared the serpent in the desert, so it behoveth the Son of man to be upreared." Him they introduce to bless their eucharistic (elements). Now the whole parade and doctrine of this error flowed from the following source. They say that from the supreme primary *Æon whom men speak of* there emanated several other inferior *Æons*. To all these, however, there opposed himself an *Æon* whose name is *Ialdabaoth*. He had been conceived by the permixture of a second *Æon* with inferior *Æons*; and afterwards, when he had been desirous of forcing his way into the higher regions, had been disabled by the permixture of the gravity of matter with himself to arrive at the higher regions; had been left in the midst, and had extended himself to his full dimensions, and thus had made the sky. *Ialdabaoth*, however, had descended lower, and had made him seven sons, and had shut from their view the upper regions by self-distension, in order that, since (these) angels could not know what was above, they might think him the sole God. These inferior Virtues and angels, therefore, had made *man*; and, because he had been originated by weaker and mediocre powers, he lay crawling, worm-like. That *Æon*, however, out of which *Ialdabaoth* had proceeded, moved to the heart with envy, had injected into man as he lay a certain spark; excited whereby, he was through prudence to grow wise, and be able to understand the things above. So, again, the *Ialdabaoth* aforesaid, turning indignant, had emitted out of himself the Virtue and similitude of *the serpent*; and this had been the Virtue in paradise — that is, this had been the *serpent* — whom Eve had believed as if he had been God the Son. He plucked, say they, from the fruit of the tree, and thus conferred on mankind the knowledge of things good and evil. Christ, moreover, existed not in substance of flesh: salvation of the flesh is not to be hoped for at all.

Moreover, also, there has broken out another heresy also, which is called

that of the *Cainites*. And the reason is, that they magnify Cain as if he had been conceived of some potent Virtue which operated in him; for Abel had been procreated after being conceived of an inferior Virtue, and accordingly had been found inferior. They who assert this likewise defend the traitor Judas, telling us that he is admirable and great, because of the advantages he is vaunted to have conferred on mankind; for some of them think that thanksgiving is to be rendered to Judas on this account: viz., Judas, they say, observing that Christ wished to subvert the truth, betrayed Him, in order that there might be no possibility of truth's being subverted. And others thus dispute against them, and say: Because the powers of this world were unwilling that Christ should suffer, lest through His death salvation should be prepared for mankind, he, consulting for the salvation of mankind, betrayed Christ, in order that there might be no possibility at all of the salvation being impeded, which *was* being impeded through the Virtues which were opposing Christ's passion; and thus, through the passion of Christ, there might be no possibility of the salvation of mankind being retarded.

But, again, the heresy has started forth which is called that of the *Sethites*. The doctrine of this perversity is as follows. Two human beings were formed by the angels — Cain and Abel. On their account arose great contentions and discords among the angels; for this reason, that Virtue which was above all the Virtues — which they style the Mother — when they said that Abel had been slain, willed this Seth of theirs to be conceived and born in place of Abel, in order that those angels might be escheated who had created those two former human beings, while this pure seed rises and is born. For they say that there had been iniquitous permixtures of two angels and human beings; for which reason that Virtue which (as we have said) they style the Mother brought on the deluge even, for the purpose of vengeance, in order that that seed of permixture might be swept away, and this only seed which was pure be kept entire. But (in vain): for they who had originated those of the former seed sent into the ark (secretly and stealthily, and unknown to that Mother-Virtue), together with those “eight souls,” the seed likewise of Ham, in order that the seed of evil should not perish, but should, together with the rest, be preserved, and after the deluge be restored to the earth, and, by example of the rest, should grow up and diffuse itself, and fill and occupy the whole orb. Of Christ, moreover, their sentiments are such that they call Him merely Seth,

and say that He was instead of the actual Seth.

Chapter III. — Carpocrates, Cerinthus, Ebion.

Carpocrates, furthermore, introduced the following sect. He affirms that there is one Virtue, the chief among the upper (regions): that out of this were produced angels and Virtues, which, being far distant from the upper Virtues, created this world in the lower regions: that Christ was not born of *the Virgin* Mary, but was generated — a mere human being — of the seed of Joseph, superior (they admit) above all others in the practice of righteousness and in integrity of life; that He suffered among the Jews; and that His soul alone was received in heaven as having been more firm and hardy than all others: whence he would infer, retaining only the salvation of souls, that there are no resurrections of the body.

After him brake out the heretic Cerinthus, teaching similarly. For he, too, says that the world was originated by those *angels*; and sets forth Christ as born of the seed of Joseph, contending that He was merely human, without divinity; affirming also that the Law was given by angels; representing the God of the Jews as not the Lord, but an angel.

His successor was Ebion, not agreeing with Cerinthus in every point; in that he affirms the world to have been made by God, not by angels; and because it is written, “No disciple above *his* master, nor servant above *his* lord,” sets forth likewise the law *as binding*, of course for the purpose of excluding the gospel and vindicating Judaism.

Chapter IV. — Valentinus, Ptolemy and Secundus, Heracleon.

Valentinus the heretic, moreover, introduced many fables. These I will retrench and briefly summarize. For he introduces the Pleroma and the thirty Æons. These Æons, moreover, he explains in the way of syzygies, that is, conjugal unions of some kind. For among the first, he says, were Depth and Silence; of these proceeded Mind and Truth; out of whom burst the Word and Life; from whom, again, were created Man and the Church. But (these are not all); for of these last also proceeded twelve Æons; from Speech, moreover, and Life *proceeded* other ten Æons: such is the Triacontad of Æons, which is made up in the Pleroma of an ogdoad, a decad, and a duodecad. The thirtieth Æon, moreover, willed to see the great Bythus; and, to see him, had the hardihood to ascend into the upper regions; and not being capable of seeing his magnitude, desponded, and almost suffered dissolution, had not some one, — he whom he calls Horos, to wit, — sent to invigorate him, strengthened him by pronouncing the word “Iao.” This Æon, moreover, which was thus reduced to despondency, he calls Achamoth, (and says) that he was seized with certain regretful passions, and out of his passions gave birth to material essences. For he was panic-stricken, he says, and terror-stricken, and overcome with sadness; and of these passions he conceived and bare. Hence he made the heaven, and the earth, and the sea, and whatever is in them: for which cause all things made by him are infirm, and frail, and capable of falling, and mortal, inasmuch as he himself was conceived and produced from despondency. He, however, originated this world out of those material essences which Achamoth, by his panic, or terror, or sadness, or sweat, had supplied. For of his panic, he says, was made darkness; of his fear and ignorance, the spirits of wickedness and malignity; of his sadness and tears, the humidities of founts, the material essence of floods and sea. Christ, moreover, was sent by that First-Father who is Bythus. He, moreover, was not in the substance of our flesh; but, bringing down from heaven some spiritual body or other, passed through the Virgin Mary as water through a pipe, neither receiving nor borrowing aught thence. The resurrection of our present flesh he denies, but (maintains that) of some sister-flesh. Of the Law and the prophets some parts he approves, some he disapproves; that is, he disapproves all in

reprobating some. A Gospel of his own he likewise has, beside these of ours.

After him arose the heretics Ptolemy and Secundus, who agree throughout with Valentinus, differing only in the following point: viz., whereas Valentinus had feigned but thirty Æons, they have added several more; for they first added four, and subsequently four more. And Valentine's assertion, that it was the thirtieth Æon which strayed out from the Pleroma, (as *falling* into despondency,) they deny; for the one which desponded on account of disappointed yearning to see the First-Father was not of the original triacontad, they say.

There arose, besides, Heracleon, a brother-heretic, whose sentiments pair with Valentine's; but, by some novelty of terminology, he is desirous of seeming to differ in sentiment. For he introduces the notion that there existed first what he terms (a Monad); and then out of that Monad (arose) two, and then the rest of the Æons. Then he introduces the whole *system of* Valentine.

Chapter V. — Marcus and Colarbasus.

After these there were not wanting a Marcus and a Colarbasus, composing a novel heresy out of the Greek alphabet. For they affirm that without those letters truth cannot be found; nay more, that in those letters the whole plenitude and perfection of truth is comprised; for this was why Christ said, “I am the Alpha and the Omega.” In fact, they say that Jesus Christ descended, that is, that *the dove* came down on Jesus; and, since the dove is styled by the Greek name περιστερὰ — (*peristera*), it has in itself this number DCCCI. These men run through their Ω, Ψ, Χ, Φ, Υ, Τ — through the whole alphabet, indeed, up to Α and Β — and compute ogdoads and decads. So we may grant it useless and idle to recount all their trifles. What, however, must be allowed not merely vain, but likewise dangerous, is this: they feign a second God, beside the Creator; they affirm that Christ was not in the substance of flesh; they say there is to be no resurrection of the flesh.

Chapter VI. — Cerdo, Marcion, Lucan, Apelles.

To this is added one Cerdo. He introduces two first causes, that is, two Gods — one good, the other cruel: the good being the superior; the latter, the cruel one, being the creator of the world. He repudiates the prophecies and the Law; renounces God the Creator; maintains that Christ who came was the Son of the superior God; affirms that He was not in the substance of flesh; states Him to have been only in a phantasmal shape, to have not really suffered, but undergone a quasipassion, and not to have been born of a virgin, nay, really not to have been born at all. A resurrection of the soul merely does he approve, denying that of the body. The Gospel of Luke alone, and that not entire, does he receive. Of the Apostle Paul he takes neither all the epistles, nor in their integrity. The Acts of the Apostles and the Apocalypse he rejects as false.

After him emerged a disciple of his, one Marcion by name, a native of Pontus, son of a bishop, excommunicated because of a rape committed on a certain virgin. He, starting from the fact that it is said, “Every good tree beareth good fruit, but an evil evil,” attempted to approve the heresy of Cerdo; so that his assertions are identical with those of the former heretic before him.

After him arose one Lucan by name, a follower and disciple of Marcion. He, too, wading through the same kinds of blasphemy, teaches the same as Marcion and Cerdo had taught.

Close on their heels follows Apelles, a disciple of Marcion, who after lapsing, into his own carnality, was severed from Marcion. He introduces one God in the infinite upper regions, and states that He made many powers and angels; beside Him, withal, another Virtue, which he affirms to be called Lord, but represents as an angel. By him he will have it appear that the world was originated in imitation of a superior world. With this lower world he mingled throughout (a principle of) repentance, because he had not made it so perfectly as that superior world had been originated. The Law and the prophets he repudiates. Christ he neither, like Marcion, affirms to have been in a phantasmal shape, nor yet in substance of a true body, as the Gospel teaches; but says, because He descended from the upper regions, that in the

course of His descent He wove together for Himself a starry and airy flesh; and, in His resurrection, restored, in the course of His ascent, to the several individual elements whatever had been borrowed in His descent: and thus — the several parts of His body dispersed — He reinstated in heaven His spirit only. This man denies the resurrection of the flesh. He uses, too, one only apostle; but that is Marcion's, that is, a mutilated one. He teaches the salvation of souls alone. He has, besides, private but extraordinary lections of his own, which he calls "Manifestations" of one Philumene, a girl whom he follows as a prophetess. He has, besides, his own books, which he has entitled books of Syllogisms, in which he seeks to prove that whatever Moses has written about God is not true, but is false.

Chapter VII. — Tatian, Cataphrygians, Cataproclans, Catæschinetans.

To all these heretics is added one Tatian, a brother-heretic. This man was Justin Martyr's disciple. After Justin's death he began to cherish different opinions from his. For he wholly savours of Valentinus; adding this, that Adam cannot even attain salvation: as if, when the branches become salvable, the root were not!

Other heretics swell the list who are called Cataphrygians, but their teaching is not uniform. For there are (of them) *some* who are called Cataproclans; there are others who are termed Catæschinetans. These have a blasphemy common, and a blasphemy not common, but peculiar and special. The common blasphemy lies in their saying that the Holy Spirit was in the apostles indeed, the Paraclete was not; and in their saying that the Paraclete has spoken in Montanus more things than Christ brought forward into (the compass of) the Gospel, and not merely more, but likewise better and greater. But the particular one they who follow Æschines have; this, namely, whereby they add this, that they affirm Christ to be Himself Son and Father.

Chapter VIII. — Blastus, Two Theodoti, Praxeas.

In addition to all these, there is likewise Blastus, who would latently introduce Judaism. For he says the passover is not to be kept otherwise than according to the law of Moses, on the fourteenth of the month. But who would fail to see that evangelical grace is escheated if he recalls Christ to the Law?

Add to these Theodotus the Byzantine, who, after being apprehended for Christ's Name, and apostatizing, ceased not to blaspheme against Christ. For he introduced a doctrine by which to affirm that Christ was merely a human being, but deny His deity; teaching that He was born of the Holy Spirit indeed of a virgin, but was a solitary and bare human being, with no pre-eminence above the rest (of mankind), but only that of righteousness.

After him brake out a second heretical Theodotus, who again himself introduced a sister-sect, and says that the human being Christ Himself was merely conceived alike, and born, of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary, but that He was inferior to Melchizedek; because it is said of Christ, "Thou art a priest unto eternity, after the order of Melchizedek." For that Melchizedek, he says, was a heavenly Virtue of pre-eminent grace; in that Christ acts for human beings, being made their Deprecator and Advocate: Melchizedek does so for heavenly angels and Virtues. For to such a degree, he says, is he better than Christ, that he is *ἀπάτωρ* (fatherless), *ἀμήτωρ* (motherless), *ἀγενεαλογητον* (without genealogy), of whom neither the beginning nor the end has been comprehended, nor can be comprehended.

But after all these, again, one Praxeas introduced a heresy which Victorinus was careful to corroborate. He asserts that Jesus Christ is God the Father Almighty. Him he contends to have been crucified, and suffered, and died; beside which, with a profane and sacrilegious temerity, he maintains the proposition that He is Himself sitting at His own right hand.

The Passion of the Holy Martyrs Perpetua and Felicitas



Translated by Robert Ernest Wallis

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Introductory Notice.

Nobody, will blame me for placing here the touching history of these Martyrs. It illustrates the period of history we are now considering, and sheds light on the preceding treatise. I can hardly read it without tears, and it ought to make us love “the noble army of martyrs.” I think Tertullian was the *editor* of the story, not its author. Felicitas is mentioned by name in the *De Anima*: and the closing paragraph of this memoir is quite in his style. To these words I need only add that Dr. Routh, who unfortunately decided not to re-edit it, ascribes the first edition to Lucas Holstenius. He was Librarian of the Vatican and died in 1661. The rest may be learned from this Introductory Notice of the Translator:

Perpetua and Felicitas suffered martyrdom in the reign of Septimius Severus, about the year 202 a.d. Tertullian mentions Perpetua, and a further clue to the date is given in the allusion to the birth-day of “Geta the Cæsar,” the son of Septimius Severus. There is therefore, good reason for rejecting the opinion held by some, that they suffered under Valerian and Gallienus. Some think that they suffered at Tuburbium in Mauritania; but the more general opinion is, that Carthage was the scene of their martyrdom.

The “Acta,” detailing the sufferings of Perpetua and Felicitas, has been held by all critics to be a genuine document of antiquity. But much difference exists as to who was the compiler. In the writing itself, Perpetua and Saturus are mentioned as having written certain portions of it; and there is no reason to doubt the statement. Who the writer of the remaining portion was, is not known. Some have assigned the work to Tertullian; some have maintained that, whoever the writer was, he was a Montanist, and some have tried to show that both martyrs and narrator were Montanists. The narrator must have been a contemporary; according to many critics, he was an eye-witness of the sufferings of the martyrs. And he must have written the narrative shortly after the events.

Dean Milman says, “There appear strong indications that the acts of these African martyrs are translated from the Greek; at least it is difficult otherwise to account for the frequent untranslated Greek words and idioms in the text.

The Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas was edited by Petrus Possinus, Rome, 1663; by Henr. Valesius, Paris, 1664; and the Bollandists. The best and

latest edition is by Ruissart, whose text is adopted in Gallandi's and Migne's collections of the Fathers.

Preface.

If ancient illustrations of faith which both testify to God's grace and tend to man's edification are collected in writing, so that by the perusal of them, as if by the reproduction of the facts, as well God may be honoured, as man may be strengthened; why should not new instances be also collected, that shall be equally suitable for both purposes, — if only on the ground that these modern examples will one day become ancient and available for posterity, although in their present time they are esteemed of less authority, by reason of the presumed veneration for antiquity? But let men look to it, if they judge the power of the Holy Spirit to be one, according to the times and seasons; since some things of later date must be esteemed of more account as being nearer to the very last times, in accordance with the exuberance of grace manifested to the final periods determined for the world. For “in the last days, saith the Lord, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh; and their sons and their daughters shall prophesy. And upon my servants and my handmaidens will I pour out of my Spirit; and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams.” And thus we — who both acknowledge and reverence, even as we do the prophecies, modern visions as equally promised to us, and consider the other powers of the Holy Spirit as an agency of the Church for which also He was sent, administering all gifts in all, even as the Lord distributed to every one as well needfully collect them in writing, as commemorate them in reading to God's glory; that so no weakness or despondency of faith may suppose that the divine grace abode only among the ancients, whether in respect of the condescension that raised up martyrs, or that gave revelations; since God always carries into effect what He has promised, for a testimony to unbelievers, to believers for a benefit. And we therefore, what we have heard and handled, declare also to you, brethren and little children, that as well you who were concerned in these matters may be reminded of them again to the glory of the Lord, as that you who know them by report may have communion with the blessed martyrs, and through them with the Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory and honour, for ever and ever. Amen.

Chapter I. — Argument. — When the Saints Were Apprehended, St. Perpetua Successfully Resisted Her Father's Pleading, Was Baptized with the Others, Was Thrust into a Filthy Dungeon. Anxious About Her Infant, by a Vision Granted to Her, She Understood that Her Martyrdom Would Take Place Very Shortly.

1. The young catechumens, Revocatus and his fellow-servant Felicitas, Saturninus and Secundulus, were apprehended. And among them also was Vivia Perpetua, respectably born, liberally educated, a married matron, having a father and mother and two brothers, one of whom, like herself, was a catechumen, and a son an infant at the breast. She herself was about twenty-two years of age. From this point onward she shall herself narrate the whole course of her martyrdom, as she left it described by her own hand and with her own mind.

2. "While" says she, "we were still with the persecutors, and my father, for the sake of his affection for me, was persisting in seeking to turn me away, and to cast me down from the faith,— 'Father,' said I, 'do you see, let us say, this vessel lying here to be a little pitcher, or something else?' And he said, 'I see it to be so.' And I replied to him, 'Can it be called by any other name than what it is?' And he said, 'No.' 'Neither can I call myself anything else than what I am, a Christian.' Then my father, provoked at this saying, threw himself upon me, as if he would tear my eyes out. But he only distressed me, and went away overcome by the devil's arguments. Then, in a few days after I had been without my father, I gave thanks to the Lord; and his absence became a source of consolation to me. In that same interval of a few days we were baptized, and to me the Spirit prescribed that in the water *of baptism* nothing else was to be sought for bodily endurance. After a few days we are taken into the dungeon, and I was very much afraid, because I had never felt such darkness. O terrible day! O the fierce heat of the shock of the soldiery, because of the crowds! I was very unusually distressed by my anxiety for my infant. There were present there Tertius and Pomponius, the blessed deacons who ministered to us, and had arranged by means of a gratuity that we might be refreshed by being sent out for a few hours into a pleasanter part of the prison. Then going out of the dungeon, all attended to their own wants. I

suckled my child, which was now enfeebled with hunger. In my anxiety for it, I addressed my mother and comforted my brother, and commended to their care my son. I was languishing because I had seen them languishing on my account. Such solicitude I suffered for many days, and I obtained for my infant to remain in the dungeon with me; and forthwith I grew strong and was relieved from distress and anxiety about my infant; and the dungeon became to me as it were a palace, so that I preferred being there to being elsewhere.

3. "Then my brother said to me, 'My dear sister, you are already in a position of great dignity, and are such that you may ask for a vision, and that it may be made known to you whether this is to result in a passion or an escape.' And I, who knew that I was privileged to converse with the Lord, whose kindnesses I had found to be so great, boldly promised him, and said, 'Tomorrow I will tell you.' And I asked, and this was what was shown me. I saw a golden ladder of marvellous height, reaching up even to heaven, and very narrow, so that persons could only ascend it one by one; and on the sides of the ladder was fixed every kind of iron weapon. There were there swords, lances, hooks, daggers; so that if any one went up carelessly, or not looking upwards, he would be torn to pieces and his flesh would cleave to the iron weapons. And under the ladder itself was crouching a dragon of wonderful size, who lay in wait for those who ascended, and frightened them from the ascent. And Satorus went up first, who had subsequently delivered himself up freely on our account, not having been present at the time that we were taken prisoners. And he attained the top of the ladder, and turned towards me, and said to me, 'Perpetua, I am waiting for you; but be careful that the dragon do not bite you.' And I said, 'In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, he shall not hurt me.' And from under the ladder itself, as if in fear of me, he slowly lifted up his head; and as I trod upon the first step, I trod upon his head. And I went up, and I saw an immense extent of garden, and in the midst of the garden a white-haired man sitting in the dress of a shepherd, of a large stature, milking sheep; and standing around were many thousand white-robed ones. And he raised his head, and looked upon me, and said to me, 'Thou art welcome, daughter.' And he called me, and from the cheese as he was milking he gave me as it were a little cake, and I received it with folded hands; and I ate it, and all who stood around said Amen. And at the sound of their voices I was awakened, still tasting a sweetness which I cannot describe. And I

immediately related this to my brother, and we understood that it was to be a passion, and we ceased henceforth to have any hope in this world.

Chapter II. — Argument. Perpetua, When Besieged by Her Father, Comforts Him. When Led with Others to the Tribunal, She Avows Herself a Christian, and is Condemned with the Rest to the Wild Beasts. She Prays for Her Brother Dinocrates, Who Was Dead.

1. “After a few days there prevailed a report that we should be heard. And then my father came to me from the city, worn out with anxiety. He came up to me, that he might cast me down, saying, ‘Have pity my daughter, on my grey hairs. Have pity on your father, if I am worthy to be called a father by you. If with these hands I have brought you up to this flower of your age, if I have preferred you to all your brothers, do not deliver me up to the scorn of men. Have regard to your brothers, have regard to your mother and your aunt, have regard to your son, who will not be able to live after you. Lay aside your courage, and do not bring us all to destruction; for none of us will speak in freedom if you should suffer anything.’ These things said my father in his affection, kissing my hands, and throwing himself at my feet; and with tears he called me not Daughter, but Lady. And I grieved over the grey hairs of my father, that he alone of all my family would not rejoice over my passion. And I comforted him, saying, ‘On that scaffold whatever God wills shall happen. For know that we are not placed in our own power, but in that of God.’ And he departed from me in sorrow.

2. “Another day, while we were at dinner, we were suddenly taken away to be heard, and we arrived at the town-hall. At once the rumour spread through the neighbourhood of the public place, and an immense number of people were gathered together. We mount the platform. The rest were interrogated, and confessed. Then they came to me, and my father immediately appeared with my boy, and withdrew me from the step, and said in a supplicating tone, ‘Have pity on your babe.’ And Hilarianus the procurator, who had just received the power of life and death in the place of the proconsul Minucius Timinianus, who was deceased, said, ‘Spare the grey hairs of your father, spare the infancy of your boy, offer sacrifice for the well-being of the emperors.’ And I replied, ‘I will not do so.’ Hilarianus said, ‘Are you a Christian?’ And I replied, ‘I am a Christian.’ And as my father stood there to cast me down *from the faith*, he was ordered by Hilarianus to be thrown down,

and was beaten with rods. And my father's misfortune grieved me as if I myself had been beaten, I so grieved for his wretched old age. The procurator then delivers judgment on all of us, and condemns us to the wild beasts, and we went down cheerfully to the dungeon. Then, because my child had been used to receive suck from me, and to stay with me in the prison, I send Pomponius the deacon to my father to ask for the infant, but my father would not give it him. And even as God willed it, the child no long desired the breast, nor did my breast cause me uneasiness, lest I should be tormented by care for my babe and by the pain of my breasts at once.

3. "After a few days, whilst we were all praying, on a sudden, in the middle of our prayer, there came to me a word, and I named Dinocrates; and I was amazed that that name had never come into my mind until then, and I was grieved as I remembered his misfortune. And I felt myself immediately to be worthy, and to be called on to ask on his behalf. And for him I began earnestly to make supplication, and to cry with groaning to the Lord. Without delay, on that very night, this was shown to me in a vision. I saw Dinocrates going out from a gloomy place, where also there were several others, and he was parched and very thirsty, with a filthy countenance and pallid colour, and the wound on his face which he had when he died. This Dinocrates had been my brother after the flesh, seven years of age who died miserably with disease — his face being so eaten out with cancer, that his death caused repugnance to all men. For him I had made my prayer, and between him and me there was a large interval, so that neither of us could approach to the other. And moreover, in the same place where Dinocrates was, there was a pool full of water, having its brink higher than was the stature of the boy; and Dinocrates raised himself up as if to drink. And I was grieved that, although that pool held water, still, on account of the height to its brink, he could not drink. And I was aroused, and knew that my brother was in suffering. But I trusted that my prayer would bring help to his suffering; and I prayed for him every day until we passed over into the prison of the camp, for we were to fight in the camp-show. Then was the birth-day of Geta Cæsar, and I made my prayer for my brother day and night, groaning and weeping that he might be granted to me.

4. "Then, on the day on which we remained in fetters, this was shown to me. I saw that that place which I had formerly observed to be in gloom was now bright; and Dinocrates, with a clean body well clad, was finding

refreshment. And where there had been a wound, I saw a scar; and that pool which I had before seen, *I saw now* with its margin lowered even to the boy's navel. And one drew water from the pool incessantly, and upon its brink was a goblet filled with water; and Dinocrates drew near and began to drink from it, and the goblet did not fail. And when he was satisfied, he went away from the water to play joyously, after the manner of children, and I awoke. Then I understood that he was translated from the place of punishment.

Chapter III. — Argument. Perpetua is Again Tempted by Her Father. Her Third Vision, Wherein She is Led Away to Struggle Against an Egyptian. She Fights, Conquers, and Receives the Reward.

1. "Again, after a few days, Pudens, a soldier, an assistant overseer of the prison, who began to regard us in great esteem, perceiving that the great power of God was in us, admitted many brethren to see us, that both we and they might be mutually refreshed. And when the day of the exhibition drew near, my father, worn with suffering, came in to me, and began to tear out his beard, and to throw himself on the earth, and to cast himself down on his face, and to reproach his years, and to utter such words as might move all creation. I grieved for his unhappy old age.

2. "The day before that on which we were to fight, I saw in a vision that Pomponius the deacon came hither to the gate of the prison, and knocked vehemently. I went out to him, and opened the gate for him; and he was clothed in a richly ornamented white robe, and he had on manifold *calliculæ*. And he said to me, 'Perpetua, we are waiting for you; come!' And he held his hand to me, and we began to go through rough and winding places. Scarcely at length had we arrived breathless at the amphitheatre, when he led me into the middle of the arena, and said to me, 'Do not fear, I am here with you, and I am labouring with you;' and he departed. And I gazed upon an immense assembly in astonishment. And because I knew that I was given to the wild beasts, I marvelled that the wild beasts were not let loose upon me. Then there came forth against me a certain Egyptian, horrible in appearance, with his backers, to fight with me. And there came to me, as my helpers and encouragers, handsome youths; and I was stripped, and became a man. Then my helpers began to rub me with oil, as is the custom for contest; and I beheld that Egyptian on the other hand rolling in the dust. And a certain man came forth, of wondrous height, so that he even over-topped the top of the amphitheatre; and he wore a loose tunic and a purple robe between two bands over the middle of the breast; and he had on *calliculæ* of varied form, made of gold and silver; and he carried a rod, as if he were a trainer of gladiators, and a green branch upon which were apples of gold. And he called for silence, and said, 'This Egyptian, if he should overcome this woman, shall kill her with the

sword; and if she shall conquer him, she shall receive this branch.' Then he departed. And we drew near to one another, and began to deal out blows. He sought to lay hold of my feet, while I struck at his face with my heels; and I was lifted up in the air, and began thus to thrust at him as if spurning the earth. But when I saw that there was some delay I joined my hands so as to twine my fingers with one another; and I took hold upon his head, and he fell on his face, and I trod upon his head. And the people began to shout, and my backers to exult. And I drew near to the trainer and took the branch; and he kissed me, and said to me, 'Daughter, peace be with you:' and I began to go gloriously to the Sanavivarian gate. Then I awoke, and perceived that I was not to fight with beasts, but against the devil. Still I knew that the victory was awaiting me. This, so far, I have completed several days before the exhibition; but what passed at the exhibition itself let who will write."

Chapter IV. — Argument. Satorus, in a Vision, and Perpetua Being Carried by Angels into the Great Light, Behold the Martyrs. Being Brought to the Throne of God, are Received with a Kiss. They Reconcile Optatus the Bishop and Aspasius the Presbyter.

1. Moreover, also, the blessed Satorus related this his vision, which he himself committed to writing:— “We had suffered,” says he, “and we were gone forth from the flesh, and we were beginning to be borne by four angels into the east; and their hands touched us not. And we floated not supine, looking upwards, but as if ascending a gentle slope. And being set free, we at length saw the first boundless light; and I said, ‘Perpetua’ (for she was at my side), ‘this is what the Lord promised to us; we have received the promise.’ And while we are borne by those same four angels, there appears to us a vast space which was like a pleasure-garden, having rose-trees and every kind of flower. And the height of the trees was after the measure of a cypress, and their leaves were falling incessantly. Moreover, there in the pleasure-garden four other angels appeared, brighter than the previous ones, who, when they saw us, gave us honour, and said to the rest of the angels, ‘Here they are! Here they are!’ with admiration. And those four angels who bore us, being greatly afraid, put us down; and we passed over on foot the space of a furlong in a broad path. There we found Jocundus and Saturninus and Artaxius, who having suffered the same persecution were burnt alive; and Quintus, who also himself a martyr had departed in the prison. And we asked of them where the rest were. And the angels said to us, ‘Come first, enter and greet your Lord.’

2. “And we came near to place, the walls of which were such as if they were built of light; and before the gate of that place stood four angels, who clothed those who entered with white robes. And being clothed, we entered and saw the boundless light, and heard the united voice of some who said without ceasing, ‘Holy! Holy! Holy!’ And in the midst of that place we saw as it were a hoary man sitting, having snow-white hair, and with a youthful countenance; and his feet we saw not. And on his right hand and on his left were four-and-twenty elders, and behind them a great many others were standing. We entered with great wonder, and stood before the throne; and the four angels raised us up, and we kissed Him, and He passed His hand over our

face. And the rest of the elders said to us, ‘Let us stand;’ and we stood and made peace. And the elders said to us, ‘Go and enjoy.’ And I said, ‘Perpetua, you have what you wish.’ And she said to me, ‘Thanks be to God, that joyous as I was in the flesh, I am now more joyous here.’

3. “And we went forth, and saw before the entrance Optatus the bishop at the right hand, and Aspasius the presbyter, a teacher, at the left hand, separate and sad; and they cast themselves at our feet, and said to us, ‘Restore peace between us, because you have gone forth and have left us thus.’ And we said to them, ‘Art not thou our father, and thou our presbyter, that you should cast yourselves at our feet?’ And we prostrated ourselves, and we embraced them; and Perpetua began to speak with them, and we drew them apart in the pleasure-garden under a rose-tree. And while we were speaking with them, the angels said unto them, ‘Let them alone, that they may refresh themselves; and if you have any dissensions between you, forgive one another.’ And they drove them away. And they said to Optatus, ‘Rebuke thy people, because they assemble to you as if returning from the circus, and contending about factious matters.’ And then it seemed to us as if they would shut the doors. And in that place we began to recognise many brethren, and moreover martyrs. We were all nourished with an indescribable odour, which satisfied us. Then, I joyously awoke.”

Chapter V. — Argument. Secundulus Dies in the Prison. Felicitas is Pregnant, But with Many Prayers She Brings Forth in the Eighth Month Without Suffering, the Courage of Perpetua and of Saturus Unbroken.

1. The above were the more eminent visions of the blessed martyrs Saturus and Perpetua themselves, which they themselves committed to writing. But God called Secundulus, while he has yet in the prison, by an earlier exit from the world, not without favour, so as to give a respite to the beasts. Nevertheless, even if his soul did not acknowledge cause for thankfulness, assuredly his flesh did.

2. But respecting Felicitas (for to her also the Lord's favour approached in the same way), when she had already gone eight months with child (for she had been pregnant when she was apprehended), as the day of the exhibition was drawing near, she was in great grief lest on account of her pregnancy she should be delayed, — because pregnant women are not allowed to be publicly punished, — and lest she should shed her sacred and guiltless blood among some who had been wicked subsequently. Moreover, also, her fellow-martyrs were painfully saddened lest they should leave so excellent a friend, and as it were companion, alone in the path of the same hope. Therefore, joining together their united cry, they poured forth their prayer to the Lord three days before the exhibition. Immediately after their prayer her pains came upon her, and when, with the difficulty natural to an eight months' delivery, in the labour of bringing forth she was sorrowing, some one of the servants of the *Catacactarii* said to her, "You who are in such suffering now, what will you do when you are thrown to the beasts, which you despised when you refused to sacrifice?" And she replied, "Now it is I that suffer what I suffer; but then there will be another in me, who will suffer for me, because I also am about to suffer for Him." Thus she brought forth a little girl, which a certain sister brought up as her daughter.

3. Since then the Holy Spirit permitted, and by permitting willed, that the proceedings of that exhibition should be committed to writing, although we are unworthy to complete the description of so great a glory; yet we obey as it were the command of the most blessed Perpetua, nay her sacred trust, and add one more testimony concerning her constancy and her loftiness of mind.

While they were treated with more severity by the tribune, because, from the intimations of certain deceitful men, he feared lest they should be withdrawn from the prison by some sort of magic incantations, Perpetua answered to his face, and said, "Why do you not at least permit us to be refreshed, being as we are objectionable to the most noble Cæsar, and having to fight on his birthday? Or is it not your glory if we are brought forward fatter on that occasion?" The tribune shuddered and blushed, and commanded that they should be kept with more humanity, so that permission was given to their brethren and others to go in and be refreshed with them; even the keeper of the prison trusting them now himself.

4. Moreover, on the day before, when in that last meal, which they call the free meal, they were partaking as far as they could, not of a free supper, but of an *agape*; with the same firmness they were uttering such words as these to the people, denouncing *against them* the judgment of the Lord, bearing witness to the felicity of their passion, laughing at the curiosity of the people who came together; while Saturus said, "To-morrow is not enough for you, for you to behold with pleasure that which you hate. Friends today, enemies to-morrow. Yet note our faces diligently, that you may recognise them on that day of judgment." Thus all departed thence astonished, and from these things many believed.

Chapter VI. — Argument. From the Prison They are Led Forth with Joy into the Amphitheatre, Especially Perpetua and Felicitas. All Refuse to Put on Profane Garments. They are Scourged, They are Thrown to the Wild Beasts. Saturus Twice is Unhurt. Perpetua and Felicitas are Thrown Down; They are Called Back to the Sanavivarian Gate. Saturus Wounded by a Leopard, Exhorts the Soldier. They Kiss One Another, and are Slain with the Sword.

1. The day of their victory shone forth, and they proceeded from the prison into the amphitheatre, as if to an assembly, joyous and of brilliant countenances; if perchance shrinking, it was with joy, and not with fear. Perpetua followed with placid look, and with step and gait as a matron of Christ, beloved of God; casting down the luster of her eyes from the gaze of all. Moreover, Felicitas, rejoicing that she had safely brought forth, so that she might fight with the wild beasts; from the blood and from the midwife to the gladiator, to wash after childbirth with a second baptism. And when they were brought to the gate, and were constrained to put on the clothing — the men, that of the priests of Saturn, and the women, that of those who were consecrated to Ceres — that noble-minded woman resisted even to the end with constancy. For she said, “We have come thus far of our own accord, for this reason, that our liberty might not be restrained. For this reason we have yielded our minds, that we might not do any such thing as this: we have agreed on this with you.” Injustice acknowledged the justice; the tribune yielded to their being brought as simply as they were. Perpetua sang psalms, already treading under foot the head of the Egyptian; Revocatus, and Saturninus, and Saturus uttered threatenings against the gazing people about this martyrdom. When they came within sight of Hilarianus, by gesture and nod, they began to say to Hilarianus, “Thou judgest us,” say they, “but God will judge thee.” At this the people, exasperated, demanded that they should be tormented with scourges as they passed along the rank of the *venatores*. And they indeed rejoiced that they should have incurred any one of their Lord’s passions.

2. But He who had said, “Ask, and ye shall receive,” gave to them when

they asked, that death which each one had wished for. For when at any time they had been discoursing among themselves about their wish in respect of their martyrdom, Saturninus indeed had professed that he wished that he might be thrown to all the beasts; doubtless that he might wear a more glorious crown. Therefore in the beginning of the exhibition he and Revocatus made trial of the leopard, and moreover upon the scaffold they were harassed by the bear. Satorus, however, held nothing in greater abomination than a bear; but he imagined that he would be put an end to with one bite of a leopard. Therefore, when a wild boar was supplied, it was the huntsman rather who had supplied that boar who was gored by that same beast, and died the day after the shows. Satorus only was drawn out; and when he had been bound on the floor near to a bear, the bear would not come forth from his den. And so Satorus for the second time is recalled unhurt.

3. Moreover, for the young women the devil prepared a very fierce cow, provided especially for that purpose contrary to custom, rivalling their sex also in that of the beasts. And so, stripped and clothed with nets, they were led forth. The populace shuddered as they saw one young woman of delicate frame, and another with breasts still dropping from her recent childbirth. So, being recalled, they are unbound. Perpetua is first led in. She was tossed, and fell on her loins; and when she saw her tunic torn from her side, she drew it over her as a veil for her middle, rather mindful of her modesty than her suffering. Then she was called for again, and bound up her dishevelled hair; for it was not becoming for a martyr to suffer with dishevelled hair, lest she should appear to be mourning in her glory. So she rose up; and when she saw Felicitas crushed, she approached and gave her her hand, and lifted her up. And both of them stood together; and the brutality of the populace being appeased, they were recalled to the Sanavivarian gate. Then Perpetua was received by a certain one who was still a catechumen, Rusticus by name, who kept close to her; and she, as if aroused from sleep, so deeply had she been in the Spirit and in an ecstasy, began to look round her, and to say to the amazement of all, "I cannot tell when we are to be led out to that cow." And when she had heard what had already happened, she did not believe it until she had perceived certain signs of injury in her body and in her dress, and had recognised the catechumen. Afterwards causing that catechumen and the brother to approach, she addressed them, saying, "Stand fast in the faith, and

love one another, all of you, and be not offended at my sufferings.”

4. The same Saturus at the other entrance exhorted the soldier Pudens, saying, “Assuredly here I am, as I have promised and foretold, for up to this moment I have felt no beast. And now believe with your whole heart. Lo, I am going forth to that beast, and I shall be destroyed with one bite of the leopard.” And immediately at the conclusion of the exhibition he was thrown to the leopard; and with one bite of his he was bathed with such a quantity of blood, that the people shouted out to him as he was returning, the testimony of his second baptism, “Saved and washed, saved and washed.” Manifestly he was assuredly saved who had been glorified in such a spectacle. Then to the soldier Pudens he said, “Farewell, and be mindful of my faith; and let not these things disturb, but confirm you.” And at the same time he asked for a little ring from his finger, and returned it to him bathed in his wound, leaving to him an inherited token and the memory of his blood. And then lifeless he is cast down with the rest, to be slaughtered in the usual place. And when the populace called for them into the midst, that as the sword penetrated into their body they might make their eyes partners in the murder, they rose up of their own accord, and transferred themselves whither the people wished; but they first kissed one another, that they might consummate their martyrdom with the kiss of peace. The rest indeed, immoveable and in silence, received the sword-thrust; much more Saturus, who also had first ascended the ladder, and first gave up his spirit, for he also was waiting for Perpetua. But Perpetua, that she might taste some pain, being pierced between the ribs, cried out loudly, and she herself placed the wavering right hand of the youthful gladiator to her throat. Possibly such a woman could not have been slain unless she herself had willed it, because she was feared by the impure spirit.

O most brave and blessed martyrs! O truly called and chosen unto the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ! whom whoever magnifies, and honours, and adores, assuredly ought to read these examples for the edification of the Church, not less than the ancient ones, so that new virtues also may testify that one and the same Holy Spirit is always operating even until now, and God the Father Omnipotent, and His Son Jesus Christ our Lord, whose is the glory and infinite power for ever and ever. Amen.

Elucidations.

(Dinocrates, cap. ii. .)

The avidity with which the Latin controversial writers seize upon this fanciful passage, (which, in fact, is subversive of their whole doctrine about Purgatory, as is the text from the *Maccabees*) makes emphatic the utter absence from the early Fathers of any reference to such a dogma; which, had it existed, must have appeared in every reference to the State of the Dead, and in every account of the discipline of penitents. Arbp. Usher ingeniously turns the tables upon these errorists, by quoting the Prayers for the Dead, which were used in the Early Church, but which, such as they were, not only make no mention of a Purgatory, but refute the dogma, by their uniform limitation of such prayers to the blessed dead, and to their consummation of bliss at the Last day and not before. Such a prayer *seems* to occur in 2 Tim. i. 18. The context (vers. 16–18, and iv. 19) strongly supports this view; Onesiphorus is spoken of as if deceased, apparently. But, as Chrysostom understands it, he was only absent (in Rome) from his household. From i. 17 we should infer that he had left Rome.

A Strain of Jonah the Prophet



Anonymous Translation, 1870

After the living, aye-enduring death
Of Sodom and Gomorrah; after fires
Penal, attested by time-frosted plains
Of ashes; after fruitless apple-growths,
5 Born but to feed the eye; after the death
Of sea and brine, both in like fate involved;
While whatsoe'er is human still retains
In change corporeal its penal badge:
A city-Nineveh-by stepping o'er
10 The path of justice and of equity,
On her own head had well-nigh shaken down
More fires of rain supernal. For what dread
Dwells in a mind subverted? Commonly
Tokens of penal visitations prove
15 All vain where error holds possession. Still,
Kindly and patient of our waywardness,
And slow to punish, the Almighty Lord
Will launch no shaft of wrath, unless He first
Admonish and knock oft at hardened hearts,
20 Rousing with mind august presaging seers.
For to the merits of the Ninevites
The Lord had bidden Jonah to foretell
Destruction; but he, conscious that He spare;
The subject, and remits to suppliants
25 The dues of penalty, and is to good
Ever inclinable, was loth to face
That errand; lest he sing his seerly strain
In vain, and peaceful issue of his threats
Ensnue. His counsel presently is flight:

30 (If, howsoe'er, there is at all the power
God to avoid, and shun the Lord's right hand
'Neath whom the whole orb trembles and is held
In check: but is there reason in the act
Which in his saintly heart the prophet dares?)
35 On the beach-lip, over against the shores
Of the Cilicians, is a city poised,
Far-famed for trusty port-Joppa her name.
Thence therefore Jonah speeding in a barque
Seeks Tarsus, through the signal providence
40 Of the same God; nor marvel is's, I ween,
If, fleeing from the Lord upon the lands,
He found Him in the waves. For suddenly
A little cloud had stained the lower air
With fleecy wrack sulphureous, itself
45 By the wind's seed excited: by degrees,
Bearing a brood globose, it with the sun
Cohered, and with a train caliginous
Shut in the cheated day. The main becomes
The mirror of the sky; the waves are dyed so
50 With black encirclement; the upper air
Down rushes into darkness, and the sea
Uprises; nought of middle space is left;
While the clouds touch the waves, and the waves all
Are mingled by the bluster of the winds
55 In whirling eddy.'Gainst the renegade,
'Gainst Jonah, diverse frenzy joined to rave,
While one sole barque did all the struggle breed
'Twixt sky and surge. From this side and from that
Pounded she reels; 'neath each wave-breaking blow
60 The forest of her tackling trembles all;
As, underneath, her spinal length of keel,
Staggered by shock on shock, all palpitates;
And, from on high, her labouring mass of yard
Creaks shuddering; and the tree-like mast itself

65 Bends to the gale, misdoubting to be riven.
Meantime the rising clamour of the crew
Tries every chance for barque's and dear life's sake:
To pass from hand to hand the tardy coils
To tighten the girth's noose: straitly to bind
70 The tiller's struggles; or, with breast opposed,
T' impel reluctant curves. Part, turn by turn,
With foremost haste outbale the reeking well
Of inward sea. The wares and cargo all
They then cast headlong, and with losses seek
75 Their perils to subdue. At every crash
Of the wild deep rise piteous cries; and out
They stretch their hands to majesties of gods,
Which gods are none; whom might of sea and sky
Fears not, nor yet the less from off their poops
80 With angry eddy sweeping sinks them down.
Unconscious of all this, the guilty one
'Neath the poop's hollow arch was making sleep
Re-echo stertorous with nostril wide
Inflated: whom, so soon as he who guides
85 The functions of the wave-dividing prow
Saw him sleep-bound in placid peace, and proud
In his repose, he, standing o'er him, shook,
And said, "Why sing's", with vocal nostril, dreams,
In such a crisis? In so wild a whirl,
90 Why keep'st thou only harbour? Lo! the wave
Whelms us, and our one hope is in the gods.
Thou also, whosoever is thy god,
Make vows, and, pouring prayers on bended knee,
Win o'er thy country's Sovran!" Then they vote
95 To learn by lot who is the culprit, who
The cause of storm; nor does the lot belie
Jonah: whom then they ask, and ask again,
"Who? whence? who in the world? from what abode,
What people, hail'st thou?" He avows himself

100 A servant, and an over-timid one,
Of God, who raised aloft the sky, who based
The earth, who corporally fused the whole:
A renegade from Him he owns himself,
And tells the reason. Rigid turned they all
105 With dread."What grudge, then, ow'st thou *us*? What now
Will follow? By what deed shall we appease
The main?" For more and far more swelling grew
The savage surges. Then the seer begins
Words prompted by the Spirit of the Lord:
110 "Lo! I your tempest am; I am the sum
Of the world's madness: 'tis in me," he says,
"That the sea rises, and the upper air
Down rushes; land in me is far, death near,
And hope in God is none! Come, headlong hurl
115 Your cause of bane: lighten your ship, and cast
This single mighty burden to the main,
A willing prey!" But they-all vainly!-strive
Homeward to turn their course; for helm refused
To suffer turning, and the yard's stiff poise
120 Willed not to change. At last unto the Lord
They cry: "For one soul's sake give us not o'er
Unto death's maw, nor let us be besprent
With righteous blood, if thus Thine own right hand
Leadeth." And from the eddy's depth a whale
125 Outrising on the spot, scaly with shells,
Unravelling his body's train, 'gan urge
More near the waves, shocking the gleaming brine,
Seizing-at God's command-the prey; which, rolled
From the poop's summit prone, with slimy jaws
130 He sucked; and into his long belly sped
The living feast; and swallowed, with the man,
The rage of sky and main. The billowy waste
Grows level, and the ether's gloom dissolves;
The waves on this side, and the blasts on that,

135 Are to their friendly mood restored; and, where
The placid keel marks out a path secure,
White traces in the emerald furrow bloom.
The sailor then does to the reverend Lord
Of death make grateful offering of his fear;
140 Then enters friendly ports. Jonah the seer
The while is voyaging, in other craft
Embarked, and cleaving 'neath the lowest waves
A wave: his sails the intestines of the fish,
Inspired with breath ferine; himself, shut in;
145 By waters, yet untouched; in the sea's heart
And yet beyond its reach; 'mid wrecks of fleets
Half-eaten, and men's carcasses dissolved
In putrid disintegrity: in life
Learning the process of his death; but still-
150 To be a sign hereafter of the Lord -
A witness was he (in his very self),
Not of destruction, but of death's repulse.

A Strain of Sodom



Anonymous Translation, 1870

Already had Almighty God wiped off
By vengeful flood (with waters all conjoined
Which heaven discharged on earth and the sea's plain
Outspued) the times of the primeval age:
5 Had pledged Himself, while nether air should bring
The winters in their course, ne'er to decree,
By *liquid* ruin, retribution's due;
And had assigned, to curb the rains, the bow
Of many hues, sealing the clouds with band
10 Of purple and of green, Iris its name,
The rain-clouds' proper baldric.
But alike
With mankind's second race impiety
Revives, and a new age of ill once more
Shoots forth; allotted now no more to *showers*
15 For ruin, but to *fires*: thus did the land
Of Sodom earn to be by glowing dews
Upburnt, and typically thus portend
The future end. There wild voluptuousness
(Modesty's foe) stood in the room of law;
20 Which prescient guest would shun, and sooner choose
At Scythian or Busirian altar's foot
'Mid sacred rites to die, and, slaughtered, pour
His blood to Bebryx, or to satiate
Libyan palaestras, or assume new forms;
25 By virtue of Circaean cups, than lose
His outraged sex in Sodom. At heaven's gate
There knocked for vengeance marriages commit
With equal incest common 'mong a race

By nature rebels 'gainst themselves; and hurts

30 Done to man's name and person equally.

But God, forewatching all things, at fix'd time

Doth judge the unjust; with patience tarrying

The hour when crime's ripe age-not any force

Of wrath impetuous-shall have circumscribed

35 The space for waiting. Now at length the day

Of vengeance was at hand. Sent from the host

Angelical, two, youths in form, who both

Were ministering spirits, carrying

The Lord's divine commissions, come beneath

40 The walls of Sodom. There was dwelling Lot

A transplantation from a pious stock;

Wise, and a practicer of righteousness,

He was the only one to think on God:

As oft a fruitful tree is wont to lurk,

45 Guest-like, in forests wild. He, sitting then

Before the gate (for the celestials scarce

Had reached the ramparts), though he knew not them

Divine, accosts them unsolicited,

Invites, and with ancestral honour greets;

50 And offers them, preparing to abide

Abroad, a hospice. By repeated prayers

He wins them; and then ranges studiously

The sacred pledges on his board, and quits

His friends with courteous offices. The night

55 Had brought repose: alternate dawn had chased

The night, and Sodom with her shameful law

Makes uproar at the doors. Lot, suppliant wise,

Withstands: "Young men, let not your new fed lust

Enkindle you to violate this youth!

60 Whither is passion's seed inviting you?

To what vain end your lust? For such an end

No creatures wed: not such as haunt the fens;

Not stall-fed cattle; not the gaping brood

Subaqueous; nor they which, modulant

65 On pinions, hang suspended near the clouds;
Nor they which with forth-stretched body creep
Over earth's face. To conjugal delight

Each kind its kind doth owe: but female still
To all is wife; nor is there one that has

70 A mother save a female one. Yet now,
If youthful vigour holds it right to waste
The flower of modesty, I have within

Two daughters of a nuptial age, in whom
Virginity is swelling in its bloom,

75 Already ripe for harvest-a desire
Worthy of men-which let your pleasure reap!
Myself their sire, I yield them; and will pay

For my guests' sake, the forfeit of my grief!"
Answered the mob insane: "And who art thou?

80 And what? and whence? to lord it over us,
And to expound us laws? Shall foreigner
Rule Sodom, and hurl threats? Now, then, thyself
For daughters and for guests shalt sate our greed!
One shall suffice for all!" So said, so done:

85 The frantic mob delays not. As, whene'er
A turbid torrent rolls with wintry tide,
And rushes at one speed through countless streams
Of rivers, if, just where it forks, some tree
Meets the swift waves (not long to stand, save while

90 By her root's force she shall avail to oppose
Her tufty obstacles), when gradually
Her hold upon the undermined soil
Is failing, with her bared stem she hangs,
And, with uncertain heavings to and fro,

95 Defers her certain fall; not otherwise
Lot in the mid-whirl of the dizzy mob
Kept nodding, now almost o'ercome. But power
Divine brings succour: the angelic youths,

Snatching him from the threshold, to his roof
100 Restore him; but upon the spot they mulct
Of sight the mob insane in open day,-
Fit augury of coming penalties!
Then they unlock the just decrees of God:
That penalty condign from heaven will fall
105 On Sodom; that himself had merited
Safety upon the count of righteousness.
“Gird thee, then, up to hasten hence thy flight,
And with thee to lead oat what family
Thou hast: already we are bringing on
110 Destruction o’er the city.” Lot with speed
Speaks to his sons-in-law; but their hard heart
Scorned to believe the warning, and at fear
Laughed. At what time the light attempts to climb
The darkness, and heaven’s face wears double hue
115 From night and day, the youthful visitants
Were instant to outlead from Sodoma
The race Chaldaean, and the righteous house
Consign to safety: “Ho! come, Lot! arise,
And take thy yokefellow and daughters twain,
120 And hence, beyond the boundaries be gone,
Preventing Sodom’s penalties!” And eke
With friendly hands they lead them trembling forth,
And then their final mandates give: “Save, Lot,
Thy life, lest thou perchance should will to turn
125 Thy retroverted gaze behind, or stay
The step once taken: to the mountain speed!”
Lot feared to creep the heights with tardy step,
Lest the celestial wrath-fires should o’ertake
And overwhelm him: therefore he essays to crave
130 Some other ports; a city small, to wit,
Which opposite he had espied.” Hereto,”
He said, “I speed my flight: scarce with its walls
’Tis visible; nor is it far, nor great.”

They, favouring his prayer, safety assured
135 To him and to the city; whence the spot
Is known in speech barbaric by the name
Segor. Lot enters Segor while the sun
Is rising, the last sun, which glowing bears
To Sodom conflagration; for his rays
140 He had armed all with fire: beneath him spreads
An emulous gloom, which seeks to intercept
The light; and clouds combine to interweave
Their smoky globes with the confused sky:
Down pours a novel shower: the ether seethe
145 With sulphur mixt with blazing flames: the air
Crackles with liquid heats exust. From hence
The fable has an echo of the truth
Amid its false, that the sun's progeny
Would drive his father's team; but nought availed
150 The giddy boy to curb the haughty steeds
Of fire: so blazed our orb: then lightning reft
The lawless charioteer, and bitter plaint
Transformed his sisters. Let Eridanus
See to it, if one poplar on his banks
155 Whitens, or any bird dons plumage there
Whose note old age makes mellow!
Here they mourn
O'er miracles of metamorphosis
Of other sort. For, partner of Lot's flight,
His wife (ah me, for woman! even then
160 Intolerant of law!) alone turned back
At the unearthly murmurs of the sky)
Her daring eyes, but bootlessly: not doomed
To utter what she saw! and then and there
Changed into brittle salt, herself her tomb
165 She stood, herself an image of herself,
Keeping an incorporeal form: and still
In her unsheltered station 'neath the heaven

Dures she, by rains unmelted, by decay
And winds unwasted; nay, if some strange hand
170 Deface her form, forthwith from her own store
Her wounds she doth repair. Still is she said
To live, and, 'mid her corporal change, discharge
With wonted blood her sex's monthly dues.
Gone are the men of Sodom; gone the glare
175 Of their unhallowed ramparts; all the house
Inhospitable, with its lords, is gone:
The champaign is one pyre; here embers rough
And black, here ash-heaps with hoar mould, mark out
The conflagration's course: evanished
180 Is all that old fertility which Lot,
Seeing outspread before him, ...
No ploughman spends his fruitless toil on glebes
Pitchy with soot: or if some acres there,
But half consumed, still strive to emulate
185 Autumn's glad wealth, pears, peaches, and all fruits
Promise themselves full easely to the eye
In fairest bloom, until the plucker's hand
Is on them: then forthwith the seeming fruit
Crumbles to dust 'neath the bewraying touch,
190 And turns to embers vain.
Thus, therefore (sky
And earth entombed alike), not e'en the sea
Lives there: the quiet of that quiet sea
Is death! -a sea which no wave animates
Through its anhealant volumes; which beneath
195 Its native Auster sighs not anywhere;
Which cannot from its depths one scaly race,
Or with smooth skin or cork-like fence encased,
Produce, or curled shell in single valve
Or double fold enclosed. Bitumen there
200 (The sooty reek of sea exust) alone,
With its own crop, a spurious harvest yields;

Which 'neath the stagnant surface vivid heat
From seething mass of sulphur and of brine
Maturing tempers, making earth cohere
205 Into a pitch marine. At season due
The heated water's fatty ooze is borne
Up to the surface; and with foamy flakes
Over the level top a tawny skin
Is woven. They whose function is to catch
210 That ware put to, tilting their smooth skin. down
With balance of their sides, to teach the film,
Once o'er the gunnel, to float in: for, lo!
Raising itself spontaneous, it will swim
Up to the edge of the unmoving craft;
215 And will, when pressed, for guerdon large, ensure
Immunity from the defiling touch
Of weft which female monthly efflux clothes.
Behold another portent notable,
Fruit of that sea's disaster: all things cast
220 Therein do swim: gone is its native power
For sinking bodies: if, in fine, you launch
A torch's lightsome hull (where spirit serves
For fire) therein, the apex of the flame
Will act as sail; put out the flame, and 'neath
225 The waters will the light's wrecks ruin go!
Such Sodom's and Gomorrah's penalties,
For ages sealed as signs before the eyes
Of unjust nations, whose obdurate hearts
God's fear have quite forsaken, will them teach
230 To reverence heaven-sanctioned rights, and lift
Their gaze unto one only Lord of all.

Genesis



Anonymous Translation, 1870

In the beginning did the Lord create
The heaven and earth: for formless was the land,
And hidden by the wave, and God immense
O'er the vast watery plains was hovering,
5 While chaos and black darkness shrouded all:
Which darkness, when God bade be from the pole
Disjoined, He speaks, "Let there be light; "and all
In the clear world was bright. Then, when the Lord
The first day's work had finished, He formed
10 Heaven's axis white with nascent clouds: the deep
Immense receives its wandering shores, and draws
The rivers manifold with mighty trains.
The third dun light unveiled earth's face, and soon
(Its name assigned) the dry land's story 'gins:
15 Together on the windy champaigns rise
The flowery seeds, and simultaneously
Fruit-bearing boughs put forth procurvant arms.
The fourth day, with the sun's lamp generates
The moon, and moulds the stars with tremulous light
20 Radiant: these elements it gave as signs
To th' underlying world, to teach the times
Which, through their rise and setting, were to change.
Then, on the fifth, the liquid streams receive
Their fish, and birds poise in the lower air
25 Their pinions many-hued. The sixth. again,
Supples the ice-cold snakes into their coils,
And over the whole fields diffuses herds
Of quadrupeds; and mandate gave that all
Should grow with multiplying seed, and roam

30 And feed in earth's immensity. All these
When power divine by mere command arranged,
Observing that things mundane still would lack
A ruler, thus It speaks: "With utmost care,
Assimilated to our own aspect,
35 Make We a man to reign in the whole orb."
And him, although He with a single word
Could have compounded, yet Himself did deign
To shape him with His sacred own right hand,
Inspiring his dull breast from breast divine.
40 Whom when He saw formed in a likeness such
As is His own, He measures how he broods
Alone on gnawing cares. Straight way his eyes
With sleep irriguous He doth perfuse;
That from his left rib woman softlier
45 May formed be, and that by mixture twin
His substance may add firmness to her limbs.
To her the name of "Life"-which is called "Eve" -
Is given: wherefore sons, as custom is,
Their parents leave, and, with a settled home,
50 Cleave to their wives.
The seventh came, when God
At His works' end did rest, decreeing it
Sacred unto the coming ages' joys.
Straightway-the crowds of living things deployed
Before him-Adam's cunning skill (the gift
55 Of the good Lord) gives severally to all
The name which still is permanent. Himself,
And, joined with him, his Eve, God deigns address
"Grow, for the times to come, with manifold
Increase, that with your seed the pole and earth
60 Be filled; and, as Mine heirs, the varied fruits
Pluck ye, which groves and campaigns render you,
From their rich turf." Thus after He discoursed,
In gladsome court a paradise is strewn,

And looks towards the rays of th' early sun.

65 These joys among, a tree with deadly fruits,
Breeding, conjoined, the taste of life and death,
Arises. In the midst of the demesne
Flows with pure tide a stream, which irrigates
Fair offsprings from its liquid waves, and cuts
70 Quadri-fied paths from out its bubbling fount
Here wealthy Phison, with auriferous waves,
Swells, and with hoarse tide wears conspicuous gems,
This prasinus, that glowing carbuncle,
By name; and raves, transparent in its shoals,

75 The margin of the land of Havilath.
Next Gihon, gliding by the Aethiops,
Enriches them. The Tigris is the third,
Adjoined to fair Euphrates, furrowing
Disjunctively with rapid flood the land
80 Of Asshur. Adam, with his faithful wife,
Placed here as guard and workman, is informed
By such the Thunderer's speech: "Tremble ye not
To pluck together the permitted fruits
Which, with its leafy bough, the unshorn grove
85 Hath furnished; anxious only lest perchance
Ye cull the hurtful apple, which is green
With a twin juice for functions several."

And, no less blind meantime than Night herself,
Deep night 'gan hold them, nor had e'en a robe
90 Covered their new-formed limbs.

Amid these haunts,
And on mild berries reared, a foamy snake,
Surpassing living things in sense astute,
Was creeping silently with chilly coils.
He, brooding over envious lies instinct
95 With gnawing sense, tempts the soft heart beneath
The woman's breast: "Tell me, why shouldst thou dread
The apple's happy seeds? Why, hath not

All known fruits hallowed? Whence if thou be prompt
To cull the honeyed fruits, the golden world
100 Will on its starry pole return.”

But she Refuses, and the boughs forbidden fears
To touch. But yet her breast ‘gins be o’er come
With sense infirm. Straightway, as she at length
With snowy tooth the dainty morsels bit,
105 Stained with no cloud the sky serene up-lit!
Then taste, instilling lure in honeyed jaws,
To her yet uninitiated lord

Constrained her to present the gift; which he
No sooner took, then-night effaced!:-their eyes
110 Shone out serene in the resplendent world.
When, then, they each their body bare espied,
And when their shameful parts they see, with leaves
Of fig they shadow them. By chance, beneath
The sun’s now setting light, they recognise
115 The sound of the Lord’s voice, and, trembling, haste
To bypaths. Then the Lord of heaven accosts
The mournful Adam: “Say, where now thou art.”
Who suppliant thus answers: “Thine address,
O Lord, O Mighty One, I tremble at,
120 Beneath my fearful heart; and, being bare,
I faint with chilly dread.” Then said the
Lord:

“Who hath the hurtful fruits, then, given you?”
“This woman, while she tells me how her eyes
With brilliant day promptly perfused were,
125 And on her dawned the liquid sky serene,
And heaven’s sun and stars, o’ergave them me!”
Forthwith God’s anger frights perturbed Eve,
While the Most High inquires the authorship
Of the forbidden act. Hereon she opes

130 Her tale: “The speaking serpent’s suasive words
I harboured, while the guile and bland request

Misled me: for, with venoms viperous
His words inweaving, stories told he me
Of those delights which should all fruits excel.”
135 Straightway the Omnipotent the dragon’s deeds
Condemns, and bids him be to all a sight
Unsightly, monstrous; bids him presently
With grovelling beast to crawl; and then to bite
And chew the soil; while war should to all time
140 ‘Twixt human senses and his tottering self
Be waged, that he might creep, crestfallen, prone,
Behind the legs of men, -that while he glides
Close on their heels they may down-trample him.
The woman, sadly caught by guileful words,
145 Is bidden yield her fruit with struggle hard,
And bear her husband’s yoke with patient zeal.
“But thou, to whom the sentence of the wife
(Who, vanquished, to the dragon pitiless
Yielded) seemed true, shalt through long times deplore
150 Thy labour sad; for thou shalt see, instead
Of wheaten harvest’s seed, the thistle rise,
And the thorn plenteously with pointed spines:
So that, with weary heart and mournful breast,
Full many sighs shall furnish anxious food;
155 Till, in the setting hour of coming death,
To level earth, whence thou thy body draw’st,
Thou be restored.” This done, the Lord bestows
Upon the trembling pair a tedious life;
And from the sacred gardens far removes
160 Them downcast, and locates them opposite,
And from the threshold bars them by mid fire,
Wherein from out the swift heat is evolved
A cherubim, while fierce the hot point glows,
And rolls enfolding flames. And lest their limbs
165 With sluggish cold should be benumbed, the Lord
Hides flayed from cattle’s flesh together sews,

With vestures warm their bare limbs covering.
When, therefore, Adam-now believing-felt
(By wedlock taught) his manhood, he confers
170 On his loved wife the mother's name; and, made
Successively by scions twain a sire,
Gives names to stocks diverse: Cam the first
Hath for his name, to whom is Abel joined.
The latter's care tended the harmless sheep;
175 The other turned the earth with curved plough.
These, when in course of time they brought their gifts
To Him who thunders, offered-as their sense
Prompted them-fruits unlike. The elder one
Offered the first-fruits of the fertile glebes:
180 The other pays his vows with gentle lamb,
Bearing in hand the entrails pure, and fat
Snow-white; and to the Lord, who pious vows
Beholds, is instantly acceptable.
Wherefore with anger cold did Cain glow;
185 With whom God deigns to talk, and thus begins:
"Tell Me, if thou live rightly, and discern
Things hurtful, couldst thou not then pass shine age
Pure from contracted guilt? Cease to essay
With gnawing sense thy brother's ruin, who,
190 Subject to thee as lord, his neck shall yield."
Not e'en thus softened, he unto the fields
Conducts his brother; whom when overta'en
In lonely mead he saw, with his twin palms
Bruising his pious throat, he crushed life out.
195 Which deed the Lord espying from high heaven,
Straitly demands "where Abel is on earth?"
He says "he will not as his brother's guard
Be set." Then God outspeaks to him again:
"Doth not the sound of his blood's voice, sent up
200 To Me, ascend unto heaven's lofty pole?
Learn, therefore, for so great a crime what doom

Shall wait thee. Earth, which with thy kinsman's blood
Hath reeked but now, shall to thy hateful hand
Refuse to render back the cursed seeds
205 Entrusted her; nor shall, if set with herbs,
Produce her fruit: that, torpid, thou shalt dash
Thy limbs against each other with much fear.”....

A Strain of the Judgment of the Lord



Anonymous Translation, 1870

Who will for me in fitting strain adapt
Field-haunting muses? and with flowers will grace
The spring-tide's rosy gales? And who will give
The summer harvest's heavy stalks mature?
5 And to the autumn's vines their swollen grapes?
Or who in winter's honour will commend
The olives, ever-peaceful? and will ope
Waters renewed, even at their fountainheads?
And cut from waving grass the leafy flowers?
10 Forthwith the breezes of celestial light
I will attune. Now be it granted me
To meet the lightsome muses! to disclose
The secret rivers on the fluvial top
Of Helicon, and gladsome woods that grow
15 'Neath other star. And simultaneously
I will attune in song the eternal flames;
Whence the sea fluctuates with wave immense:
What power moves the solid lands to quake;
And whence the golden light first shot its rays
20 On the new world; or who from gladsome clay
Could man have moulded; whence in empty world
Our race could have upgrown; and what the greed
Of living which each people so inspires;
What things for ill created are; or what
25 Death's propagation; whence have rosy wreaths
Sweet smell and ruddy hue; what makes the vine
Ferment in gladsome grapes away; and makes
Full granaries by fruit of slender stalks distended be; or makes the tree grow
ripe

30 'Mid ice, with olives black; who gives to seeds
Their increments of vigour various;
And with her young's soft shadowings protects
The mother. Good it is all things to know
Which wondrous are in nature, that it may
35 Be granted us to recognise through all
The true Lord, who light, seas, sky, earth prepared,
And decked with varied star the new-made world;
And first bade beasts and birds to issue forth;
And gave the ocean's waters to be stocked
40 With fish; and gathered in a mass the sands,
With living creatures fertilized. Such strains
With stately muses will I spin, and waves
Healthful will from their fountainheads disclose:
And may this strain of mine the gladsome shower
45 Catch, which from placid clouds doth come, and flows
Deeply and all unsought into men's souls,
And guide it into our new-fumed lands
In copious rills. Now come: if any one
Still ignorant of God, and knowing naught
50 Of life to come, would fain attain to touch
The care-effacing living nymph, and through
The swift waves' virtue his lost life repair,
And'scape the penalties of flame eterne,
And rather win the guerdons of the life
55 To come, let such remember God is One,
Alone the object of our prayers; who 'neath
His threshold hath the whole world poised; Himself
Eternally abiding, and to be
Alway for aye; holding the ages all;
60 Alone, before all ages; unbegotten,
Limitless God; who holds alone His seat
Supernal; supereminent alone
Above high heavens; omnipotent alone;
Whom all things do obey; who for Himself

65 Formed, when it pleased Him, man for aye; and gave
Him to be pastor of beasts tame, and lord
Of wild; who by a word could stretch forth heaven;
And with a word could solid earth suspend;
And quicker than word had the seas wave
70 Disjoined; and man's dear form with His own hands
Did love to mould; and furthermore did will
His own fair likeness to exist in him;
And by His Spirit on his countenance
The breath of life did breathe. Unmindful he
75 Of God, such guilt rashly t' incur I Beyond
The warning's range he was not ought to touch.
One fruit illicit, whence he was to know
Forthwith how to discriminate alike
Evil and equity, God him forbade
80 To touch. What functions of the world did God
Permit to man, and sealed the sweet sweet pledge
Of His own love! and jurisdiction gave
O'er birds, and granted him both deep and soil
To tame, and mandates useful did impart
85 Of dear salvation!'Neath his sway He gave
The lands, the souls of flying things, the race
Feathered, and every race, or tame or wild,
Of beasts, and the sea's race, and monsterforms
Shapeless of swimming things. But since so soon
90 The primal man by primal crime transgressed
The law, and left the mandates of the Lord
(Led by a wife who counselled all the ills),
By death he 'gan to perish. Woman 'twas
Who sin's first ill committed, and (the law
95 Transgressed) deceived her husband. Eve, induced
By guile, the thresholds oped to death, and proved
To her own self, with her whole race as well,
A procreatrix of funereal woes.
Hence unanticipated wickedness,

100 Hence death, like seed, for aye, is scattered. Then
More frequent grew atrocious deed; and toil
More savage set the corrupt orb astir:
(This lure the crafty serpent spread, inspired
By envy's self:) then peoples more invent
105 Practices of ill deeds; and by ill deeds
Gave birth to seeds of wickedness.

And so

The only Lord. whose is the power supreme.
Who o'er the heights the summits holds of heaven
Supreme, and in exalted regions dwells

110 In lofty light for ages, mindful too
Of present time, and of futurity
Prescient beforehand, keeps the progeny
Of ill-desert, and all the souls which move
By reason's force much-erring manf-nor less

115 Their tardy bodies governs He-against
The age decreed, so soon as, stretched in death,
Men lay aside their ponderous limbs, and light
As air, shall go, their earthly bonds undone,
And take in diverse parts their proper spheres

120 (But some He bids be forthwith by glad gales
Recalled to life, and be in secret kept
To wait the decreed law's awards, until
Their bodies with resuscitated limbs
Revive.) Then shall men 'gin to weigh the awards

125 Of their first life, and on their crime and faults
To think, and keep them for their penalties
Which will be far from death; and mindful grow
Of pious duties, by God's judgments taught;
To wait expectant for their penalty

130 And their descendants', fruit of their own crime;
Or else to live wholly the life of sheep,
Without a name; and in God's ear, now deaf,
Pour unavailing weeping. Shall not God

Almighty, 'neath whose law are all things ruled,

135 Be able after death life to restore?

Or is there ought which the creation's Lord

Unable seems to do? If, darkness chased,

He could outstretch the light, and could compound

All the world's mass by a word suddenly,

140 And raise by potent voice all things from *nought*,

Why out of *somewhat* could He not compound

The well-known shape which erst had been, which He

Had moulded formerly; and bid the form

Arise assimilated to Himself

145 Again? Since God's are all things, earth the more

Gives Him all back; for she will, when He bids,

Unweave whate'er she woven had before.

If one, perhaps, laid on sepulchral pyre,

The flame consumed; or one in its blind waves

150 The ocean have dismembered; if of one

The entrails have, in hunger, satisfied

The fishes; or on any's limbs wild beasts

Have fastened cruel death; or any's blood,

His body reft by birds, unhid have lain:

155 Yet shall they not wrest from the mighty Lord

His latest dues. Need is that men appear

Quickened from death 'fore God, and at His bar

Stand in their shapes resumed. Thus arid seeds

Are drops into the vacant lands, and deep

160 In the fixt furrows die and rot: and hence

Is not their surface animated soon

With stalks repaired? and do they not grow strong

And yellow with the living grains? and, rich

With various usury, new harvests rise

165 In mass? The stars all set, and, born again,

Renew their sheen; and day dies with its light

Lost in dense night; and now night wanes herself

As light unveils creation presently;

And now another and another day

170 Rises from its own stars; and the sun sets,

Bright as it is with splendour-bearing light;

Light perishes when by the coming eve

The world is shaded; and the phoenix lives

By her own soot renewed, and presently

175 Rises, again a bird, O wondrous sight!

After her burnings! The bare tree in time

Shoots with her leaves; and once more are her boughs

Curved by the germen of the fruits. While then

The world throughout is trembling at God's voice,

180 And deeply moved are the high air's powers,

Then comes a crash unwonted, then ensue

Heaven's mightiest murmurs, on the approach of God,

The whole world's Judge! His countless ministers

Forthwith conjoin their rushing march, and God

185 With majesty supernal fence around.

Angelic bands will from the heaven descend

To earth; all, God's host, whose is faculty

Divine; in form and visage spirits all

Of virtue: in them fiery vigour is;

190 Rutilant are their bodies; heaven's might

Divine about them flashes; the whole orb

Hence murmurs; and earth, trembling to her depths

(Or whatsoe'er her bulk is), echoes back

The roar, parturient of men, whom she,

195 Being bidden, will with grief upyield. All stand

In wonderment. At last disturbed are

The clouds, and the stars move and quake from height

Of sudden power. When thus God comes, with voice

Of potent sound, at once throughout all realms

200 The sepulchres are burst, and every ground

Outpours bones from wide chasms, and opening sand

Outbelches living peoples; to the hair

The members cleave; the bones inwoven are

With marrow; the entwined sinews rule

205 The breathing bodies; and the veins 'gin throb

With simultaneously infused blood:

And, from their caves dismissed, to open day

Souls are restored, and seek to find again

Each its own organs, as at their own place

210 They rise. O wondrous faith! Hence every age

Shoots forth; forth shoots from ancient dust the host

Of dead. Regaining light, there rise again

Mothers, and sires, and high-soured youths, and boys,

And maids unwedded; and deceased old men

215 Stand by with living souls; and with the cries

Of babes the groaning orb resounds. Then tribes

Various from their lowest seats will come:

Bands of the Easterns; those which earth's extreme

Sees; those which dwell in the downsloping clime

220 Of the mid-world, and hold the frosty star's

Riphaean citadels. Every colonist

Of every land stands frightened here: the boor;

The son of Atreus with his diadem

Of royalty put off; the rich man mixt

225 Coequally in line with pauper peers.

Deep tremor everywhere: then groans the orb

With prayers; and peoples stretching forth their hands

Grow stupid with the din! The Lord Himself

Seated, is bright with light sublime; and fire

230 Potent in all the Virtues flashing shines.

And on His high-raised throne the Heavenly One

Coruscates from His seat; with martyrs hemmed

(A dazzling troop of men), and by His seers

Elect accompanied (whose bodies bright

235 Effulgent are with snowy stoles), He towers

Above them. And now priests in lustrous robes

Attend, who wear upon their marked front

Wreaths golden-red; and all submissive kneel

And reverently adore. The cry of all

240 Is one: "O Holy, Holy Holy, God!"

To these the Lord will mandate give, to range

The people in twin lines; and orders them

To set apart by number the depraved;

While such as have His biddings followed

245 With placid words He calls, and bids them, clad

With vigour-death quite conquered-ever dwell

Amid light's inextinguishable airs,

Stroll through the ancients' ever blooming realm,

Through promised wealth, through ever sunny swards,

250 And in bright body spend perpetual life.

A place there is, beloved of the Lord,

In Eastern coasts, where light is bright and clear,

And healthier blows the breeze; day is eterne,

Time changeless: 'tis a region set apart

255 By God, most rich in plains, and passing blest,

In the meridian of His cloudless seat.

There gladsome the air, and is in light

Ever to be; soft is the wind, and breathes

Life-giving blasts; earth, fruitful with a soil

260 Luxuriant, bears all things; in the meads

Flowers shed their fragrance; and upon the plains

The purple-not in envy-mingles all

With golden-ruddy light. One gladsome flower,

With its own lustre clad, another clothes;

265 And here with many a seed the dewy fields

Are dappled, and the snowy tilths are crisped

With rosy flowers. No region happier

Is known in other spots; none which in look

Is fairer, or in honour more excels.

270 Never in flowery gardens are there born

Such lilies, nor do such upon our plains

Outbloom; nor does the rose so blush, what time,

New-born, 'tis opened by the breeze; nor is

The purple with such hue by Tyrian dye
275 Imbued. With coloured pebbles beauteous gleams
The gem: here shines the prasinus; there glows
The carbuncle; and giant-emerald
Is green with grassy light. Here too are born
The cinnamons, with odoriferous twigs;
280 And with dense leaf gladsome amomum Joins
Its fragrance. Here, a native, lies the gold
Of radiant sheen; and lofty groves reach heaven
In blooming time, and germens fruitfullest
Burden the living boughs. No glades like these
285 Hath Ind herself forth-stretcht; no tops so dense
Rears on her mount the pine; nor with a shade
So lofty-leaved is her cypress crisped;
Nor better in its season blooms her bough
In spring-tide. Here black firs on lofty peak
290 Bloom; and the only woods that know no hail
Are green eternally: no foliage falls;
At no time fails the flower. There, too, there blooms
A flower as red as Tarsine purple is:
A rose, I ween, it is (red hue it has,
295 An odour keen); such aspect on its leaves
It wears, such odour breathes. A tree it stands,
With a new flower, fairest in fruits; a crop
Life-giving, dense, its happy strength does yield.
Rich honies with green cane their fragrance Join,
300 And milk flows potable in runners full;
And with whate'er that sacred earth is green,
It all breathes life; and there Crete's healing gift
Is sweetly redolent. tide,
Flows in the placid plains a fount: four floods
305 Thence water parted lands. The garden robed
With flowers, I wot, keeps ever spring; no cold
Of wintry star varies the breeze; and earth,
After her birth-throes, with a kindlier blast

Repairs. Night there is none; the stars maintain
310 Their darkness; angers, envies, and dire greed
Are absent; and out-shut is fear, and cares
Driven from the threshold. Here the Evil One
Is homeless; he is into worthy courts
Out-gone, nor is't e'er granted him to touch
315 The glades forbidden. But here ancient faith
Rests in elect abode; and life here treads,
Joying in an eternal covenant;
And health without a care is gladsome here
In placid tilths, ever to live and be
320 Ever in light.
Here whosoe'er hath lived
Pious, and cultivant of equity
And goodness; who hath feared the thundering God
With mind sincere; with sacred duteousness
Tended his parents; and his other life
325 Spent ever crimeless; or who hath consoled
With faithful help a friend in indigence;
Succoured the over-toiling needy one,
As orphans' patron, and the poor man's aid;
Rescued the innocent, and succoured them
330 When press with accusation; hath to guests
His ample table's pledges given; hath done
All things divinely; pious offices
Enjoined; done hurt to none; ne'er coveted
Another's: such as these, exulting all
335 In divine praises, and themselves at once
Exhorting, raise their voices to the stars;
Thanksgivings to the Lord in joyous wise
They psalming celebrate; and they shall go
Their harmless way with comrade messengers.
340 When ended hath the Lord these happy gifts,
And likewise sent away to realms eterne
The just, then comes a pitiable crowd

Wailing its crimes; with parching tears it pours
All groans effusely, and attests in acts
345 With frequent ululations. At the sight
Of flames, their merit's due, and stagnant pools
Of fire, wrath's weapons, they 'gin tremble all.
Them an angelic host, upsnatching them,
Forbids to pray, forbids to pour their cries
350 (Too late!) with clamour loud: pardon withheld,
Into the lowest bottom they are hurled!
O miserable men! how oft to you
Hath Majesty divine made itself known!
The sounds of heaven ye have heard; have seen
355 Its lightnings; have experienced its rains
Assiduous; its ires of winds and hail!
How often nights and days serene do make
Your seasons-God's gifts-fruitful with fair yields!
Roses were vernal; the grain's summer-tide
360 Failed not; the autumn variously poured
Its mellow fruits; the rugged winter brake
The olives, icy though they were: 'twas God
Who granted all, nor did His goodness fail.
At God earth trembled; on His voice the deep
365 Hung, and the rivers trembling fled and left
Sands dry; and every creature everywhere
Confesses God! Ye (miserable men!)
Have heaven's Lord and earth's denied; and oft
(Horrible!) have God's heralds put to flight;
370 And rather slain the just with slaughter fell;
And, after crime, fraud ever hath in you
Inhered. Ye then shall reap the natural fruit
Of your iniquitous sowing. That God is
Ye know; yet are ye wont to laugh at Him.
375 Into deep darkness ye shall go of fire
And brimstone; doomed to suffer glowing ires
In torments just. God bids your bones descend

To penalty eternal; go beneath
The ardour of an endless raging hell;
380 Be urged, a seething mass, through rotant pools
Of flame; and into threatening flame He bids
The elements convert; and all heaven's fire
Descend in clouds. 3 Then greedy Tartarus
With rapid fire enclosed is; and flame
385 Is fluctuant within with tempest waves;
And the whole earth her whirling embers blends!
There is a flamy furrow; teeth acute
Are turned to plough it, and for all the years
The fiery torrent will be armed: with force
390 Tartarean will the conflagrations gnash
Their teeth upon the world. There are they scorched
In seething tide with course precipitate;
Hence flee; thence back are borne in sharp career;
The savage flame's ire meets them fugitive!
395 And now at length they own the penalty
Their own, the natural issue of their crime.
And now the reeling earth, by not a swain
Possest, is by the sea's profundity
Prest, at her farthest limit, where the sun
400 (His ray out-measured) divides the orb,
And where, when traversed is the world, the stars
Are hidden. Ether thickens. O'er the light
Spreads sable darkness; and the latest flames
Stagnate in secret rills. A place there is
405 Whose nature is with sealed penalties
Fiery, and a dreadful marsh white-hot
With heats infernal, where, in furnaces
Horrific, penal deed roars loud, and seethes,
And, rushing into torments, is up-caught
410 By the flame's vortex wide; by savage wave
And surge the turbid sand all mingled is
With miry bottom. Hither will be sent,

Groaning, the captive crowd of evil ones,
And wickedness (the sinful body's train)

415 To burn! Great is the beating there of breasts,
By bellowing of grief accompanied;
Wild is the hissing of the flames, and thence
The ululation of the sufferers!

And flames, and limbs sonorous, will outrise

420 Afar: more fierce will the fire burn; and up
To th' upper air the groaning will be borne.

Then human progeny its bygone deeds
Of ill will weigh; and will begin to stretch
Heavenward its palms; and then will wish to know

425 The Lord, whom erst it would not know, what time
To know Him had proved useful to them There,
His life's excesses, handiworks unjust,

And crimes of savage mind, each will confess,
And at the knowledge of the impious deeds

430 of his own life will shudder. And now first,
Whoe'er erewhile cherished ill thoughts of God;
Had worshipped stones unsteady, lyingly

Pretending to divinity; hath e'er
Made sacred to gore-stained images

435 Altars; hath voiceless pictured figures feared;

Hath slender shades of false divinity

Revered; whome'er ill error onward hath

Seduced; whoe'er was an adulterer,

Or with the sword had slain his sons; whoe'er

440 Had stalked in robbery; whoe'er by fraud

His clients had deferred; whoe'er with mind

Unfriendly had behaved himself, or stained

His palms with blood of men, or poison mixt

Wherein death lurked, or robed with wicked guise

445 His breast, or at his neighbour's ill, or gain

Iniquitous, was wont to joy; whoe'er

Committed whatsoever wickedness

Of evil deeds: him mighty heat shall rack,
And bitter fire; and these all shall endure,
450 In passing painful death, their punishment.
Thus shall the vast crowd lie of mourning men!
This oft as holy prophets sang of old,
And (by God's inspiration warned) oft told
The future, none ('tis pity!) none (alas!)
455 Did lend his ears. But God Almighty willed
His guerdons to be known, and His law's threats
'Mid multitudes of such like signs promulged.
He 'stablished them by sending prophets more,
These likewise uttering words divine; and some,
460 Roused from their sleep, He bids go from their tombs
Forth with Himself, when He, His own tomb burst,
Had risen. Many 'wilder'd were, indeed,
To see the tombs agape, and in clear light
Corpses long dead appear; and, wondering
465 At their discourses pious, dulcet words!
Starward they stretch their palms at the mere sound,
And offer God and so-victorious Christ
Their gratulating homage. Certain 'tis
That *these* no more re-sought their silent graves,
470 Nor were retained within earth's bowels shut;
But the remaining host reposes now
In lowliest beds, until-time's circuit run-
That great day do arrive. Now all of you
Own the true Lord, who alone makes this soul
475 Of ours to see His light, and can the same
(To Tartarus sent) subject to penalties;
And to whom all the power of life and death
Is open. Learn that God *can* do whate'er
He list; for 'tis enough for Him to *will*,
480 And by mere speaking He achieves the deed;
And Him nought plainly, by withstanding, checks.
He is my God alone, to whom I trust

With deepest senses. But, since death con

Every career, let whoe'er *is* to-day

485 Bethink him over all things in his mind.

And thus, while life remains, while 'tis allowed

To see the light and change your life, before

The limit of allotted age o'ertake

You unawares, and that last day, which is

490 By death's law fixt, your senseless eyes do glaze,

Seek what remains worth seeking: watchful be

For dear salvation; and run down with ease

And certainty the good course. Wipe away

By pious sacred rites your past misdeeds

495 Which expiation need; and shun the storms,

The too uncertain tempests, of the world.

Then turn to right paths, and keep sanctities.

Hence from your gladsome minds depraved crime

Quite banish; and let long-inveterate fault

500 Be washed forth from your breast; and do away

Wicked ill-stains contracted; and appease

Dread God by prayers eternal; and let all

Most evil mortal things to living good

Give way: and now at once a new life keep

505 Without a crime; and let your minds begin

To use themselves to good things and to true:

And render ready voices to God's praise.

Thus shall your piety find better things

All growing to a flame; thus shall ye, too,

510 Receive the gifts of the celestial life;

And, to long age, shall ever live with God,

Seeing the starry kingdom's golden joys.

Five Books in Reply to Marcion



Anonymous Translation, 1870

Book I.-Of the Divine Unity, and the Resurrection of the Flesh.

Part I.-Of the Divine Unity.

After the Evil One's impiety
Profound, and his life-grudging mind, entrapped
Seduced men with empty hope, it laid
Them bare, by impious suasion to false trust
5 In him,-not with impunity, indeed;
For he forthwith, as guilty of the deed,
And author rash of such a wickedness,
Received deserved maledictions. Thus,
Thereafter, maddened, he, most desperate foe,
10 Did more assail and instigate men's minds
In darkness sunk. He taught them to forget
The Lord, and leave sure hope, and idols vain
Follow, and shape themselves a crowd of gods,
Lots, auguries, false names of stars, the show
15 Of being able to o'errule the births
Of embryos by inspecting entrails, and
Expecting things to come, by hardihood
Of dreadful magic's renegadoes led,
Wondering at a mass of feigned lore;
20 And he impelled them headlong to spurn life,
Sunk in a criminal insanity;
To joy in blood; to threaten murders fell;
To love the wound, then, in their neighbour's flesh;
Or, burning, and by pleasure's heat entrapped,
25 To transgress nature's covenants, and stain
Pure bodies, manly sex, with an embrace

Unnameable, and uses feminine
Mingled in common contact lawlessly;
Urging embraces chaste, and dedicate
30 To generative duties, to be held
For intercourse obscene for passion's sake.
Such in time past his deeds, assaulting men,
Through the soul's lurking-places, with a flow
Of scorpion-venom,-not that men would blame
35 Him, for they followed of their own accord:
His suasion was in guile; in freedom man
Performed it.

Whileas the perfidious one
Continuously through the centuries
Is breathing such ill fumes, and into hearts
40 Seduced injecting his own counselling
And hoping in his folly (alas!) to find
Forgiveness of his wickedness, unaware
What sentence on his deed is waiting him;
With words of wisdom's weaving, and a voice
45 Presaging from God's Spirit, speak a host
Of prophets. Publicly he does not dare
Nakedly to speak evil of the Lord,
Hoping by secret ingenuity
He possibly may lurk unseen. At length
50 The soul's Light as the thrall of flesh is held;
The hope of the despairing, mightier
Than foe, enters the lists; the Fashioner,
The Renovator, of the body He;
True Glory of the Father; Son of God;
55 Author unique; a Judge and Lord He came,
The orb's renowned King; to the oppress
Prompt to give pardon, and to loose the bound;
Whose friendly aid and penal suffering
Blend God and renewed man in one. With child
60 Is holy virgin: life's new gate opes; words

Of prophets find their proof, fulfilled by facts;
Priests leave their temples, and-a star their guide-
Wonder the Lord so mean a birth should choose.
Waters-sight memorable!-turn to wine;
65 Eyes are restored to blind; fiends trembling cry,
Outdriven by His bidding, and own Christ!
All limbs, already rotting, by a word
Are healed; now walks the lame; the deaf forthwith
Hears hope; the maimed extends his hand; the dumb
70 Speaks mighty words: sea at His bidding calms,
Winds drop; and all things recognise the Lord:
Confounded is the foe, and yields, though fierce,
Now triumphed over, to unequal arms!
When all his enterprises now revoked
75 He sees; the flesh, once into ruin sunk,
Now rising; man-death vanquish't quite-to heavens
Soaring; the peoples sealed with holy pledge
Outpoured; the work and envied deeds of might
Marvellous; and hears, too, of penalties
80 Extreme, and of perpetual dark, prepared
For himself by the Lord by God's decree
Irrevocable; naked and unarmed,
Damned, vanquish't, doomed to perish in a death
Perennial, guilty now, and sure that he
85 No pardon has, a last impiety
Forthwith he dares,-to scatter everywhere
A word for ears to shudder at, nor meet
For voice to speak. Accosting men cast off
From God's community, men wandering
90 Without the light, found mindless, following
Things earthly, them he teaches to become
Depraved teachers of depravity.
By them he preaches that there are two Sires,
And realms divided: ill's cause is the Lord
95 Who built the orb, fashioned breath-quicken'd flesh,

And gave the law, and by the seers' voice spake.
 Him he affirms not *good*, but owns Him *just*;
 Hard, cruel, taking pleasure fell in war;
 In judgment dreadful, pliant to no prayers.
 100 His suasion tells of other one, to none
 E'er known, who nowhere is, a deity
 False, nameless, constituting nought, and who
 Hath spoken precepts none. Him he calls *good*;
 Who judges none, but spares all equally,
 105 And grudges life to none. No judgment waits
 The guilty; so he says, bearing about
 A gory poison with sweet honey mixt
 For wretched men. That flesh can rise-to which
 Himself was cause of ruin, which he spoiled
 110 Iniquitously with contempt (whence, cursed,
 He hath grief without end), its ever-foe,-
 He doth deny; because with various wound
 Life to expel and the salvation whence
 He fell he strives: and therefore says that Christ
 115 Came suddenly to earth, but was not made,
 By any compact, partner of the flesh;
 But Spirit-form, and body feigned beneath
 A shape imaginary, seeks to mock
 Men with a semblance that what is not is.
 120 Does this, then, become God, to sport with men
 By darkness led? to act an impious lie?
 Or falsely call Himself a man? He walks,
 Is carried, clothed, takes due rest, handled is,
 Suffers, is hung and buried: man's are all
 125 Deeds which, in holy body conversant,
 But sent by God the Father, who hath all
 Created, He did perfect properly,
 Reclaiming not another's but His own;
 Discernible to peoples who of old
 130 Were hoping for Him by His very work,

And through the prophets' voice to the round world
 Best known: and now they seek an unknown Lord,
 Wandering in death's threshold manifest,
 And leave behind the known. False is their faith,
 135 False is their God, deceptive their reward,
 False is their resurrection, death's defeat
 False, vain their martyrdoms, and e'en Christ's name
 An empty sound: whom, teaching that He came
 Like magic mist, they (quite demented) own
 140 To be the actor of a lie, and make
 His passion bootless, and the populace
 (A feigned one!) without crime! Is God *thus* true?
 Are *such* the honours rendered to the Lord?
 Ah! wretched men! gratuitously lost
 145 In death ungrateful! Who, by blind guide led,
 Have headlong rushed into the ditch! and as
 In dreams the fancied rich man in his store
 Of treasure doth exult, and with his hands
 Grasps it, the sport of empty hope, so ye, so
 150 Deceived, are hoping for a shadow vain
 Of guerdon!
 Ah! ye silent laughingstocks,
 Or doomed prey, of the dragon, do ye hope,
 Stern men for death in room of gentle peace?
 Dare ye blame God, who hath works
 155 So great? in whose earth, 'mid profuse displays
 Of His exceeding parent-care, His gifts
 (Unmindful of Himself!) ye largely praise,
 Rushing to ruin! do ye reprobate-
 Approving of the works-the Maker's self,
 160 The world's Artificer, whose work withal
 Ye are yourselves? Who gave those little selves
 Great honours; sowed your crops; made all the brutes
 Your subjects; makes the seasons of the year
 Fruitful with stated months; grants sweetnesses,

165 Drinks various, rich odours, jocund flowers,
And the groves' grateful bowers; to growing herbs
Grants wondrous juices; founts and streams dispreads
With sweet waves, and illumines with stars the sky
And the whole orb: the infinite sole Lord,

170 Both Just and Good; known by His work; to none
By aspect known; whom nations, flourishing
In wealth, but foolish, wrapped in error's shroud,
(Albeit 'tis beneath an alien name

They praise Him, yet) their Maker knowing! dread

175 To blame: nor e'en one -save you, hell's new gate!-
Thankless, ye choose to speak ill of your Lord!

These cruel deadly gifts the Renegade
Terrible has bestowed, through Marcion-thanks
To Cerdo's mastership-on you; nor come'

180 The thought into your mind that, from Christ's name
Seduced, Marcion's name has carried you
To lowest depths. Say of His many acts
What one displeases you? or what hath God
Done which is not to be extolled with praise?

185 Is it that He permits you, all too long,
(Unworthy of His patience large,) to see
Sweet light? you, who read truths, and, docking them,
Teach these your falsehoods, and approve as past
Things which are yet to be? What hinders, else,

190 That *we* believe *your* God incredible?
Nor marvel is't if, practiced as he is,
He captived you unarmed, persuading you
There are two Fathers (being damned by One),
And all, whom he had erst seduced, are gods;

195 And after that dispread a pest, which ran
With multiplying wound, and cureless crime,
To many. Men unworthy to be named,
Full of all magic's madness, he induced
To call themselves "Virtue Supreme; "and feign

200 (With harlot comrade) fresh impiety;
To roam, to fly. He is the insane god
Of Valentine, and to his Aeonage
Assigned heavens thirty, and Profundity
Their sire. He taught two baptisms, and led
205 The body through the flame. That there are gods
So many as the year hath days, he bade
A Basilides to believe, and worlds
As many. Marcus, shrewdly arguing
Through numbers, taught to violate chaste form
210 'Mid magic's arts; taught, too, that the Lord's cup
Is an oblation, and by prayers is turned
To blood. His suasion prompted Hebion
To teach that Christ was born from human seed;
He taught, too, circumcision, and that room
215 Is still left for the Law, and, though Law's founts
Are lost, its elements must be resumed.
Unwilling am I to protract in words
His last atrocity, or to tell all
The causes, or the names at length. Enough
220 It is to note his many cruelties
Briefly, and the unmentionable men,
The dragon's organs fell, through whom he now,
Speaking so much profaneness, ever toils
To blame the Maker of the world. But come;
225 Recall your foot from savage Bandit's cave,
While space is granted, and to wretched men
God, patient in perennial parent-love,
Condone all deeds through error done! Believe
Truly in the true Sire, who built the orb;
230 Who, on behalf of men incapable
To bear the law, sunk in sin's whirlpool, sent
The true Lord to repair the ruin wrought,
And bring them the salvation promised
Of old through seers. He who the mandates gave

235 Remits sins too. Somewhat, deservedly,
 Doth He exact, because He formerly
 Entrusted somewhat; or else bounteously,
 As Lord, condones as it were debts to slaves:
 Finally, peoples shut up 'neath the curse,
 240 And meriting the penalty, Himself
 Deleting the indictment, bids be washed!
 Part II.-Of the Resurrection of the Flesh.
 The *whole* man, then, believes; the *whole* is washed;
 Abstains from sin, or truly suffers wounds
 For Christ's name's sake: he rises a true man,
 245 Death, truly vanquish, shall be mute. But not
 Part of the man,-his *soul*,-her own part left
 Behind, will win the palm which, labouring
 And wrestling in the course, combinedly
 And simultaneously with *flesh*, she earns.
 250 Great crime it were for two in chains to bear
 A weight, of whom the one were affluent
 The other needy, and the wretched one
 Be spurned, and guerdons to the happy one
 Rendered. Not so the Just-fair Renderer
 255 Of wages-deals, both good and just, whom we
 Believe Almighty: to the thankless kind
 Full is His will of pity. Nay, whate'er
 He who hath greater mortal need doth need
 That, by advancement, to his comrade he
 260 May equalled be, that will the affluent
 Bestow the rather unsolicited:
 So are we bidden to believe, and not
 Be willing to cast blame unlawfully
 On the Lord in our teaching, as if He
 265 Were one to raise the *soul*, as having met
 With ruin, and to set her free from death
 So that the granted faculty of life
 Upon the ground of sole desert (because

She bravely acted), should abide with her;

270 While she who ever shared the common lot

Of toil, the *flesh*, should to the earth be left,

The prey of a perennial death. Has, then,

The *soul* pleased God by acts of fortitude?

By no means could she Him have pleased alone

275 Without the *flesh*. Hath she borne penal bonds?

The flesh sustained upon her limbs the bonds.

Contemned she death? But she hath left the *flesh*

Behind in death. Groaned she in pain?

The *flesh* Is slain and vanquisht by the wound. Repose

280 Seeks she? The *flesh*, spilt by the sword in dust,

Is left behind to fishes, birds, decay,

And ashes; torn she is, unhappy one!

And broken; scattered, she melts away.

Hath she not earned to rise? for what could she

285 Have e'er committed, lifeless and alone?

What so life-grudging cause impedes, or else

Forbids, the *flesh* to take God's gifts, and live

Ever, conjoined with her comrade soul,

And see what she hath been, when formerly

290 Converted into dust? After, renewed

Bear she to God deserved meeds of praise,

Not ignorant of herself, frail, mortal, sick.

Contend ye as to what the living might

Of the great God can do; who, good alike

295 And potent, grudges life to none? Was this

Death's captive? shall this perish vanquished

Which the Lord hath with wondrous wisdom made,

And art? This by His virtue wonderful

Himself upraises; this our Leader's self

300 Recalls, and this with His own glory clothes

God's art and wisdom, then, our body shaped

What can by these be made, how faileth it

To be by virtue reproduced? No cause

Can holy parent-love withstand; (lest else
305 Ill's cause should mightier prove than Power Supreme;)
That man even now saved by God's gift, ma, learn
(Mortal before, now robed in light immense
Inviolable, wholly quickened, soul
And body) God, in virtue infinite,
310 In parent-love perennial, through His King
Christ, through whom opened is light's way; and now,
Standing in new light, filled now with each gift,
Glad with fair fruits of living Paradise,
May praise and laud Him to eternity,
315 Rich in the wealth of the celestial hall.

Book II.-Of the Harmony of the Old and New Laws.

After the faith was broken by the dint
Of the foe's breathing renegades, and sworn
With wiles the hidden pest emerged; with lies
Self-prompted, scornful of the Deity
5 That underlies the sense, he did his plagues
Concoct: skilled in guile's path, he mixed his own
Words impious with the sayings of the saints.
And on the good seed sowed his wretched tares,
Thence willing that foul ruin's every cause
10 Should grow combined; to wit, that with more speed
His own iniquitous deeds he may assign
To God clandestinely, and may impale
On penalties such as his suasion led;
False with true veiling, turning rough with smooth,
15 And, (masking his spear's point with rosy wreaths,)
Slaying the unwary unforeseen with death
Supreme. His supreme wickedness is this:
That men, to such a depth of madness sunk!
Off-broken boughs! should into parts divide
20 The endlessly-dread Deity; Christ's deeds
Sublime should follow with false praise, and blame

The former acts, God's countless miracles,
Ne'er seen before, nor heard, nor in a heart
Conceived; and should so rashly frame in words
25 The impermissible impiety
Of wishing by "wide dissimilitude
Of sense" to prove that the two Testaments
Sound adverse each to other, and the Lord's
Oppose the prophets' words; of drawing down
30 All the Law's cause to infamy; and eke
Of reprobating holy fathers' life
Of old, whom into friendship, and to share
His gifts, God chose. Without beginning, one
Is, for its lesser part, accepted. Though
35 Of one are four, of four one, yet to them
One part is pleasing, three they (in a word)
Reprobate: and they seize, in many ways,
On Paul as their own author; yet was he
Urged by a frenzied impulse of his own
40 To his last words: all whatsoe'er he spake
Of the old covenant seems hard to them
Because, deservedly, "made gross in heart."
Weight apostolic, grace of beaming word,
Dazzles their mind, nor can they possibly
45 Discern the Spirit's drift. Dull as they are,
Seek they congenial animals! But ye
Who have not yet, (false deity your guide,
Reprobate in your very mind,) to death's
Inmost caves penetrated, learn there flows
50 A stream perennial from its fount, which feeds
A tree, (twice sixfold are the fruits, its grace!)
And into earth and to the orb's four winds
Goes out: into so many parts doth flow
The fount's one hue and savour. Thus, withal,
55 From apostolic word descends the Church,
Out of Christ's womb, with glory of His Sire

All filled, to wash off filth, and vivify
Dead fates. The Gospel, four in number, one
In its diffusion 'mid the Gentiles, this,
60 By faith elect accepted, Paul hands down
(Excellent doctor!) pure, without a crime;
And from it he forbade Galatian saints
To turn aside withal; whom "brethren false,"
(Urging them on to circumcise themselves,
65 And follow "elements," leaving behind
Their novel "freedom,") to "a shadow old
Of things to be" were teaching to be slaves.
These were the causes which Paul had to write
To the Galatians: not that they took out
70 One small part of the Gospel, and held that
For the whole bulk, leaving the greater part
Behind. And hence 'tis no words of a book,
But Christ Himself, Christ sent into the orb,
Who is the gospel, if ye will discern;
75 Who from the Father came, sole Carrier
Of tidings good; whose glory vast completes
The early testimonies; by His work
Showing how great the orb's Creator is:
Whose deeds, conjoined at the same time with words,
80 Those faithful ones, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John,
Recorded unalloyed (not speaking words
External), sanctioned by God's Spirit, 'neath
So great a Master's eye! This paschal Lamb
Is hung, a victim. on the tree: Him Paul,
85 Writing decrees to Corinth, with his torch,
Hands down as slain, the future life and God
Promised to the fathers, whom before
He had attracted.
See what virtue, see
What power, the paschal image has; ye thus
90 Will able be to see what power there is

In the true Passover. Lest well-earned love
Should tempt the faithful sire and seer, to whom
His pledge and heir was dear, whom God by chance
Had given him, to offer him to God

95 (A mighty execution!), there is shown

To him a lamb entangled by the head

In thorns; a holy victim-holy blood

For blood-to God. From whose piacular death,

That to the wasted race it might be sign

100 And pledge of safety, signed are with blood

Their posts and thresholds many: -aid immense!

The flesh (a witness credible) is given

For food. The Jordan crossed, the land possessed,

Joshua by law kept Passover with joy,

105 And immolates a lamb; and the great kings

And holy prophets that were after him,

Not ignorant of the good promises

Of sure salvation; full of godly fear

The great Law to transgress, (that mass of types

110 In image of the Supreme Virtue once

To come,) did celebrate in order due

The mirrorly-inspected passover.

In short, if thou recur with rapid mind

To times primordial, thou wilt find results

115 Too fatal following impious words. That man

Easily credulous, alas! and stripped

Of life's own covering, might covered be

With skins, a lamb is hung: the wound slays sins,

Or death by blood effaces or enshrouds

120 Or cherishes the naked with its fleece.

Is sheep's blood of more worth than human blood,

That, offered up for sins, it should quench wrath?

Or is a lamb (as if he were more dear!)

Of more worth than much people's? aid immense

125 As safeguard of so great salvation, could

A lamb, if offered, have been price enough
 For the redeemed? Nay: but Almighty God,
 The heaven's and earth's Creator, infinite,
 Living, and perfect, and perennially
 130 Dwelling in light, is not appeased by these,
 Nor joys in cattle's blood. Slain be all flocks;
 Be every herd upburned into smoke;
 That expiatively 't may pardon win
 Of but one sin: in vain at so vile price;
 135 Will the stained figure of the Lord-foul flesh-
 Prepare, if wise, such honours: but the hope
 And faith to mortals promised of old-
 Great Reason's counterpart -hath wrought to bring
 These boons premeditated and prepared
 140 Erst by the Father's passing parent-love;
 That Christ should come to earth, and be a man!
 Whom when John saw, baptism's first opener, John,
 Comrade of seers, apostle great, and sent
 As sure forerunner, witness faithful; John,
 145 August in life, and marked with praise sublime,
 He shows, to such as sought of olden time
 God's very Paschal Lamb, that He is come
 At last, the expiation of misdeed,
 To undo many's sins by His own blood,
 150 In place of reprobates the Proven One,
 In place of vile the dear; in body, man;
 And, in life, God: that He, as the slain Lamb,
 Might us accept, and for us might outpour
 Himself Thus hath it pleased the Lord to spoil
 155 Proud death: thus wretched man will able be
 To hope salvation. This slain paschal Lamb
 Paul preaches: nor does a phantasmal shape
 Of the sublime Lord (one consimilar
 To Isaac's silly sheep) the passion bear,
 160 Wherefore He is called Lamb: but 'tis because,

As wool, He these renewed bodies clothes,
Giving to many covering, yet Himself
Never deficient. Thus does the Lord shroud
In His Sire's virtue, those whom, disarrayed
165 Of their own light, He by His death redeemed,
Virtue which ever is in Him. So, then,
The Shepherd who hath lost the sheep Himself
Re-seeks it. He, prepared to tread the strength
Of the vine, and its thorns, or to o'ercome
170 The wolf's rage, and regain the cattle lost,
And brave to snatch them out, the Lion He
In sheepskin-guise, unasked presents Himself
To the contemned teeth, baffling by His garb
The robber's bloody jaws. Thus everywhere
175 Christ seeks force-captured Adam; treads the path
Himself where death wrought ruin; permeates
All the old heroes' monuments; inspects
Each one; the One of whom all types were full;
Begins e'en from the womb to expel the death
180 Conceived simultaneously with seed
Of flesh within the bosom; purging all
Life's stages with a silent wisdom; debts
Assuming; ready to cleanse all, and give
Their Maker back the many whom the one
185 Had scattered. And, because one direful man
Down-sunk in pit iniquitous did fall,
By dragon-subdued virgin's suasion led;
Because he pleased her wittingly; because
He left his heavenly covering behind:
190 Because the "tree" their nakedness did prove;
Because dark death coerced them: in like wise
Out of the self-same mass re-made returns
Renewed now,-the flower of flesh, and host
Of peace,-a flesh from espoused virgin born,
195 Not of man's seed; conjoined to its own

Artificer; without the debt of death.

These mandates of the Father through bright stars

An angel carries down, that angel-fame

The tidings may accredit; telling how

200 “A virgin’s debts a virgin, flesh’s flesh,

Should pay.” Thus introduced, the Giant-Babe,

The Elder-Boy, the Stripling-Man, pursues

Death’s trail. Thereafter, when completed was

The ripe age of man’s strength, when man is wont

205 To see the lives that were his fellows drop

By slow degrees away, and to be changed

In mien to wrinkles foul and limbs inert,

While blood forsakes his veins, his course he stayed,

And suffered not his fleshly garb to age.

210 Upon what day or in what place did fall

Most famous Adam, or outstretched his hand

Rashly to touch the tree, on that same day,

Returning as the years revolve, within

The stadium of the “tree” the brave Athlete,

215 ‘Counterung, outstretched His hands, and, penalty

For praise pursuing, quite did vanquish death,

Because He left death of His own accord

Behind, disrobing Him of fleshly slough,

And of death’s dues; and to the “tree” affixed

220 The serpent’s spoil-”the world’s prince” vanquisht quite!

Grand trophy of the renegades: for sign

Whereof had Moses hung the snake, that all,

Who had by many serpents stricken been,

Might gaze upon the dragon’s self, and see

225 Him vanquisht and transfixt. When, afterwards,

He reached the infernal region’s secret waves,

And, as a victor, by the light which aye

Attended Him, revealed His captive thrall,

And by His virtue thoroughly fulfilled

230 The Father’s bidding, He Himself re-took

The body which, spontaneous, He had left:
 This was the cause of death: this same was made
 Salvation's path: a messenger of guile
 The former was; the latter messenger
 235 of peace: a spouse her man did slay; a spouse
 Did bear a lion: hurtful to her man
 A virgin proved; a man from virgin born
 Proved victor: for a type whereof, while sleep
 His body wrapped, out of his side is ta'en
 240 A woman, who is her lord's rib; whom, he,
 Awaking, called "flesh from his flesh, and bones
 From his own bones; "with a presaging mind
 Speaking. Faith wondrous! Paul deservedly,
 (Most certain author!) teaches Christ to be
 245 "The Second Adam from the havens." Truth,
 Using her own examples, doth refulge;
 Nor covets out of alien source to show
 Her paces keen: this is a pauper's work,
 Needy of virtue of his own! Great Paul
 250 These mysteries-taught to him-did teach; to wit,
 Discerning that in Christ thy glory is,
 O Church! from His side, hanging on high "tree,"
 His lifeless body's "blood and humour" flowed.
 The blood the woman was; the waters were
 255 The new gifts of the font: this is the Church,
 True mother of a living people; flesh
 New from Christ's flesh, and from His bones a bone.
 A spot there is called Golgotha,-of old
 The fathers' earlier tongue thus called its name,-
 260 "The skull-pan of a head: "here is earth's midst;
 Here victory's sign; here, have our elders. taught,
 There was a great head found; here the first man,
 We have been taught, was buried; here the Christ
 Suffers; with sacred blood the earth grows moist.
 265 That the old Adam's dust may able be,

Commingle with Christ's blood, to be upraised
By dripping water's virtue. The "one ewe"
That is, which, during Sabbath-hours, alive
The Shepherd did resolve that He would draw
270 Out of th' infernal pit. This was the cause
Why, on the Sabbaths, He was wont to cure
The prematurely dead limbs of all flesh;
Or perfected for sight the eyes of him
Blind from his birth-eyes which He had not erst
275 Given; or, in presence of the multitude,
Called, during Sabbath-hours, one wholly dead
To life, e'en from the sepulchre. Himself
The new man's Maker, the Repairer good
Of th' old, supplying what did lack, or else
280 Restoring what was lost. About to do-
When dawns "the holy day"-these works, for such
As hope in Him, in plenitude, (to keep
His plighted word,) He taught men thus His power
To do them.

What? If flesh dies, and no hope
285 Is given of salvation, say, what grounds
Christ had to feign Himself a man, and head
Men, or have care for flesh? If He recalls
Some few, why shall He not withal recall
All? Can corruption's power liquefy
290 The body and undo it, and shall not
The virtue of the Lord be powerful
The undone to recall?
They, who believe
Their bodies are *not* loosed from death, do no,
Believe the Lord, who wills to raise His own
295 Works sunken; or else say they that the Good
Wills not, and that the Potent hath not power,-
Ignorant from how great a crime they suck
Their milk, in daring to set things infirm

Above the Strong. In the grain lurks the tree;
300 And if this rot not, buried in the earth,
It yields not tree-graced fruits. Soon bound will be
The liquid waters: 'neath the whistling cold
They will become, and ever will be stones,
Unless a mighty power, by leading on
305 Soft-breathing warmth, undo them. The great bunch
Lurks in the tendril's slender body: if
Thou seek it, it is not; when God doth will,
'Tis seen to be. On trees their leaves, on thorns
The rose, the seeds on plains, are dead and fail,
310 And rise again, new living. For man's use
These things doth God before his eyes recall
And form anew-man's, for whose sake at first
The wealthy One made all things bounteously.
All naked fall; with its own body each
315 He clothes. Why man alone, on whom He showered
Such honours, should He not recall in all
His first perfection to Himself? man, whom
He set o'er all? Flesh, then, and blood are said
To be not worthy of God's realm, as if
320 Paul spake of flesh *materially*. He
Indeed taught mighty truths; but hearts inane
Think he used carnal speech: for *pristine deeds*
He meant beneath the name of "flesh and blood;"
Remembering, heavenly home-slave that he is,
325 His heavenly Master's words; who gave the name
Of His own honour to men born from Him
Through water, and from His own Spirit poured
A pledge; that, by whose virtue men had been
Redeemed, His name of honour they withal
330 Might, when renewed, receive. Because, then, He
Refused, on the old score, the heavenly realm
To peoples not yet from His fount re-born,
Still with their ancient sordid raiment clad-

These are "the dues of death"-saying that that
 335 Which human is must needs be born again,-
 "What hath been born of flesh is flesh; and what
 From Spirit, life; " and that the body, washed,
 Changing with glory its old root's new seeds,
 Is no more called "from flesh: "Paul follows this;
 340 Thus did he speak of "flesh." In fine, he said
 This frail garb with a robe must be o'erclad,
 This mortal form be wholly covered;
 Not that another body must be given,
 But that the former one, dismantled, must
 345 Be with God's kingdom wholly on all sides
 Surrounded: "In the moment of a glance,"
 He says, "it shall be changed: "as, on the blade,
 Spreads the red corn's face, and changes 'neath
 The sun's glare its own hue; so the same flesh,
 350 From "the effulgent glory" borrowing,
 Shall ever joy, and joying, shall lack death;
 Exclaiming that"the body's cruel foe
 Is vanquish't quite; death, by the victory
 Of the brave Christ, is swallowed; " praises high
 355 Bearing to God, unto the highest stars.

Book III.-Of the Harmony of the Fathers of the Old and New Testaments.

Now hath the mother, formerly surnamed
 Barren, giv'n birth: now a new people, born
 From the free woman, joys: (the slave expelled,
 Deservedly, with her proud progeny;
 5 Who also leaves ungratefully behind
 The waters of the living fount, and drinks-
 Errant on heated plains-'neath glowing star:)
 Now can the Gentiles as their parent claim
 Abraham; who, the Lord's voice following,
 10 Like him, have all things left, life's pilgrimage
 To enter. "Be glad, barren one; "conceive

The promised people; “break thou out, and cry,”
Who with no progeny wert blest; of whom
Spake, through the seers, the Spirit of old time:
15 She hath borne, out of many nations, one;
With whose beginning are her pious limbs
Ever in labour.
Hers “just Abel” was,
A pastor and a cattle-master he;
Whom violence of brother’s right hand slew
20 Of old. Her Enoch, signal ornament,
Limb from her body sprung, by counsel strove
To recall peoples gone astray from God
And following misdeed, (while raves on earth
The horde of robber-renegades,) to flee
25 The giants’sacrilegious cruel race;
Faithful in all himself. With groaning deep
Did he please God, and by deserved toil
Translated is reserved as a pledge,
With honour high. Perfect in praise, and found
30 Faultless, and just-God witnessing the fact-
In an adulterous people, Noah (he
Who in twice fifty years the ark did weave)
By deeds and voice the coming ruin told.
Favour he won, snatched Out of so great waves
35 Of death, and, with his progeny, preserved.
Then, in the generation following,
Is Abraham, whose sons ye do deny
Yourselves to be; who first-race, country, sire,
All left behind-at suasion of God’s voice
40 Withdrew to realms extern: such honours he
At God’s sublime hand worthily deserved
As to be father to believing tribes
And peoples. Jacob with the patriarchs
(Himself their patriarch) through all his own
45 Life’s space the gladdest times of Christ foresang

By words, act, virtue, toil. Him follows-free
From foul youth's stain-Joseph, by slander feigned,
Doomed to hard penalty and gaol: his groans
Glory succeeds, and the realm's second crown, so
50 And in dearth's time large power of furnishing
Bread: so appropriate a type of Christ,
So lightsome type of Light, is manifest
To all whose mind hath eyes, that they may see
In a face-mirror their sure hope.

Himself

55 The patriarch Judah, see; the origin
Of royal line, whence leaders rose, nor kings
Failed ever from his seed, until the Power
To come, by Gentiles looked for, promised long,
Came.

Moses, leader of the People, (he

60 Who, spurning briefly-blooming riches, left
The royal thresholds,) rather chose to bear
His people's toils, afflicted, with bowed neck,
By no threats daunted, than to gain himself
Enjoyments, and of many penalties

65 Remission: admirable for such faith
And love, he, with God's virtue armed, achieved
Great exploits: smote the nation through with plagues;
And left their land behind, and their hard king
Confounds, and leads the People back; trod waves;

70 Sunk the foes down in waters; through a "tree"
Made ever-hitter waters sweet; spake much
(Manifestly to the People) with the Christ,
From whose face light and brilliance in his own
Reflected shone; dashed on the ground the law

75 Accepted through some few, -implicit type,
And sure, of his own toils!-smote through the rock;
And, being bidden, shed forth streams; and stretched
His hands that, by a sign, he vanquish might

The foe; *of* Christ all *severally*, all
 80 *Combined through* Christ, do speak. Great and approved,
 He rests with praise and peace. But Joshua,
 The son of Nun, erst called Oshea-this man
 The Holy Spirit to Himself did join
 As partner in His name: hence did he cleave
 85 The flood; constrained the People to pass o'er;
 Freely distributed the land-the prize
 Promised the fathers!-stayed both sun and moon
 While vanquishing the foe; races extern
 And giants' progeny outdrove; razed groves;
 90 Altars and temples levelled; and with mind
 Loyal performed all due solemnities:
 Type of Christ's name; his virtue's image. What
 Touching the People's Judges shall I say
 Singly? whose virtues, it unitedly
 95 Recorded, fill whole volumes numerous
 With space of words. But vet the order due
 Of filling out the body of my words,
 Demands that, out of many, I should tell
 The life of few.
 Of whom when Gideon, guide
 100 Of martial band, keen to attack the foe,
 (Not keen to gain for his own family,
 By virtues, tutelary dignity,)
 And needing to be strengthened in the faith
 Excited in his mind, seeks for a sign
 105 Whereby he either could not, or could, wage
 Victorious war; to wit, that v. with the dew
 A fleece, exposed for the night, should be
 Moistened, and all the ground lie dry around
 (By this to show that, with the world, should dry
 110 The enemies' palm); and then again, the fleece
 Alone remaining dry, the earth by night
 Should with the self-same moisture be bedewed:

For by this sign he prostrated the heaps
 Of bandits; with Christ's People 'countering them
 115 Without much soldiery, with cavalry
 Three hundred-the Greek letter Tau, in truth,
 That number is -with torches armed, and horns
 Of blowers with the mouth: then was the *fleece*,
 The people of Christ's sheep, from holy seed
 120 Born (for the *earth* means nations various,
 And scattered through the orb), which fleece the word
 Nourishes; *night* death's image; Tau the sign
 Of the dear cross; the *horn* the heraldings
 Of life; the *torches* shining in their stand
 125 The glowing Spirit: and this *testing*, too,
 Forsooth, an image of Christ's virtue was:
 To teach that death's fierce battles should not be
 By trump angelic vanquished before
 Th' indocile People be deservedly
 130 By their own fault left desolate behind,
 And Gentiles, flourishing in faith, received
 In praise.
 Yea, Deborah, a woman far
 Above all fame, appears; who, having braced
 Herself for warlike toil, for country's sake,
 135 Beneath the palm-tree sang how victory
 Had crowned her People; thanks to whom it was
 That the foes, vanquisht, turned at once their backs,
 And Sisera their leader fled; whose flight
 No man, nor any band, arrested: him,
 140 Suddenly renegade, a woman's hand-
 Jael's -with wooden weapon vanquished quite,
 For token of Christ's victory. With firm faith
 Jephthah appears, who a deep-wounding vow
 Dared make-to promise God a grand reward
 145 Of war: him then, because he senselessly
 Had promised what the Lord not wills, first meets

The pledge dear to his heart; who suddenly
Fell by a lot unhop'd by any. He,
To keep his promise, broke the sacred laws
150 Of parenthood: the shade of mighty fear
Did in his violent mind cover his vow
Of sin: as solace of his widowed life
For wickedness, renown, and, for crime, praise,
He won.

Nor Samson's strength, all corporal might
155 Passing, must we forget; the Spirit's gift
Was this; the power was granted to his head.
Alone he for his People, daggerless,
Armless, an ass-jaw grasping, prostrated
A thousand corpses; and no bonds could keep
160 The hero bound: but after his shorn pride
Forsook him thrall'd, he fell, and, by his death,-
Though vanquisht,-bought his foes back 'neath his power.
Marvellous Samuel, who first received
The precept to anoint kings, to give chrism
165 And show men-Christ's, so acted laudably
In life's space as, e'en after his repose,
To keep prophetic rights.

Psalmographer

David, great king and prophet, with a voice
Submiss was wont Christ's future suffering
170 To sing: which prophecy spontaneously
His thankless lawless People did perform:
Whom God had promised that in time to come,
Fruit of his womb, a holy progeny,
He would on his sublime throne set: the Lord's
175 Fixt faith did all that He had promised.
Corrector of an inert People rose
Emulous Hezekiah; who restored
Iniquitous forgetful men the Law:
All these God's mandates of old time he first

180 Bade men observe, who ended war by prayers,
Not by steel's point: he, dying, had a grant
Of years and times of life made to his tears:
Deservedly such honour his career Obtained.

With zeal immense, Josiah, prince
185 Himself withal, in like wise acted: none
So much, before or after!-Idols he
Dethroned; destroyed unhallowed temples; burned
With fire priests on their altars; all the bones
Of prophets false updug; the altars burned,
190 The carcasses to be consumed did serve
For fuel!

To the praise of signal faith,
Noble Elijah, (memorable fact!)
Was rapt; who hath not tasted yet death's dues;
Since to the orb he is to come again.

195 His faith unbroken, then, chastening with stripes
People and frenzied king, (who did desert
The Lord's best service), and with bitter flames
The foes, shut up the stars; kept in the clouds
The rain; showed all collectively that God

200 Is; made their error patent;-for a flame,
Coming with force from heaven at his prayers,
Ate up the victim's parts, dripping with flood,
Upon the altar: -often as he willed,
So often from on high rushed fire; the stream

205 Dividing, he made pathless passable;
And, in a chariot raised aloft, was borne
To paradise's hall.

Disciple his Elisha was, succeeding to his lot:
Who begged to take to him Elijah's lot

210 In double measure; so, with forceful stripe,
The People to chastise: such and so great
A love for the Lord's cause he breathed. He smote
Through Jordan; made his feet a way, and crossed

Again; raised with a twig the axe down-sunk
215 Beneath the stream; changed into vital meat
The deathful food; detained a second time,
Double in length, the rains; cleansed leprosy;
Entangled foes in darkness; and when one
Offcast and dead, by bandits'slaughter slain
220 His limbs, after his death, already hid
In sepulchre, did touch, he-light recalled-
Revived.

Isaiah, wealthy seer, to whom
The fount was oped,-so manifest his faith!
Poured from his mouth God's word forth. Promised was
225 The Father's will, bounteous through Christ; through him
It testified before the way of life,
And was approved: but him, though stainless found,
And undeserving, the mad People cut
With wooden saw in twain, and took away
230 With cruel death.

The holy Jeremy
Followed; whom the Eternal's Virtue bade
Be prophet to the Gentiles, and him told
The future: who, because he brooded o'er
His People's deeds illaudable, and said
235 (Speaking with voice presaging) that, unless
They had repented of betaking them
To deeds iniquitous against their slaves,
They should be captived, bore hard bonds, shut up
In squalid gaol; and, in the miry pit,
240 Hunger exhausted his decaying limbs.
But, after he did prove what they to hear
Had been unwilling, and the foes did lead
The People bound in their triumphal trains,
Hardly at length his wrinkled right hand lost
245 Its chains: it is agreed that by no death
Nor slaughter was the hero ta'en away.

Faithful Ezekiel, to whom granted was
Rich grace of speech, saw sinners' secrets; wailed
His own afflictions; prayed for pardon; saw
250 The vengeance of the saints, which is to be
By slaughter; and, in Spirit wrapt, the place
Of the saints' realm, its steps and accesses,
And the salvation of the flesh, he saw.
Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, too,
255 With Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, come;
Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai,
And Zechariah who did violence
Suffer, and Malachi-angel himself!
Are here: these are the Lord's seers; and their choir,
260 As still they sing, is heard; and equally
Their proper wreath of praise they all have earned.
How great was Daniel! What a man!
What power!
Who by their own mouth did false witnesses
Bewray, and saved a soul on a false charge
265 Condemned; and, before that, by mouth resolved
The king's so secret dreams; foresaw how Christ
Dissolves the limbs of kingdoms; was accused
For his Lord's was made the lions' prey;
And, openly preserved before all eyes,
270 Rested in peace.
His Three Companions, scarce
With due praise to be sung, did piously
Contemn the king's iniquitous decree,
Out of so great a number: to the flames
Their bodies given were; but they preferred,
275 For the Great Name, to yield to penalties
Themselves, than to an image stretch their palms
On bended knees. Now their o'erbrilliant faith,
Now hope outshining all things, the wild fires
Hath quencht, and vanquisht the iniquitous!

280 Ezra the seer, doctor of Law, and priest
Himself (who, after full times, back did lead
The captive People), with the Spirit filled
Of memory, restored by word of mouth
All the seers' volumes, by the fires and mould

285 Consumed.

Great above all born from seed
Is John whose praises hardly shall we skill
To tell: the washer of the flesh: the Lord's
Open forerunner; washer, too, of Christ,
Himself first born again from Him: the first
290 Of the new covenant, last of the old,
Was he; and for the True Way's sake he died,
The first slain victim.

See God-Christ! behold

Alike, His Twelve-Fold Warrior-Youth! in all
One faith, one dove, one power; the flower of men;
295 Lightening the world with light; comrades of Christ
And apostolic men; who, speaking truth,
Heard with their ears Salvation, with their eyes
Saw It, and handled with their hand the late
From death recovered body, and partook

300 As fellow-guests of food therewith, as they
Themselves bear witness.

Him did Paul as well (Forechosen apostle, and in due time sent),
When rapt into the heavens, behold: and sent
By Him, he, with his comrade Barnabas,

305 And with the earlier associates
Joined in one league together, everywhere
Among the Gentiles hands the doctrine down
That Christ is Head, whose members are the Church,
He the salvation of the body, He

310 The members' life perennial;
He, made flesh, He, ta'en away for all, Himself first rose
Again, salvation's only hope; and gave

The norm to His disciples: they at once

All variously suffered, for His Name,

315 Unworthy penalties.

Such members bears

With beauteous body the free mother, since

She never her Lord's precepts left behind,

And in His home hath grown old, to her Lord

Ever most choice, having for His Name's sake

320 Penalties suffered. For since, barren once,

Not yet secure of her futurity,

She hath outgiven a people born of seed

Celestial, and been spurned, and borne the spleen

Of her own handmaid; now 'tis time to see

325 This former-barren mother have a son

The heir of her own liberty; not like

The *handmaid's* heir, yoked in *estate* to *her*,

Although she bare him from celestial seed

Conceived. Far be it that ye should with words

330 Unlawful, with rash voice, collectively

Without distinction, give men exemplary

(Heaven's glowing constellations, to the mass

Of men conjoined by seed alone or blood),

The rugged bondman's name; or that one think

335 That he may speak in servile style about

A People who the mandates followed

Of the Lord's Law. No: but we mean the troop

Of sinners, empty, mindless, who have placed

God's promises in a mistrustful heart;

340 Men vanquisht by the miserable sweet

Of present life: that troop would have been bound

Capital slavery to undergo,

By their own fault, if sin's cause shall impose

Law's yoke upon the mass. For to serve God,

345 And be whole-heartedly intent thereon,

Untainted faith, and freedom, is thereto

Prepared spontaneous.

The just fathers, then, And holy stainless prophets, many, sang
The future advent of the Lord; and they

350 Faithfully testify what Heaven bids
To men profane: with them the giants, men
With Christ's own glory satiated, made
The consorts of His virtue, filling up
The hallowed words, have stablished our faith;

355 By facts predictions proving.

Of these men

Disciples who succeeded them throughout
The orb, men wholly filled with virtue's breath,
And our own masters, have assigned to us
Honours conjoined with works.

Of whom the first

360 Whom Peter bade to take his place and sit
Upon this chair in mightiest Rome where he
Himself had sat, was Linus, great, elect,
And by the mass approved. And after him
Cletus himself the fold's flock undertook;

365 As his successor Anacletus was
By lot located: Clement follows him;
Well known was he to apostolic men:
Next Evaristus ruled without a crime

The law. To Sixtus Sextus Alexander

370 Commends the fold: who, after he had filled
His lustral times up, to Telesphorus
Hands it in order: excellent was he,
And martyr faithful. After him succeeds
A comrade in the law, and master sure:

375 When lo! the comrade of your wickedness,
Its author and forerunner-Cerdo highs-
Arrived at Rome, smarting with recent wounds:
Detected, for that he was scattering
Voices and words of venom stealthily:

380 For which cause, driven from the band, he bore
This sacrilegious brood, the dragon's breath
Engendering it. Blooming in piety
United stood the Church of Rome, compact
By Peter: whose successor, too, himself,
385 And now in the ninth place, Hyginus was,
The burden undertaking of his chair.
After him followed Pius-Hermas his
Own brother was; angelic "Pastor" he,
Because he spake the words delivered him:
390 And Anicetus the allotted post
In pious order undertook.'Neath whom
Marcion here coming, the new Pontic pest,
(The secret daring deed in his own heart
Not yet disclosed,) went, speaking commonly,
395 In all directions, in his perfidy,
With lurking art. But after he began
His deadly arrows to produce, cast off
Deservedly (as author of a crime
So savage), reprobated by the saints,
400 He burst, a wondrous monster! on our view.

Book IV.-Of Marcion's Antitheses.

What the Inviolable Power bids
The youthful people, which, rich, free, and heir,
Possesses an eternal hope of praise
(By right assigned) is this: that with great zeal
5 Burning, armed with the love of peace-yet not
As teachers (Christ alone doth all things teach),
But as Christ's household-servants-o'er the earth
They should conduct a massive war; should raze
The wicked's lofty towers, savage walls,
10 And threats which 'gainst the holy people's bands
Rise, and dissolve such empty sounds in air.
Wherefore we, justly speaking emulous words,

Out of his own words even strive to express
The meaning of salvation's records, which Is
15 Large grace hath poured profusely; and to ope
To the saints' eyes the Bandit's covert plague:
Lest any untrained, daring, ignorant,
Fall therein unawares, and (being caught)
Forfeit celestial gifts. God, then, is One
20 To mortals all and everywhere; a Realm
Eternal, Origin of light profound;
Life's Fount; a Draught fraught with all wisdom. HE
Produced the orb whose bosom all things girds;
Him not a region, not a place, includes as
25 In circuit: matter none perennial is,
So as to be self-made, or to have been
Ever, created by no Maker: heaven's,
Earth's, sea's, and the abyss's Settler is
The Spirit; air's Divider, Builder, Author,
30 Sole God perpetual, Power immense, is He.
Him had the Law the People shown to be
One God, whose mighty voice to Moses spake
Upon the mount. Him this His Virtue, too,
His Wisdom, Glory, Word, and Son, this Light
35 Begotten from the Light immense, proclaims
Through the seers' voices, to be One: and Paul,
Taking the theme in order up, thus too
Himself derives; "Father there is One
Through whom were all things made: Christ One, through whom
40 God all things made; " to whom he plainly owns
That every knee doth bow itself; of whom
Is every fatherhood in heaven and earth
Called: who is zealous with the highest love
Of parent-care His people-ward; and wills
45 All flesh to live in holy wise, and wills
His people to appear before Him pure
Without a crime. With such zeal, by a law

Guards He our safety; warns us *loyal* be;
Chastens; is instant. So, too, has the same
50 Apostle (when Galatian brethren
Chiding)-Paul-written that such zeal hath he.
The fathers'sins God freely rendered, then,
Slaying in whelming deluge utterly Parents alike with progeny, and e'en
55 Grandchildren in "fourth generation" now
Descended from the parent-stock, when He
Has then for nearly these nine hundred years
Assisted them. Hard does the judgment seem?
The sentence savage? And in Sodom, too,
60 That the still guiltless little one unarmed
And tender should lose life: for what had e'er
The infant sinned? What cruel thou mayst think,
Is parent-care's true duty. Lest misdeed
Should further grow, crime's authors He did quench,
65 And sinful parents' brood. But, with his sires,
The harmless infant pays not penalties
Perpetual, ignorant and not advanced
In crime: but lest he partner should become
Of adult age's guilt, death immature
70 Undid spontaneous future ills.
Why, then,
Bids God libation to be poured to Him
With blood of sheep? and takes so stringent means
By Law, that, in the People, none transgress
Erringly, threatening them with instant death
75 By stoning? and why reprobates, again,
These gifts of theirs, and says they are to Him
Unwelcome, while He chides a People press
With swarm of sin? Does He, the truthful, bid,
And He, the just, at the same time repel?
80 The causes if thou seekst, cease to be moved
Erringly: for faith's cause is weightier
Than fancied reason. Through a mirror -shade

Of fulgent light!-behold what the calf's blood,
The heifer's ashes, and each goat, do mean:

85 The one dismissed goes off, the other falls
A victim at the temple.

With calfs blood

With water mixt the seer (thus from on high
Bidden) besprinkled People, vessels all,
Priests, and the written volumes of the Law.

90 See here not their true hope, nor yet a mere
Semblance devoid of virtue: but behold

In the calf's type Christ destined *bodily*

To suffer; who upon His shoulders bare

The plough-beam's hard yokes, and with fortitude

95 Brake His own heart with the steel share, and poured

Into the furrows water of His own

Life's blood. For these "temple-vessels" do

Denote our bodies: God's true temple He,

Not dedicated erst; for to Himself

100 He by His blood associated men,

And willed them be His body's priests, Himself

The Supreme Father's perfect Priest by right.

Hearing, sight, step inert, He cleansed; and, for a "book,"

Sprinkled, by speaking. words of presage, those

105 His witnesses: demonstrating the Law

Bound by His holy blood.

This cause withal Our victim through "*the heifer*" manifests

From whose blood taking for the People's sake

Piacular drops, them the first Levite bare

110 Within the veil; and, by God's bidding, burned

Her corse without the camp's gates; with whose ash

He cleansed lapsed bodies. Thus our Lord (who us

By His own death redeemed), without the camp

Willingly suffering the violence

115 Of an iniquitous People, did fulfil

The Law, by facts predictions proving; who

A people of contamination full
Doth truly cleanse, conceding all things, as
The body's Author rich; within heaven's veil
120 Gone with the blood which-One for many's deaths-
He hath outpoured.

A holy victim, then,
Is meet for a great priest; which worthily
He, being perfect, may be proved to have,
And offer. He *a body* hath: this is

125 For mortals a live victim; worthy this
Of great price did He offer, One for all.

The semblance of the "goats" teaches that they
Are men exiled out of the "peoples twain"
As barren; fruitless both; (of whom the Lord
130 Spake also, in the Gospel, telling how
The kids are severed from the sheep, and stand
On the left hand): that some indeed there are
Who for the Lord's Name's sake have suffered: thus
That fruit has veiled their former barrenness:

135 And such, the prophet teaches, on the ground
Of that their final merit worthy are
Of the Lord's altar: others, cast away
(As was th' iniquitous rich man, we read,
By Lazarus), are such as have remained

140 Exiled, persistent in their stubbornness.
Now a veil, hanging in the midst, did both
Dissever, and had into portions twain
Divided the one shrine. The inner parts
Were called "Holies of holiest" Stationed there

145 An altar shone, noble with gold; and there,
At the same time, the testaments and ark
Of the Law's tablets; covered wholly o'er
With lambs'skins dyed with heaven's hue; within
Gold-clad; and all between of wood. Here are so

150 The tablets of the Law; here is the urn

Replete with manna; here is Aaron's rod
Which puts forth germens of the cross -unlike
The cross itself, yet born of storax-tree -And over it-in uniformity
155 Fourfold-the cherubim their pinions spread,
And the inviolable sanctities
Covered obediently. Without the veil
Part of the shrine stood open: facing it,
Heavy with broad brass, did an altar stand;
160 And with two triple sets (on each side one)
Of branches woven with the central stem,
A lampstand, and as many lamps:
The golden substance wholly filled with light
The temple.
Thus the temple's outer face,
165 Common and open, does the ritual
Denote, then, of a people lingering
Beneath the Law; amid whose gloom there shone
The Holy Spirit's sevenfold unity
Ever, the People sheltering. And thus
170 The Lampstand True and living Lamps do shine
Persistently throughout the Law and Seers
On men subdued in heart. And for a type
Of *earth*, the altar-so tradition says-
Was made. Here constantly, in open space,
175 Before all eyes were visible of old
The People's "works," which ever-"not without
Blood" -it did offer, shedding out the gore
Of lawless life. There, too, the Lord-Himself
Made victim on behalf of all-denotes
180 The *whole earth* -altar in specific sense.
Hence likewise that new covenant author, whom
No language can describe, Disciple John,
Testifies that beneath such altar he
Saw souls which had for Christ's name suffered,
185 Praying the vengeance of the mighty God

Upon their slaughter. There, meantime, is rest.
 In some unknown part there exists a spot
 Open, enjoying its own light; 'tis called
 "Abraham's bosom; "high above the glooms,
 190 And far removed from fire, yet 'neath the earth.
 The *brazen altar* this is called, whereon
 (We have recorded) was a dusky veil.
 This veil divides both parts, and leaves the one
 Open, from the eternal one distinct
 195 In worship and time's usage. To itself
 Tis not unfriendly, though of fainter love,
 By time and space divided, and yet linked
 By reason.'Tis one house, though by a veil
 Parted it seems: and thus (when the veil burst,
 200 On the Lord's passion) heavenly regions oped
 And holy vaults, and what was double erst
 Became one house perennial. Order due
 Traditionally has interpreted
 The *inner temple* of the people called
 205 After Christ's Name, with worship heavenly,
 God's actual mandates following; (no "shade".
 Is *herein* bound, but persons real;) complete
 By the arrival of the "perfect things."
 The ark beneath a type points out to us
 210 Christ's venerable body, joined, through "wood,"
 With sacred Spirit: the *aërial skins*
 Are flesh not born of seed, outstretcht on "wood;"
 At the same time, with golden semblance fused,
 Within, the glowing Spirit joined is
 215 Thereto; that, with peace granted, flesh might bloom
 With Spirit mixt. Of the Lord's flesh, again,
 The *urn*, golden and full, a type doth bear.
 Itself denotes that the new covenant's Lord
 Is *manna*; in that He, true heavenly Bread,
 220 Is, and hath by the Father been transfused

Into that bread which He hath to His saints
Assigned for a pledge: this Bread will He
Give perfectly to them who (of good works
The lovers ever) have the bonds of peace
225 Kept. And *the double tablets of the law*
Written all over, these, at the same time,
Signify that that Law was ever hid
In Christ, who mandate old and new fulfilled,
Ark of the Supreme Father as He is,
230 Through whom He, being rich, hath all things given.
The *storax-rod*, too, nut's fruit bare itself;
(The virgin's semblance this, who bare in blood
A body:) on the "wood" conjoined 'twill lull
Death's bitter, which within sweet fruit doth lurk,
235 By virtue of the Holy Spirit's grace:
Just as Isaiah did predict "a rod"
From Jesse's seed -Mary-from which a flower
Issues into the orb.
The *altar bright with gold*
Denotes the heaven on high, whither ascend
240 Prayers holy, sent up without crime: the Lord
This "altar" spake of, where if one doth gifts
Offer, he must first reconcile
Peace with his brother: thus at length his prayers
Can flame unto the stars. Christ, Victor sole
245 And foremost. Priest, thus offered *incense* born
Not of a *tree*, but prayers. The *cherubim*
Being, with twice two countenances, one,
And are the one word through fourfold order led;
The hoped comforts of life's mandate new,
250 Which in their plenitude Christ bare Himself
Unto us from the Father. But the *wings*
In number *four times six*, the heraldings
Of the old world denote, witnessing things
Which, we are taught, were after done. On these

255 The heavenly words fly through the orb: with these
Christ's blood is likewise held context, so told
Obscurely by the seers' presaging mouth.
The *number* of the wings doth set a seal
Upon the ancient volumes; teaching us
260 Those *twenty-four* have certainly enough
Which sang the Lord's ways and the times of peace:
These all, we see, with the new covenant
Cohere. Thus also John; the Spirit thus
To him reveals that in that number stand
265 The enthroned elders white and crowned, who (as
With girding-rope) all things surround, before
The Lord's throne, and upon the glassy sea
Subigneous: and four living creatures, winged
And full of eyes within and outwardly,
270 Do signify that hidden things are oped,
And all things shut are at the same time seen,
In the word's eye. The glassy flame-mixt sea
Means that the laver's gifts, with Spirit fused
Therein, upon believers are conferred.
275 Who could e'en tell what the Lord's parentcare
Before His judgment-seat, before His bar,
Prepared hath? that such as willing be
His forum and His judgment for themselves
To antedate, should 'scape! that who thus hastes
280 Might find abundant opportunity!
Thus therefore Law and wondrous prophets sang;
Thus all parts of the covenant old and new,
Those sacred rights and pregnant utterances
Of words, conjoined, do flourish. Thus withal,
285 Apostles' voices witness everywhere;
Nor aught of old, in fine, but to the new
Is joined.
Thus err they, and thus facts retort
Their sayings, who to false ways have declined;

And from the Lord and God, eternal King,
 290 Who such an orb produced, detract, and seek
 Some other deity 'neath feigned name,
 Bereft of minds, which (frenzied) they have lost;
 Willing to affirm that Christ a stranger is
 To the Law; nor is the world's Lord; nor doth will
 295 Salvation of the flesh; nor was Himself
 The body's Maker, by the Father's power.
 Them must we flee, stopping (unasked) our ears;
 Lest with their speech they stain innoxious hearts.
 Let therefore us, whom so great grace of God
 300 Hath penetrated, and the true celestial words
 Of the great Master-Teacher in good ways
 Have trained, and given us right monuments;
 Pay honour ever to the Lord, and sing
 Endlessly, joying in pure faith, and sure
 305 Salvation. Born of the true God, with bread
 Perennial are we nourished, and hope
 With our whole heart after eternal life.

Book V.-General Reply to Sundry of Marcion's Heresies.

The *first* Book did the enemy's words recall In
 order, which the senseless renegade
 Composed and put forth lawlessly; hence, too,
 Touched briefly flesh's hope, Christ's victory,
 5 And false ways' speciousness. The *next* doth teach
 The Law's conjoined mysteries, and what
 In the new covenant the one God hath
 Delivered. The *third* shows the race, create
 From freeborn mother, to be ministers
 10 Sacred to seers and patriarchs; whom Thou,
 O Christ, in number twice six out of all,
 Chosest; and, with their names, the lustral times
 Of our own elders noted, (times preserved
 On record,) showing in whose days appeared i

15 The author of this wickedness, unknown,
Lawless, and roaming, cast forth with his brood.
The *fourth*, too, the piacular rites recalls
Of the old Law themselves, and shows them types
In which the Victim True appeared, by saints
20 Expected long since, with the holy Seed.
This *fifth* doth many twists and knots untie,
Rolls wholly into sight what ills soe'er
Were lurking; drawing arguments, but not
Without attesting prophet.

And although

25 With strong arms fortified we vanquish foes,
Yet hath the serpent mingled so at once
All things polluted, impious, unallowed,
Commaculate, -the blind's path without light!
A voice contaminant!-that, all the while
30 We are contending the world's Maker is
Himself sole God, who also spake by voice
Of seers, and proving that there is none else
Unknown; and, while pursuing Him with praise,
Who is by various endearment known,
35 Are blaming-among other fallacies-
The Unknown's tardy times: our subject's fault
Will scarce keep pure our tongue. Yet, for all that,
Guile's many hidden venoms us enforce
(Although with double risk) to ope our words.
40 Who, then, the God whom ye say is the true,
Unknown to peoples, alien, in a word,
To all the world? Him whom none knew before?
Came he from high? If 'tis his own he seeks,
Why seek so late? If not his own, why rob
45 Bandit-like? and why ply with words unknown
So oft throughout Law's rein a People still
Lingering 'neath the Law? If, too, he comes
To pity and to succour all combined,

And to re-elevate men vanquisht quite

50 By death's funereal weight, and to release
Spirit from flesh's bond obscene, whereby
The inner man (iniquitously dwarfed)

Is held in check; why, then, so late appear
His ever-kindness, duteous vigilance?

55 How comes it that he ne at all before
Offered himself to any, but let slip
Poor souls in numbers? and then with his mouth
Seeks to regain another's subjects: ne'er
Expected; not known; sent into the orb.

60 Seeking the "ewe" he had not lost before,
The Shepherd ought to have disrobed himself
Of flesh, as if his victor-self withal
Had ever been a spirit, and as such
Willed to rescue all expelled souls,

65 Without a body, everywhere, and leave
The spoiled flesh to earth; wholly to fill
The world on one day equally with corpses
To leave the orb void; and to raise the souls
To heaven. Then would human progeny

70 At once have ceased to be born; nor had
Thereafter any scion of *your* kith
Been born, or spread a new pest o'er the orb.
Or (since at that time none of all these things
Is shown to have been done) he should have set

75 A bound to future race; with solid heart
Nuptial embraces would he, in that case
Have sated quite; made men grow torpid, reft
Of fruitful seed; made irksome intercourse
With female sex; and closed up inwardly

80 The flesh's organs genital: our mind
Had had no will, no potent faculty
Our body: after this the "inner man"
Could withal, joined with blood, have been infused

And cleaved to flesh, and would have ever been

85 Perishing. Ever perishes the “ewe:”

And is there then no power of saving her?

Since man is ever being born beneath

Death’s doom, what is the Shepherd’s work, if thus

The “ewe” is stated to be found? *Unsought*

90 In that case, but not *rescued*, she is proved.

But now choice is allowed of entering

Wedlock, as hath been ever; and that choice

Sure progeny hath yoked: nations are born

And folk scarce numerable, at whose birth

95 Their souls by living bodies are received;

Nor was it meet that Paul (though, for the time,

He did exhort some few, discerning well

The many pressures of a straitened time)

To counsel men in like case to abide

100 As he himself: for elsewhere he has bidden

The tender ages marry, nor defraud

Each other, but their compact’s dues discharge.

But say, whose suasion hash, with fraud astute,

Made you “abide,” and in divided love

105 Of offspring live secure, and commit crime

Adulterous, and lose your life? and, though

’Tis perishing, belie (by verbal name)

That fact.. For which cause all the so sweet sounds

Of his voice pours he forth, that “you must do,

110 Undaunted, whatsoever pleases you;”

Outwardly chaste, stealthily stained with crime!

Of honourable wedlock, by this plea,

He hath deprived you. But why more? ’Tis well

(Forsooth) to be disjoined! for the world, too,

115 Expedient ’tis! lest any of *your* seed

Be born! Then will death’s organs cease at length!

The while you hope salvation to retain,

Your “total man” quite loses part of man,

With mind profane: but neither is man said
120 To be *sole spirit*, nor the *flesh* is called
“The old man; “nor unfriendly are the flesh
And spirit, the true man combined in one,
The *inner*, and he whom you call “*old foe*,”
Nor are they seen to have each his own set
125 Of senses. One is ruled; the other rules,
Groans, joys, grieves, loves; himself to his own flesh
Most dear, too; *through* which his humanity
Is visible, *with* which commixt he is
Held ever: to its wounds he care applies;
130 And pours forth tears; and nutriments of food
Takes, through its limbs, often and eagerly:
This hopes he to have ever with himself
Immortal; o’er its fracture doth he groan;
And grieves to quit it limb by limb: fixt time
135 Death lords it o’er the unhappy flesh; that so
From light dust it may be renewed, and death
Unfriendly fail at length, when flesh, released,
Rises again. This will that victory be
Supreme and long expected, wrought by Him,
140 The aye-to-be-revered, who did become
True man; and by His Father’s virtue won: Who
man’s redeemed limbs unto the heavens
Hath raised, and richly opened access up
Thither in hope, first to His nation; then
145 To those among all tongues in whom His work
Is ever doing: Minister imbued
With His Sire’s parent-care, seen by the eye
Of the Illimitable, He performed,
By suffering, His missions.
What say now
150 The impious voices? what th’ abandoned crew?
If He Himself, God the Creator’s self,
Gave not the Law, He who from Egypt’s vale

Paved in the waves a path, and freely gave
The seats which He had said of old, why comes
155 He in that very People and that land
Aforesaid? and why rather sought He not
Some other peoples or some rival realms?
Why, further, did He teach that, through the seers,
(With Name foretold in full, yet not His own,)
160 He had been often sung of? Whence, again,
Could He have issued baptism's kindly gifts,
Promised by some one else, as His own works?
These gifts men who God's mandates had transgressed,
And hence were found polluted, longed for,
165 And begged a pardoning rescue from fierce death.
Expected long, they came: but that to those
Who recognised them when erst heard, and now
Have recognised them, when in due time found,
Christ's true hand is to give them, this, with voice
170 Paternal, the Creator-Sire Himself
Warns ever from eternity, and claims;
And thus the work of virtue which He framed,
And still frames, arms, and fosters, and doth now
Victorious look down on and reclothe
175 With His own light, should with perennial praise Abide.
What hath the Living Power done
To make men recognise what God can give
And man can suffer, and thus live? But since
Neither predictions earlier nor facts
180 The latest can sue senseless frantic men
That God became a man, and (after He
Had suffered and been buried) rose; that they
May credit those so many witnesses
Harmonious, who of old did cry aloud
185 With heavenly word, let them both learn to trust
At least terrestrial reason.
When the Lord

Christ came to be, as flesh, born into the orb
In time of king Augustus' reign at Rome,
First, by decree, the nations numbered are
190 By census everywhere: this measure, then,
This same king chanced to pass, because the Will
Supreme, in whose high reigning hand doth lie
The king's heart, had impelled him: he was first
To do it, and the enrolment was reduced
195 To orderly arrangement. Joseph then
Likewise, with his but just delivered wife
Mary, with her celestial Son alike,
Themselves withal are numbered. Let, then, such
As trust to instruments of human skill,
200 Who may (approving of applying them
As attestators of the holy word)
Inquire into this census, if it be
But found so as we say, then afterwards
Repent they and seek pardon while time still
205 Is had
The Jews, who own to having wrought
A grave crime, while in our disparagement
They glow, and do resist us, neither call
Christ's family unknown, nor can affirm
They hanged a man, who spake truth, on a tree:
210 Ignorant that the Lord's flesh which they bound
Was not seed-gendered. But, while partially
They keep a reticence, so partially
They triumph; for they strive to represent
God to the peoples commonly as man.
215 Behold the error which o'ercomes you both!
This error will our cause assist, the while,
We prove to you those things which certain are.
They do deny Him God; you falsely call
Him man, a body bodiless! and ah!
220 A various insanity of mind

Sinks you; which him who hath presumed to hint
You both do, sinking, sprinkle: for His deeds
Will then approve Him man alike and God
Commingle, and the world will furnish signs

225 No few.

While then the Son Himself of God
Is seeking to regain the flesh's limbs,
Already robed as King, He doth sustain
Blows from rude palms; with spitting covered is
His face; a thorn-inwoven crown His head
230 Pierces all round; and to the tree Himself
Is fixed; wine drugged with myrrh, is drunk, and gall
Is mixt with vinegar; parted His robe,
And in it lots are cast; what for himself

Each one hath seized he keeps; in murky gloom,
235 As God from fleshly body silently
Outbreathes His soul, in darkness trembling day
Took refuge with the sun; twice dawned one day;
Its centre black night covered: from their base
Mounts move in circle, wholly moved was earth,
240 Saints'sepulchres stood ope, and all things Joined
In fear to see His passion whom they knew!

His lifeless side a soldier with bare spear
Pierces, and forth flows blood, nor water less
Thence followed. These facts they agree to hide,

245 And are unwilling the misdeed to own,
Willing to blink the crime.

Can spirit, then,
Without a body wear a robe? or is't
Susceptible of penalty? the wound
Of violence does it bear? or die? or rise?

250 Is blood thence poured? from what flesh. since ye say
He had none? or else, rather, feigned He? if
'Tis safe for you to say so; though you do
(Headlong) so say, by passing over more

In silence. Is not, then, faith manifest?

255 And are not all things fixed? The day before

He then should suffer, keeping Passover,

And handing down a memorable rite

To His disciples, taking bread alike

And the vine's juice, "My body, and My blood

260 Which is poured for you, this is," did He say;

And bade it ever afterward be done.

Of what created elements were made,

Think ye, the bread and wine which were (He said)

His body with its blood? and what must be

265 Confessed? Proved He not Himself the world's

Maker, through deeds? and that He bore at once

A body formed from flesh and blood?

This God

This true Man, too, the Father's Virtue 'neath

An Image, with the Father ever was,

270 United both in glory and in age;

Because alone He ministers the words

Of the All-Holder; whom He upon earth

Accepts; through whom He all things did create:

God's Son, God's dearest Minister, is He!

275 Hence hath He generation, hence Name too,

Hence, finally, a kingdom; Lord from Lord;

Stream from perennial Fount! He, He it was

Who to the holy fathers (whosoe'er

Among them doth profess to have "seen God")-

280 God is our witness-since the origin

Of this our world, appearing, opened up

The Father's words of promise and of charge

From heaven high: He led the People out;

Smote through th'iniquitous nation; was Himself

285 The column both of light and of cloud's shade;

And dried the sea; and bids the People go

Right through the waves, the foe therein involved

And covered with the flood and surge: a way
Through deserts made He for the followers
290 Of His high biddings; sent down bread in showers
From heaven for the People; brake the rock;
Bedewed with wave the thirsty; and from God
The mandate of the Law to Moses spake
With thunder, trumpet-sound, and flamey column
295 Terrible to the sight, while men's hearts shook.
After twice twenty years, with months complete,
Jordan was parted; a way oped; the wave
Stood in a mass; and the tribes shared the land,
Their fathers' promised boons! The Father's word,
300 Speaking Himself by prophets' mouth, that He
Would come to earth and be a man, He did
Predict; Christ manifestly to the earth
Foretelling.
Then, expected for our aid,
Life's only Hope, the Cleanser of our flesh,
305 Death's Router, from th' Almighty Sire's empire
At length He came, and with our human limbs
He clothed Him. Adam-virgin-dragon-tree,
The cause of ruin, and the way whereby
Rash death us all had vanquisht! by the same
310 Our Shepherd treading, seeking to regain
His sheep-with angel-virgin-His own flesh-
And the "tree's" remedy; whence vanquisht man
And doomed to perish was aye wont to go
To meet his vanquisht peers; hence, inter-posed,
315 One in all captives' room, He did sustain
In body the unfriendly penalty
With patience; by His own death spoiling death;
Becomes salvation's cause; and, having paid
Thoroughly our debts by thoroughly suffering
320 On earth, in holy body, everything,
Seeks the infern! here souls, bound for their crime,

Which shut up all together by Law's weight,
Without a guard, were asking for the boons
Promised of old, hoped for, and tardy, He
325 To the saints' rest admitted, and, with light,
Brought back. For on the third day mounting up,
A victor, with His body by His Sire's
Virtue immense, (salvation's pathway made,)
And bearing God and man in form create,
330 He clomb the heavens, leading back with Him
Captivity's first-fruits (a welcome gift
And a dear figure to the Lord), and took
His seat beside light's Father, and resumed
The virtue and the glory of which, while
335 He was engaged in vanquishing the foe
He had been stripped; conjoined with Spirit; bound
With flesh, on our part. Him, Lord, Christ, King, God,
Judgment and kingdom given to His hand,
The father is to send unto the orb.

The Latin Texts



Anatolia, Asia Minor in the Greco-Roman period. Montanus flourished in this region in the second century. In middle life (c. 207), Tertullian was attracted to the “New Prophecy” of Montanism.

List of Latin Texts



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De Paenitentia (On Repentance)

I. [1] Paenitentiam hoc genus homines quod et ipsi retro fuimus, caeci sine domini lumine, natura tenus norunt passionem animi quandam esse quae obveniat de offensa sententiae prioris. [2] Ceterum a ratione eius tantum absunt quantum ab ipso rationis auctore. Quippe res dei ratio quia deus omnium conditor nihil non ratione providit disposuit ordinavit nihilque non ratione tractari intellegique voluit. [3] Igitur ignorantes quique deum rem quoque eius ignorent necesse est quia nullius omnino thesaurus extraneis patet. Itaque universam vitae conversationem sine gubernaculo rationis transfretantes imminentem saeculo procellam evitare non norunt. [4] Quam autem in paenitentiae actu irrationabiliter deversentur, vel uno isto satis erit expedire cum illam etiam in bonis factis suis adhibent. Paenitet fidei amoris implicitatis liberalitatis patientiae misericordiae: [5] prout quid in ingratiam cecidit, semetipsos execrantur quia benefecerint, eamque maxime paenitentiae speciem quae optimis operibus inrogatur in corde figunt meminisse curantes ne quid boni rursus praestent. Contra paenitentiae malorum levius incubant: denique facilius per eandem delinquant quam per eandem recte faciunt.

II. [1] Quodsi dei ac per hoc rationis quoque compotes agerent, merita primo paenitentiae expenderent nec umquam eam ad augmentum perversae emendationis adhiberent; modum denique paenitendi temperarent quia et delinquendi tenerent, timentes dominum scilicet. [2] Sed ubi metus nullus, emendatio proinde nulla; ubi emendatio nulla, paenitentia necessario vana, quia caret fructu suo cui eam deus seuit, id est hominis salute. [3] Nam deus post tot ac tanta delicta humanae temeritatis a principe generis Adam auspicata, post damnatum hominem cum saeculi dote, post eiectum paradiso mortique subiectum, cum rursus ad suam misericordiam maturuisset, iam inde in semetipso paenitentiam dedicavit, rescissa sententia irarum pristinorum ignoscere pactus operi et imagini suae. [4] Itaque et populum sibi congregavit et multis bonitatis suae largitionibus fovit et ingratisimum totiens expertus, ad paenitentiam semper hortatus ei praedicandae universorum prophetarum emisit ora: mox gratiam pollicitus quam in extremitatibus temporum per spiritum suum universo orbi inluminaturus esset, praeire intinctionem paenitentiae iussit, si, quos per gratiam vocaret ad promissionem semini Abraham destinata, per paenitentiae subsignationem ante conponeret. [5] Non

tacet Iohannes paenitentiam initote dicens: iam enim salus nationibus adpropinquabat, dominus scilicet adferens secundum dei promissum. [6] Cui praeministrum paenitentiam destinarat purgandis mentibus praepositam, uti, quidquid error vetus inquinasset, quidquid in corde hominis ignorantia contaminasset, id paenitentia averrens et eradens et foras abiciens mundam pectoris domum superventuro spiritui sancto paret quo se ille cum caelestibus bonis libens inferat. [7] Horum bonorum unus est titulus, salus hominis criminum pristinorum abolitione praemissa; haec paenitentiae causa, haec opera, negotium divinae misericordiae curans, quod homini proficit, deo servit. [8] Ceterum ratio eius, quam cognito domino discimus, certam formam tenet, ne bonis umquam factis cogitatisve quasi violenta aliqua manus iniciatur. [9] Deus enim reprobationem bonorum ratam non habet utpote suorum: quorum cum auctor et defensor sit, necesse est proinde et acceptator; si acceptator, etiam remunerator. [10] Viderit ergo ingratia hominum, si etiam bonis factis paenitentiam cogit; viderit et gratia, si captatio eius ad benefaciendum incitamento est: terrena et mortalis utraque. [11] Quantum enim compendii, si grato benefeceris, vel dispendii, si ingrato? Bonum factum deum habet debitorem, sicuti et malum, quia iudex omnis remunerator est causae. [12] At cum iudex deus iustitiae carissimae sibi exigendae tuendaeque praesideat et in eam omnem summam disciplinae suae sanciat, dubitandum est, sicut in universis actibus nostris, ita in paenitentiae quoque causa iustitiam deo praestandam esse? Quod quidem ita impleri licebit, si peccatis solummodo adhibeatur. [13] Porro peccatum nisi malum factum dici non meretur nec quisquam benefaciendo delinquit. [14] Quodsi non delinquit, cur paenitentiam invadit delinquentium privatum? Cur malitiae officium bonitati suae inponit? Ita evenit ut, cum aliquid ubi non oportet adhibeatur, illic ubi oportet neglegatur.

III. [1] Quorum ergo paenitentia iusta et debita videatur, id est quae delicto deputanda sint, locus quidem expostulat denotare, sed otiosum videri potest. [2] Domino enim cognito ultro spiritus a suo auctore respectus emergit ad notitiam veritatis et admissus ad dominica praecepta ex ipsis statim eruditur id peccato deputandum, a quo deus arceat: quoniam, cum deum grande quid boni constet esse, utique bono nisi malum non displiceret, quod inter contraria sibi nulla amicitia est. [3] Praestringere tamen non pigebit delictorum quaedam esse carnalia, id est corporalia, quaedam vero spiritalia - nam cum ex hac

duplicis substantiae congregatione confectus homo sit, non aliunde delinquit quam unde constat -; [4] sed non eo inter se differunt, quod corpus et spiritus duo sunt, atquin eo magis paria sunt, quia duo unum efficiunt, ne quis pro diversitate materiarum peccata earum discernat ut alterum altero levius aut gravius existimet. [5] Siquidem et caro et spiritus dei res, alia manu eius expressa, alia adflatu [eius] consummata; cum ergo ex pari ad dominum pertineant, quodcumque eorum deliquerit ex pari dominum offendit. [6] An tu discernas actus carnis et spiritus, quorum et in vita et in morte et in resurrectione tantum communionis atque consortii est, ut pariter tunc aut in vitam aut in iudicium suscitentur, quia scilicet pariter aut deliquerint aut innocenter egerint? [7] Hoc eo praemisimus ut non minorem alteri quam utrique parti, si quid deliquerit, paenitentiae necessitatem intellegamus inpendere; communis reatus amborum est, communis et iudex, deus scilicet: communis igitur et paenitentiae medella. [8] Exinde spiritalia et corporalia nominantur, quod delictum omne aut agitur aut cogitatur, ut corporale sit quod in facto est quia factum ut corpus et videri et contingi habet, spiritale vero quod in animo est quia ut spiritus neque videtur neque tenetur. [9] Per quod ostenditur non facti solum, verum et voluntatis delicta vitanda et paenitentia purganda esse. Neque enim, si mediocritas humana facti solummodo iudicat quia voluntatis latebris par non est, idcirco [etiam] crimina eius etiam sub deo neglegamus. [10] Deus in omnia sufficit; nihil a conspectu eius remotum unde omnino delinquitur; quia non ignorat, nec omittit quominus in iudicium decernat: dissimulator et praevaricator perspicaciae suae non est! [11] Quid quod voluntas facti origo est? Viderint enim, si qua casui aut necessitati aut ignorantiae inputantur, quibus exceptis iam non nisi voluntate delinquitur. [12] Cum ergo facti origo sit, non tanto potior ad poenam est quanto principalis ad culpam? Qua ne tunc quidem liberatur cum aliqua difficultas perpetrationem eius intercipit: ipsa enim sibi inputatur nec excusari poterit per illam perficiendi infelicitatem, operata quod suum fuerat. [13] Denique dominus quemadmodum se adiectionem legi superstruere demonstrat nisi et voluntatis interdicens delicta? Cum adulterum non eum solum definit qui comminus in alienum matrimonium cecidisset, verum etiam illum qui adspectus concupiscentia contaminasset. [14] Adeo quod prohibetur administrare, satis periculose animus sibi repraesentat et temere per voluntatem expungit effectum. Cuius voluntatis cum vis tanta sit ut nos solatio sui saturans pro

facto cedat, pro facto ergo plectetur. [15] Vanissimum est dicere: ‘volui nec tamen feci’; atquin perficere debes quia vis, aut nec velle quia nec perficis. [16] Sed ipse conscientiae tuae confessionem pronuntias, nam si bonum concupisceres, perficere gestisses; porro si ut malum non perficis, nec concupiscere debueras: quaqua te constitueris, crimini adstringeris qua aut malum volueris aut bonum non adinpleveris!

IV. [1] Omnibus ergo delictis seu carne seu spiritu, seu facto seu voluntate commissis qui poenam per iudicium destinavit, idem et veniam per paenitentiam sponndit dicens ad populum: paenitere et salvum faciam te. [2] Et rursus: vivo, inquit, dicit dominus et paenitentiam malo quam mortem. Ergo paenitentia vita est, quae praeponitur morti. Eam tu peccator, mei similis - immo me minor: ego enim praestantiam in delictis meam agnosco - ita invade, ita amplexare ut naufragus alicuius tabulae fidem. [3] Haec te peccatorum fluctibus mersum prolevabit et in portum divinae clementiae protelabit. Rape occasionem inopinatae felicitatis, ut ille tu nihil quondam penes dominum nisi stilla situlae et areae pulvis et vasculum figuli arbor exinde fias, illa arbor quae penes aquas seritur et in foliis perennat et tempore suo fructus agit, quae non ignem, non securem videbit. [4] Paeniteat errorum reperta veritate, paeniteat amasse quae deus non amat, quando ne nos quidem ipsi servulis nostris ea, quibus offendimur, nosse permittimus: obsequi enim ratio in similitudine animorum constituta est. [5] De bono paenitentiae enumerando diffusa et per hoc magno eloquio committenda materia est: nos vero pro nostris angustiis unum inculcamus, bonum atque optimum esse quod deus praecipit. [6] Audaciam existimo de bono divini praecepti disputare; neque enim quia bonum est, idcirco auscultare debemus, sed quia deus praecepit: ad exhibitionem obsequi prior est maiestas divinae potestatis, prior est auctoritas imperantis quam utilitas servientis. [7] ‘Bonum est paenitere an non?’ Quid revolvis? deus praecepit! Atenim ille non praecipit tantum, sed etiam hortatur; invitat praemio: salute; iurans etiam, vivo dicens cupit credi sibi. [8] O beatos nos quorum causa deus iurat; o miserrimos si nec iuranti domino credimus! Quod iterum deus tantopere commendat, quod etiam humano more sub deieratione testatur, summa utique gravitate et adgredi et custodire debemus, ut in adseveratione divinae gratiae permanentes in fructu quoque eius et emolumento proinde perseverare possimus.

V. [1] Hoc enim dico, paenitentiam, quae per dei gratiam ostensa et indicta

nobis in gratiam nos domino revocat, semel cognitam atque susceptam numquam posthac iteratione delicti resignari oportere. [2] Iam quidem nullum ignorantiae praetextum patrocinator tibi, quod domino adgnito praeceptisque eius admissis, denique paenitentia delictorum functus, rursus te in delicta restituis. [3] Ita in quantum ab ignorantia segregaris, in tantum contumaciae adglutinaris; nam si idcirco te deliquisse paenituerat quia dominum coeperas timere, cur quod metus gratia gessisti rescindere maluisti nisi quia metuere desisti? [4] Neque enim timorem alia res quam contumacia subvertit. Cum autem etiam ignorantes dominum nulla exceptio tueatur a poena, quia deum in aperto constitutum et vel ex ipsis caelestibus bonis comprehensibilem ignorari non licet, quanto cognitum despici periculosum est? [5] Despicit porro qui, bonorum ac malorum intellectum ab illo consecutus, quod intellegit fugiendum quodque iam fugit resumens intellectui suo id est dei dono contumeliam facit: respuit datorem, cum datum deserit; negat beneficium, cum beneficium non honorat! [6] Quemadmodum ei potest placere cuius munus sibi displicet? Ita in dominum non modo contumax sed etiam ingratus apparet. [7] Ceterum non leviter in dominum peccat qui, cum aemulo eius diabolo paenitentia sua renuntiasset et hoc nomine illum domino subiecisset, rursus eundem regressu suo erigit et exultationem eius semetipsum facit, ut denuo malus recuperata praeda sua adversus dominum gaudeat. [8] Nonne - quod dicere quoque periculosum est, sed ad aedificationem proferendum [est] - diabolum domino praepones? Comparationem enim videtur egisse, qui utrumque cognoverit, et iudicato pronuntiasset eum meliorem, cuius se rursus esse maluerit! [9] Ita qui per delictorum paenitentiam instituerat domino satisfacere, diabolo per aliam paenitentiae paenitentiam satisfaciet eritque tanto magis perosus deo quanto aemulo eius acceptus. [10] Sed aiunt quidam satis dominum habere, si corde et animo suscipiatur, licet actu minus fiat; itaque se salvo metu et fide peccare, hoc est salva oastitate matrimonia violare, salva pietate parenti venenum temperare. [11] Sic ergo et ipsi salva venia in gehennam detrudentur, dum salvo metu peccant. [12] Pro mirum exemplum perversitatis: quia timent delinquent; opinor non delinquerent, si non timerent! [13] Igitur qui deum nolet offensum, nec revereatur omnino, si timor offendendi patrocinium est! Sed ista ingenia de semine hypocritarum pullulare consuerunt, quorum individua cum diabolo amicitia est, quorum paenitentia numquam fidelis.

VI. [1] Quidquid ergo mediocritas nostra ad paenitentiam semel capessendam et perpetuo continendam suggerere conata est, omnes quidem debitos domino spectat ut omnes salutis in promerendo deo petitores, sed praecipue novitiolis istis imminet, qui cum maxime incipiunt divinis sermonibus aures rigare quique ut catuli infantiae adhuc recentis necdum perfectis luminibus incerta reptant et dicunt quidem pristinis renuntiare et paenitentiam adsumunt, sed includere eam neglegunt. [2] Interpellat enim illos ad desiderandum ex pristinis aliquid ipse finis desiderandi, velut poma, cum iam in acorem vel amaritudinem senescere incipiunt, ex parte aliqua tamen adhuc ipsi gratiae suae adulantur. [3] Omne praeterea cunctationis et tergiversationis erga paenitentiam vitium praesumptio intinctionis inportat. Certi enim indubitatae veniae delictorum medium tempus interim furantur et commeatum sibi faciunt delinquendi quam eruditionem non delinquendi. [4] Quam porro ineptum, quam (perversum), paenitentiam non adimplere et veniam delictorum sustinere, hoc est pretium non exhibere et ad mercem manum emittere! Hoc enim pretio dominus veniam addicere instituit, hac paenitentiae compensatione redimendam proponit inpunitatem. [5] Si ergo qui venditant prius nummum quo paciscuntur examinant, ne scalptus ne versus ne adulter, non etiam dominum credimus paenitentiae probationem prius inire tantam nobis mercedem, perennis scilicet vitae, concessurum? [6] ‘Sed differamus tantisper paenitentiae veritatem: tunc opinor emendatos licebit, cum absolvimur’. Nullo pacto, sed cum pendente venia poena prospicitur, cum adhuc liberari non meremur, ut possimus mereri, cum deus comminatur, non cum ignoscit. [7] Quis enim servus, posteaquam libertate mutatus est, furta sua et fugas sibi inputat? quis miles, postquam castris suis emissus est, pro notis suis satagit? [8] Peccator ante veniam deflare se debet, quia tempus paenitentiae idem quod periculi et timoris. [9] Neque ego renuo divinum beneficium, id est abolitionem delictorum, inituris aquam omnimodo salvum esse; sed ut eo pervenire contingat elaborandum est. Quis enim tibi tam infidae paenitentiae viro asperginem unam cuiuslibet aquae commodabit? [10] Furto quidem adgredi et praepositum huius rei adseverationibus tuis circumduci facile est: sed deus thesauro suo providet, nec sinet obrepere indignos. Quid denique ait? Nihil occultum quod non revelabitur: quantascumque tenebras factis tuis superstruxeris, deus lumen est! [11] Quidam autem sic opinantur, quasi deus necesse habeat praestare etiam indignis quod

spopondit, et liberalitatem eius faciunt servitutem. [12] Quodsi necessitate nobis symbolum mortis indulget, ergo invitus facit; quis autem promittit permansurum et quod tribuerit invitus? [13] Non enim multi postea excidunt? non a multis donum illud auferetur? Hi sunt scilicet qui obrepunt, qui paenitentiae fidem adgressi super harenas domum ruituram conlocant! [14] Nemo ergo sibi aduleatur quia inter auditorum tirocinia deputatur, quasi eo etiamnunc sibi delinquere liceat: dominum simul cognoveris timeas, simul inspexeris reverearis! [15] Ceterum quid te cognovisse interest, cum isdem incubas quibus retro ignarus? Quid autem te a perfecto servo dei separat? An alius est intinctis Christus, alius audientibus? [16] Num alia spes uel merces, alia formido iudicii, alia necessitas paenitentiae? Lavacrum illud obsignatio est fidei, quae fides a paenitentiae fide incipitur et commendatur. [17] Non ideo abluimur ut delinquere desinamus, sed quia desiimus, quoniam iam corde loti sumus: haec enim prima audientis intinctio est. Metus integer exinde quod dominum senserit; fides sana conscientia semel paenitentiam amplexata! [18] Ceterum si ab aquis peccare desistimus, necessitate, non sponte, innocentiam induimus. Quis ergo in bonitate praecellens? cui non licet aut cui displicet malo esse? qui iubetur an qui delectatur a crimine vacare? [19] Ergo nec a furto manus avertamus, nisi claustrorum duritia repugnet, nec oculos a stupri concupiscentiis refrenemus, nisi a custodibus corporum obstructi, si nemo domino debitus delinquere desinet nisi intinctione alligatus. [20] Quodsi qui ita senserit, nescio an intinctus magis contristetur quod peccare desierit, quam laetetur quod evaserit! Itaque audientes optare intinctionem, non praesumere oportet. [21] Qui enim optat, honorat; qui praesumit, superbit; in illo verecundia, in isto autem petulantia apparet; ille satagit, hic negligit; ille emerere cupit, at hic ut debitum sibi repromittit; ille sumit, hic invadit. [22] Quem censeas digniorem nisi emendatiorem? quem emendatiorem nisi timidiores et idcirco vera paenitentia functum? timuit enim adhuc delinquere, ne non mereretur accipere. [23] At ille praesumptor oum sibi repromitteret, securus scilicet, timere non potuit: sic nec paenitentiam implevit, quia instrumento paenitentiae, id est metu, caruit. [24] Praesumptio inverecundiae portio est: inflat petitozem, despicit datorem; itaque decipit nonnumquam. Ante enim quam debeatur repromittit, quo semper is qui est praestaturus offenditur.

VII. [1] Hucusque, Christe domine, de paenitentiae disciplina servis tuis

dicere vel audire contingat, quousque etiam delinquere non oportet et audientibus: vel nihil iam de paenitentia noverint, nihil eius requirant. [2] Piget secundae, immo iam ultimae spei subtexere mentionem, ne retractantes de residuo auxilio paenitendi spatium adhuc delinquendi demonstrare videamur. [3] Absit ut aliquis ita interpretetur, quasi eo sibi etiamnunc pateat ad delinquendum, quia patet ad paenitendum, et redundantiam clementiae caelestis libidinem faciat humanae temeritatis! [4] Nemo idcirco deterior sit, quia dominus melior est, totiens delinquendo quotiens et ignoscitur: ceterum finem utique evadendi habebit, qui offendendi non habebit. Evasimus semel: hactenus periculosus nosmetipsos inferamus etsi iterum evasuri videmur. [5] Plerique naufragio liberati exinde repudium et navi et mari dicunt et dei beneficium, salutem suam scilicet, memoria periculi honorant. Laudo timorem, diligo verecundiam: nolunt iterum divinae misericordiae oneri esse, formidant videri inculcare quod consecuti sunt; bona certe sollicitudine iterum experiri devitant quod semel didicerunt timere. [6] Ita modus temeritatis testatio est timoris; timor autem hominis dei honor est. [7] Sed enim pervicacissimus hostis ille numquam malitiae suae otium facit, atquin tunc maxime saevit cum hominem plene sentit liberatum, tunc plurimum accenditur cum extinguitur. [8] Doleat et ingemiscat necesse est venia peccatorum permissa tot in homine mortis opera diruta, tot titulos dominationis retro suae erasos. Dolet quod ipsum et angelos eius Christo servus ille peccator iudicaturus est. [9] Itaque observat obpugnat obsidet, si qua possit aut oculos concupiscentia carnali ferire aut animum inlecebris saecularibus inretire aut fidem terrenae potestatis formidine evertere aut a via certa perversis traditionibus detorquere; non scandalis, non temptationibus deficit. [10] Haec igitur venena eius providens deus clausana licet ignoscentiae ianuam et intinctionis sera obstructam aliquid adhuc permisit patere: conlocavit in vestibulo paenitentiam secundam, quae pulsantibus patefaciat, sed iam semel quia iam secundo, sed amplius numquam quia proxime frustra. [11] Non enim et hoc semel satis est? Habes quod iam non merebaris: amisisti enim quod acceperas. Si tibi indulgentia domini adcommodat, unde restituas quod amiseras, iterato beneficio gratus esto, nedum ampliato. [12] Maius [est] enim restituere quam dare, quoniam miserius est perdidisse quam omnino non accepisse. Verum non statim succidendus ac subruendus est animus desperatione, si secundae quis paenitentiae debitor fuerit. [13] Pigeat sane

peccare rursus, sed rursus paenitere non pigeat; pudeat iterum periclitari, sed [non] iterum liberari neminem pudeat: iterandae valitudinis iteranda medicina est. [14] Gratus in dominum extiteris, si quod tibi denuo offert, non recusaveris. Offendisti sed reconciliari adhuc potes: habes cui satisfacias et quidem volentem!

VIII. [1] Id si dubitas, evolve quae spiritus ecclesiis dicat: desertam dilectionem Ephesiis inputat, stuprum et idolothytorum esum Thyatirensis exprobat, Sardos non plenorum operum incusat, Pergamenos docentes perversa reprehendit, Laudicenos divitiis fidentes obiurgat: et tamen omnes ad paenitentiam commonet, sub comminationibus quidem. [2] Non comminaretur autem non paenitenti, si non ignosceret paenitenti, dubium, si non et alibi hanc clementiae suae profusionem demonstrasset: Non, ait, qui ceciderit, resurget et qui aversatus fuerit, convertetur? [3] Ille est scilicet, ille [est] qui misericordiam mavult quam sacrificia. Laetantur caeli et qui illic angeli paenitentia hominis; heus tu peccator, bono animo sis: vides ubi de tuo gaudeatur! [4] Quid illa similitudinum dominicarum argumenta nobis volunt? Quod mulier dragmam perdit et requirit et repperit, [et] amicas ad gaudium invitat, nonne restituti peccatoris exemplum est? [5] Errat et una pastori ovicula, sed grex una carior non erat; una illa conquiritur, una pro omnibus desideratur, et tamen invenitur et humeris pastoris ipsius refertur: multum enim errando laboraverat. [6] Illum etiam mitissimum patrem non tacebo qui prodigum filium revocat et post inopiam paenitentem libens suscipit, inmolans vituum praeopimum convivio gaudium suum exornat: quidni? filium enim invenerat quem amiserat, cariorem senserat quem lucri fecerat. [7] Quis ille nobis intellegendus pater? Deus scilicet: tam pater nemo, tam pius nemo. [8] Is ergo te filium suum, etsi acceptum ab eo prodegeris, etsi nudus redieris, recipiet quia redisti magisque de regressu tuo quam de alterius sobrietate laetabitur, sed si paeniteas ex animo, si famem tuam cum saturitate mercennariorum paternorum conpares, si porcos immundum relinquo pecus, si patrem repetas vel offensum Deliqui dicens, pater, nec dignus ego iam vocari tuus. [9] Tantum relevat confessio delictum quantum dissimulatio exaggerat; confessio enim satisfactionis consilium est, dissimulatio contumaciae.

IX. [1] Huius igitur paenitentiae secundae et unius quanto in arto negotium est tanto operosior probatio ut non conscientia sola praeferatur, sed aliquo

etiam actu administretur. [2] Is actus, qui magis Graeco vocabulo exprimitur et frequentatur, exomologesis est qua delictum nostrum domino confitemur, non quidem ut ignaro, sed quatenus satisfactio confessione disponitur, confessione paenitentia nascitur, paenitentia deus mitigatur. [3] Itaque exomologesis prosternendi et humilificandi hominis disciplina est conversationem iniungens misericordiae inlicem, de ipso quoque habitu atque victu: [4] mandat sacco et cineri incubare, corpus sordibus obscurare, animum maeroribus deicere, illa quae peccant tristi tractatione mutare; ceterum pastum et potum pura nosse, non ventris scilicet sed animae causa; plerumque vero ieiuniis preces alere, ingemiscere, lacrimari et mugire dies noctesque ad dominum deum tuum, presbyteris advolvi, [et] aris dei adgeniculari, omnibus fratribus legationem deprecationis suae iniungere. [5] Haec omnia exomologesis, ut paenitentiam commendet, ut de periculi timore dominum honoret, ut in peccatorem ipsa pronuntians pro dei indignatione fungatur et temporali afflictatione aeterna supplicia non dicam frustretur, sed expungat. [6] Cum igitur provolvit hominem, magis relevat; cum squalidum facit, magis emundatum reddit; cum accusat, excusat; cum condemnat, absolvit: in quantum non peperceris tibi, in tantum tibi deus, crede, parcet!

X. [1] Plerosque tamen hoc opus ut publicationem sui aut suffugere aut de die in diem differre praesumo pudoris magis memores quam salutis, velut illi, qui in partibus verecundioribus corporis contracta vexatione conscientiam medentium vitant et ita cum erubescencia sua pereunt. [2] Intolerandum scilicet pudori domino offenso satisfacere, saluti productae reformari! Ne tu verecundia bonus, ad delinquendum expandens frontem, ad deprecandum vero subducens! [3] Ego rubori locum non facio, cum plus de detrimento eius adquiero, cum ipse hominem quodammodo exhortatur ‘ne me respexeris’, dicens, ‘pro te mihi melius est perire’. [4] Certe periculum eius tunc, si forte, onerosum est, cum penes insultatores in risiloquio consistit, ubi de alterius ruina alter attollitur, ubi prostrato superscenditur; ceterum inter fratres atque conservos, ubi communis spes metus gaudium dolor passio, quia communis spiritus de communi domino et patre, quid tu hos aliud quam te opinaris? [5] Quid consortes casuum tuorum ut plausores fugis? Non potest corpus de unius membri vexatione laetum agere: condoleat universum et ad remedium conlaboret necesse est. [6] In uno et altero ecclesia est, ecclesia vero Christus: ergo, cum te ad fratrum genua protendis, Christum contrectas, Christum

exoras; aequae illi cum super te lacrimas agunt, Christus patitur, Christus patrem deprecatur. Facile inpetratur semper quod filius postulat. [7] Grande plane emolumentum verecundiae occultatio delicti pollicetur! Videlicet si quid humanae notitiae subduxerimus, proinde et dominum celabimus? [8] Adeone existimatio hominum et dei conscientia comparantur? An melius est damnatum latere quam palam absolvi? [9] 'Miserum est sic ad exomologesin pervenire'. Malo enim - amans si pervenitur; sed ubi paenitendum est, deserit miserum, quia factum est salutare. [10] Miserum est secari et cauterio exuri et pulveris alicuius mordacitate cruciari: tamen quae per insuavitatem medentur, et emolumento curationis offensam sui excusant et praesentem iniuriam superventurae utilitatis gratia commendant.

XI. [1] Quid si praeter pudorem, quem potiores putant, etiam incommoda corporis reformident, quod inlotos, quod sordulentos, quod extra laetitiam oportet deversari in asperitudine sacci et horrore cineris et oris de ieiunio vanitate? [2] Num ergo in coccino et Tyrio pro delictis supplicare nos condecet? 'Cedo acum crinibus distinguendis et pulverem dentibus eliminandis et bisulcum aliquid ferri vel aeris unguibus repastinandis! Si quid ficti nitoris, si quid coacti ruboris [in] labia aut genas urgeat?' [3] Praeterea exquirito balneas laetiores hortulani maritimive secessus, adicito ad sumptum, conquirito altitium enormem saginam, defaecato senectutem quamque vini: quis interrogarit, cur animae largiaris: 'Deliqui', dicito, 'in dominum et periclitor in aeternum perire: itaque nunc pendeo et maceror et excrucior, ut deum reconciliem mihi, quem delinquendo laesi!' [4] Sed enim illos qui ambitus obeunt capessendi magistratus neque pudet neque piget iucommodis animae et corporis, nec incommodis tantum verum etiam contumeliis omnibus eniti in causa votorum suorum [5] - quas non ignobilitates vestium adfectant, quae non atria nocturnis et crudis salutationibus occupant, ad omnem occursum maioris cuiusque personae decrescentes, uillis conviviis celebres, nullis commensationibus congreges, sed exules a libertatis et laetitiae felicitate, itaque totum propter unius anni volaticum gaudium! -: [6] nos, quod securium virgarumve petitio sustinet, in periculo aeternitatis tolerare dubitamus et castigationem victus atque cultus offenso domino praestare cessabimus quae gentes nemine omnino laeso sibi inrogant? [7] Hi sunt, de quibus scriptura commemorat: Vae illis, qui delicta sua velut procero fune nectunt!

XII. [1] Si de exomologesi retractas, gehennam in corde considera, quam tibi exomologesis extinguet, et poenae prius magnitudinem imaginare, ut de remedii adoptione non dubites. [2] Quid illum thesaurum ignis aeterni existimamus, cum fumariola quaedam eius tales flammaram ictus suscitent, ut proximae urbes aut iam nullae extent aut idem sibi de die sperent? [3] Dissiliunt superbissimi montes ignis intrinsecus feti et, - quod nobis iudicii perpetuitatem probat -, cum dissiliant, cum devorentur, numquam tamen finiuntur! [4] Quis haec supplicia interim montium non iudicii minantis exemplaria deputabit? quis scintillas tales non magni alicuius et inaestimabilis foci missilia quaedam et exercitatoria iacula consentiet? [5] Igitur cum scias adversus gehennam post prima illa intinctionis dominicae munimenta esse adhuc in exomologesi secunda subsidia, cur salutem tuam deseris, cur cessas adgredi quod scias mederi tibi? [6] Mutae quidem animae et inrationabiles medicinas sibi divinitus adtributas in tempore agnoscunt: cervus sagitta transfixus, ut ferrum et inrevocabiles moras eius de vulnere expellat, scit sibi dictamnum edendam; hirundo si excaecauerit pullos, novit illos oculare rursus de sua chelidonia: [7] peccator restituendo sibi institutam a domino exomologesin sciens praeteribit illam, quae Babylonium regem in regna restituit? Diu enim paenitentiam domino immolarat septenni squalore exomologesin operatus, unguium leoninum in modum efferatione et capilli incuria horrorem aquilinum praeferebat. Pro malae tractationis felicitatem! quem homines perhorrebant, deus recipiebat. [8] Contra autem Aegyptius imperator qui populum dei aliquando adflictum, diu domino suo denegatum persecutus [in] proelio inruit, post tot documenta plagarum discidio maris, quod soli populo pervium licebat, revolutis fluctibus perit: paenitentiam enim et ministerium eius, exomologesin, abiecerat! [9] Quid ego ultra de istis duabus humanae salutis quasi plancis, stili potius negotium quam officium conscientiae meae curans? Peccator enim omnium notarum cum sim nec ulli rei nisi paenitentiae natus, non facile possum super illa tacere, quam ipse quoque et stirpis humanae et offensae in dominum princeps Adam exomologesi restitutus in paradisum suum non tacet!

De Oratione (On Prayer)

I. [1] Dei spiritus et Dei sermo et Dei ratio, sermo rationis et ratio sermonis et spiritus utriusque, Iesus Christus Dominus noster, nouis discipulis noui testamenti nouam orationis formam determinauit. Oportebat enim in hac quoque specie nouum uinum nouis utribus recondi et nouam plagulam nouo adsui uestimento. Ceterum quicquid retro fuerat, aut demutatum est ut circumcisio aut suppletum ut reliqua lex aut impletum ut prophetia aut perfectum ut fides ipsa. [2] Omnia de carnalibus in spiritualia renouauit noua Dei gratia, superducto euangelio, expunctore totius retro uetustatis, in quo et Dei spiritus et Dei sermo et Dei ratio approbatus est Dominus noster Iesus Christus, spiritus quo ualuit, sermo quo docuit, ratio qua uenit. Sic igitur <oratio> a Christo constituta ex tribus constituta est: ex spiritu, quo tantum potest, ex sermone quo enuntiatur, <ex ratione quo+>. [3] Docuerat et Ioannes discipulos suos adorare, sed omnia Ioannis Christo praestuebantur, donec ipso aucto — sicut idem Ioannes praenuntiabat illum augeri oportere, se uero deminui — totum praeministri opus cum ipso spiritu transiret ad Dominum. Ideo nec exstat in quae uerba docuerit Ioannes adorare, quod terrena caelestibus cesserint. Qui de terra est, inquit, terrena fatur et Qui de caelis adest, quae uidit, ea loquitur. Et quid non caeleste quod Domini Christi est, ut haec quoque orandi disciplina? [4] Consideremus itaque, benedicti, caelestem eius sophiam, inprimis de praecepto secrete adorandi, quo et fidem hominis exigebat, ut Dei omnipotentis et conspectum et auditum sub tectis et in abditum etiam adesse confideret, et modestiam fidei desiderabat, ut quem ubique audire et uidere fideret, ei soli religionem suam offerre. [5] [sequente] Sophia in sequenti praecepto proinde pertineat ad fidem et modestiam fidei, si non agmine uerborum adeundum putemus ad Dominum quem ultro suis prospicere certi sumus. [6] Et tamen breuitas ista — quod ad tertium sophiae gradum faciat — magnae ac beatae interpretationis substantia fulta est quantumque substringitur uerbis, tantum diffunditur sensibus. Neque enim propria tantum orationis officia complexa est, uel uenerationem Dei, aut hominis petitionem, sed omnem paene sermonem Domini, omnem commemorationem disciplinae, ut reuera in oratione breuiarium totius euangelii comprehendatur.

II. [1] Incipit a testimonio Dei et merito fidei, cum dicimus: PATER QVI IN

CAELIS ES, nam et Deum oramus et fidem commendamus, cuius meritum est haec appellatio. Scriptum est: Qui in eum crediderint, dedit eis potestatem ut filii Dei uocentur. [2] Quanquam frequentissime Dominus patrem nobis pronuntiauit Deum, imo et praecepit ne quem in terris patrem uocemus, nisi quem habemus in caelis. Itaque sic adorantes etiam praeceptum obimus. [3] Felices qui patrem agnoscunt! Hoc est quod Israeli exprobratur, quod caelum ac terram Spiritus contestatur, Filios, dicens, genui et illi me non agnouerunt. [4] Dicendo autem Patrem Deum quoque cognominamus. Appellatio ista et pietatis et potestatis est. [5] Item in Patre Filius inuocatur. Ego enim, inquit, et Pater unum sumus. [6] Ne mater quidem Ecclesia praeteritu, siquidem in filio et patre mater recognoscitur, de qua constat et patris et filii nomen. [7] Vno igitur genere aut uocabulo et Deum cum suis honoramus, et praecepti meminimus et oblitos patris denotamus.

III. [1] Nomen Dei Patris nemini proditum est. Etiam qui de ipso interrogauerat Moyses, aliud quidem nomen audierat. Nobis reuelatum est in Filio. Et quis enim filius non patris nomen est? Ego ueni, inquit, in nomine Patris et rursus, Pater, glorifica nomen tuum et apertius: Nomen tuum manifestaui hominibus. [2] Id ergo ut sanctificetur postulamus, non quod deceat homines bene Deo optare, quasi sit et alius de quo ei possit optari aut laboret nisi optemus; plane benedici Deum omni loco ac tempore condecet ob debitam semper memoriam beneficiorum eius ab omni homine: sed et hoc benedictionis uice fungitur. [3] Ceterum quando non sanctum et sanctificatum est per semetipsum nomen Dei, cum ceteros sanctificet ex semetipso? Cui illa angelorum circumstantia non cessant dicere Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus! Proinde igitur et nos, angelorum si meminerimus candidati, iam hinc caelestem illam in Deum uocem et officium futurae claritatis ediscimus. [4] Hoc quantum ad gloriam Dei. Alioquin quantum ad nostram petitionem, cum dicimus SANCTIFICETVR NOMEN TVVM, id petimus, ut sanctificetur in nobis qui in illo sumus, simul et in ceteris quos adhuc gratia Dei expectat, ut et huic praecepto pareamus orando pro omnibus, etiam pro inimicis nostris. Ideoque suspensa enuntiatione non dicentes ‘sanctificetur in nobis’ ‘in omnibus’ dicimus.

IV. [1] Secundum hanc formam subiungimus FIAT VOLVNTAS TUA IN CAELIS ET IN TERRA, non quod aliquis obsistat quominus uoluntas Dei fiat, et ei successum uoluntatis suae oremus, sed in omnibus petimus fieri

uoluntatem eius. Ex interpretatione enim figurata carnis et spiritus nos sumus caelum et terra. [2] Quamquam et si simpliciter intelligendum est, idem tamen est sensus petitionis, ut in nobis fiat uoluntas Dei in terris, ut possit scilicet fieri et in caelis. Quid autem Deus uult quam incedere nos secundum suam disciplinam? Petimus ergo substantiam et facultatem uoluntatis suae subministret nobis, ut salui simus et in caelis et in terris, quia summa est uoluntatis eius salus eorum quos adoptauit. [3] Est et illa Dei uoluntas quam Dominus administrauit praedicando, operando, sustinendo. Si enim ipse pronuntiauit non suam, sed Patris facere se uoluntatem, sine dubio quae faciebat, ea erant uoluntas Patris, ad quae nunc nos uelut ad exemplaria prouocamur, ut praedicemus et operemur et sustineamus ad mortem usque. Quae ut implere possimus, opus est Dei uoluntate. [4] Item dicentes ‘fiat uoluntas tua’ uel eo nobis bene optamus, quod nihil mali sit in Dei uoluntate, etiam si quid pro meritis cuiusque secus inrogatur. [5] Iam hoc dicto ad sufferentiam nosmetipsos praemonemus. Dominus quoque cum sub<in>stantia passionis infirmitatem carnis demonstrare iam in sua carne uoluisset, Pater, inquit, transfer poculum istud et recordatus, nisi quod mea non, sed tua fiat uoluntas. Ipse erat uoluntas, et potestas Patris et tamen ad demonstrationem sufferentiae debitae uoluntati se Patris tradidit.

V. [1] VENIAT quoque REGNUM TUUM ad id pertinet quod et ‘fiat uoluntas tua’, in nobis scilicet. Nam Deus quando non regnat, in cuius manu cor omnium regum est? Sed quicquid nobis optamus, in illum auguramur et illi deputamus, quod ab illo expectamus. Itaque si ad Dei uoluntatem et ad nostram suspensionem pertinet regni dominici repraesentatio, quomodo quidam protractum quemdam saeculo postulant, cum regnum Dei, quod ut adueniat oramus, ad consummationem saeculi tendat? Optamus maturius regnare, et non diutius seruire. [2] Etiam si praefinitum in oratione non esset de postulando regni aduentu, ultro eam uocem protulissemus festinantes ad spei nostrae complexum. [3] Clamant ad Dominum inuidia animae martyrum sub altari Quonam usque non ulcisceris, Domine, sanguinem nostrum de incolis terrae? Nam utique ultio illorum a saeculi fine dirigitur. [4] Immo quam celeriter ueniat, Domine, regnum tuum, uotum Christianorum, confusio nationum, exultatio angelorum, propter quod conflictamur, immo potius propter quod oramus.

VI. [1] Sed quam eleganter diuina sapientia ordinem orationis instruxit, ut

post caelestia, id est post Dei nomen, Dei uoluntatem et Dei regnum, terrenis quoque necessitatibus petitioni locum faceret! Nam et edixerat Dominus Quae^{re}te prius regnum et tunc uobis etiam haec adicientur. [2] Quamquam PANEM NOSTRVM QVOTIDIANVM DA NOBIS HODIE spiritaliter potius intelligamus. Christus enim panis noster est, quia uita Christus et uita panis. (Ego sum, inquit, panis uitae et paulo supra: Panis est sermo Dei uiui, qui descendit de caelis), tunc quod et corpus eius in pane censetur (Hoc est corpus meum). Itaque petendo panem quotidianum perpetuitatem postulamus in Christo et indiuiduitatem a corpore eius. [3] Sed et qua carnaliter admittitur ista uox, non sine religione potest fieri et spiritalis disciplinae. Panem enim peti mandat, quod solum fidelibus necessarium est; cetera enim nationes requirunt. Ita et exemplis inculcat, et parabolis retractat, cum dicit Numquid panem filiis pater aufert et canibus tradit? Item: Numquid filio panem poscenti lapidem tradit? Ostendit enim quid a patre filii expectent. Sed et nocturnus ille pulsator panem pulsabat. [4] Merito autem adiecit ‘da nobis hodie’, ut qui praemisera^t Nolite de crastino cogitare quid edatis. Cui rei parabolam quoque accommodauit illius hominis qui prouenientibus fructibus ampliationem horreorum et longae securitatis spatia cogitauit [is] ipsa nocte moritur .

VII. [1] Consequens erat, ut obseruata D[i]ei liber<ali>tate etiam clementiam eius precaremur. Quid enim alimenta proderunt, si illi[s] reputamur reuera quasi taurus ad uictimam? Sciebat Dominus se solum sine delicto esse. Docet itaque petamus DIMITTI NOBIS DEBITA NOSTRA. Exomologesis est petitio ueniae, quia qui petit ueniam delictum confitetur. Sic et paenitentia demonstratur acceptabilis Deo, quia uult eam, quam mortem peccatoris. [2] Debitum autem in scripturis delicti figura est, quod perinde iudicio debeatur et ab eo exigatur nec euadat iustitiam exactionis, nisi donetur exactio, sicut illi seruo dominus debitum remisit. Huc enim spectat exemplum parabolae totius. Nam et quod idem seruus a domino liberatus non perinde parci^t debitori suo ac propterea delatus penes dominum tortori delegatur ad soluendum nouissimum quadrantem, id est, modicum usque delictum, eo competit, quod REMITTERE NOS QVOQUE profitemur DEBITORIBVS NOSTRIS. [3] Iam et alibi ex hac specie orationis Remittite, inquit, et remittetur uobis. Et cum interrogasset Petrus si septies remittendum esset fratri: Immo, inquit, septuagies septies, ut legem in melius reformaret, quod in Genesi de Cain septies, de Lamech autem septuagies septies ultio reputata est

VIII. [1] Adjecit ad plenitudinem tam expeditae orationis, ut non de remittendis tantum, sed etiam de auertendis in totum delictis supplicaremus, NE NOS INDVCAS IN TEMPATIONEM, id est, ne nos patiaris induci, ab eo utique qui temptat. [2] Ceterum absit ut Dominus temptare uideatur, quasi aut ignoret fidem cuiusque aut deicere sit gestiens. [3] Diaboli est et infirmitas et malitia. Nam et Abraham non temptandae fidei gratia sacrificare de filio iusserat, sed probandae, ut per eum faceret exemplum praecepto suo quo mox praecepturus erat ne qui pignora Deo cariora haberet. [4] Ipse a diabolo temptatus praesidem et artificem temptationis demonstrauit. [5] Hunc locum posterioribus confirmat Orate, dicens, ne temptemini . Adeo temptati sunt Dominum deserendo, qui somno potius indulserant quam orationi. [6] Eo respondet clausula interpretans quid sit ‘ne nos deducas in temptationem’; hoc est enim: SED DEVEHE NOS A MALO.

IX. [1] Compendiis pauculorum uerborum quot attinguntur edicta prophetarum, euangeliorum, apostolorum, sermones Domini, parabolae, exempla, praecepta! Quot simul expunguntur officia! [2] Dei honor in Patre, fidei testimonium in nomine, oblatio obsequii in uoluntate, commemoratio spei in regno, petitio uitae in pane, exomologesis debitorum in deprecatione, sollicitudo temptationum in postulatione tutelae. [3] Quid mirum? Deus solus docere potuit ut se uellet orari. Ab ipso igitur ordinata religio orationis et de spiritu ipsius iam tunc, cum ex ore diuino ferretur, animata suo priuilegio ascendit in caelum commendans Patri quae Filius docuit.

X. [1] Quoniam tamen Dominus, prospector humanarum necessitatum, seorsum post traditam orandi disciplinam Petite, inquit, et accipietis et sunt quae petantur pro circumstantia cuiusque, praemissa legitima et ordinaria oratione quasi fundamento accidentium desideriorum ius est superstruendi extrinsecus petitiones, cum memoria tamen praeceptorum, ne quam a praeceptis tantum ab auribus Dei longe simus.

XI. [1] Memoria praeceptorum uiam orationibus sternit ad caelum, quorum praecipuum est, ne prius ascendamus ad altare Dei quam si quid discordiae uel offensae cum fratribus contraxerimus resoluamus . Quale est enim ad pacem Dei accedere sine pace? Ad remissionem debitorum cum retentione? Quomodo placabit Patrem iratus in fratrem, cum omnis ira ab initio interdicta sit nobis? [2] Nam et Ioseph dimittens fratres suos ad perducendum patrem Et

ne, inquit , irascimini in uia. Nos scilicet monuit - alias enim uia cognominatur disciplina nostratum - ne in uia orationis constituti ad Patrem cum ira incedamus. [3] Exinde aperte Dominus ampliandam legem iram in fratrem homicidio superponit: ne uerbo quidem malo permittit expungi; et iam si irascendum est, non ultra solis receptum , ut apostolus admonet. Quam autem temerarium est aut diem sine oratione transigere, dum cessas fratri satisfacere, aut orationem perseuerante iracundia perdere.

XII. [1] Nec ab ira solummodo, sed omni omnino confusione animi libera debet esse orationis intentio, de tali spiritu emissa qualis est spiritus ad quem e mittitur. Neque enim agnosci poterit spiritui sancto spiritus inquinatus aut tristis a laeto aut impeditus a libero. Nemo aduersarium recipit, nemo nisi comparem suum admittit.

XIII. [1] Ceterum quae ratio est manibus quidem ablutis, spiritu uero sordente orationem obire, quando et ipsis manibus spirituales munditiae sint necessariae, ut a falso, a caede, a saeuitia, a ueneficiis, ab idololatria ceterisque maculis, quae spiritu conceptae manuum opera transiguntur, purae alleuentur? Hae sunt uerae munditiae, non quas plerique superstitiose curant, ad omnem orationem, etiam cum a lauacro totius corporis ueniunt, aquam sumentes. [2] Id cum scrupulosis percunctarer et rationem requirerem, comperi commemorationem esse Pilati: <eum> manus abluisse in Domini deditioe. Nos Dominum adoramus, non dedimus, immo et aduersari debemus deditoris exemplo nec propterea manus abluere, nisi ob aliquod conuersationis humanae inquinamentum conscientiae causa. Ceterum satis mundae sunt manus quas cum toto corpore in Christo semel lauimus. XIV. [1] Omnibus licet membris lauet quotidie Israel, nunquam tamen mundus est. Certe manus eius semper immundae, sanguine prophetarum et ipsius Domini incrustatae in aeternum; et ideo conscientia patrum haereditarii rei nec attollere eas ad Dominum audent , ne exclamet aliquis Esaias, ne exhorreat Christus. Nos uero non attollimus tantum, sed etiam expandimus et dominica passione modula<ta> , tum et orantes confitemur Christo.

XV. [1] Sed quoniam unum aliquod attigimus uacuae obseruationis, non pigebit cetera quoque denotare quibus merito uanitas exprobranda est, siquidem sine ullius aut dominici, aut apostolici praecepti auctoritate fiunt. Huiusmodi enim non religioni, sed superstitioni deputantur, affectata et coacta, et curiosi potius quam rationalis officii, certe uel eo coercenda, quod

gentilibus adaequent, ut est quorundam expositis paenulis orationem facere; sic enim adeunt ad idola nationes. [2] Quod utique, si fieri oporteret, apostoli qui de habitu orandi docent comprehendissent, nisi si qui putant Paulum paenulam suam in oratione penes Carpum reliquisse. Deus scilicet non audiat paenulatos, qui tres sanctos in fornace Babylonii regis orantes cum sarabaris et tiaris suis exaudiuit.

XVI. [1] Item quod assignata oratione assidendi mos est quibusdam, non perspicio rationem, nisi quam pueri uolunt. Quid enim? Si Hermas ille, cuius scriptura fere ‘ Pastor’ inscribitur, transacta oratione non super lectum assedisset, uerum aliud quid fecisset, id quoque ad obseruationem uindicaremus? Vtique non. [2] Simpliciter enim et nunc positum est: Cum adorassem et assedissem super lectum, ad ordinem narrationis, non ad instar disciplinae. [3] Alioquin nusquam erit adorandum, nisi ubi fuerit lectus. [4] Immo contra scripturam fecerit, si quis in cathedra aut subsellio sederit. [5] Porro cum perinde faciant nationes uel adoratis sigillaribus suis residendo, uel propterea in nobis reprehendi meretur quod apud idola celebratur. [6] Eo apponitur et inreuerentiae crimen, etiam ipsis nationibus, si quid saperent intelligendum: si quidem inreuerens est assidere sub conspectu contraque conspectum eius quem cum maxime reuerearis ac uenereris, quanto magis sub conspectu Dei uiui angelo adhuc orationis astante factum istud irreligiosissimum est! Nisi exprobramus Deo quod nos oratio fatigauerit.

XVII. [1] Atqui cum modestia et humilitate adorantes magis commendabimus Deo preces nostras, ne ipsis quidem manibus sublimius elatis, sed temperate ac probe elatis, ne uultu quidem in audaciam erecto. [2] Nam et ille publicanus, qui non tantum prece, sed et uultu humiliatus atque deiectus orabat, iustificatio pharisaeo procacissimo discessit. [3] Sono etiam uocis subiectos esse oportet, aut quantis arteriis opus est, si pro sono audiamur! Deus autem non uocis, sed cordis auditor est, sicut conspector. [4] Daemonium oraculi Pythii Et mutum, inquit, intelligo et non loquentem exaudio. Dei aures sonum expectant? Quomodo ergo oratio Ionae de imo uentre ceti per tantae bestiae uiscera ab ipsis abyssis per tantam aequoris molem ad caelum potuit euadere? [5] Quid amplius referent isti qui clarius adorant nisi quod proximis obstrepunt? Immo prodendo petitiones suas quid minus faciunt quam si in publico orent?

XVIII. [1] Alia iam consuetudo inualuit: ieiunantes habita oratione cum

fratribus subtrahunt osculum pacis quod est signaculum orationis. [2] Quando autem magis conferendo cum fratribus pax est, nisi cum oratio <operatio>ne commendabilior ascendit, ut ipsi de nostra operatione particepsent qui eam adiuuerint de sua pace fratri transigend[us]+? [3] Quae oratio cum diuortio sancti osculi integra ? [4] Quem Domino officium facientem impedit pax? [5] Quale sacrificium est a quo sine pace disceditur ? [6] Quaecumque ratio sit, non erit potior praecepti obseruatione quo iubemur ieiunia nostra celare; iam enim de abstinentia osculi agnoscimur ieiunantes. Sed et si qua ratio est, ne tamen huic praecepto reus sis , potes domi si forte , inter quos latere ieiunium in totum non datur, differre pacem. Vbicumque autem alibi operationem tuam abscondere potes, debes meminisse praecepti; ita et disciplinae foris et consuetudini domi satisfacies. [7] Sic et die Paschae, quo communis et quasi publica ieiunii religio est , merito deponimus osculum nihil curantes de occultando quod cum omnibus faciamus.

XIX. [1] Similiter et stationum diebus non putant plerique sacrificiorum orationibus interueniendum, quod statio soluenda sit accepto corpore Domini. [2] Ergo deuotum Deo obsequium Eucharistia resoluit an magis Deo obligat? [3] Nonne sollemnior erit statio tua, si et ad aram Dei steteris ? [4] Accepto corpore Domini et reseruato utrumque saluum est, et participatio sacrificii et exsecutio officii. [5] Si statio de militari exemplo nomen accepit - nam et militia Dei sumus - utique nulla laetitia siue tristitia obueniens castris stationes militum rescindit. Nam laetitia libentius, tristitia sollicitius administrabit disciplinam.

XX. [1] De habitu uero dumtaxat foeminarum uarietas obseruationis effecit post sanctissimum apostolum nos uel maxime nullius loci homines impudenter retractare, nisi quod non impudenter si secundum apostolum retractemus. [2] De modestia quidem cultus et ornatus aperta praescriptio est etiam Petri cohibentis eodem ore quia eodem spiritu quo Paulus et uestium gloriam et auri superbiam et crinium lenonem operositatem.

XXI. [1] Sed quid promiscue obseruetur per ecclesias quasi incertum, id retractandum est, uelarine debeant uirgines an non. [2] Qui enim uirginibus indulgent capitis immunitatem, hoc niti uidentur, quod apostolus non uirgines nominatim, sed mulieres designauerit uelandas esse, nec sexum, ut diceret feminas, sed gradum sexus, dicendo mulieres . [3] Nam si sexum nominasset, feminas dicendo, absolute definisset de omni muliere, at cum unum gradum

sexus nominat, alium tacendo secernit. [4] Potuit enim, inquiunt, aut et uirgines nominare specialiter aut compendio generaliter feminas.

XXII. [1] Qui ita concedunt, recogitare debent de statu uocabuli ipsius, quid est mulier a primis quidem litteris sanctorum commentariorum. Nam inueniunt sexus esse nomen, non gradus sexus, siquidem Euam nondum uirum expertam Deus mulierem et feminam cognominauit. [feminam qua sexus generaliter, mulierem qua gradus sexus specialiter.] Ita quia iam tunc innupta adhuc Eua mulieris uocabulo fuit, commune id uocabulum et uirgini factum est. Nec mirum si apostolus, eodem utique spiritu actus quo cum omnis scriptura diuina, tum et illa Genesis digesta est, eadem uoce usus est mulierem ponendo, quae exemplo Euae innuptae et uirgini competat. [2] Cetera denique consonant. Nam et hoc ipso quod uirgines non nominauit, sicut alio in loco ubi de nubendo docet, satis praedicat de omni muliere et de toto sexu dictum, nec distinctum esse inter <mulierem et> uirginem <quam> omnino non nominat. Qui enim alibi distinguere meminit, ubi scilicet differentia postulat - distinguit autem utramque speciem suis uocabilis designans - ubi non distinguit, dum utramque non nominat, nullam uult differentiam intelligi. [3] Quid, quod graeco sermone quo litteras apostolus fecit usui est mulieres uocare quam feminas, id est gunai~kaj , quam qhlei/aj? Igitur si pro sexus nomine uocabulum istud frequentatur quod est interpretatione pro eo quod est femina, sexum nominauit dicens gunai~ka . In sexu autem et uirgo contingitur. [4] Sed et manifesta pronuntiatio est: Omnis, inquit, mulier adorans et prophetans intecto capite dedecorat caput suum . Quid est ‘omnis mulier’ nisi omnis aetatis, omnis ordinis, omnis conditionis? Nihil mulieris excipit, dicendo ‘omnis’, sicut nec uir<i> nec uelandi; proinde enim Omnis uir inquit. Sicut ergo in masculino sexu sub uiri nomine etiam inuestis uelari uetatur, ita et in feminino sub nomine mulieris etiam uirgo uelari iubetur. Aequaliter in utroque sexu minor aetas maioris sequatur disciplinam, aut uelentur et uirgines masculi, si non uelantur et uirgines feminae, quia nec isti nominatim tenentur. Aliud sit uir <et> inuestis, si aliud est mulier et uirgo. [5] Nempe propter angelos ait uelari oportere, quod angeli propter filias hominum descenderunt a Deo. Quis ergo contendat solas mulieres, id est nuptas iam et uirginitati defunctas, concupiscentiae, nisi si non licet et uirgines specie praestare et amatores inuenire? Immo uide<a>mus quod non uirgines solas concupierint, cum dicat scriptura filias hominum , quia potuit uxores

hominum nominasse uel feminas indifferenter. [6] Etiam quod ait et acceperunt sibi in uxores, eo facit, quod accipiuntur in uxores quae uacant scilicet; de non uacantibus autem aliter enuntiasset. Itaque uacant tam uiduitate quam et uirginitate. Adeo [sexum] nominando generaliter filias, et species in genere commiscuit. [7] Item cum dicit naturam ipsam docere uelandum feminis esse, quae capillum pro tegumento et ornamento mulieribus assignarit, nonne idem tegumentum et idem honor capitis uirginibus quoque adscriptus est? Si mulieri turpe est radi, et uirgini perinde. [8] In quibus ergo una conditio capitis deputatur, una et disciplina capitis exigitur, etiam ad eas uirgines, quas pueritia defendit; a primo enim femina nominata est. Sic denique et Israel obseruat. Sed si non obseruaret, nostra lex ampliata atque suppleta defenderet sibi adiectionem, uirginibus quoque iniciens uelamentum. Excusetur nunc aetas quae sexum suum ignorat - simplicitatis priuilegium teneat; nam et Eua et Adam, ubi eis contigit sapere, texerunt statim quod agnouerant -, certe in quibus iam pueritia mutauit, sicut naturae ita et disciplinae debet aetas esse munifica; nam et membris et officiis mulieribus resignantur. Nulla uirgo est ex quo potest nubere, quoniam aetas iam in ea nupsit suo uiro, id est tempori. [9] ‘Sed aliqua se Deo uouit.’ Tamen et crinem exinde transfigurat et omnem habitum ad mulieres conuertit. Totum ergo asseueret et totum uirginis praestet; quod propter Deum abscondit, plane obumbret. Interest nostra, quod Dei gratia exerceat<ur>, solius Dei conscientiae commendare, ne quod a Deo speramus ab homine compensemus. Quid denudas ante Deum quod ante homines tegis? Verecundior eris in publico quam in ecclesia? Si Dei gratia est et accepisti, quid gloriaris, inquit, quasi non acceperis ? Quid alias osten<ta>tionem tui iudicas? An alias gloria tua ad bonum inuitas? Atqui et ipsa periclitaris amittere, si gloriaris, et alias ad eadem pericula cogis. Facile eliditur quod affectione gloriae assumitur. Velare, uirgo, si uirgo es; debes enim erubescere. Si uirgo es, plures oculos pati noli. Nemo miretur in tuam faciem; nemo mendacium tuum sentiat. Bene mentiris nuptam, si caput ueles. Immo mentiri non uideris; nupsisti enim Christo. Illi carnem tuam tradidisti: age pro mariti tui disciplina. Si nuptas alienas uelari iubet, suas utique multo magis. [10] ‘ Sed non putet institutionem unusquisque antecessoris commouendam.’ Multi alienae consuetudini prudentiam suam et constantiam eius addicunt. Ne compellantur uelari, certe uoluntarias prohiberi non oportet; quae se etiam uirgines negare non possunt, <sint> contentae abuti [in] fama

suae conscientiae apud Deum securitate. De illis tamen quae sponis dicantur constanter super meum modulum pronuntiare contestarique possum uelandas ex ea die esse qua ad primum uiri corpus osculo et dextera expauerint; omnia enim in his praenupserunt, et aetas per maturitatem et caro per aetatem et spiritus per conscientiam et pudor per osculi experimentum et spes per expectationem et mens per uoluntatem. Satisque nobis exemplo Rebecca est quae sponso demonstrato tantum notitia<e> eius nubendo uelata est.

XXIII. [1] De genu quoque ponendo uarietatem obseruationis patitur oratio per pauculos quosdam qui sabbato abstinent genibus, quae dissensio cum maxime apud ecclesias causam dicit. [2] Dominus dabit gratiam suam, ut aut cedant aut sine aliorum scandalo sententia sua utantur. Nos uero, sicut accepimus, solo die dominicae resurrectionis non ab isto tantum, sed omni anxietatis habitu et officio cauere debemus, differentes etiam negotia, ne quem diabolo locum demus. Tantumdem et spatio Pentecostes quae eadem exultationis sollemnitate dispungitur. [3] Ceterum omni die quis dubitet prosternere se Deo uel prima saltem oratione qua lucem ingredimur? [4] Ieiuniis autem et stationibus nulla oratio sine genu et reliquo humilitatis more celebranda est. Non enim oramus tantum, sed et deprecamur et satisfacimus Deo Domino nostro.

XXIV. [1] De temporibus orationis nihil omnino praescriptum est nisi plane omni in tempore et loco orare. Sed quomodo omni loco, cum prohibeamur in publico? Omni, inquit, loco, quem opportunitas aut etiam necessitas importarit. Neque enim contra praeceptum reputatur ab apostolis factum, qui in carcere audientibus custodiis orabant et caneabant Deo, apud Paulum, qui in naui coram omnibus eucharistiam fecit.

XXV. [1] De tempore uero non erit otiosa extrinsecus obseruatio etiam horarum quarundam, istarum dico communium quae diu inter spatia signant, tertia, sexta, nona, quas sollemniores in scripturis inuenire est. [2] Primus Spiritus Sanctus congregatis discipulis hora tertia infusus est. [3] Petrus, qua die uisionem communitatis omnis in illo uasculo expertus est, sexta hora orandi gratia ascenderat in superiora. [4] Idem cum Ioanne ad nonam in templum adibat ubi paralyticum sanitati reformauit. [5] Quae etsi simpliciter se habeant si<ne> ullius obseruationis praecepto, bonum tamen si<t> aliquam constituere praesumptionem, qua<e> et orandi admonitionem constringat et quasi lege ad tale munus extorqueat a negotiis interdum, ut, quod Danieli

quoque legimus obseruatum utique ex Israelis disciplina , ne minus ter die saltem adoremus, debitores trium, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti; exceptis utique legitimis orationibus, quae sine ulla admonitione debentur ingressu lucis et noctis. [6] Sed et cibum non prius sumere et lauacrum non prius adire quam interposita oratione fideles decet. Priora enim habenda sunt spiritus refrigeria et pabula quam carnis, quia priora caelestia quam terrena.

XXVI. [1] Fratrem domum tuam introgressum ne sine oratione dimiseris - Vidisti, inquit, fratrem , uidisti Dominum tuum - maxime aduenam, ne angelus forte sit. [2] Sed nec ipse a fratribus exceptus priora feceris refrigeria terrena caelestibus; statim enim iudicabitur fides tua. Aut quomodo secundum praeceptum Pax huic domui dices, nisi et eis qui in domo sunt pacem mutuam reddas?

XXVII. [1] Diligentiores in orando subungere in orationibus Alleluia solent et hoc genus psalmos, quorum clausulis respondeant qui simul sunt. Et est optimum utique institutum omni quod praependendo et honorando Deo competit saturatam orationem uelut optimam hostiam admouere.

XXVIII. [1] Haec est enim hostia spiritalis quae pristina sacrificia deleuit. Quo mihi, inquit, multitudinem sacrificiorum uestrorum? Plenus sum haulocaustum arietum et adipem agnorum et sanguinem taurorum et hircorum nolo. Quis enim requisiiuit ista de manibus uestris ? [2] Quae ergo quaesierit Deus euangelium docet. Veniet hora, inquit, cum ueri adoratores adorabunt Patrem in spiritu et ueritate . Deus enim spiritus est et adoratores itaque tales requirit. [3] Nos sumus ueri adoratores et ueri sacerdotes, qui spiritu orantes spiritu sacrificamus orationem hostiam Dei propriam et acceptabilem, quam scilicet requisiiuit, quam sibi prospexit. [4] Hanc de toto corde deuotam, fide pastam, ueritate curatam, innocentia integram, castitate mundam, agape coronatam cum pompa operum bonorum inter psalmos et hymnos deducere ad Dei altare debemus, omnia nobis a Deo impetraturam.

XXIX. [1] Quid enim orationi de spiritu et ueritate uenienti negauit Deus qui eam exigit? Legimus et audimus et credimus quanta documenta efficaciae eius. Vetus quidem oratio et ab ignibus et a bestiis et ab inedia liberabat et tamen non a Christo acceperat formam. Ceterum quanto amplius o<pe>ratur oratio Christiana! Non roris angelum in mediis ignibus sistit, nec ora leonibus obstruit, nec esurientibus rusticorum prandium transfert, nullum sensum passionis delegata gratia auertit, sed patientes et sentientes et dolentes

sufferentia instruit, uirtute ampliat gratiam, ut sciat fides quid a Domino consequatur, intelligens quid pro Dei nomine patiatur. [2] Sed et retro oratio plagas irrogabat, fundebat hostium exercitus, imbrium utilia prohibebat. Nunc uero oratio iustitiae omnem iram Dei auertit, pro inimicis excubat, pro persequentibus supplicat. Mirum si aquas coelestes extorquere nouit, quae potuit et ignes impetrare? Sola est oratio, quae Deum uincit; sed Christus eam nihil mali nouit operari, omnem illi uirtutem de bono contulit. Itaque nihil nouit nisi defunctorum animas de ipso mortis itinere <re> uocare, debiles reformare, aegros remediare, daemones expiare, claustra carceris aperire, uincula innocentium soluere. Eadem diluit delicta, tentationes repellit, persecutiones extinguit, pusillanimos consolatur, magnanimos oblectat, peregrinantes deducit, fluctus mitigat, latrones obstupescit, alit pauperes, regit diuites, lapsos erigit, cadentes suspendit, stantes continet. [3] Oratio murus est fidei, arma et tela nostra aduersus hostem qui nos undique obseruat. Itaque nunquam inermes incedamus. Die stationis, nocte uigiliae meminerimus. Sub armis orationis signum nostri imperatoris custodiamus, tubam angeli expectemus orantes. [4] Orant etiam angeli omnes, orat omnis creatura, orant pecudes et ferae et greges declinant et egredientes de stabulis ac speluncis, ad caelum non otiosi ore suspiciunt uibrantes spiritum suo mouere. Sed et aues nunc exsurgentes eriguntur ad caelum et alarum crucem pro manibus expandunt et dicunt aliquid quod oratio uideatur. Quid ergo amplius de officio orationis? Etiam ipse Dominus orauit, cui sit honor et uirtus in saecula saeculorum.

De Baptismo (On Baptism)

CAP. 1. [1] De Sacramento aquae nostrae qua ablutis delictis pristinae caecitatis in vitam aeternam liberamur non erit otiosum digestum istud, instruens tam eos qui cum maxime formantur quam et illos qui simpliciter credidisse contenti, non exploratis rationibus traditionum, temptabilem fidem per imperitiam portant. [2] atque, adeo nuper conversata istic quaedam de caina haeresi vipera venenatissima doctrina sua plerosque rapuit, imprimis baptismum destruens. plane secundum naturam: nam fere viperae et aspides ipsique reguli serpentes arida et inaquosa sectantur. [3] sed nos pisciculi secundum i0xqu\ n nostrum Iesum Christum in aqua nascimur, nec aliter quam in aqua permanendo salvi sumus. itaque illa monstrosissima, cui nec integre quidem docendi ius erat, optime norat necare pisciculos de aqua auferens.

CAP. 2. [1] Sedenim quanta vis est perversitatis ad fidem labefactandam vel in totum non recipiendam, ut ex his eam impugnet ex quibus constat. nihil adeo est quod obduret mentes hominum quam simplicitas divinatorum operum quae in actu videtur, et magnificentia quae in effectu repromittitur. et hinc quoque, quoniam tanta simplicitate, sine pompa sine apparatu novo aliquo, denique sine sumptu, homo in aqua demissus et inter pauca verba tinctus non multo vel nihilo mundior resurgit, eo incredibilis existimatur consecutio aeternitatis. [2] mentior si non e contrario idolorum sollemnia vel arcana de suggestu et apparatu deque sumptu fidem et auctoritatem sibi extruunt. pro misera incredulitas, quae denegas deo proprietates suas, simplicitatem et potestatem. quid ergo? nonne mirandum est lavacro dilui mortem? quia mirandum est, idcirco non creditur? atquin eo magis credendum est: qualia enim decet esse opera divina nisi super omnem admirationem? nos quoque ipsi miramur, sed quia credimus. ceterum incredulitas miratur quia non credit: miratur enim simplicia quasi vana, magnifica quasi impossibilia. [3] et sit plane ut putas: satis ad utrumque divina pronuntiatio praecurrit: Stulta mundi elegit deus ut confundat sapientiam eius: et, Quae difficilia penes homines facilia penes deum. nam si deus et sapiens et potens, quod etiam praetereuntes eum non negant, merito in adversis sapientiae potentiaeque, id est in stultitia et impossibilitate, materias operationis suae instituit: quoniam virtus omnis ex his causam accipit a quibus provocatur.

CAP. 3. [1] Huius memores pronuntiationis tanquam praescriptionis, nihilo

minus quam stultum et impossibile sit aqua reformari tractamus. quod utique ista materia tantae dignationis meruit officium, ut opinor auctoritas liquidi elementi exigenda est. atquin plurima suppetit, et quidem a primordio. [2] nam unum ex his est quae ante omnem mundi suggestum impolita adhuc specie penes deum quiescebant in principio. In primordio, inquit, fecit deus caelum et terram: terra autem erat invisibilis et incomposita, et tenebrae erant super abyssum, et spiritus dei ferebatur super aquas. habes, homo, imprimis aetatem venerari aquarum, quod antiqua substantia; dehinc dignationem, quod divini spiritus sedes, gratior scilicet ceteris tunc elementis. nam et tenebrae totae adhuc sine cultu siderum informes, et tristis abyssus et terra imparata et caelum rude: solus liquor, semper materia perfecta laeta simplex de suo pura, dignum vectaculum deo subiciebat. [3] quid quod exinde dispositio mundi modulatricibus quodammodo aquis deo constitit? nam ut firmamentum caeleste suspenderet in medietate, distinctis aquis fecit; ut terram aridam expanderet, segregaris aquis expediit. [4] ordinato dehinc per elementa mundo cum incolae darentur, primis aquis praeceptum est animas producere: primus liquor quod viveret edidit, ne mirum sit in baptismo si aquae animare noverunt. [5] non enim ipsius quoque hominis figulandi opus sociantibus aquis absolutum est? adsumpta est de terra materia [convenit], non tamen habilis nisi humecta et sucida, quam scilicet ante quartum diem segregatae aquae in stationem suam superstite humore limo temperarant. [6] si exinde universa vel plura prosequar quae de elementi istius auctoritate commemorem, quanta vis eius aut gratia, quot ingenia quot officia quantum instrumenti mundo ferat, vereor ne laudes aquae potius quam baptismi rationes videar congregasse: licet eo plenius docerem non esse dubitandum si materiam quam in omnibus rebus et operibus suis deus disposuit, etiam in sacramentis propriis parere fecit, si quae vitam terrenam gubernat etiam caelestia procura.

CAP. 4. [1] Sed ea satis erit praecerpisse in quibus et ratio baptismi recognoscitur prima illa quae iam tunc etiam ipso habitu prae notabatur ad baptismi figuram, dei spiritum qui ab initio super aquas vectabatur super aquas intinctorem moraturum. sanctum autem utique super sanctum ferebatur, aut ab eo quod superferebatur id quod ferebat sanctitatem mutuabatur, quoniam subiecta quaeque materia eius quae desuper imminet qualitatem rapiat necesse est, maxime corporalis spiritalem et penetrare et insidere facilem per substantiae suae subtilitatem. ita de sancto sanctificata natura

aquarum et ipsa sanctificare concepit. [2] ne quis ergo dicat, ‘numquid ipsis enim aquis tinguimur quae tunc in primordio fuerunt?’ non utique ipsis, si non ex ea parte ipsis qua genus quidem unum, species vero complures. quod autem generi attributum est etiam in species redundat. [3] ideoque nulla distinctio est mari quis an stagno, flumine an fonte, lacu an alveo diluatur, nec quicquam refert inter eos quos Ioannes in Iordane et quos Petrus in Tiberi tinxit: nisi si et ille spado quem Philippus inter vias fortuita aqua tint plus salutis aut minus rettulit. [4] igitur omnes aquae de pristina originis praerogativa sacramentum sanctificationis consequuntur invocato deo. supervenit enim statim spiritus de caelis et aquis superest sanctificans eas de semetipso, et ita sanctificatae vim sanctificandi combibunt. [5] quanquam ad simplicem actum competat similitudo, ut quoniam vice sordium delictis inquinamur aquis abluamur. sed delicta sicut in carne non comparent, quia nemo super cutem portat maculas idololatriae aut stupri aut fraudis, ita et eiusmodi in spiritu sordent, qui est auctor delicti: spiritus enim dominatur, caro famulatur. tamen utrumque inter se communicant reatum, spiritus ob imperium, caro ob ministerium. igitur medicatis quodammodo aquis per angeli interventum et spiritus in aquis corporaliter diluitur et caro in eisdem spiritaliter emundatur.

CAP. 5. [1] Sedenim nationes extraneae ab omni intellectu spiritualium potestatem eadem efficacia idolis suis subministrant. sed viduis aquis sibi mentiuntur. nam et sacris quibusdam per lavacrum initiantur Isidis alicuius aut Mithrae. ipsos etiam deos suos lavationibus efferunt. ceterum villas domos templa totasque urbes aspergine circumlatae aquae expiant. passim certe ludis Apollinaribus et Pelusiis tinguuntur, idque se in regenerationem et impunitatem periuriorum suorum agere praesumunt. item penes veteres quisque se homicidio infecerat purgatrices aquas explorabat. [2] igitur si idolo, natura aquae quod propria [materia] sit abluendi, auspici emundationis blandiuntur, quanto id verius aquae praestabunt per dei auctoritatem a quo omnis natura earum constituta est: si religione aquas medicari putant, quae potior religio quam dei vivi agnitio? [3] hic quoque studium diaboli recognoscimus res dei aemulantis, cum et ipse baptismum in suis exercet. quid simile? immundus emundat, perditor liberat, damnatus absolvit? suam videlicet operam destruet diluens delicta quae inspirat ipse. haec quidem in testimonium posita sort repellentibus fidem, si minime credant rebus dei,

quarum adfectionibus apud aemulatorem dei credunt. [4] an non et alias sine ullo sacramento immundi spiritus aquis incubant adfectantes illam in primordio divini spiritus gestationem? sciunt opaci quique fontes et avii quique rivi, et in balneis piscinae et euripi in domibus vel cisternae, et putei qui rapere dicuntur, scilicet per vim spiritus nocentis. nam et esetos et lymphaticos et hydrophobas vocant quos aquae necaverunt aut amentia vel formidine exercuerunt. [5] quorsum ista rettulimus? ne quis durius credat angelum dei sanctum aquis in salutem hominis temperandis adesse, cum angelus mali profanus commercium eiusdem elementi in perniciem hominis frequentet. angelum aquis intervenire si novum videtur, exemplum futuri praecucurrit. piscinam Bethsaidam angelus interveniens commovebat. observabant qui valetudinem querebantur. nam si quis praevenerat descendere illuc, queri post lavacrum desinebat. figura ista medicinae corporalis spiritalem medicinam canebat, ex forma qua semper carnalia in figura spiritualium antecedunt. [6] proficiente itaque in omnibus gratia dei plus aquis et angelo accessit: qui vitia corporis remediabant nunc spiritum medentur, qui temporalem operabantur salutem nunc aeternam reformant, qui unum semel in anno liberabant nunc quotidie populos conservant deleta morte per ablutionem delictorum. exempto scilicet reatu eximitur et poena. [7] ita restituitur homo deo ad similitudinem eius qui retro ad imaginem dei fuerat: imago in effigie, similitudo in aeternitate censetur: recipit enim illum dei spiritum quem tunc de adflatu eius acceperat sed post amiserat per delictum.

CAP. 6. [1] Non quod in aqua spiritum sanctum consequimur, sed in aqua emundati sub angelo spiritui sancto praeparamus. hic quoque figura praecessit. sicut enim Ioannes antepraecursor domini fuit praeparans vias eius, ita et angelus baptismi arbiter superventuro spiritui sancto vias dirigit abolitione delictorum, quam fides impetrat obsignata in patre et filio et spiritu sancto. [2] nam si in tribus testibus stabit omne verbum, dei quarto magis donum? habemus benedictione eosdem arbitros fidei quos et sponsores salutis. sufficit ad fiduciam spei nostrae etiam numerus nominum divinorum. cum autem sub tribus et testatio fidei et sponsio salutis pigneretur, necessario adicitur ecclesiae mentio, quoniam ubi tres, id est pater et filius et spiritus sanctus; ibi ecclesia quae trium corpus est.

CAP. 7. [1] Exinde egressi de lavacro perungimur benedicta unctione de pristina disciplina qua ungui oleo de cornu in sacerdotium solebant, ex quo

Aaron a Moysse unctus est. unde christus dicitur a chrismate quod est unctio, quae <et> domino nomen accommodavit, facta spiritalis quia spiritu unctus est a deo patre: sicut in Actis, Collecti sunt enim vero in ista civitate adversus sanctum filium tuum quem unxisti. [2] sic et in nobis carnaliter currit unctio sed spiritaliter proficit, quomodo et ipsius baptismi carnalis actus quod in aqua mergimur, spiritalis effectus quod delictis liberamur.

CAP. 8. [1] Dehinc manus imponitur per benedictionem advocans et invitans spiritum sanctum. sane humano ingenio licebit spiritum in aquam arcessere et concorporationem eorum accommodatis desuper manibus alio spiritu tantae claritatis animare, deo autem in suo organo non licebit per manus sanctas sublimitatem modulari spiritalem? [2] sed est hoc quoque de veteri sacramento quo nepotes suos ex Ioseph, Ephrem et Manassem, Iacob [capitibus] impositis et intermutatis manibus benedixit, et quidem ita transversim obliquatis in se ut Christum deformantes iam tunc portenderent benedictionem in Christo futuram. [3] tunc ille sanctissimus spiritus super emundata et benedicta corpora libens a patre descendit superque baptismi aquas tanquam pristinam sedem recognoscens conquiescit: columbae figura delapsus in dominum ut natura spiritus sancti declararetur per animal simplicitatis et innocentiae, quod etiam corporaliter ipso felle careat columba. [4] ideoque Estote, inquit, simplices ut columbae: ne hoc quidem sine argumento praecedentis figurae: quemadmodum enim post aquas diluvii quibus iniquitas antiqua purgata est, post baptismum ut ita dixerim mundi, pacem caelestis irae praeco columba terris adnuntiavit dimissa ex arca et cum olea reversa - quod signum etiam ad nationes pacis praetenditureadem dispositione spiritalis effectus terrae, id est carni nostrae, emergenti de lavacro post vetera delicta columba sancti spiritus advolat pacem dei adferens, emissa de caelis ubi ecclesia est arcae figura. [5] ‘sed mundus rursus deliquit, quo male comparetur baptismus diluvio.’ itaque igni destinatur, sicut et homo cum post baptismum delicta restaurat: ut hoc quoque in signum admonitionis nostrae debeat accipi.

CAP. 9. [1] Quot igitur patrocina naturae, quot privilegia gratiae, quot sollemnia disciplinae, figurae praestructiones praedicationes, religionem aquae ordinaverunt. primum quidem, cum populus de Aegypto [libere] expeditus vim regis Aegypti per aquam transgressus evadit, ipsum regem cum totis copiis aqua exstinguit. quae figura manifestior in baptismi Sacramento? liberantur de saeculo nationes per aquam scilicet, et diabolus dominatorem

pristinum in aqua oppressum derelinquunt. [2] item aqua de amaritudinis vitio in suum commodum suavitatis Mosei ligno remediatur. lignum illud erat Christus venenatae et amarae retro naturae venas in saluberrimam aquam, baptismi scilicet, ex sese remedians. [3] haec est aqua quae de comite petra populo profluebat: si enim petra Christus, sine dubio aqua in Christo baptismum videmus benedici. quanta aquae gratia penes deum et Christum eius ad baptismi confirmationem. [4] nunquam sine aqua Christus: siquidem et ipse aqua tingitur, prima rudimenta potestatis suae vocatus ad nuptias aqua auspicatur, cum sermonem facit sitientes ad aquam suam invitat sempiternam, cum de agape docet aquae calicem parvo oblatum inter opera dilectionis probat: ad puteum vires resumit, super aquam incedit, libenter transfretat, aquam discentibus ministrat. perseverat testimonium baptismi usque ad passionem: cum deditur in crucem aqua intervenit - sciunt Pilati manus: cum vulneratur aqua de latere prorumpit - scit lancea militis.

CAP. 10. [1] Diximus quantum mediocritati nostrae licuit de universis quae baptismi religionem instruunt. nunc ad reliquum statum eius aequae ut potero progrediar de quaestiunculis quibusdam. baptismus a Ioanne denuntiatus iam tunc habuit quaestionem ab ipso quidem domino propositam ad pharisaeos, caelestisne is baptismus esset an veto terrenus: de quo illi non valuerunt constanter respondere, utpote non intelligentes quia nec credentes. [2] nos quidem quantula fide sumus tantulo et intellectu possumus aestimare divinum quidem eum baptismum fuisse, mandatu tamen non et potestate, quod et Ioannem a domino missum legimus in hoc munus, ceterum humanum condicione. nihil enim caeleste praestabat, sed caelestibus praeministrabat, paenitentiae scilicet praepositus quae est in hominis voluntate. [3] denique legis doctores et pharisei, qui credere noluerunt, nec paenitentiam inire voluerunt. quodsi paenitentia humanum est et baptismus ipsius eiusdem condicionis fuerit necesse est: aut daret et spiritum sanctum et remissionem peccatorum si caelestis fuisset. sed neque peccata dimittit neque spiritum indulget nisi solus deus. [4] etiam ipse dominus nisi ipse prius ascenderet ad patrem aliter negavit spiritum descensurum. ita quod dominos nondum conferebat servus utique praestare non posset. adeo postea in Actis Apostolorum invenimus [quoniam] qui Ioannis baptismum habebant spiritum accepisse sanctum, quem ne auditu quidem noverant. [5] ergo non erat caeleste quod caelestia non exhibebat, cum ipsum quod caeleste in Ioanne fuerat, spiritus prophetiae, post totius spiritus

in dominum translationem usque adeo defecerit ut quem praedicaverat, quem advenientem designaverat, postmodum an ipse esset miserit sciscitatum. agebatur itaque baptismus paenitentiae quasi candidatus remissionis et sanctificarionis in Christo subsecuturae. [6] nam quod legimus, Praedicabat baptismum paenitentiae in remissionem peccatorum, in futuram remissionem enuntiatum est, siquidem paenitentia antecedit, remissio sequitur, et hoc est viam praeparare: qui autem praeparat non idem ipse perficit sed alii perficiendum procurat. [7] ipse profitetur sua non esse caelestia sed Christi dicendo, Qui de terra est terrena loquitur, qui de supernis venit super omnes est: item soli se paenitentiae tinguere, venturum mox qui tingeret in spiritu et igni: scilicet quia vera et stabilis fides spiritu tinguitur in salutem, simulata autem et infirma igni tinguitur in iudicium.

CAP. 11. [1] ‘Sed ecce’, inquit, ‘venit dominus et non tinxit: legimus enim, Et tamen Iesus non ipse tinguebat verum discipuli eius.’ quasi revera ipsum suis manibus tincturum Ioannes praedicasset. [2] non utique sic intelligendum est, sed simpliciter dictum more communi, sicut est verbi gratia ‘imperator proposuit edictum’ aut ‘praefectus fustibus cecidit’. numquid ipse proponit aut numquid ipse caedit? semper is dicitur facere cui praeministratur. ita erit accipiendum Ipse vos tinguet pro eo quod est ‘per ipsum tinguemini’, vel ‘in ipsum’. [3] sed nec moveat quosdam quod non ipse tinguebat. in quem enim tingeret? in paenitentiam? quo ergo illi praecursorem? in peccatorum remissionem, quam verbo dabat? in semetipsum, quem in humilitate celabat? in spiritum sanctum, qui nondum ad patrem ascenderat? in ecclesiam, quam nondum apostolis struxerat? [4] itaque tinguebant discipuli eius ut ministri, ut Ioannes antepaercursor, eodem baptismo Ioannis, ne quo alio putes: quia nec extat alias nisi postea Christi, qui tunc utique a discentibus dari non poterat utpote nondum adimpleta gloria domini nec instructa efficacia lavacri per passionem et resurrectionem, quia nec mors nostra dissolvi posset nisi domini passione nec vita restitui sine resurrectione ipsius.

CAP. 12. [1] Cum vero praescribitur nemini sine baptismo competere salutem, ex illa maxime pronuntiatione domini qui ait, Nisi natus ex aqua quis erit non habebit vitam, suboriuntur scrupulosi immo temerarii retractatus quorundam quomodo ex ista praescriptione [praestructione] apostolis salus competat quos tinctos non inveniamus in domino praeter Paulum: [2] immo cum Paulus solus ex illis baptismum Christi induerit, aut praeiudicatum esse

de ceterorum periculo qui careant aqua Christi ut praescriptio salva sit, aut rescindi praescriptionem si etiam et non tinctis salus statuta est. audiui, domino teste, eiusmodi, ne qui me tam perditum existimet ut ultro excogitem libidine stili quae aliis scrupulum incutiant. [3] et nunc illis ut potero respondebo qui negant apostolos tinctos. nam si [humanum] Ioannis baptismum impetrarant, domini cur desiderabant, quatenus unum baptismum definierat ipse dominus dicens Petro perfundi volenti, Qui semel lavit non habet necesse rursum, quod utique non tincto non omnino dixisset? et haec est probatio exerta adversus illos qui adimunt apostolis etiam Ioannis baptismum, ut destruant aquae sacramentum. [4] an credibile videri potest in eis personis viam tunc domino non praeparatam, id est baptismum Ioannis, quae ad viam domini per totum orbem aperiendam destinabantur? ipse dominos nullius paenitentiae debitor tinctus est: peccatoribus non fuit necesse? quod ergo alii tincti non sint, non iam comites Christi sed aemuli fidei, legis doctores et pharisaei. [5] unde et suggeritur, cum adversantes domino tingui noluerint, eos qui dominum sequebantur tinctos fuisse nec cum aemulis [suis] sapuisse, maxime quando dominus cui adhaerebant testimonio Ioannem extulisset, Nemo, dicens, maior inter natos feminarum Ioanne baptizatore. [6] alii plane satis coacte iniciunt tunc apostolos baptismi vicem implisse cum in navicula fluctibus mergerentur: ipsum quoque Petrum [per] mare ingredientem satis mersum. ut opinor aliud est aspergi vel intercipi violentia maris, aliud tingui disciplina religionis. [7] ceterum navicula illa figuram ecclesiae praeferebat quod in mari, id est in saeculo, fluctibus id est persecutionibus et temptationibus inquietetur, domino per patientiam velut dormiente donec orationibus sanctorum in ultimis suscitatus compescat saeculum et tranquillitatem suis reddat. [8] nunc sive tincti quoquo modo fuerunt sive illoti perseveraverunt ut et illud dictum domini de uno lavacro sub Petri persona ad nos tantummodo spectet, de salute tamen apostolorum satis temerarium est aestimare: quia illis vel primae adlectionis et exinde individuae familiaritatis praerogativa compendium baptismi conferre posset, cum illum opinor sequebantur [illum] qui credenti cuique salutem pollicebatur: Fides tua te, aiebat, salvum fecit, et, Remittuntur tibi peccata, credenti utique nec tamen tincto. [9] id si apostolis defuit nescio quorum fides tuta sit. uno verbo domini suscitatus teloneum dereliquit, patrem et navem et artem qua vitam sustentabat deseruit, [qui] patris exsequias despexit, summum illud domini

praeceptum, Qui patrem aut matrem mihi praeposuerit non est me dignus, ante perfecit quam audivit.

CAP. 13. [1] Hinc ergo scelestissimi illi provocantes quaestiones, Adeo, dicunt, baptismus non est necessarius quibus fides satis est: nam et Abraham nullius aquae nisi fidei Sacramento deo placuisse. sed in omnibus posteriora concludunt et sequentia antecedentibus praevalent. [2] fuerit salus retro per fidem nudam ante domini passionem et resurrectionem: at ubi fides aucta est, credentibus in nativitatem passionem resurrectionemque eius addita est ampliato sacramento obsignatio baptismi, vestimentum quodammodo fidei quae retro erat nuda, nec potest iam sine sua <salvare> lege. [3] lex enim tinguendi imposita est, et forma praescripta: Ite, inquit, docete nationes tinguentes eas in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. huic legi collata definitio illa, Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu sancto non introibit in regno caelorum, obstrinxit fidem ad baptismi necessitatem. itaque omnes exinde credentes tinguebantur. [4] tunc et Paulus ubi credidit tunc tinctus est: et hoc est quod ei dominus in illa plaga orbationis praeceperat; Exsurge, dicens, et introi in Damascum: illic tibi demonstrabitur quid debeas agere, scilicet tingui, quod solum ei deerat. alioquin satin didicerat atque crediderat Nazarenum esse dominum dei filium.

CAP. 14. [1] Sed et de ipso apostolo revolvunt, quod dixerit, Non enim me ad tinguendum Christus misit, quasi hoc argumento baptismus adimatur. cur ergo tint Gaium et Crispum et Stephanae domum? quanquam etsi non eum miserat Christus ad tinguendum, attamen aliis apostolis praeceperat tinguere. [2] verum haec pro condicione tunc temporis ad Corinthios scripta sunt, quoniam schismata inter illos et dissensiones movebantur dum alius Paulo se deputet, alius Apollo. propter quod pacificus apostolus, ne sibi omnia defendere videretur, non ad tinguenduxn se missum ait sed ad praedicandum. nam et prius est praedicare, posterius tinguere si prius praedicatum. puto autem licuit et tinguere cui licuit et praedicare.

CAP. 15. [1] Nescio si quid amplius ad controversiam baptismi ventilatur. sane retexam quod supra omisi, ne imminentes sensus videar interscindere. unus omnino baptismus est nobis tam ex domini evangelio quam et apostoli litteris, quoniam unus deus et unum baptisma et una ecclesia in caelis. [2] sed circa haereticos sane quae custodiendum sit digne quis retractet. ad nos enim editum est: haeretici autem nullum consortium habent nostrae disciplinae,

quos extraneos utique testatur ipsa ademptio communicationis. non debeo in illis cognoscere quod mihi est praeceptum, quia non idem deus est nobis et illis, nec unus Christus, id est idem: ergo nec baptismus unus, quia non idem. quem cum rite non habeant sine dubio non habent, nec capit numerare quod non habetur: ita nec possunt accipere, quia non habent. sed de isto plenius iam nobis in Graeco digestum est. [3] semel ergo lavacrum inimus, semel delicta abluuntur, quia ea iterari non oportet. ceterum Israel Iudaeus quotidie lavat quia quotidie inquinatur. quod ne in nobis quoque factitaretur propterea de uno lavacro definitum est. felix aqua quae semel abluit, quae ludibrio peccatoribus non est, quae non adsiduitate sordium infecta rursus quos diluit inquinat.

CAP. 16. [1] Est quidem nobis etiam secundum lavacrum, unum et ipsum, sanguinis scilicet, de quo dominos Habeo, inquit, baptismo tingui, cum iam tinctus fuisset. venerat enim per aquam et sanguinem, sicut Ioannes scripsit, ut aqua tingeretur sanguine glorificaretur. [2] proinde nos faceret aqua vocatos sanguine electos hos duos baptismos de vulnere percussi lateris emisit, quia qui in sanguinem eius crederent aqua lavarentur, qui aqua lavissent et sanguine oporterent. hic est baptismus qui lavacrum et non acceptum repraesentat et perditum reddit.

CAP. 17. [1] Superest ad concludendam materiolum de observatione quoque dandi et accipiendi baptismi commonefacere. dandi quidem summum habet ius summus sacerdos, si qui est episcopus: dehinc presbyteri et diaconi, non tamen sine episcopi auctoritate, propter ecclesiae honorem quo salvo salva pax est. [2] alioquin etiam laicis ius est: ‘quod enim ex aequo accipitur ex aequo dari potest; nisi episcopi iam aut presbyteri aut diaconi vocabuntur discipuli domini: id est, ut sermo non debet abscondi ab ullo, proinde et baptismus segue dei census ab omnibus exerceri potest’. sed quanto magis laicis disciplina verecundiae et modestiae incumbit cum ea [quae] maioribus competat, ne sibi adsumant [dicatum] episcopi officium. episcopates aemulatio schismatum mater est. omnia licere dixit sanctissimus apostolus sed non omnia expedire. [3] sufficit scilicet in necessitatibus [ut] utaris sicubi aut loci aut temporis aut personae condicio compellit: tunc enim constantia succurrentis excipitur cum urgetur circumstantia periclitantis, quoniam reus erit perditioni hominis si supersederit praestare quod libere potuit. [4] petulantia autem mulieris quae usurpavit docere utique non etiam tinguendi ius sibi

rapiet, nisi si quae nova bestia venerit similis pristinae, ut quemadmodum illa baptismum auferebat ita aliqua per se [eum] conferat. [5] quod si quae Acta Pauli, quae perperam scripta sunt, exemplum Theclae ad licentiam mulierum docendi tinguendique defendant, sciant in Asia presbyterum qui eam scripturam construxit, quasi titulo Pauli de suo cumulans, convictum atque confessum id se amore Pauli fecisse loco decessisse. quam enim fidei proximum videtur ut is docendi et tinguendi daret feminae potestatem qui ne discere quidem constanter mulieri permisit? Taceant, inquit, et domi viros suos consulant.

CAP. 18. [1] Ceterum baptismum non temere credendum esse sciunt quorum officium est. Omni petenti te dato, suum habet titulum proprie ad eleemosynam pertinentem. immo illud potius respiciendum, Nolite dare sanctum canibus et porcis proicere margaritam vestram, et, Manus ne facile imposueritis nechamartiis alienis communicaveritis. [2] quodsi quia Philippus tam facile tinxit eunuchum, recogitemus manifestam et exertam dignationem domini intercessisse. spiritus Philippo praeceperat in eam viam tendere: spado et ipse inventus est non otiosus nec qui subito tinguere concupisceret, sed ad templum orandi gratia profectus scripturae divinae impressus: sic oportebat deprehendi cui ultro deus apostolum miserat, [ad] quem rursus spiritus ut se curriculo eunuchi adiungeret iussit: scriptura ipsius fidei | occurrit in tempore, exhortatus adsumitur, dominos ostenditur, fides non moratur, aqua non expectatur, apostolus perfecto negotio abripitur. [3] sed et Paulus revera cito tinctus est: cito enim cognoverat Simon hospes vas eum esse electionis constitutum. dei dignatio suas praemittit praerogativas: omnis petitio et decipere et decipi potest. [4] itaque pro cuiusque personae condicione ac dispositione, etiam aetate, cunctatio baptismi utilior est, praecipue tamen circa parvulos. quid enim necesse, si non tam necesse est, sponsores etiam periculo ingeri, qui et ipsi per mortalitatem destituere promissiones suas possunt et proventu malae indolis falli? [5] ait quidem dominos, Nolite illos prohibere ad me venire: veniant ergo, dum adolescunt, dum discunt, dum quo veniant docentur: fiant Christiani cum Christum nosse potuerint. quid festinat innocens aetas ad remissionem peccatorum? cautius agetur in saecularibus, ut cui substantia terrena non creditur divina credatur? norint petere salutem, ut petenti dedisse videaris. [6] non minore de causa innupti quoque procrastinandi, in quibus temptatio praeparata est tam virginibus per

maturitatem quam viduis per vagationem, donec aut nubant aut continentiae corroborentur. si qui pondus intellegant baptismi magis timebunt consecutionem quam dilationem. fides integra secura est de salute.

CAP. 19. [1] Diem baptismo sollemniolem pascha praestat, cum et passio domini in qua tinguimur adimpleta est. nec incongruenter ad figuram interpretabitur quod cum ultimum pascha dominus esset acturus, missis discipulis ad praeparandum, Convenietis, inquit, hominem aquam baiulantem: paschae celebrandae locum de signo aquae ostendit. [2] exinde pentecoste ordinandis lavacris laetissimum spatium est, quo et domini resurrectio inter discipulos frequentata est et gratia spiritus sancti dedicata et spes adventus domini subostensa, quod tunc in caelos recuperato eo angeli ad apostolos dixerunt sic venturum quemadmodum et in caelos conscendit, utique in pentecoste. sedenim Hieremias cum dicit, Et congregabo illos ab extremis terrae in die festo paschae, diem significat et pentecostes, qui est proprie dies festus. [3] ceterum omnis dies domini est: omnis hora, omne tempus habile baptismo. si de sollemnitate interest, de gratia nihil refert.

CAP. 20. [1] Ingressuros baptismum orationibus crebris, ieiuniis et geniculationibus et pervigiliis orare oportet, et cum confessione omnium retro delictorum, ut exponant etiam baptismumIoannis: Tinguiebantur, inquit, confitentes delicta sua - nobis gratulandum est si non publice confitemur iniquitates aut turpitudines nostras - simul enim de pristinis satisfacimus conflictatione carnis et spiritus, et subsecuturis temptationibus munimenta praestruimus. Vigilate et orate, inquit, ne incidatis in temptationem. [2] et ideo credo temptati sunt quoniam obdormierunt, ut adprehensum dominum destituerint et qui cum eo perstiterit et gladio sit usus ter etiam negaverit. nam et praecesserat dictum, neminem intemptatum regna caelestia consecuturum. [3] ipsum dominum post lavacrum statim temptationes circumsteterunt quadraginta diebus ieiuniis functum. 'ergo et nos' dicet aliquis, 'a lavacro potius ieiunare oportet.' et quis enim prohibet, nisi necessitas gaudii gratulatio salutis? [4] sed dominus, quantum aestimo, de figura Israelis exprobrationem in ipsum retorsit. namque populus mare transgressus et in solitudinem translatus, per quadraginta annos illic cum divinis copiis aleretur, nihilominus ventris et gulae meminerat quam dei. deinde dominos, post aquam segregates in deserta quadraginta dierum ieiunia emensus, ostendit non pane vivere hominem dei sed dei verbo, temptationesque plenitudini et immoderantiae

ventris appositas abstinencia elidi. [5] igitur benedicti, quos gratia dei expectat, cum de illo sanctissimo lavacro novi natalis ascenditis et primas manus apud matrem cum fratribus aperitis, petite de patre, petite de domino, peculia gratiae, distributiones charismatum subiacere. Petite et accipietis, inquit. quaesistis enim et invenistis, pulsastis et apertum est vobis. tantum oro, ut cum petitis etiam Tertulliani peccatoris memineritis.

EXPLICIT LIBER TERTULLIANI DE BAPTISMO

Ad Uxorem (To His Wife)

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LIBER I.

LIBER II.

LIBER I.

I. [1] Dignum duxi, dilectissime mihi in Domino conserua, quid tibi sectandum sit post discessum de saeculo meum, si prior te fuero uocatus, iam hinc prouidere, ut prouisum obserues, mandare fidei tuae.

[2] Nam saecularibus satis agentes sumus et utrique nostrum consultum uolumus, talibus tabulas ordinamus; cur non magis de diuinis atque caelestibus posteritati nostrae prospicere debeamus et legatum quodammodo praelegare admonitionem et demonstrationem eorum quae ex bonis immortalibus et de hereditate caelorum deputantur?

[3] Tu modo ut solidum capere possis hoc meae admonitionis fideicommissum Deus faciat, cui sit honor, gloria, claritas, dignitas et potestas et nunc et in saecula saeculorum.

[4] Praecipio igitur tibi, quanta continentia potes, post excessum nostrum renunties nuptiis, nihil mihi isto nomine collatura, nisi quod tibi proderis. Ceterum Christianis saeculo digressis nulla restitutio nuptiarum in diem resurrectionis repromittitur, translatis scilicet in angelicam qualitatem et sanctitatem. Proinde sollicitudo nulla, quae de carnis zelo uenit.

[5] Etiam illa, quam septem fratribus per successionem nupsisse uoluerunt, neminem tot maritorum resurrectionis die offendet, nec quisquam illam confusus expectat. Quaestio Sadducaeorum cessit sententiae Domini.

[6] Ne me putes propter carnis tuae integritatem mihi reseruandam de contumeliae dolore suspectum insinuare iam hinc tibi consilium uiduitatis. Nihil tunc inter nos dedecoris uoluptuosi resumetur. Non enim tam friuola, tam spurca Deus suis pollicetur. Sed an tibi uel cuicumque alii feminae ad Deum pertinenti proficiat quod suademus, licet retractare.

II. [1] Non quidem abnuimus coniunctiorem uiri et feminae, benedictam a Deo ut seminarium generis humani et replendo orbi et instruendo saeculo excogitatam, atque exinde permissam, unam tamen. Nam et Adam unus Euae maritus et Eua una uxor illius, una mulier, una costa.

[2] Sane apud ueteres nostros ipsosque patriarchas, non modo nubere, sed etiam plurifariam matrimoniis uti, fas fuit. Erant et concubinae.

[3] Sed licet figuraliter in synagoga ecclesia intercesserit, ut tamen simpliciter interpretemur, necessarium fuit instituere, quae postea aut amputari aut temperari mererentur. Superuentura enim lex erat: oportebat enim legis

adimplendae causas praecucurrisset; item mox legi succedere habebat Dei sermo, circumcisionem inducens spiritalem.

[4] Igitur per licentiam tunc passiuam materiae subsequentium emendationum praeministrabantur, quas Dominus euangelio suo, dehinc apostolus in extremitatibus saeculi aut excidit redundantes aut composuit inconditas.

III. [1] Sed non ideo praemiserim de libertate uetustatis et posteritatis castigatione, ut praestruam Christum separandis matrimoniis, abolendis coniunctionibus aduenisse, quasi iam hinc finem nubendi praescribam. Viderint qui inter cetera peruersitatum suarum disiungere docent *carnem in duobus unam*, negantes eum, qui feminam de masculo mutuatus, duo corpora ex eiusdem materiae consortio sumpta, rursus in se matrimonii compactione compegit.

[2] Denique prohiberi uuptias nusquam omnino legimus, ut bonum scilicet. Quid tamen bono isto melius sit, accipimus ab apostolo, permittente quidem nubere, sed abstinentiam praeferente, illud propter insidias temptationum, hoc propter angustias temporum.

[3] Qua ratione utriusque pronuntiationis inspecta, facile dinoscitur necessitate nobis concessam esse nubendi potestatem. Quod autem necessitas praestat, depretiat ipsa. Quod denique scriptum est: *Melius nubere quam uri*, quale hoc bonum est, oro te, quod mali comparatio commendat, ut ideo melius sit nubere, quia deterius est uri?

[4] Atenim quanto melius est neque nubere neque uri. Etiam in persecutionibus melius ex permissu fugere de oppido in oppidum, quam comprehensum et distortum negare. At quanto beatiore, qui ualent beata testimonii confessione excedere. Possum dicere: quod permittitur, bonum non est. Quid enim? Necesse est mori mihi. Si probor, bonum est. Quod si timeo... Quod permittitur, suspectam habet permissionis suae causam. Quod autem melius est, nemo permisit, ut indubitatum et sua sinceritate manifestum.

[5] Non propterea appetenda sunt quaedam, quia non uetantur — etsi quodammodo uetantur, cum alia illis praeferuntur: praelatio enim superiorum dissuasio est inferiorum — , non ideo quid bonum est, quia malum non est, nec ideo malum non est, quia non obest. Porro plene bonum hoc antecedit, quod non modo non obest, sed insuper prodest. Namque malle debes quod prodest quam quod non obest.

[6] Ad primum enim locum certamen omne contendit; secundus solatium habet, uictoriam non habet. Quod si apostolo auscultamus, *obliti posteriorum et extendamur in priora et meliorum donatiuorum sectatores simus*. Sic uobis, *etsi laqueum non imponit*, quid utilitatis sit ostendit, dicens: *Innupta de dominicis cogitat, uti et corpore et spiritu sancta sit, nupta uero sollicita est, quomodo coniugi suo placeat*. Ceterum nusquam ita nuptias permittit, ut non potius ad suum exemplum nos eniti malit. Felicem illum, qui Pauli similis extiterit.

IV. [1] Sed *carnem* legimus *infirmam* et hinc nobis adulamur impensius. Legimus tamen et *spiritum firmum*. Nam in uno sensu utrumque positum est. Caro terrena materia est, spiritus uero caelestis. Cur ergo ad excusationem proniores, quae in nobis infirma sunt opponimus, quae uero fortia non tuemur? Cur caelestibus terrena non cedant?

[2] Si spiritus carne fortior, quia et generosior, nostra culpa infirmiores sectamur. Nam disiunctis a matrimonio duae species humanae imbecillitatis necessarias nuptias faciunt. Prima quidem et potentissima, quae uenit de concupiscentia carnis, sequens de concupiscentia saeculi. Sed utraque repudianda est a seruis Dei, qui et luxuriae et ambitioni renuntiamus.

[3] Carnis concupiscentia aetatis officia defendit, decoris messem requirit, gaudet de contumelia sua: dicit uirum necessarium sexui, uel auctoritatis et solatii causa, uel ut a malis rumoribus tuta sit. Et tu aduersus consilia haec eius adhibe sororumstrarum exempla, quarum nomina penes Dominum, quae nullam formae uel aetatis occasionem, permissis maritis, sanctitati anteponunt.

[4] Malunt enim Deo nubere. Deo speciosae, Deo sunt puellae. Cum illo uiuunt, cum illo sermocinantur, illum diebus et noctibus tractant. Orationes suas uelut dotes Domino assignant, ab eodem dignationem uelut munera maritalia, quotienscumque desiderant, consequuntur. Sic aeternum sibi bonum, donum Domini, occupauerunt, ac iam in terris, non nubendo, de familia angelica deputantur.

[5] Talium exemplis feminarum ad aemulationem te continentiae exercens, spiritali affectione carnalem illam concupiscentiam humabis, temporalia et uolatilia desideria formae uel aetatis immortalium bonorum compensatione delendo.

[6] Ceterum saecularis concupiscentia causas habet gloriam, cupiditatem,

ambitionem, insufficientiam, per quas necessitatem nubendi subornat, uidelicet caelestia repromittens: dominari in aliena familia, alienis opibus incubare, cultum de alieno extorquere, sumptum quem non sentias, caedere.

[7] Haec procul a fidelibus, quibus nulla cura tolerandae uitae, nisi si diffidimus de promissis Dei, qui lilia agri tanta gratia uestit, qui uolatilia caeli nulla ipsorum labore pascit, qui prohibet de crastino uictu uestituque curare, spondens scire se quid cuique seruorum suorum opus sit, non quidem monilium pondera, non uestium taedia, non Gallicos mulos, nec Germanicos baiulos, quae nuptiarum gloriam accendunt, sed sufficientiam, quae modestiae et pudicitiae apta est.

[8] Praesume, oro te, nihil tibi opus esse, si Domino appareas, immo omnia habere, si habeas Dominum, cuius omnia. Caelestia recogita, et terrena despicias. Nihil uiduitati apud Deum subsignatae necessarium est quam perseuerare.

V. [1] Adiciunt quidem sibi homines causas nuptiarum de sollicitudine posteritatis et liberorum amarissima uoluptate. Nobis otiosum est. Nam quid gestiamus liberos serere, quos cum habeamus, praemittere optamus, respectu scilicet imminentium angustiarum, cupidi et ipsi iniquissimo isto saeculo eximi et recipi ad Domium, quod etiam apostolo uotum fuit.

Nimirum necessaria suboles seruo Dei. [2] Satis enim de salute nostra securi sumus, ut liberis uacemus. Quaerenda nobis onera sunt, quae etiam a gentiliis plerisque uitantur, quae legibus coguntur, quae parricidiis expugnantur, nobis demum plurimum importuna, quantum fidei periculosa. Cur enim Dominus: *Vae praegnantibus et nutricantibus*, cecinit, nisi quia filiorum impedimenta testatur in illa die expeditionis incommodum futura? Ea utique nuptiis imputantur, istud autem ad uiduas non pertinebit.

[3] Ad primam angeli tubam expeditae prosilient, quamcumque pressuram persecutionemque libere perferent, nulla in utero, nulla in uberibus aestuante sarcina nuptiarum. Igitur, siue carnis, siue saeculi, siue posteritatis gratia nubitur, nihil ex istis necessitatibus competit Dei seruis, ut non satis habeam semel alicui earum succubuisse et uno matrimonio omnem concupiscentiam huiusmodi expiasse. Nubamus quotidie et nubentes a die illo timoris deprehendamus, ut Sodoma et Gomorra. [4] Nam illic non utique nuptias et mercimonia solummodo agebant, sed cum dicit; *Nubebant et emebant*, insigniora ipsa carnis et saeculi uitia denotat, quae a diuinis disciplinis

plurimum auocent, alterum per lasciuiendi uoluptatem, alterum per acquirendi cupiditatem. Et tamen illa tunc caecitas longe a finibus saeculi habebatur. Quid ergo fiet, si quae olim detestabilia sunt penes Deum?... Ab iis nunc nos arceat! *Tempus, inquit, in collecto est, superest, ut qui matrimonia habent tamquam non habentes agant.*

VI. [1] Quodsi hi qui habent obliterare debent quod habent, quanto magis non habentes prohibentur repetere quod non habent. Vt cuius maritus de rebus abiit, exinde requiem sexui suo nubendi abstinencia iniungat, quam pleraeque gentilium feminarum memoriae carissimorum maritorum parentant.

Cum quid difficile uidetur, difficiliora alios obeuntes recenseamus. [2] Quot enim sunt, qui statim a lauacro carnem suam obsignant? Quot item, qui consensu pari inter se matrimonii debitum tollunt, uoluntarii spadones pro cupiditate regni caelestis? Quodsi saluo matrimonio abstinencia toleratur, quanto magis adempto? Credo enim difficilius saluum derelinqui, quam amissum non desiderari.

[3] Durum plane et arduum satis continentia sanctae feminae post uiri excessum Dei causa, cum gentiles satanae suo et uirginitatis et uiduitatis sacerdotia perferant. Romae quidem quae ignis illius inextinguibilis imaginem tractant, auspicia poenae suae cum ipso dracone curantes, de uirginitate censentur.

[4] Achaicae Iunoni apud Aegium oppidum uirgo sortitur, et quae Delphis insaniunt nubere nesciunt. Ceterum uiduas Africanae Cereri adsistere scimus, durissima quidem obliuione a matrimonio allectas. Nam manentibus in uita uiris non modo toro decedunt, sed et alias eis, utique ridentibus, loco suo insinuant; adempto omni contactu, usque ad osculum filiorum et tamen, durante usu, perseuerant in tali uiduitatis disciplina, quae pietatis etiam sancta solatia excludit.

[5] Haec diabolus suis praecipit, et auditur. Prouocat nimirum Dei seruos continentia suorum quasi ex aequo: continent etiam gehennae sacerdotes. Nam inuenit, quomodo homines etiam in boni sectationibus perderet, et nihil apud eum refert, alios luxuria alios continentia occidere.

VII. [1] Nobis continentia ad instrumentum aeternitatis demonstrata est a Domino, salutis Deo, ad testimonium fidei, ad commendationem carnis istius exhibendae superuenturo indumento incorruptibilitatis, ad sustinendam nouissime uoluntatem Dei. Super haec enim recogites, moneo, neminem non

ex Dei uoluntate de saeculo educi, si ne folium quidem ex arbore sine Dei uoluntate delabatur.

[2] Idem qui nos mundo infert, idem et educat necesse est. Igitur defuncto per Dei uoluntatem uiro etiam matrimonium Dei uoluntate defungitur. Quid tu restaures cui finem Deus posuit? Quid libertatem oblatam tibi iterata matrimonii seruitute fastidis? *Obligatus es*, inquit, *matrimonio: ne quaesieris solutionem; solutus es matrimonio: ne quaesieris obligationem.*

[3] Nam etsi *non delinquas* renubendo, *carnis* tamen *pressuram* subsequi dicit. Quare facultatem continentiae, quantum possumus, diligamus; quam primum obuenerit, inbibamus, ut quod in matrimonio non ualuimus, in uiduitate sectemur. Amplectenda occasio est, quae adimit quod necessitas imperabat.

[4] Quantum detrahant fidei, quantum obstrepant sanctitati nuptiae secundae, disciplina ecclesiae et praescriptio apostoli declarat, cum digamos non sinit praesidere, cum uiduam adlegi in ordinem nisi uniuiam non concedit. Aram enim Dei mundam proponi oportet. Tota illa ecclesiae candida de sanctitate describitur.

[5] Sacerdotium uiduitatis et caelibatuum est apud nationes, pro diaboli scilicet aemulatione. Regem saeculi, pontificem maximum, rursus nubere nefas est. Quantum Deo sanctitas placet, cum illam etiam inimicus affectat, non utique ut alicuius boni affinis, sed ut Dei Domini placita cum contumelia affectans.

VIII. [1] Nam de uiduitatis honoribus apud Deum uno dicto eius per prophetam expeditum: *Iuste facite uiduae et pupillo, et uenite, disputemus, dicit Dominus.* Duo ista nomina, in quantum destituta auxilio humano, in tantum diuinae misericordiae exposita, suscipit tueri pater omnium. Vide, quam ex aequo habetur qui uiduae benefecerit, quanti est uidua ipsa, cuius assertor cum Domino disputabit. Non tantum uirginibus datum, opinor.

[2] Licet in illis integritas solida et tota sanctitas de proximo uisura sit faciem Dei, tamen uidua habet aliquid operosius, quia facile est non appetere quod nescias et auersari quod desideraueris numquam. Gloriosior continentia quae ius suum sentit, quae quid uiderit nouit.

[3] Poterit uirgo felicius haberi, at uidua laborosior: illa, quod bonum semper habuit, ista, quod bonum sibi inuenit. In illa gratia, in ista uirtus coronatur. Quaedam enim sunt diuinae liberalitatis, quaedam nostrae

operationis. Quae a Domino indulgentur, sua gratia gubernantur; quae ab homine captantur, studio perpetrantur. Stude igitur ad uirtutem continentiae modestiae, quae pudori procurat, sedulitati, quae uagas non facit, frugalitati, quae saeculum spernit.

[4] Conuictus atque colloquia Deo digna sectare, memor illius uersiculi sanctificati per apostolum: *Bonos corrumpunt mores congressus mali*. Loquaces, otiosae, uinosae, curiosae contubernales uel maxime proposito uiduitatis officiunt. Per loquacitatem ingerunt uerba pudoris inimica, per otium a seueritate deducunt, per uinolentiam quiduis mali insinuant, per curiositatem aemulationem libidinis conuehunt.

[5] Nulla huiusmodi feminarum de bono uniuiatus loqui nouit. *Deus enim illis*, ut ait apostolus, *uenter est*, ita et quae uentri propinqua. Haec tibi iam hinc commendo, conserua carissima, post apostolum quidem ex abundanti retractata, sed tibi etiam solatio futura, quod meam memoriam, si ita euenerit, in illis frequentabis.

LIBER II.

I. [1] Proxime tibi, dilectissima in Domino conserua, quid feminae sanctae matrimonio quacumque sorte adempto sectandum sit, ut potui, prosecutus sum. Nunc ad secunda consilia conuertamur, respectu humanae infirmitatis, quarumdam exemplis admonentibus, quae diuortio uel mariti excessu oblata continentiae occasione non modo abiecerint opportunitatem tanti boni, sed ne in nubendo quidem disciplinae meminisse uoluerunt, ut in Domino potissimum nuberent.

[2] Itaque mihi confusus est animus, ne qui nuper te ad uniuiratus et uiduitatis perseuerantiam hortatus sim, nunc mentione nuptiarum procliuium tibi labendi ab altioribus faciam. Quod si integre sapis, certe scis istud seruandum tibi esse, quod sit utilius. Quod uero difficile est et non sine necessitatibus hoc maxime propositum uitae subresedi.

[3] Nec mihi de isto quoque referendi ad te causae fuissent, nisi grauiorem in eas sollicitudinem comprehendissem. Nam quanto grandis est continentia carnis, quae uiduitati ministrat, tanto, si non sustineatur, ignoscibilis uideri potest. Difficilium enim facilis est tunc uenia. Quanto autem nubere in Domino perpetrabile est, uti nostrae potestatis, tanto culpabilius est non obseruare quod possis.

[4] Eo accedit, quod apostolus de uiduis quidem et innuptis, ut ita permaneant, suadet, cum dicit: *Cupio autem omnes meo exemplo perseuerare*, de nubendo uero in Domino, cum adicit: *tantum in Domino*, iam non suadet sed exerte iubet. Igitur, in ista maxime specie, nisi obsequimur, periclitamur; quia suasum impune quis neglegat, <num>quam iussum, quod illud de consilio ueniat et uoluntati proponatur, hoc autem de potestate descendat et necessitati obligetur, illic libertas, hic contumacia delinquere uideatur.

II. [1] Igitur cum quaedam istis diebus nuptias suas de ecclesia tolleret ac gentili coniungeretur idque ab aliis retro factum recordarer, miratus aut ipsarum petulantiam aut consiliariorum praeuaricationem, quod nulla scriptura eius facti licentiam profert, numquid, inquam, de illo capitulo sibi blandiuntur primae ad Corinthios, ubi scriptum est: *Si quis fratrum infidelem habet uxorem et illa matrimonio consentit, ne dimittat eam; similiter mulier fidelis infideli nupta, si consentaneum maritum experitur, ne dimiserit eum; sanctificatur enim infidelis uir a fidele uxore et infidelis uxor a fidele marito;*

ceterum immundi essent filii uestri?

[2] Hanc monitionem fors de fidelibus iunctis simpliciter intellegendo putent etiam infidelibus nubere licere. Qui ita interpretatur, absit ut sciens se circumscribat. Ceterum manifestum est scripturam istam eos fideles designare, qui in matrimonio gentili inuenti a Dei gratia fuerint. Secundum uerba ipsa: *Si quis*, inquit, *fidelis uxorem habet infidelem* — non dicit: uxorem ducit infidelem — ostendit iam in matrimonio agentem mulieris infidelis, mox gratia Dei conuersum, perseuerare cum uxore debere, scilicet propterea, ne qui fidem consecutus putaret sibi diuertendum esse ab aliena iam et extranea quodammodo femina.

[3] Adeo et rationem subicit: *in pace nos uocari a Domino* et posse infidelem a fidei per usum matrimonii lucrificari. Ipsa etiam clausula hoc ita intellegendum esse confirmat: *Vt quisque*, ait, *uocatur a Domino, ita perseueret*. Vocantur autem gentiles, opinor, non fideles. Quodsi de fidei ante matrimonium pronuntiasset, absolute permiserat sanctis uulgo nubere. Si uero permiserat, numquam tam diuersam atque contrariam permissui suo pronuntiationem subdidisset, dicens: *Mulier defuncto uiro libera est; cui uult nubat, tantum in Domino*.

[4] Hic certe nihil retractandum est. Nam de quo retractari potuisset, apostolus cecinit. Ne quod ait: *cui uelit nubat*, male uteremur, adiecit: *tantum in Domino*, id est in nomine Domini, quod est indubitate Christiano. Ille igitur apostolus sanctus, qui uiduas et innuptas integritati perseuerare mauult, qui nos ad exemplum sui hortatur, nullam aliam formam repetundarum nuptiarum nisi in Domino praescribit, huic soli condicioni continentiae detrimenta concedit. *Tantum*, inquit, *in Domino*: adiecit pondus legi suae.

[5] *Tantum*: <quo>quo sono et modo enuntiaueris dictum istud, onerosum est; et iubet et suadet et praecipit et hortatur et rogat et comminatur. Destricta et expedita sententia est et ipsa sui breuitate facunda.

[6] Sic solet diuina uox, ut statim intellegas, statim obserues. Quis enim non intellegere possit multa pericula et uulnera fidei in huiusmodi nuptiis, quas prohibet, apostolum prouidisse et primo quidem carnis sanctae in carne gentili inquinamentum praecauisse?

[7] Hoc loco dicet aliquis: quid ergo refert inter eum, qui in matrimonio gentili a Domino allegitur, et olim id est ante nuptias fidelem, ut non proinde carni suae caueant, cum alter a nuptiis infidelis arceatur, alter in eis

perseuerare iubeatur? Cur, si a gentili inquinamur, non et ille diiungitur, quemadmodum iste non obligatur?

[8] Respondebo, si spiritus dederit, ante omnia allegans Dominum magis ratum habere matrimonium non contrahi quam omnino disiungi; denique diuortium prohibet, nisi stupri causa, continentiam uero commendat. Habet igitur ille perseuerandi necessitatem, hic porro etiam non nubendi potestatem.

[9] Tunc, si secundum scripturam qui in matrimonio gentili a fide deprehenduntur, propterea non inquinantur, quia cum ipsis alii quoque sanctificantur, sine dubio isti, qui ante nuptias sanctificati sunt, si extraneae carni commisceantur, sanctificare eam non possunt, in qua non sunt deprehensi. Dei autem gratia illud sanctificat quod inuenit. Ita quod sanctificari non potuit, immundum est; quod immundum est, cum sancto non habet partem, nisi ut de suo inquinet et occidat.

III. [1] Haec si ita sunt, fideles gentilium matrimonia subeuntes stupri reos constat esse et arcendos ab omni communicatione fraternitatis, ex litteris apostoli dicentis *cum eiusmodi ne cibum quidem sumendum*. Aut numquid tabulas nuptiales die illo apud tribunal Domini proferemus et matrimonium rite contractum allegabimus, quod uetuit ipse? Non adulterium est, quod prohibitum est, non stuprum est? Extranei hominis admissio minus templum Dei uiolat? minus membra Christi cum membris adulterae commiscet? Quod sciam, non sumus nostri, sed pretio empti. Empti? Et quali pretio? Sanguine Dei. Laedentes igitur carnem istam, eum laedimus de proximo.

[2] Quid sibi uoluit ille, qui dixit delictum quidem esse extraneo nubere, sed minimum, cum alias — seposita carnis iniuria ad Dominum pertinentis — omne delictum uoluntarium in Dominum grande est? Quanto enim potestas uitandi fuit, tanto contumaciae crimine oneratur.

[3] Recenseamus nunc cetera pericula aut uulnera, ut dixi, fidei ab apostolo prouisa, non carni tantum, uerum etiam et ipsi spiritui molestissima. Quis enim dubitet obliterari quotidie fidem commercio infideli? *Bonos corrumpunt, mores confabulationes mala*. Quanto magis conuictus et indiuiduus usus. Quaeuis mulier fidelis Deum obseruet necesse est.

[4] Et quomodo potest duobus dominis seruire, Domino et marito, adde gentili? Gentilem enim obseruando gentilia exhibebit: formam, extructionem, munditias saeculares, blanditias turpiores; ipsa etiam matrimonii secreta maculosa, non ut penes sanctos officia sexus cum honore ipsius necessitatis

tamquam sub oculis Dei modeste et moderate transiguntur.

IV. [1] Sed uiderit qualiter uiro officia pendat, Domino certe non potest pro disciplina satisfacere, habens in latere diaboli seruum, procuratorem domini sui ad impedienda fidelium studia et officia, ut si statio facienda est, maritus de die condicat ad balneas, si ieiunia obseruanda sint, maritus eadem die conuiuium exerceat, si procedendum erit, numquam magis familiae occupatio obuuiat.

[2] Quis autem sinat coniugem suam uisitandorum fratrum gratia uicatim aliena et quidem pauperiora quaeque tuguria circuire? Quis nocturnis conuocationibus, si ita oportuerit, a latere suo adimi libenter feret? Quis denique sollemnibus Paschae abnoctantem securus sustinebit? Quis ad conuiuium dominicum illud, quod infamant, sine sua suspicione dimittet? Quis in carcerem ad osculanda uincula martyris reptare patietur? [3] Iam uero alicui fratrum ad osculum conuenire, aquam sanctorum pedibus offerre, de cibo, de poculo inuadere, desiderare, in mente habere? Si pereger frater adueniat, quod in aliena domo hospitium? Si cui largiendum erit, horreum, proma praeclusa sunt.

V. [1] Sed aliquis sustinet nostra nec obstreperit. Hoc est igitur delictum, quod gentiles nostra nouerunt, quod sub conscientia iniustorum sumus, quod beneficium eorum est, si quid operamur. Non potest nescire qui sustinet, aut si celatur, quia non sustinet, timetur. Cum autem scriptura utrumque mandet, et *sine alterius conscientia et sine nostra pressura* operari Domino, nihil interest in qua parte delinquas, aut in conscientiam mariti, si sit patiens, aut in conflictationem tui, dum uitatur impatiens.

[2] *Nolite, inquit, margaritas uestras porcis iactare, ne conculcent eas et conuersi uos quoque euertant.* Margaritae uestrae sunt etiam quotidianae conuersationis insignia. Quanto curaueris ea occultare, tanto suspectiora feceris et magis captanda gentili curiositati.

[3] Latebisme tu, cum lectulum, cum corpusculum tuum signas, cum aliquid immundum flatu explodis, cum etiam per noctem exurgis oratum? Et non magiae aliquid uideberis operari? Non sciet maritus quid secreto ante omnem cibum gustes? Et si sciuerit panem, non illum credet esse, qui dicitur?

[4] Et haec ignorans quisque rationem simpliciter sustinebit sine gemitu, sine suspicione panis an ueneni? Sustinent quidam, sed ut inculcent, ut inludant huiusmodi feminis, quarum arcana in periculum, quod credunt,

reseruent, si forte laedantur sustinent(es), quarum dotes obiectione nominis mercedem silentii faciant, scieicet apud arbitrium speculatorem litigaturi. Quod plereaque non prouidentes aut re excruciatam aut fide perditam recognoscere consuerunt.

VI. [1] Moratur Dei ancilla cum laribus alienis, et inter illos omnibus honoribus daemonum, omnibus sollemnibus regum, incipiente anno, incipiente mense, nidore turis agitabitur. Et procedet de ianua laureata et lucernata, ut de nouo consistorio libidinum publicarum, discumbet cum marito, saepe in sodalitiis, saepe in popinis. Et ministrabit nonnumquam iniquis, solita quondam sanctis ministrare. Et non hinc praeiudicium damnationis suae agnoscet, eos obseruans quos erat iudicatura? De cuius manu desiderabit? De cuius poculo participabit? Quid maritus suus illi, uel marito quid ipsa cantabit?

[2] Audiet sane, audiet aliquid de scaena, de taberna, de gehenna. Quae Dei mentio? Quae Christi inuocatio? Vbi fomenta fidei de scripturarum interiectione? Vbi Spiritus refrigerium? Vbi diuina benedictio? Omnia extranea, omnia inimica, omnia damnata, adterendae saluti a malo immissa.

VII. [1] Haec si illis quoque euenire possunt, qui in matrimonio gentili fidem adepti morantur, tamen excusantur: ut in ipsis deprehensi a Deo et iubentur perseuerare et sanctificantur et spem luocationis accipiunt. Si ergo ratum est apud Deum matrimonium huiusmodi, cur non et prospere cedat, ut pressuris et angustiis et impedimentis et inquinamentis non ita lacessatur, habens iam ex parte diuinae gratiae patrocinium?

[2] Nam et ad aliquam uirtutem caelestem documentis dignationis alicuius uocatus ille de gentibus terrori est gentili, quo minus sibi obstrepat, minus instet, minus speculetur. Sensit magnalia, uidit experimenta, scit meliorem factum; sic et ipse Dei candidatus est timore. Ita facilius huiusmodi lucrifiunt, in quos Dei gratia consuetudinem fecit.

[3] Ceterum aliud est ultro et sponte in prohibita descendere. Quae Domino non placent, utique Dominum offendunt, utique a malo inferuntur. Hoc signi erit, quod solis petitoribus placet nomen Christianum. Ideo inueniuntur, qui tales non exhorreant, ut exterminent, ut abripiant, ut a fide excludant. Habes causam, qua non dubites nullum huiusmodi matrimonium prospere decurri: dum a malo conciliatur, a Domino uero damnatur.

VIII. [1] Ad hoc quaeramus an iure, quasi reuera dispectores diuinarum

sententiarum. Nonne etiam penes nationes seuerissimi quique domini et disciplinae tenacissimi seruis suis foras nubere interdunt? Scilicet ne in lasciuiam excedant, officia deserant, dominica extraneis promant. Nonne insuper censuerunt seruituti uindicandas quae cum alienis seruis post dominorum denuntiationem in consuetudine perseuerauerint?

[2] Seueriores habebuntur terrenae disciplinae caelestibus praeceptis, ut gentiles quidem extraneis iunctae libertatem amittant, nostrae uero diaboli seruos sibi coniungant et in statu suo perseuerent? Scilicet negabunt sibi a Domino per apostolum eius denuntiatum. Quam huius amentiae causam detineam, nisi fidei imbecillitatem pronam semper in concupiscentias saecularium gaudiorum? [3] Quod quidem plurimum in lautioribus deprehensum est. Nam quanto diues aliqua est et matronae nomine inflata, tanto capaciorem domum oneribus suis requirit, ut campum in quo ambitio decurrat. Sordent talibus ecclesiae. Difficile in domo Dei diues, ac si quis est, difficile caelebs. Quid ergo faciant? Vnde nisi a diabolo maritum petant idoneum exhibendae sellae et mulabus et cinerariis peregrinae proceritatis? Christianus ista etiam diues fortasse non praestet.

[4] Quaeso te, gentilium exempla proponas tibi. Pleraeque et genere nobiles et re beatae passim ignobilibus et mediocribus simul coniunguntur aut ad luxuriam inuentis aut ad licentiam sec<ta>tis. Nonnullae se libere et seruis suis conferunt, omnium hominum existimatione despecta, dummodo habeant a quibus nullum impedimentum libertatis suae timeant. Christianam fidelem fidei re minori nubere piget, locupletiore futuram in uiro paupere.

[5] Nam si pauperum sunt regna caelorum, diuitum non sunt, plus diues in paupere inueniet; maiore dote dotabitur de bonis eius, qui in Deo diues est. Sit illa ex aequo in terris, quae in caelis forsitan non erit. Dubitandum et inquirendum et identidem deliberandum est, an idoneus sit inuectis dotibus cui Deus censum suum credidit?

[6] Vnde sufficiamus ad enarrandam felicitatem eius matrimonii, quod ecclesia conciliat et confirmat oblatio et obsignat benedictio, angeli renuntiant, pater rato habet? Nam nec in terris filii sine consensu patrum rite et iure nubunt.

[7] Quale iugum fidelium duorum unius spei, unius uoti, unius disciplinae, eiusdem seruitutis. Ambo fratres, ambo conserui; nulla spiritus camisue discretio, atquin uere *duo in carne una*. Vbi caro una, unus et spiritus: simul

orant, simul uoluntantur, simul ieiunia transigunt, alterutro docentes, alterutro exhortantes, alterutro sustinentes.

[8] In ecclesia Dei pariter utrique, pariter in conuiuio Dei, pariter in angustiis, in persecutionibus, in refrigeriis. Neuter alterum celat, neuter alterum uitat, neuter alteri grauis est. Libere aeger uisitur, indigens sustentatur. Elemosinae sine tormento, sacrificia sine scrupulo, quotidiana diligentia sine impedimento; non furtiua signatio, non trepida gratulatio, non muta benedictio. Sonant inter duos psalmi et hymni, et mutuo prouocant, quis melius Domino suo cantet. Talia Christus uidens et audiens gaudet. His pacem suam mittit. Vbi duo, ibi et ipse; ubi et ipse, ibi et malus non est.

[9] Haec sunt, quae apostoli uox illa sub breuitate intellegenda nobis relinquit. Haec tibi suggere, si opus fuerit. His te ab exemplis quarundam reflecte. Non licet aliter fidelibus nubere, et si liceret, non expediret.

Ad Martyras (To the Martyrs)

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Capitulum I

[1] Inter carnis alimenta, benedicti martyres designati, quae vobis et domina mater ecclesia de uberibus suis et singuli fratres de opibus suis propriis in carcerem subministrant, capite aliquid et a nobis quod faciat ad spiritum quoque educandum. Carnem enim saginari et spiritum esurire non prodest. Immo, si quod infirmum est curatur, aeque quod infirmius est negligi non debet

[2] Nec tantus ego sum, ut vos alloquar; verumtamen et gladiatores perfectissimos non tantum magistri et praepositi sui, sed etiam idiotae et supervacui quique adhortantur de longinquo, ut saepe de ipso populo dictata suggesta profuerint.

[3] Inprimis ergo, benedicti, «nolite contristare Spiritum sanctum», qui vobiscum introiit carcerem. Si enim non vobiscum nunc introisset, nec vos illic hodie fuissetis. Et ideo date operam ut illic vobiscum perseveret et ita vos inde perducatur ad Dominum.

[4] Domus quidem diaboli est et carcer, in qua familiam suam continet. Sed vos ideo in carcerem pervenistis, ut illum etiam in domo sua conculcetis. Iam enim foris congressi conculcaveratis.

[5] Non ergo dicat: «In meo sunt, temptabo illos vilibus odiis, defectionibus, aut inter se dissensionibus.» Fugiat conspectum vestrum, et in ima sua delitescat contractus et torpens, tamquam coluber excantatus aut effumigatus. Nec illi tam bene sit in suo regno, ut vos committat, sed inveniat munitos et concordia armatos: quia pax vestra bellum est illi.

[6] Quam pacem quidam in ecclesia non habentes a martyribus in carcere exorare consueverunt. Et ideo eam etiam propterea in vobis habere et fovere et custodire debetis, ut, si forte, et aliis praestare possitis.

Capitulum II

[1] Cetera aequae animi impedimenta usque ad limen carceris deduxerint vos, quousque et parentes vestri. Exinde segregati estis ab ipso mundo, quanto magis a saeculo rebusque eius? Nec hoc vos consternet, quod segregati estis a mundo. Si enim recogitemus ipsum magis mundum carcerem esse, exisse vos e carcere, quam in carcerem introisse, intellegemus.

[2] Maiores tenebras habet mundus, quae hominum praecordia excaecant. Gravioras catenas induit mundus, quae ipsas animas hominum constringunt. Peiores immunditias expirat mundus, libidines hominum.

[3] Plures postremo mundus reos continet, scilicet universum hominum genus. Iudicia denique non proconsulis, sed Dei sustinet.

[4] Quo vos, benedicti, de carcere in custodiarium, si forte, translatos existimetis. Habet tenebras, sed lumen estis ipsi; habet vincula, sed vos soluti Deo estis. Triste illic expirat, sed vos odor estis suavitatis. Iudex exspectatur, sed vos estis de iudiciis ipsis iudicaturi.

[5] Contristetur illic qui fructum saeculi suspirat. Christianus etiam extra carcerem saeculo renuntiavit, in carcere autem etiam carceri. Nihil interest, ubi sitis in saeculo, qui extra saeculum estis.

[6] Et si aliqua amisistis vitae gaudia: «negotiatio est aliquid amittere, ut maiora lucreris.» Nihil adhuc dico de praemio, ad quod Deus martyres invitat. Ipsam interim conversationem saeculi et carceris comparemus, si non plus in carcere spiritus acquirit quam caro amittit.

[7] Immo et quae iusta sunt caro non amittit per curam ecclesiae et agapen fratrum; et insuper quae semper utilia fidei, spiritus adipiscitur: non vides alienos deos, non imaginibus eorum incurris, non sollemnes nationum dies ipsa commixtione participas, non nidoribus spurcis verberaris, non clamoribus spectaculorum, atrocitate vel furore vel impudicitia celebrantium caederis; non in loca libidinum publicarum oculi tui impingunt: vacas a scandalis, a temptationibus, a recordationibus malis, iam et a persecutione.

[8] Hoc praestat carcer Christiano, quod eremus prophetis. Ipse Dominus in secessu frequentius agebat, ut liberius oraret, ut saeculo cederet. Gloriam denique suam discipulis in solitudine demonstravit. Auferamus carceris nomen, secessum vocemus.

[9] Etsi corpus includitur, etsi caro detinetur, omnia spiritui patent. Vagare

spiritu, spatiare spiritu, et non stadia opaca aut porticus longas proponens tibi, sed illam viam, quae ad Deum dueit. Quotiens eam spiritu deambulaveris, totiens in carcere non eris.

[10] Nihil crus sentit in nervo, cum animus in caelo est. Totum hominem animus circumfert, et quo velit transfert. Ubi autem erit cor tuum, illic erit et thesaurus tuus. Ibi ergo sit cor nostrum, ubi volumus habere thesaurum.

Capitulum III

[1] Sit nunc, benedicti, carcer etiam Christianis molestus. Vocati sumus ad militiam Dei vivi iam tunc, cum in sacramenti verba respondimus. Nemo miles ad bellum cum deliciis venit, nec de cubiculo ad aciem procedit, sed de papilionibus expeditis et substrictis, ubi omnis duritia et inbonitas et insuavitas constitit.

[2] Etiam in pace labore et incommodis bellum pati iam ediscunt, in armis deambulando, campum decurrendo, fossam moliendo, testudinem densando. Sudore omnia constant, ne corpora atque animi expavescant de umbra ad solem et sole ad gelum, de tunica ad loricam, de silentio ad clamorem, de quiete ad tumultum.

[3] Proinde vos, benedicti, quodcumque hoc durum est, ad exercitationem virtutum animi et corporis deputate. Bonum agonem subituri estis in quo agonethetes Deus vivus est, xystarches Spiritus Sanctus, corona aeternitatis, brabium angelicae substantiae, politia in caelis, gloria in saecula saeculorum.

[4] Itaque epistates vester Christus Iesus, qui vos Spiritu unxit, et ad hoc scamma produxit, voluit vos ante diem agonis ad duriores tractationes a liberiore condicione seponere, ut vires corroborarentur in vobis. Nempe enim et athletae segregantur ad strictiorem disciplinam, ut robori aedificando vacent. Continentur a luxuria, a cibis laetioribus, a potu iucundiore. Coguntur, cruciantur, fatigantur: quanto plus in exercitationibus laboraverint, tanto plus de victoria sperant.

[5] Et illi, inquit Apostolus, ut coronam corruptibilem consequantur. Nos aeternam consecuturi carcerem nobis pro palaestra interpretamur, ut ad stadium tribunalis bene exercitati incommodis omnibus producamur, quia virtus duritia exstruitur, mollitia vero destruitur.

Capitulum IV

[I] Scimus ex dominico praecepto, quod caro infirma sit, spiritus promptus. Non ergo nobis blandiamur, quia Dominus consensit carnem infirmam esse. Propterea enim praedixit spiritum promptum, ut ostenderet, quid cui debeat esse subiectum, scilicet, ut caro serviat spiritui, infirmior fortiori, ut ab eo etiam ipsa fortitudinem assumat.

[2] Colloquatur spiritus cum carne de communi salute, nec iam de incommodis carceris, sed de ipso agone et proelio cogitans. Timebit forsitan caro gladium gravem, et crucem excelsam, et rabiem bestiarum, et summam ignium poenam, et omne carnificis ingenium in tormentis.

[3] Sed spiritus contraponat sibi et carni: acerba licet ista, a multis tamen aequo animo excepta, immo et ultro appetita, famae et gloriae causa; nec a viris tantum, sed etiam a feminis, ut vos quoque, benedictae, sexui vestro respondeatis.

[4] Longum est, si enumerem singulos, qui se gladio confecerint, animo suo ducti. De feminis ad manum est Lucretia, quae vim stupri passa cultum sibi adegit in conspectu propinquorum, ut gloriam castitati suae pareret. Mucius dexteram suam in ara cremavit, ut hoc factum eius fama haberet.

[5] Nec minus fecerunt philosophi: Heraclitus, qui se bubulo stercore oblitum excussit; item Empedocles, qui in ignes Aetnaei montis desilivit; et Peregrinus, qui non olim se rogo immisit, cum feminae quoque contempserint ignes: Dido, ne post virum dilectissimum nubere cogeretur; item Asdrubalis uxor, quae iam ardente Carthagine, ne maritum suum supplicem Scipionis videret, cum filiis suis in incendium patriae devolvit.

[6] Regulus, dux Romanorum, captus a Carthaginensibus, cum se unum pro multis captivis Carthaginensibus compensari noluisset, maluit hostibus reddi et in arcae genus stipatus undique extrinsecus clavis transfixus, tot cruces sensit. Bestias femina libens appetiit, et utique aspides, serpentes tauro vel urso horridiores, quas Cleopatra immisit sibi, ne in manus inimici perveniret.

[7] «Sed mortis metus non tantus est, quantus est tormentorum.» Itaque cessit carnifici meretrix Atheniensis? Quae conscia coniurationis cum propterea torqueretur a tyranno, et non prodidit coniuratos et novissime linguam suam comestam in faciem tyranni expuit, ut nihil agere in se sciret tormenta, etsi ultra perseverarent.

[8] Nam quod hodie apud Lacedaemonas sollemnitas maxima est, DIAMASTIGOSIS, id est, flagellatio, non latet. In quo sacro, ante aram nobiles quique adolescentes flagellis affliguntur, astantibus parentibus et propinquis, et uti perseverent adhortantibus. Ornamentum enim et gloria deputatur maiore quidem titulo, si anima potius cesserit plagis, quam corpus.

[9] Igitur si tantum terrenae gloriae licet de corporis et animae vigore, ut gladium, ignem, crucem, bestias, tormenta contemnat sub praemio laudis humanae, possum dicere, modicae sunt istae passiones ad consecutionem gloriae caelestis et divinae mercedis. Si tanti vitreum, quanti verum margaritum? Quis ergo non libentissime tantum pro vero habet erogare, quantum alii pro falso?

Capitulum V

[1] Omitto nunc gloriae causam. Eadem omnia saevitiae et cruciatus certamina iam apud homines affectatio quoque et morbus quidam animi conculcavit. Quot otiosos affectatio armorum ad gladium locat? Certe ad feras ipsas affectatione descendunt et de morsibus et de cicatricibus formosiores sibi videntur. Iam et ad ignes quidam se auctoraverunt, ut certum spatium in tunica ardente conficerent. Alii inter venatorum taureas scapulis patientissimis inambulaverunt.

[2] Haec, benedicti, non sine causa Dominus in saeculum admisit, sed ad nos et nunc exhortandos et in illo die confundendos, si reformidaverimus pati pro veritate in salutem, quae alii affectaverunt pro vanitate in perditionem.

Capitulum VI

[1] Sed haec exempla constantiae omittamus de affectatione venientis. Convertamur ad ipsam condicionis humanae contemplationem, ut et illa nos instruant, si qua constanter adeunda sint, quae et invitis evenire consueverunt. Quotiens enim incendia vivos cremaverunt! Quotiens ferae et in silvis suis et in mediis civitatibus elapsae caveis homines devoraverunt! Quot a latronibus ferro, ab hostibus etiam cruce extincti sunt, torti prius, immo et omni contumelia expuncti!

[2] Nemo non etiam hominis causa pati potest, quod in causa Dei pati dubitat. Ad hoc quidem vel praesentia nobis tempora documenta sint, quantae qualesque personae inopinos natalibus et dignitatibus et corporibus et aetatibus suis exitus referunt hominis causa: aut ab ipso, si contra eum fecerint, aut ab adversariis eius, si pro eo steterint.

De Patientia (On Patience)

I. [1] Confiteor ad dominum Deum satis temere me, si non etiam inpudenter, de patientia componere ausum, cui praestandae idoneus omnino non sim, ut homo nullius boni, quando oporteat demonstrationem et commendationem alicuius rei adertos ipsos prius in administratione eius rei deprehendi et constantiam commonendi propriae conuersationis auctoritate dirigere, ne dicta factis deficientibus erubescant. [2] Atque utinam erubescere istud remedium ferat, uti pudor non exhibendi quod aliis suggestum imus exhibendi fiat magisterium! Nisi quod bonorum quorundam, sicuti et malorum, intolerabilis magnitudo est, ut ad capienda et praestanda ea sola gratia diuinae inspirationis operetur. [3] Nam quod maxime bonum, id maxime penes Deum nec alius id quam qui possidet dispensat, ut cuique dignatur. [4] Itaque uelut solacium erit disputare super eo quod frui non datur, uice languentium qui cum uacent a sanitate de bonis eius tacere non norunt. [5] Ita miserrimus ego semper aeger caloribus inpatientiae, quam non optineo patientiae sanitatem, et suspirem et inuocem et perorem necesse est, cum recordor et in meae inbecillitatis contemplatione digero bonam fidei ualitudinem et dominicae disciplinae sanitatem non facile cuiquam nisi patientia adsideat prouenire. [6] Ita praeposita Dei rebus est, ut nullum praeceptum obire quis, nullum opus domino complacitum perpetrare extraneus a patientia possit.

[7] Bonum eius etiam qui caeca uiuunt summae uirtutis appellatione honorant; philosophi quidem, qui alicuius sapientiae animalia deputantur, tantum illi subsignant ut, cum inter sese uariis sectarum libidinibus et sententiarum aemulationibus discordent, solius tamen patientiae in commune memores huic uni studiorum suorum commiserint pacem: in eam conspirant, in eam foederantur, in illam adfectione uirtutis unanimiter student; omnem sapientiae ostentationem de patientia praeferunt. [8] Grande testimonium eius est cum etiam uanas saeculi disciplinas ad laudem et gloriam promouet! Aut numquid potius iniuria, cum diuina res in saecularibus artibus uolutatur? [9] Sed uiderint illi quos mox sapientiae suae cum saeculo destructae ac dedecorate pudebit!

II. [1] Nobis exercendae patientiae auctoritatem non adfectatio humana caninae aequanimitatis stupore formata, sed uiuae ac caelestis disciplinae diuina dispositio delegat, Deum ipsum ostendens patientiae exemplum, [2] iam

primum qui florem lucis huius super iustos et iniustos aequaliter spargit, qui temporum officia elementorum seruitia totius geniturae tributa dignis simul et indignis patitur occurrere, [3] sustinens ingratisimas nationes ludibria artium et opera manuum suarum adorantes, nomen familiam ipsius persequentes, luxuria auaritia iniquitate malignitate cottidie insolescentes, ut sua sibi patientia detrahat: plures enim dominum idcirco non credunt, quia saeculo iratum tam diu nesciunt.

III. [1] Et haec quidem diuinae patientiae species quasi de longinquo fors ut de supernis aestimetur: quid illa autem [patientiam], quae inter homines palam in terris quodammodo manu adprehensa est? [2] Nasci se Deus patitur: in utero matris [et] expectat et natus adolescere sustinet et adultus non gestit agnoscere, sed contumeliosus insuper sibi est et a seruo suo tingitur et temptatoris congressus solis uerbis repellit; [3] cum de domino fit magister docens hominem euadere mortem, absolutam scilicet ueniam offensae patientiae eruditus, [4] non contendit, non reclamauit nec quisquam in plateis uocem eius audiuit; arundinem quassatam non fregit, linum fumigans non restinxit (nec enim mentitus fuerat propheta, immo ipsius Dei contestatio spiritum suum in filio cum tota patientia collocantis!), [5] nullum uolentem sibi adhaerere non suscepit, nullius mensam tectumue despexit, atquin ipse lauandis discipulorum pedibus ministravit; [6] non peccatores, non publicanos aspernatus est, non illi saltem ciuitati quae eum recipere noluerat iratus est, cum etiam discipuli tam contumelioso oppido caelestes ignes repraesentari uoluissent; ingratos curauit, insidiatoribus cessit. [7] Parum hoc, si non etiam proditorem suum secum habuit nec constanter denotauit. Cum uero traditur, cum adducitur ut pecus ad uictimam (sic enim *non magis aperit os quam agnus sub tondentis potestate*), ille, cui legiones angelorum si uoluisset uno dicto de caelis adfuissent, ne unius quidem discentis gladium ultorem probauit. [8] Patientia domini in Malcho uulnerata est: itaque et gladii opera maledixit in posterum et sanitatis restitutione ei quem non ipse uexauerat satisfacit, per patientiam misericordiae matrem. [9] Taceo quod figitur, in hoc enim uenerat: numquid tamen subiendae morti etiam contumeliis opus fuerat? Sed saginari patientiae uoluptate discessurus uolebat: despuitur uerberatur deridetur, foedis uestitur, foedioribus coronatur. [10] Mira aequanimitatis fides: qui in hominis figura proposuerat latere, nihil de impatientia hominis imitatus est! Hinc uel maxime, pharisaei, dominum agnoscere debuistis: patientiam

huiusmodi nemo hominum perpetraret! [11] Talia tantaque documenta, quorum magnitudo penes nationes quidem detrectatio fidei est, penes nos uero ratio et structio, satis aperte, non sermonibus modo in praecipiendo, sed etiam passionibus domini sustinendo, probant his quibus credere datum est patientiam Dei esse naturam, effectum et praestantiam ingenitae cuiusdam proprietatis.

IV. [1] Igitur si probos quosque seruos et bonae mentis pro ingenio dominico conuersari uidemus (siquidem artificium promerendi obsequium est, obsequii uero disciplina morigera subiectio est), quanto magis nos secundum dominum moratos inueniri oportet, seruos scilicet Dei uiui, cuius iudicium in suos non in compede aut pilleo uertitur, sed in aeternitate aut poenae aut salutis! [2] Cui seueritati declinandae uel liberalitati inuitandae tanta obsequii diligentia opus est, quanta sunt ipsa quae aut seueritas comminatur aut liberalitas pollicetur. [3] Et tamen nos non de hominibus modo seruitute subnixis uel quolibet alio iure debitoribus obsequii, uerum etiam de pecudibus, etiam de bestiis oboedientiam exprimimus, intellegentes usibus nostris eas a domino prouisas traditasque. [4] Meliora ergo nobis erunt in obsequii disciplina quae nobis Deus subdit? Agnoscunt denique quae oboediunt: nos, cui soli subditi sumus, domino scilicet, auscultare dubitamus? At quam iniustum est, quam etiam ingratum, quod per alterius indulgentiam de aliis consequaris, idem illi, per quem consequeris, de temetipso non rependere! [5] Nec pluribus de obsequii exhibitione debiti a nobis domino Deo: satis enim agnitio Dei quid sibi incumbat intellegit. Ne tamen ut extraneum de obsequio uideamur interiecisce, ipsum quoque obsequium de patientia trahitur: numquam inpatiens obsequitur aut patiens quis [non] obluatur. [6] Quam ergo dominus, omnium bonorum et demonstrator et acceptator Deus, in semetipso circumtulit, quis de bono eius late retractet? Cui enim dubium sit omne bonum, quia ad Deum pertineat, pertinentibus ad Deum tota mente sectandum? Per quae in expedito et quasi in praescriptionis compendio et commendatio et exhortatio de patientia constituta est.

V. [1] Verumtamen procedere disputationem de necessariis fidei non est otiosum, quia nec infructuosum: loquacitas in aedificatione nulla [turpis], si quando, turpis. [2] Itaque si de aliquo bono sermo est, res postulat contrarium eius quoque boni recensere: quid enim sectandum sit, magis inluminabis, si quid uitandum sit proinde digesseris. [3] Consideremus igitur de inpatientia an,

sicut patientia in Deo, ita aduersaria eius in aduersario nostro nata atque comperta sit, ut ex isto appareat quam principaliter fidei aduersetur. [4] Nam quod ab aemulo Dei conceptum est utique non est amicum Dei rebus. Eadem discordia est rerum quae et auctorum: porro cum Deus optimus, diabolus e contrario pessimus, ipsa sui diuersitate testantur neutrum alteri facere, ut nobis non magis a malo aliquid boni quam a bono aliquid mali editum uideri possit. [5] Igitur natales inpatientiae in ipso diaboloprehendo, iam tunc cum dominum Deum uniuersa opera [sua] quae fecisset imagini suae, id est homini, subiecisse inpatienter tulit. [6] Nec enim doluisset si sustinuisset, nec [enim] inuidisset homini si non doluisset: adeo decepit eum quia inuiderat, inuiderat autem quia doluerat, doluerat quia patienter utique non tulerat. [7] Quid primum fuerit ille angelus perditionis, malus an inpatient, contemno quaerere, palam cum sit aut inpatientiam cum malitia aut malitiam ab inpatientia auspicatam, deinde inter se conspirasse et indiuiduas in uno patris sinu adoleuisse. [8] Atenim quam primus senserat, per quam primus delinquere intrauerat, de suo experimento quid ad peccandum adiutaret *instructus*, eandem inpingendo in crimen homini aduocauit. [9] Conuenta statim illi mulier, non temere dixerim, per conloquium ipsum eius adflata est spiritu inpatientia infecto: usque adeo numquam omnino peccasset, si diuino interdicto patientiam praeseruasset! [10] Quid quod non sustinuit sola conuenta, sed apud Adam, nondum maritum, nondum aures sibi debentem, inpatient etiam tacendi est ac traducem [ad] illum eius quod a malo hauserat facit? [11] Perit igitur et alius homo per inpatientiam alterius, perit *immo* et ipse per inpatientiam suam utrobique commissam, et circa Dei praemonitionem et circa diaboli circumscriptionem, illam seruare, hanc refutare non sustinens. [12] Hinc prima iudicii unde delicti prigo, hinc Deus irasci exorsus unde offendere homo inductus, inde in Deo prima patientia unde indignatio prima, qui tunc maledictione sola contentus ab animaduersionis impetu in diabolo temperauit. [13] Aut quod crimen ante istud inpatientiae admissum homini imputatur? Innocens erat et Deo de proximo amicus et paradisi colonus: at ubi semel succidit inpatientiae, desiuit Deo sapere, desiuit caelestia sustinere posse. [14] Exinde homo, terrae datus et ab oculis Dei eiectus, facile usurpari ab inpatientia coepit in omne quod Deum offenderet. [15] Nam statim illa semine diaboli concepta, malitiae fecunditate irae filium procreauit; editum suis artibus erudiit: quod enim ipsum Adam et Euam morti inmerserat, docuit et

filium ab homicidio incipere. [16] Frustra istud inpatientiae adscripserim, si Cain ille primus homicida et primus fratricida oblationes suas a domino recusatas aequanimiter nec inpatienter tulit, si iratus fratri suo non est, si neminem denique interemit. [17] Cum ergo nec occidere potuerit nisi iratus, nec irasci nisi inpatiens, demonstrat quod per iram gessit ad eam referendum a qua [ira] suggesta est. [18] [Per] Haec inpatientiae tunc infantis quodammodo incunabula. Ceterum quanta mox incrementa! Nec mirum: si prima deliquit, consequens est ut, quia prima, idcirco et sola sit matrix in omne delictum, defundens de suo fonte uarias criminum uenas. [19] De homicidio quidem dictum est. Sed ira editum a primordio, etiam quascumque postmodum causas sibi inuenit ad inpatientiam, ut ad originem sui, confert: siue enim quis inimicitiis siue praedae gratia id scelus conficit, prius est ut aut odii aut auaritiae fiat inpatiens. [20] Quidquid compellit, sine inpatientia sui non est ut perfici possit: quis adulterium sine libidinis inpatientia subiit? Quod et si pretio in feminis cogitur, uenditio illa pudicitiae utique inpatientia contemnendi lucri ordinatur. [21] Haec ut principalia penes dominum delicta. Iam uero, ut compendio dictum sit, omne peccatum inpatientiae adscribendum. Malum inpatientia est boni. Nemo inpudicus non inpatiens pudicitiae et improbus probitatis et impius pietatis et inquietus quietis, ut malus unusquisque fiat, < si > bonus perseuerare non poterit! [22] Talis igitur excetra delictorum cur non dominum offendat inprobatores malorum? An non ipsum quoque Israel per inpatientiam semper in Deum deliquisse manifestum est? [23] Exinde cum, oblitus brachii caelestis quo Aegyptiis afflictationibus fuerat extractus, de Aaron deos sibi duces postulat, cum in idolum auri sui conlationes defundit: tam necessarias enim Moysei cum domino congregientis inpatienter exceperat moras! [24] Post mannae escatilem pluuiam, post petrae aquatilem sequellam desperant de domino, tridui sitim non sustinendo; nam haec quoque illis inpatientia a domino exprobratur. [25] Ac, ne singula peruagemur, numquam non per inpatientiam delinquendo perierunt. Quomodo autem manus prophetis intulerunt nisi per inpatientiam audiendi? domino autem ipso per inpatientiam etiam uidendi! Quodsi patientiam inissent, liberarentur.

VI. [1] Ipsa adeo est quae fidem et subsequitur et antecedit. Denique Abraham Deo credidit et iustitiae deputatus ab illo est. Sed fidem eius patientia probauit, cum filium inmolare iussus est, ad fidei non temptationem

dixerim, sed typicam contestationem. [2] Ceterum Deus quem iustitiae deputasset sciebat: tam graue praeceptum, quod nec domino perfici placebat, patienter et audiuit et, si Deus uoluisset, implesset. Merito ergo benedictus quia et fidelis, merito fidelis quia et patiens! [3] Ita fides patientia inluminata, cum in nationes seminaretur per semen Abrahae, quod est Christus, et gratiam legi superduceret, ampliandae adimplendaeque legi adiutricem suam patientiam praefecit, quod ea sola ad iustitiae doctrinam retro defuisset. [4] Nam olim et oculus pro oculo et dentem pro dente repetebant et malum malo fenerabant: nondum enim patientia in terris, quia nec fides scilicet. Interim inpatientia occasionibus legis fruebatur: facile erat, absente domino patientiae et magistro. [5] Qui postquam superuenit et gratiam fidei patientia composuit, iam nec uerbo quidem lacessere, nec «fatue» quidem dicere sine iudicii periculo licet; prohibita ira, restricti animi, compressa petulantia manus, exemptum linguae uenenum. [6] Plus lex quam amisit inuenit, dicente Christo: *Diligite inimicos uestros et maledicentibus benedicite et orate pro persecutoribus uestris ut filii sitis patris uestri caelestis*. Vides quem nobis patrem patientia adquirat!

VII. [1] Hoc principali praecepto uniuersa patientiae disciplina succincta est, quando nec digne quidem malefacere concessum est. Iam uero percurrentibus nobis causas inpatientiae cetera quoque praecepta suis locis respondebunt. [2] Si detrimento rei familiaris animus concitatur, omni paene in loco de contemnendo saeculo scripturis dominicis commonetur, nec maior ad pecuniae contemptum exhortatio subiacet quam quod ipse dominus in nullis diuitiis inuenitur. [3] Semper pauperes iustificat, diuites praedamnat. Ita detrimentorum patientiae fastidium opulentiae praeministravit, demonstrans per abiectionem diuitiarum laesuras quoque earum computandas non esse. [4] Quod ergo nobis appetere minime opus est, quia nec dominus appetiuit, detruncatum uel etiam ademptum non aegre sustinere debemus. [5] Cupiditatem omnium malorum radicem spiritus domini per apostolum pronuntiauit: eam non in concupiscentia alieni tantum constitutam interpretemur. Nam et quod nostrum uidetur alienum est: nihil enim nostrum, quoniam Dei [sunt] omnia, cuius ipsi quoque nos [sumus]. [6] Itaque si damno adfecti inpatienter senserimus, non de nostro amissum dolentes adfines cupiditatis deprehendemur: alienum quaerimus, cum alienum amissum aegre sustinemus. [7] Qui damni inpatientia concitatur terrena caelestibus

anteponendo, de proximo in Deum peccat: spiritum enim quem a domino sumpsit saecularis rei gratia concutit. [8] Libenter igitur terrena amittamus, caelestia tueamur; totum licet saeculum pereat, dum patientiam lucrifaciam! Iam qui minutum sibi aliquid aut furto aut ui aut etiam ignauia non constanter sustinere constituit, nescio an facile uel ex animo ipse rei suae manum inferre possit in causa elemosinae. [9] Quis enim ab alio secari omnino non sustinens ipse ferrum in corpore suo ducit? Patientia in detrimentis exercitatio est largiendi et communicandi: non piget donare eum qui non timet perdere. [10] Alioquin quomodo duas habens tunicas alteram earum nudo dabit, nisi idem sit qui auferenti tunicam etiam pallium offerre possit? Quomodo amicos de mammona fabricabimus nobis, si eum in tantum amauerimus, ut amissum non sufferamus? Peribimus cum perdito. [11] Quid hic inuenimus, ubi habemus amittere? Gentilium est omnibus detrimentis inpatientiam adhibere, [sunt] qui rem pecuniariam fortasse animae anteponant. [12] Nam et faciunt, cum lucri cupiditatibus quaeuosa pericula mercimoniorum in mari exercent, cum pecuniae causa etiam in foro nihil damnationi timendum adgredi dubitant, cum denique ludo et castris sese locant, cum per uias inmemores bestiarum latrocinantur. [13] Nos uero, secundum diuersitatem qua cum illis stamus, non animam pro pecunia, sed pecuniam pro anima deponere conuenit, seu sponte in largiendo seu patienter in amittendo!

VIII. [1] Ipsam animam ipsumque corpus in saeculo isto expositum omnibus ad iniuriam gerimus eiusque iniuriae patientiam subimus: et minorum delibatione laedemur? Absit a seruo Christi tale inquinamentum, ut patientia maioribus temptationibus praeparata in friuolis excidat! [2] Si manu quis temptauerit prouocare, praesto est dominica monela: *Verberanti te*, inquit, *infaciem etiam alteram genam obuerte*. Fatigetur improbitas patientia tua: quiuus ictus ille sit dolore et contumelia constrictus, grauius a domino uapulabit; plus inprobum illum caedes sustinendo: ab eo enim uapulabit cuius gratia sustines. [3] Si linguae amaritudo maledicto siue conuicio eruperit, respice dictum: *Cum uos maledixerint gaudete*. Dominus ipse maledictus in lege est et tamen solus est benedictus. Igitur dominum serui consequamur et maledicamur patienter, ut benedicti esse possimus! [4] Si parum aequanimiter audiam dictum aliquod in me proteruum aut nequam, reddam et ipse amaritudinis uicem necesse est aut cruciabor inpatientia muta. [5] Cum ergo percussero maledictus, quomodo secutus inueniar doctrinam domini, qua

traditum est non uasculorum inquinamentis, sed eorum quae ex ore promuntur hominem communicari, item manere nos omnis uani et superuacui dicti reatum? [6] Sequitur ergo ut, a quo nos dominus arcet, idem ab alio aequanimiter pati admoneat. [7] Hic iam de patientiae uoluptate. Nam omnis iniuria seu lingua seu manu incussa, cum patientiam offenderit, eodem exitu dispugetur, quo telum aliquod in petra constantissimae duritiae libratum et obtusum: concidet enim ibidem, inrita opera et infructuosa, et nonnumquam repperit in eum qui remisit reciproco impetu saeuiret. [8] Nempe idcirco quis te laedit ut doleas, quia fructus laedentis in dolore laesi est. Ergo cum fructum eius euerteris non dolendo, ipse doleat necesse est amissione fructus sui. [9] Tunc tu non modo inlaesus ibis (quod etiam solum tibi sufficit), sed insuper aduersarii tui et frustratione oblectatus et dolore defensus. Haec est patientiae et utilitas et uoluptas!

IX. [1] Ne illa quidem impatientiae species excusatur in amissione nostrorum, ubi aliqua doloris patrocinator adsertio. Praeponendus est enim respectus denuntiationis apostoli, qui ait: *Ne contristemini dormitione cuiusquam sicut nationes quae spe carent.* [2] Et merito: credentes enim resurrectionem Christi, in nostram quoque credimus, propter quos ille et obiit et resurrexit. Ergo cum constet de resurrectione mortuorum, uacat dolor mortis, uacat et impatientia doloris. [3] Cur enim doleas, si perisse non credis? Cur impatienter feras subductum interim quem credis reuersurum? Profectio est quam putas mortem. Non est lugendus qui antecedit, sed plane desiderandus. Id quoque desiderium patientia temperandum: cur enim immoderate feras abisse quem mox subsequeris? [4] Ceterum impatientia in huiusmodi et spei nostrae male ominatur et fidem praeuaricatur, et Christum laedimus cum euocatos quosque ab illo quasi miserandos non aequanimiter accipimus. [5] *Cupio*, inquit apostolus, *recipi iam et esse cum domino.* Quanto melius ostendit uotum! Christianorum ergo uotum, si alios consecutos impatienter dolemus, ipsi consequi nolumus!

X. [1] Est et alius summus impatientiae stimulus, ultionis libido, negotium curans aut gloriae aut malitiae. Sed et gloria ubique uana et malitia numquam non domino odiosa, hoc quidem loco cum maxime, cum alterius malitia prouocata superiorem se in exsequenda ultione constituit et remuneraris nequam duplicat quod semel factum est. [2] Ultio penes errorem solacium uidetur doloris, penes ueritatem certamen redarguitur malignitatis. Quid enim

refert inter prouocantem et prouocatum, nisi quod ille prior in maleficio deprehenditur, at ille posterior? Tamen uterque laesi hominis domino reus est qui omne nequam et prohibet et damnat. [3] Nulla in maleficio ordinis ratio est nec locus secefnit quod similitudo coniungit. Absolute itaque praecipitur malum malo non rependendum: par factum par habet meritum. [4] Quomodo id obseruabimus, si [fastidientes] in fastidio ultionis non erimus? quem autem honorem litabimus domino Deo, si nobis arbitrium defensionis arrogauerimus? [5] Nos putres, uasa fictilia, seruulis nostris adsummentibus sibi de conseruis ultionem grauiter offendimur eosque qui nobis patientiam obtulerint suam ut memores humilitatis seruitutis, ius dominici honoris diligentes, non probamus modo, sed ampliorem quam ipsi sibi praesumpsissent satisfactionem facimus: id nobis in domino tam iusto ad aestimandum, tam potenti ad perficiendum periclitatur? [6] Quid ergo credimus iudicem illum, si non et ultorem? Hoc se nobis repromittit dicens: *Vindictam mihi et ego uindicabo*, id est: «patientiam mihi et ego patientiam remunerabo». [7] Cum enim dicit: *Nolite iudicare ne iudicemini*, nonne patientiam flagitat? Quis enim non iudicabit alium, nisi qui patiens erit non defendi? Quis idcirco iudicat ut ignoscat? Ac si ignoscet, tamen iudicantis inpatientiam non cauit et honorem unici iudicis, id est Dei, abstulit! [8] Quantos uero casus huiusmodi inpatientia incursare consueuerat, quotiens paenituit defensionem, quotiens instantia eius deterior inuenta est causis suis, quoniam nihil inpatientia susceptum sine impetu transigi nouit, nihil impetu actum non aut offendit aut corruiat aut praeceps abiit! [9] Iam si leuius defendaris, insanies; si uberius, oneraberis. Quid mihi cum ultione, cuius modum regere non possum per inpatientiam doloris? Quodsi patientiae incubabo, non dolebo; si non dolebo, ulcisci non desiderabo.

XI. [1] Post has principales inpatientiae materias ut potuimus regestas, quid inter ceteras euagemur quae domi, quae foris? Lata atque diffusa est operatio mali multiplicia ipsius incitamenta iaculantis et modo paruula, modo maxima. [2] Sed paruula de sua mediocritate contemnna, maximis pro sua exuperantia cedat. Vbi minor iniuria, ibi nulla necessitas patientiae; at ubi maior iniuria, ibi necessarior iniuriae medela, patientia. [3] Certemus igitur quae a malo infliguntur sustinere, ut hostis studium aemulatio nostrae aequanimitatis eludat. Si uero quaedam ipsi in nos aut inprudencia aut sponte etiam superducimus, aequae patienter obeamus quae nobis inputamus. [4] Quodsi a

domino nonnulla credimus incuti, cui magis patientiam quam domino praebeamus? Quin insuper gratulari et gaudere nos docet dignatione diuinae castigationis: *Ego*, inquit, *quos diligo castigo*. O seruum illum beatum cuius emendationi dominus instat, cui dignatur irasci, quem admonendi dissimulatione non decipit!

[5] Vndique igitur adstricti sumus officio patientiae administrandae, qui aliqua ex parte aut erroribus nostris aut mali insidiis aut admonitionibus domini interuenimus. Eius officii magna merces, felicitas scilicet. [6] Quos enim felices dominus nisi patientes nuncupauit dicendo: *Beati pauperes spiritu, illorum est enim regnum caelorum*? Nullus profecto spiritu pauper nisi humilis: quis enim humilis nisi patiens, quia nemo subicere sese potest sine prima patientia subiectionis ipsius? [7] *Beati*, inquit, *fientes atque lugentes*. Quis talia sine patientia tolerat? Itaque talibus et aduocatio et risus promittitur. [8] *Beati mites*. Hoc quidem uocabulo impatientes non licet omnino censeri. Item cum pacificos eodem titulo felicitatis notat et filios Dei nuncupat, numquid impatientes pacis adfines? Stultus hoc senserit! [9] Cum uero *Gaudete et exultate* dicit, *quotiens uos maledicent et persequentur: merces enim uestra plurima in caelo*, id utique non exultationis impatientiae pollicetur, quia nemo in aduersis exultabit, nisi ante contempserit ea, nemo contemnet, nisi patientiam gesserit.

XII. [1] Quod < ad > pacis gratissimae Deo adtinet disciplinam, quis omnino impatientiae natus uel semel ignoscet fratri suo, non dicam septies et septuagies septies? [2] Quis ad iudicem cum aduersario suo dirigens negotium conuenientia soluet, nisi prius iram dolorem duritiam amaritudinem, uenena scilicet impatientiae, amputarit? [3] Quomodo remittes et remittetur tibi, si tenax iniuriae per absentiam patientiae fueris? Nemo conuulsus animum in fratrem suum munus apud altare perficiet, nisi prius reconciliando fratri reuersus ad patientiam fuerit. [4] Sol super iram nostram si occiderit, periclitamur: non licet nobis lina die sine patientia manere.

Atenim cum omnem speciem salutaris disciplinae gubernet, quid mirum quod etiam paenitentiae ministrat solitae lapsis subuenire? [5] Haec expectat, haec exoptat, haec exorat paenitentiam quandoque inituris salutem. Cum disiuncto matrimonio — ex ea tamen causa qua licet seu uiro seu feminae ad uiduitatis perseuerantiam sustineri — alterum adulterum non facit, alterum emendat, quantum boni utrique confert! [6] Sic et [in] illis dominicarum

similitudinum exemplis de *paenitentia* sanctis adest: erroneam ouem patientia pastoris requirit et inuenit (nam inpatientia unam facile contemneret, sed laborem inquisitionis patientia suscipit) et humeris insuper aduehit baiulus patiens peccatricem derelictam. [7] Illum quoque prodigum filium patientia patris et recipit et uestit et pascit et apud inpatientiam irati fratris excusat. Saluus est igitur qui perierat, quia *paenitentiam* iniit; *paenitentia* non perit, quia patientiam inuenit.

[8] Nam dilectio, summum fidei sacramentum, Christiani nominis thesaurus, quam apostolus totis uiribus sancti spiritus commendat, cuius nisi patientiae disciplinis eruditur? [9] *Dilectio*, inquit, *magnanimis est*: id a patientia sumit; *benefica est*: malum patientia non facit; *non aemulatur*: id quidem inpatientiae proprium est; *nec proteruum sapit*: modestiam de patientia traxit; *non inflatur*; *non proteruit*: non enim ad patientiam pertinet; *nec sua requirit*: suffert sua, dum alteri prosit; *nec incitatur*: ceterum quid inpatientiae reliquisset? Ideo, inquit, *dilectio omnia sustinet, omnia tolerat*, utique quia [ipse] patiens. [10] Merito ergo numquam excidet. Nam cetera euacuabuntur consummabuntur: exhauriuntur linguae scientiae prophetiae, permanent autem fides spes dilectio, fides quam Christi patientia induxit, spes quam hominis patientia expectat, dilectio quam Deo magistro patientia comitatur.

XIII. [1] Vsque huc de patientia tandem simplici et uniformi et tantum in animo constituta, cum eandem etiam in corpore demerendo domino multipliciter adlaboremus, utpote quae ab ipso domino in corporis quoque uirtute edita est, siquidem rector animus facile communicat spiritus inuecta cum habitaculo suo. [2] Quae igitur negotiatio patientiae in corpore? Inprimis *adflictatio* carnis, hostia domino placatoria per humiliationis sacrificium, cum sordes cum angustia uictus domino libat, contenta simplici pabulo puroque potu, cum ieiunia coniungit, cum cineri et sacco inolescit. [3] Haec patientia corporis preces commendat, deprecationes adfirmat; haec aures [Christi] Dei aperit, seueritatem dispergit, clementiam elicit. [4] Sic ille rex Babylonius, offenso domino, cum squalore et paedore septenni, ab humana forma exulasset, immolata patientia corporis sui, et regnum recuperauit et, quod optabilius homini est, satis Deo fecit.

[5] Iam si altiores et feliciores gradus corporalis patientiae digeramus, eadem sanctitati quoque procurat continentia carnis: haec et uiduam tenet et uirginem adsignat et uoluntarium spadonem ad regna caeli leuat.

[6] Quod de uirtute animi uenit in carne perficitur: carnis patientia in persecutionibus denique proeliatur. Si fuga urgeat, incommoda fugae caro militat; si et carcer praeueniat, caro in uinculis, caro in ligno, caro in solo, et in illa paupertate lucis et in illa *penuria* mundi. [7] Cum uero producit ad experimentum felicitatis, ad occasionem secundae intinctionis, ad ipsum diuinae sedis ascensum, nulla plus illic quam patientia corporis. Si *spiritus promptus, sed caro* (sine patientia) *infirmus*, ubi salus spiritus et carnis ipsius? [8] At cum hoc dominus de carne dicit, infirmam pronuntians, quid ei firmandae opus sit ostendit, patientia scilicet, aduersus omnem subuertendae fidei uel puniendae paraturam, ut uerbera, ut ignem, ut crucem bestias gladium constantissime toleret quae prophetae, quae apostoli sustinendo uicerunt.

XIV. [1] His patientiae uiribus secatur Esaias et de domino non tacet, lapidatur Stephanus et ueniam hostibus suis postulat. [2] O felicissimum illum quoque, qui omnem patientiae speciem aduersus omnem diaboli uim expunxit, quem non abacti greges, non illae in pecore diuitiae, non filii uno ruinae impetu adempti, non ipsius denique corporis in uulnere cruciatus a patientiae fide domino debita exclusit, quem diabolus totis uiribus frustra cecidit! [3] Neque enim a respectu Dei tot doloribus auocatus ille est, sed constitit nobis in exemplum et testimonium tam spiritu quam carae, tam animo quam corpore patientiae perpetrandae, ut neque damnis saecularium nec amissionibus carissimorum nec corporis quidem conflictationibus succidamus. [4] Quale in illo uiro feretrum Deus de diabolo extruxit, quale uexillum de inimico gloriae suae extulit, cum ille homo ad omnem acerbum nuntium nihil ex ore promeret nisi « Deo gratias », cum uxorem iam malis delassatam et ad praua remedia suadentem execraretur! [5] Quid? ridebat Deus, quid? dissecabatur malus, cum Iob immundam ulceris sui redundantiam magna aequanimitate destringeret, cum erumpentes bestiolas inde in eosdem specus et pastus refossae carnis ludendo reuocaret! [6] Itaque operarius ille uictoriae Dei, retusis omnibus iaculis temptationum lorica clipeoque patientiae, et integritatem mox corporis a Deo recuperauit et quae amiserat *conduplicata* possedit. [7] Et si filios quoque restitui uoluisset, pater iterum uocaretur. Sed maluit in illo die reddi sibi: tantum gaudii securus [sit] de domino distulit, sustinuit *eam* uoluntariam orbitatem, ne sine aliqua patientia uiueret!

XV. [1] Adeo satis idoneus patientiae sequester Deus: si iniuriam deposueris penes eum, ultor est; si damnum, restitutor est; si dolorem,

medicus est; si mortem, resuscitator est. Quantum patientiae licet, ut Deum habeat debitorem! [2] Nec inmerito [enim]. Omnia enim placita eius tuetur, omnibus mandatis eius interuenit: fidem munit, pacem gubernat, dilectionem adiuuat, humilitatem instruit, paenitentiam expectat, exhomologesin adsignat, carnem regit, spiritum seruatur, linguam frenat, manum continet, temptationes inculcat, scandala pellit, martyria consummat; [3] pauperem consolatur, diuitem temperat, infirmum non extendit, ualentem non consumit, fidelem delectat, gentilem inuitat; seraum domino, dominum Deo commendat, feminam exornat, uirum adprobat; amatur in puero, laudatur in iuvene, suspicitur in senē; in omni sexu, in omni aetate formosa est!

[4] Age iam, si et effigiem habitumque eius comprehendamus? Vultus illi tranquillus et placidus, frons pura nulla maeroris aut irae rugositate contracta; remissa aequē in laetum modum supercilia, oculis humilitate, non infelicitate deiectis; [5] os taciturnitatis honore signatum, color qualis securis et innoxiiis, motus frequens capitis in diabolum et minax risus; ceterum amictus circum pectora candidus et corpori inpressus, ut qui nec inflatur nec inquietatur. [6] Sedet enim in throno spiritus eius mitissimi et mansuetissimi, qui non turbine glomeratur, non nubilo liuet, sed est tenerae serenitatis, apertus et simplex, quem tertio uidit Helias. Nam ubi Deus, ibi et alumna eius, patientia scilicet. [7] Cum ergo spiritus Dei descendit, indiuidua patientia comitatur eum. Si non cum spiritu admiserimus, in nobis morabitur semper? Immo nescio an diutius perseueret: sine sua comite ac ministra omni loco ac tempore angatur necesse est; quodcumque inimicus eius inflixerit solus sustinere non poterit, carens instrumento sustinendi!

XVI. [1] Haec patientiae ratio, haec disciplina, haec opera, caelestis et uerae scilicet: Christiana non, ut illa patientia gentium terrae, falsa probrosa. [2] Nam ut in isto quoque domino diabolus aemularetur, quasi plane ex pari (nisi quod ipsa diuersitas mali et boni aequaliter magnitudinis par est), docuit et suos patientiam propriam, [3] illam dico quae maritos dote uenales aut lenociniis negotiantes uxorū potestatibus subicit, quae aucupandis orbitatibus omnem coacti obsequii laborem mentitis adfectionibus tolerat, quae uentris operarios contumeliosis patrociniis, subiectione libertatis gulae, addicit. [4] Talia nationes patientiae studia nouerunt et tanti boni nomen foedis operationibus occupant: patientes riuālium et diuitum et inuitatorum, impatientes solius Dei uiuunt. Sed uiderint sua et sui praesidis patientia, quam *subterraneus* ignis expectat. [5]

Ceterum nos amemus patientiam Dei, patientiam Christi; rependamus illi
quam pro nobis ipse dependit, offeramus patientiam spiritus, patientiam
carnis, qui in resurrectionem carnis et spiritus credimus!

Adversus Iudaeos (Against the Jews)

I. [1] Proxime accidit: disputatio habita est Christiano et proselyto Iudaeo. Alternis vicibus contentioso fune uterque diem in vesperam traxerunt. Obstrepentibus quibusdam ex partibus singulorum nubilo quodam veritas obumbrabatur. Placuit ergo, [ut] quod per concentum disputationis minus plene potuit dilucidari, curiosius inspectis lectionibus stilo quaestiones retractatas terminare. [2] Nam occasio quidem defendendi etiam gentibus [sibi] divinam gratiam hinc habuit praerogativam, quod sibi vindicare dei legem instituerit homo ex gentibus nec prosapia Israelitum Iudaeus. [3] Hoc enim sat est, posse gentes admitti ad dei legem, ne Israel adhuc superbiat, quod gentes velut stillicidium de urceo aut pulvis ex area deputentur. Quamquam habeamus ipsum deum idoneum pollicitatorem et fidelem sponsorem qui Abrahae promiserit, quod in semine eius benedicerentur omnes nationes terrae et quod ex utero Rebeccae duo populi et duae gentes essent processurae, utique Iudaeorum id est Israelis et gentium id est noster. [4] Uterque ergo et populus et gens est appellatus, ne de nominis appellatione privilegium gratiae sibi quis audeat defendere. Duos etenim populos et duas gentes processuras ex unius feminae utero deus destinavit, nec discrevit gratiam in nominis appellatione sed in partus editione, ut qui prior esset de utero processurus minori subiceretur id est posteriori. Sic namque ad Rebeccam deus locutus est dicens: *Duae gentes in utero tuo sunt, et duo populi de utero tuo dividuntur, et populus populum superabit, et maior serviet minori.* [5] Itaque cum populus seu gens Iudaeorum anterior sit tempore et maior per gratiam primae dignationis in lege, noster vero minor aetate temporum intellegatur utpote in ultimo saeculi spatio adeptus notitiam divinae miserationis, procul dubio secundum edictum divinae elocutionis prior maior populus id est Iudaicus serviat necesse est minori et minor populus id est Christianus superet maiorem. [6] Nam et secundum divinarum scripturarum memorias populus Iudaeorum id est antiquior derelicto deo idolis deservivit et divinitate abrelicta simulacris fuit deditus dicente populo ad Aaron: *Fac nobis deos qui nos antecedant.* Quod cum ex monilibus feminarum et anulis virorum aurum fuisset igne conflatum et processisset eis bubulum caput, huic figmento universus Israel abrelicto deo honorem dederunt dicentes: *Hi sunt dei qui nos eiecerunt de terra Aegypti.* [7] Sic namque posterioribus temporibus quibus

reges eis imperabant et cum Hieroboam vaccas aureas et lucos colebant et Bahali se mancipabant. Unde probatur eos semper idololatriae crimine reos designatos ex instrumento divinarum scripturarum. Noster vero populus id est posterior relictis idolis quibus ante deserviebat ad eundem deum conversus est, a quo Israel, ut supra memoravimus, abscesserat. [8] Sic namque populus minor id est posterior populum maiorem superavit, dum gratiam divinae dignationis consequitur, a qua Israel est repudiatus.

II. [1] Igitur gradum conseramus et summam quaestionis certis lineis terminemus. Cur etenim deus universitatis conditor mundi totius gubernator hominis plasmator universarum gentium sator legem per Moysen uni populo dedisse credatur et non omnibus gentibus adtribuuisse dicatur? [2] Nisi enim omnibus eam dedisset, nullo pacto ad eam etiam proselytos ex gentibus accessum habere permetteret. Sed ut congruit bonitati dei et aequitati ipsius utpote plasmatoris generis humani, omnibus gentibus eandem legem dedit, quam certis statutis temporibus observari praecepit, quando voluit et per quos voluit et sicut voluit. Namque in principio mundi ipsius Adae et Evae legem dedit, ne de fructu arboris plantatae in medio paradisi ederent; quod si contra fecissent, morte morentur. Quae lex eis sufficeret, si esset custodita. [3] In hac enim lege Adae data omnia praecepta condita recognoscimus quae postea pullulaverunt data per Moysen, id est: *Diliges dominum deum tuum de toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua*, et: *Diliges proximum tibi tamquam te*, et: *Non occides, non moechaberis, non fraudaberis, falsum testimonium non dices, honora patrem tuum et matrem*, et: *Alienum non concupisces*. [4] Primordialis enim lex est data Adae et Evae in paradiso quasi matrix omnium praeceptorum dei. Denique si dominum deum suum dilexissent, contra praeceptum eius non fecissent; si proximum diligerent id est semetipsos, persuasioni serpentis non credidissent atque ita in semetipsos homicidium non commisissent, excidendo de immortalitate faciendo contra dei praeceptum; [5] a furto quoque abstinuissent, si de fructu arboris non clam degustassent, nec a conspectu domini dei sui sub arbore delitescere gestissent, nec falsum adseveranti diabolo participes efficerentur credendo ei quod similes dei essent futuri, atque ita nec deum offendissent ut patrem qui eos de limo terrae quasi ex utero matris figuraverat; si alienum non concupissent, de fructu illicito non degustassent. [6] Igitur in hac generali et primordiali dei lege, quam in arboris fructu observari deus sanxerat, omnia praecepta legis posterioris specialiter

indita fuisse cognoscimus, quae suis temporibus edita germinaverunt. Eiusdem est enim postea superducere legem qui ante praemiserat praeceptum, quoniam et ipsius est erudire postea qui ante iustos formare instituerat. [7] Quid enim mirum, si is auget disciplinam qui instituit, si is perficit qui coepit? Denique ante legem Moysei scriptam in tabulis lapideis legem fuisse contendo non scriptam, quae naturaliter intellegebatur et a patribus custodiebatur. Nam unde Noe iustus inventus, si non illi naturalis legis iustitia praecedebat? Unde Abraham amicus dei deputatus, si non de aequitate et iustitia legis naturalis? Unde Melchisedech sacerdos dei summi nuncupatus, si non ante Leviticae legis sacerdotium Levitae fuerunt qui sacrificia deo offerebant? [8] Sic etenim post supra scriptos patriarchas data lex est Moysi eo tempore, posteaquam ab Aegypto excesserunt, post [intervallum] multorum temporum spatia. Denique post quadringentos et triginta annos Abrahae data est lex. [9] Unde intellegimus dei legem iam ante Moysen nec in Choreb tantum aut in Sina et in eremo primum, sed antiquiorem primum in paradiso, post deinde patriarchis atque ita et Iudaeis certis temporibus datam quando voluit et certis temporibus reformatam, ut non iam ad Moysi legem ita adtendamus quasi ad principalem legem, sed ad subsequentem quam certo tempore deus et gentibus exhibuit [et] repromissam per prophetas et in melius reformavit et praemonuit futurum, ut, sicuti certo tempore data est lex per Moysen, ita temporaliter observata et custodita credatur.

[10] Nec adimamus hanc dei potestatem pro temporum condicione legis praecepta reformantem in hominis salutem. Denique qui contendit et sabbatum adhuc observandum quasi salutis medellam et circumcisionem octavi diei propter mortis comminationem, doceat in praeteritum iustos sabbatizasse aut circumcidisse et sic amicos dei effectos. [11] Nam si circumcisio purgat hominem, deus Adam incircumcisum cum faceret, cur eum non circumcidit vel posteaquam deliquit, si purgat circumcisio? Certe in paradiso constituens eum incircumcisum colonum paradisi praefecit. [12] Igitur cum neque circumcisum neque sabbatizantem deus Adam instituerit, consequenter quoque sobolem eius Abel offerentem sibi sacrificia incircumcisum nec sabbatizantem laudavit, accepto ferens quae offerebat in simplicitate cordis et reprobans sacrificium fratris eius Cain, qui quod offerebat non recte dividebat. [13] Noe quoque incircumcisum deus sed et non sabbatizantem de diluvio liberavit. Nam et Enoch iustissimum non

circumcismus nec sabbatizantem de hoc mundo transtulit qui necdum mortem gustavit, ut aeternitatis candidatus iam nobis ostenderet nos quoque sine legis onere Moysis deo placere posse. [14] Melchisedech quoque summi dei sacerdos incircumcismus et non sabbatizans ad sacerdotium dei adlectus est. Probat et Loth frater Abrahae, quod pro meritis iustitiae suae sine legis observatione de Sodomitarum incendio sit liberatus.

III. [1] “Sed Abraham, inquis, circumcismus est.” Sed ante deo placuit quam circumcideretur nec tamen sabbatizavit. Acceperat enim circumcisionem, sed quae esset in signum temporis illius non in salutis praerogativam. Denique sequentes patriarchae incircumcisi fuerunt ut Melchisedech, qui ipsi Abrahae iam circumciso revertenti de proelio panem et vinum obtulit incircumcismus. “Sed et filius, inquit, Moysi tum ab angelo praefocatus fuisset, si non Seffora mater eius calculo praeputium infantis circumcidisset. Unde [inquit] occisionis maximum periculum est, si praeputium carnis quis non circumciderit.” [2] Atquin si salutem circumcisio omnimodo adferret, etiam ipse Moyses in filio suo non intermisisset, quominus octava die circumcideret eum, cum constet Sefforam coactam ab angelo id fecisse in itinete. consideremus itaque, quod non potuerit unius infantis coacta circumcisio omni populo praescribere et quasi legem huius praecepti condere in salutem. [3] Nam providens deus, quod hanc circumcisionem in signum non in salutem esset daturus populo Israeli, idcirco filium Moysi ducis futuri instigat circumcidi, ut cum coepisset per eum populo dare praeceptum circumcisionis non aspernaretur populus videns exemplum istud in ducis filio iam celebratum. [4] Dari enim habebat circumcisio, sed in signum unde Israel in novissimo tempore dinosci haberet, quando secundum sua merita in sanctam civitatem ingredi prohiberetur — secundum verba prophetarum dicentium: *Terra vestra deserta, civitates vestrae igni exustae, regionem vestram in conspectu vestro extranei comedent, et deserta et subversa a populis extraneis derelinquetur filia Sion, sicut casa in vinea et sicut custodiarium in cucumerario et quasi civitas quae expugnatur.* [5] Cur ita? Quoniam subsequens sermo prophetae exprobrat eis dicens: *Filios genui et exaltavi, ipsi autem reprobaverunt me, et: Si extenderitis manus, avertam faciem meam a vobis; et si multiplicaveritis preces, non exaudiant vos; manus enim vestrae sanguine plenae sunt, et: Vae gens peccatrix, populus plenus delictis, filii scelesti, dereliquistis dominum et ad indignationem provocastis sanctum*

[6] Haec igitur dei providentia fuit, dandi circumcisionem in signum unde dinosci possent, cum adveniret tempus cum pro meritis suis supradictis in Hierusalem admitti prohiberentur; quod et quia futurum erat nuntiabatur, et quia factum videmus recognoscimus. [7] Sicut enim circumcisio carnalis quae temporalis erat imbuta est in signum populo contumaci, ita spiritalis data est in salutem populo obaudienti dicente Hieremia: *Innovate vobis novitatem et ne seminaveritis in spinis; circumcidimini deo et circumcidite praeputium cordis vestri*. Et alio loco dicit: *Ecce enim dies veniunt, dicit dominus, et disponam domui Iudae et domui Iacob testamentum novum, non tale quale dedi patribus eorum in die quo eos eduxi de terra Aegypti*. [8] Unde intellegimus et priorem circumcisionem tunc datam cessaturam et novam legem, non talem qualem iam dederat patribus, processuram adnuntiari, sicut Esaias praedicabat dicens, quod in novissimis diebus manifestus futurus esset mons domini et domus dei super vertices montium. *Et exaltabitur, inquit, super colles et venient super illum omnes gentes et ambulabunt multi et dicent: venite, ascendamus in montem domini et in domum dei Iacob*, non in Esau prioris filii, sed Iacob sequentis id est populi nostri, cuius mons Christus, sine manibus concidentium praecisus implens omnem terram apud Daniele ostensus. [9] Denique ex hac domo dei Iacob etiam legem novam processuram sequentibus verbis adnuntiat Esaias dicens: *Ex Sion enim exiet lex et verbum domini ex Hierusalem, et iudicabit inter gentes*, id est inter nos qui ex gentibus sumus vocati; *et concident, inquit, gladios suos in aratra et lanceas suas in falces, et non accipiet gens super gentem gladium, et iam non discent pugnare*. [10] Qui igitur intelleguntur alii quam nos qui in nova lege edocti ista observamus oblitterata veteri lege cuius abolitionem futuram actus ipse demonstrat? Nam et vetus lex ultione gladii se vindicabat et oculus pro oculo eruebat et vindicta iniuriam retribuebat, nova autem lex clementiam designabat et pristinam ferocitatem gladiatorum et lancearum ad tranquillitatem convertebat et belli pristinam in aemulos et hostes executionem in pacificos actus arandae et colendae terrae reformabat. [11] Igitur sicuti supra ostendimus, quod vetus lex et circumcisio carnalis cessatura pronuntiata est, ita et novae legis et spiritalis circumcisionis observantia in pacis obsequio eluxit. *Populus enim [inquit] quem non noveram servivit mihi, in obauditu auris obaudivit mihi* prophetae adnuntiaverunt. [12] Quis autem populus qui deum ignorabat,

nisi noster qui retro deum nesciebamus, et quis in auditu auris obaudivit ei, nisi nos qui relictis idolis ad deum conversi sumus? [13] Nam Israel, qui deo fuerat cognitus quique ab eo in Aegypto exaltatus fuerat et per Erythraeum pelagum transvectus quique in eremo manna cibatus XL annis ad instar aeternitatis redactus nec humanis passionibus contaminatus aut saeculi huius cibis pastus sed angelorum panibus [manna] cibatus satisque beneficiis deo obligatus, domini et dei sui oblitus est dicens ad Aaron: *Fac nobis deos qui nos antecendant; Moyses enim ille qui nos eiecit de terra Aegypti dereliquit nos, et quid illi acciderit nescimus.* Et ideo nos, qui non populus dei retro, facti sumus populus eius accipiendo novam legem supra dictam et novam circumcisionem ante praedictam.

IV. [1] Sequitur itaque ut, quatenus circumcisionis carnalis et legis veteris abolitio expuncta suis temporibus demonstratur, ita[que] sabbati quoque observatio temporaria fuisse demonstretur. Dicunt enim Iudaei, quod a primordio sanctificaverit deus diem septimum requiescendo in eo ab omnibus operibus suis quae fecit, et inde etiam Moysen dixisse ad populum: *Mementote diem sabbatorum, sanctificare eum; omne opus servile non facietis in eo,* praeterquam quod ad animam pertinet. [2] Unde nos intellegimus magis sabbatizare nos ab omni opere servili semper debere et non tantum septimo quoque die sed per omne tempus. Ac per hoc quaerendum nobis, quod sabbatum nos deus velit custodire. Nam sabbatum aeternum et sabbatum temporale scripturae designant. Dicit enim Esaias propheta: *Sabbata vestra odit anima mea.* Et alio loco dicit: *Sabbata mea profanastis.* [3] Unde dinoscimus sabbatum temporale esse humanum et sabbatum aeternum censi divinum, de quo per Esaiam praedicat: *Et erit, inquit, mensis ex mense et dies de die et sabbatum de sabbato, et veniet omnis caro adorare in Hierusalem, dicit dominus.* [4] Quod intellegimus adimpletum temporibus Christi, quando omnis caro id est omnis gens adorare in Hierusalem venit deum patrem per Iesum Christum filium eius, sicut per prophetas praedicatum est: *Ecce proselyti per me ad te ibunt.* [5] Sic igitur ante hoc sabbatum temporale erat et sabbatum aeternum praeostensum et praeindictum, quomodo et ante circumcisionem carnalem fuit et spiritalis circumcisio praeostensa. [6] Denique doceant, sicuti iam praelocuti sumus, Adam sabbatizasse aut Abel hostiam deo sanctam offerentem sabbati religione placuisse aut Enoch translatum sabbati cultorem fuisse aut Noe arcae fabricatorem propter diluvium

imminens sabbatum observasse aut Abraham in observatione sabbati Isaac filium suum obtulisse aut Melchisedech in suo sacerdotio legem sabbati accepisse. [7] Sed dicturi sunt Iudaei, ex quo hoc praeceptum datum est per Moysen, exinde observandum fuisse. Manifestum est itaque non aeternum sed temporale fuisse praeceptum quod quandoque cessaret. [8] Denique adeo non in vacatione septimi diei haec sollemnitas celebranda est, ut Iesus Naue eo tempore quo Hiericho civitatem debellabat praeceptum sibi a deo diceret, uti populo mandaret, ut sacerdotes arcam testamend dei septem diebus circumferrent in circuitu civitatis, atque ita septimi diei circuitu peracto sponte ruerent muri civitatis. [9] Quod ita factum est, et finito spatio diei septimi, sicut praedictum erat, ruerunt muri civitatis. Ex quo manifeste ostenditur in numero istorum dierum septem incurrisse diem sabbati — septem enim dies, undecumque initium acceperint, sabbati diem secum concludant necesse est —, quo die non tantum sacerdotes sint operati, sed et in ore gladii praeda facta sit civitatis ab omni populo Israele; [10] nec dubium est opus servile eos operatos, cum praedas belli agerent ex dei praecepto. Nam et temporibus Machabaeorum sabbatis pugnando fortiter fecerunt et hostes allophylos expugnaverunt legemque paternam ad pristinum vitae statum pugnando sabbatis revocaverunt; [11] nec putem aliam legem eos defendisse nisi in qua de die sabbatorum meminerant esse praescriptum. Unde manifestum est ad tempus et praesentis causae necessitatem huiusmodi praecepta convaluisse et non ad perpetui temporis observationem huiusmodi legem eis deum ante dedisse.

V. [1] Sic et sacrificia terrenarum oblationum et spiritalium [sacrificiorum] praedicata ostendimus, et quidem a primordio maioris filii id est Israelis terrena fuisse in Cain praeostensa sacrificia, sed minotis filii [Abel] id est populi nostri sacrificia diversa demonstrata. [2] Namque maior natu Cain de fructu terrae obtulit munera deo, minor vero filius Abel de fructu ovium suarum. *Et respexit deus in Abel et in munera eius, in Cain autem et in munera eius non respexit. Et dixit deus ad Cain: quare concidit vultus tuus? Nonne, si recte quidem offeras non recte autem divides, peccasti? Quiesce; ad te enim conversio eius et tu dominaberis eius. Et tunc dixit Cain ad Abel fratrem suum: eamus in campum. Et abiit cum eo illic et interfecit eum. Et tunc dixit deus ad Cain: ubi est Abel frater tuus? et dixit: nescio; numquid custos fratris mei sum ego? cui deus dixit: vox sanguinis fratris tui proclamat*

ad me de terra. Propter quod maledicta terra quae aperuit os suum ad excipiendum sanguinem fratris tui. Et gemens et tremens eris super terram, et omnis qui te invenerit occidet te. [3] Ex hoc igitur actu duplicia duorum populorum sacrificia praeostensa iam tunc a primordio animadvertimus. Denique cum per Moysen in Levitico lex sacerdotalis conscriberetur, invenimus praescriptum populo Israeli, ut sacrificia nullo alio in loco offerrentur deo quam in terra promissionis, quam dominus deus daturus esset patribus eorum, ut introducto Israele illic celebrarentur sacrificia et holocausta tam pro peccatis quam pro animabus et nusquam alibi nisi in terra sancta. [4] Cur itaque postea per prophetas praedicat spiritus futurum, ut in omni loco et in omni terra offerantur sacrificia deo? Sicuti per Malachiam unum ex duodecim prophetis dicit: *Non recipiam sacrificium de manibus vestris, quoniam ab oriente sole usque in occidentem nomen meum clarificatum est in omnibus gentibus, dicit dominus omnipotens, et in omni loco offeruntur sacrificia munda nomini meo.* Item in psalmis David: *Adferte deo, patriae gentium, indubitate quod in omnem terram exire habebat praedicatio apostolorum, adferte deo claritatem et honorem, adferte deo sacrificium nominis eius; tollite hostiam et introite in atria eius.* [5] Namque quod non terrenis sacrificiis sed spiritalibus deo litandum sit, ita legimus ut scriptum est: *Cor contribulatum et humiliatum hostia deo est, et alibi: Sacrifica deo sacrificium laudis et redde altissimo vota tua.* Sic itaque sacrificia spiritalia laudis designantur et cor contribulatum acceptabile sacrificium deo demonstratur. [6] Itaque quomodo carnalia sacrificia reprobata intelleguntur — de quibus et Esaias loquitur dicens: *Quo mihi multitudinem sacrificiorum vestrorum, dicit dominus, quoniam et si adtuleritis mihi, inquit, similam, vanum supplicamentum execramentum mihi est, et adhuc dicit: Holocaustomata et sacrificia vestra et adipem hircorum et sanguinem taurorum nolo, nec si veniatis videri mihi; quis enim exquisivit ista de manibus vestris? —*, ita sacrificia spiritalia accepta praedicantur, ut prophetae adnuntiant. [7] Carnalia vero sacrificia, de quibus praedicatum est: *Non est mihi voluntas in vobis, dicit dominus, sacrificia non accipiam de manibus vestris, quoniam ab oriente sole usque in occidentem nomen meum clarificatum est in omnibus gentibus, dicit dominus.* De spiritalibus vero sacrificiis addit dicens: *Et in omni loco sacrificia munda offerunt nomini meo, dicit dominus.*

VI. [1] Igitur cum manifestum sit et sabbatum temporale ostensum et

sabbatum aeternum praedicatum, circumcisionem quoque carnalem praedictam et circumcisionem spiritalem praedicatam, legem quoque temporalem et legem aeternalem denuntiata, sacrificia carnalia et sacrificia spiritalia praeostensa, sequitur ut praecedenti tempore datis omnibus istis praeceptis carnaliter populo Israeli superveniret tempus, quo legis antiquae et caeremoniarum veterum praecepta cessarent et novae legis promissio et spiritalium sacrificiorum agnitio et novi testamenti pollicitatio superveniret fulgente nobis lumine ex alto qui sedebamus in tenebris et in umbra mortis detinebamur. [2] Itaque necessitas nobis incumbit ut, quoniam praedicatam novam legem a prophetis praediximus et non talem, qualis iam data esset patribus eorum eo tempore quo eos de terra Aegypti produxit, ostendere et probare debeamus tam illam legem veterem cessasse quam legem novam promissam nunc operari: et quidem primum quaerendum, an expectetur novae legis lator et novi testamenti heres et novorum sacrificiorum sacerdos et novae circumcisionis purgator et aeterni sabbati cultor, qui legem veterem compescat et novum testamentum statuatur et nova sacrificia offerat et caeremonias antiquas reprimat et circumcisionem veterem cum suo sabbato compescat et novum regnum quod non corrumpatur adnuntiet. [3] Nam etiam novae legislator sabbati spiritalis cultor sacrificiorum aeternorum antistes regni aeterni dominator quaerendum an venerit an necne, ut si iam venit serviendum sit illi, si necdum venit sustinendus sit, dummodo manifestum sit adventu eius comprimi legis veteris praecepta et oriri debere novae legis exordia. [4] Et in primis definiendum est non potuisse cessare legem antiquam et prophetas, nisi venisset is qui per eandem legem et per eosdem prophetas venturus adnuntiabatur.

VII. [1] Igitur in isto gradum conseramus, an qui venturus Christus adnuntiabatur iam venerit an venturus adhuc speretur. Quod ipsum ut probari possit, etiam tempora sunt nobis requirenda quando venturum Christum prophetae nuntiaverint, ut, si intra ista tempora recognoverimus venisse eum, sine dubio ipsum esse credamus quem prophetae venturum canebant, in quem nos, gentes scilicet, credituri adnuntiabamur, et cum constiterit venisse indubitate etiam legem novam ab ipso datam esse credamus et testamentum novum in ipso et per ipsum nobis dispositum non diffiteamur. [2] Venturum enim Christum et Iudaeos non refutare scimus, utpote qui in adventum eius spem suam porrigant. Nec de isto pluribus quaerendum, cum retro omnes

prophetae de eo praedicaverunt, ut Esaias: *Sic dicit dominus deus Christo meo domino: cuius tenui dexteram, ut exaudiant illum gentes; fortitudines regum disrumpam, aperiā ante illum portas, et civitates non cludentur illi.* Quod ipsum adimpletum iam videmus. [3] Cui etenim tenet dexteram pater deus nisi Christo filio suo, quem et exaudierunt omnes gentes, id est cui omnes gentes crediderunt, cuius et praedicatores apostoli in psalmis David ostenduntur: *In universam, inquit, terram exivit sonus eorum et ad terminos terrae verba eorum ?* [4] In quem enim alium universae gentes crediderunt nisi in Christum qui iam venit? Cui etenim crediderunt gentes, *Parthi et Medi et Elamitae et qui habitant Mesopotamiam Armeniam Phrygiam Cappadociam, incolentes Pontum et Asiam Pamphyliam, immorantes Aegypto et regiones Africae quae est trans Cyrenen inhabitantes, Romani et incolae,* tunc et in Hierusalem Iudaei et ceterae gentes, ut iam Gaetulorum varietates et Maurorum multi fines, Hispaniarum omnes termini et Galliarum diversae nationes et Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca Christo vero subdita et Sarmatarum et Dacorum et Germanorum et Scytharum et abditarum multarum gentium et provinciarum et insularum multarum nobis ignotarum et quae enumerare minus possumus? [5] In quibus omnibus locis Christi nomen qui iam venit regnat, utpote ante quem omnium civitatum portae sunt apertae et cui nullae sunt clausae, abante quem ferreae serae sunt comminutae et valvae aereae sunt apertae. [6] Quamquam ista et spiritaliter sint intellegenda, quod praecordia singulorum variis modis a diabolo obsessa fide Christi sint reserata, attamen etiam perspicue sunt adimpleta, utpote in quibus omnibus locis populus nominis Christi inhabitet. Quis enim omnibus gentibus regnare potuisset, nisi Christus dei filius qui omnibus regnaturus in aeternum nuntiabatur? [7] Nam si Solomon regnavit, sed in finibus Iudaeae tantum: a Bersabee usque Dan termini regni eius signantur; si vero Babyloñiis et Parthis regnavit Darius, ulterius ultra fines regni sui non habuit potestatem in omnibus gentibus; si Aegyptiis Phraeo vel quisque ei in hereditario regno successit, illic tantum potitus est regni sui dominium; si Nabuchodonosor cum suis regulis, ab India usque Aethiopiam habuit regni sui terminos; si Alexander Macedo, non amplius quam Asiam universam et ceteras regiones quas postea devicerat tenuit; [8] si Germani, adhuc usque limites suos transgredi non sinuntur. Britanni intra oceani sui ambitum clausi sunt, Maurorum gentes et Gaetulorum barbariae a Romanis obsidentur, ne regionum suarum fines

excedant. Quid de ipsis Romanis dicam, qui legionum suarum praesidiis imperium suum muniunt nec trans istas gentes porrigere vires regni sui possunt? [9] Christi autem nomen ubique porrigitur, ubique creditur, ab omnibus gentibus supra enumeratis colitur, ubique regnat, ubique adoratur; omnibus ubique tribuitur aequaliter; non regis apud illum maior gratia, non barbari alicuius inferior laetitia; non dignitatum vel natalium cuiusquam discreta merita; omnibus aequalis, omnibus rex, omnibus iudex, omnibus deus et dominus est. Nec dubites credere quod adseveramus, cum videas fieri.

VIII. [1] Itaque requirenda tempora praedicta et futurae nativitatis Christi et passionis eius et exterminii civitatis Hierusalem id est vastationis eius. Dicit enim Daniel et civitatem sanctam et sanctum exterminari cum duce venturo et destrui pinnaculum usque ad interitum. [2] Venturi itaque Christi ducis sunt tempora requirenda, quae investigabimus in Danielo; quibus computatis probabimus venisse eum etiam ex temporibus praescriptis et ex signis competentibus et ex operationibus eius; quae probamus et ex consequentibus quae post adventum eius futura adnuntiabantur, uti iam adimpleta omnia praecepta credamus. [3] Sic igitur de eo Daniel praedicavit, ut quando et quo in tempore gentes esset liberaturus ostenderet et quoniam post passionem ipsa civitas exterminari haberet. [4] Dicit enim sic: *In primo anno sub Dario filio Assueri a semine Medorum qui regnavit super regnum Chaldaeorum ego Daniel intellexi in libris numerum annorum. Et adhuc me loquente in oratione ecce vir Gabriel quem vidi in visione in principio volans et tetigit me quasi hora sacrificii vespertini et intellegere fecit me et locutus est mecum et dixit: Daniel, nunc exivi imbuere te intellegentia, in principio obsecrationis tuae exivit sermo.* [5] *Et ego veni ut adnuntiem tibi, quia vir desideriorum tu es, et cogita in verbo et intellege in visione: septuaginta ebdomades breviatae sunt super plebem tuam et super civitatem sanctam, quoadusque inveteretur delictum et signentur peccata et exorentur iniustitiae et inducatur iustitia aeterna et [ut] signetur visio et prophetae et unguatur sanctus sanctorum. Et scies et percipies et intelleges: a projectione sermonis in integrando et aedificando Hierusalem usque ad Christum ducem ebdomades <septem et dimidia et ebdomades> sexaginta et duae et dimidia; et convertet et aedificabitur in latitudinem et convallationem et innovabuntur tempora.* [6] *Et post ebdomadas has sexaginta et duas <et dimidiam> exterminabitur unctio et non erit, et civitatem et sanctum exterminabit cum*

duce adveniente, et concidentur quomodo in cataclysmo usque in finem belli quod concidetur usque ad interitum. Et confirmabit testamentum in multis; ebdomada una et dimidia ebdomadis auferetur meum sacrificium et libatio, et in sancto exsecratio vastationis, et usque ad finem temporis consummatio dabitur super hanc vastationem. [7] Animadvertamus igitur, terminum quomodo in vero praedicat LXX ebdomadas futuras; in quibus si reciperent eum, *aedificabitur in latitudinem et longitudinem et innovabuntur tempora.* [8] Providens autem deus quid esset futurum, quoniam non tantum non reciperent eum verum et insequentur et tradent eum morti, et recapitulavit et dixit intra LX et II et dimidiam ebdomadas nasci illum et ungui sanctum sanctorum, ebdomades autem VII et dimidia cum implerentur, pati habere et civitatem exterminari post I et dimidiam ebdomadam, quo scilicet VII et dimidia ebdomades completae sunt. Dicit enim sic: et civitatem et sanctum exterminari cum duce venturo [*et concidentur sicut in cataclysmo*] et destrui pinnaculum usque ad interitum.

[9] Unde igitur ostendimus, quoniam venit Christus intra LX et II et dimidiam ebdomadas? Numerabimus autem a primo anno Darii, quoniam in ipso tempore Danieli visio ostenditur. Dicit enim: *et intellege et conice a projectione sermonis* respondere me tibi haec. Unde a primo anno Darii debemus computare, quando hanc vidit visionem Daniel. [10] Videamus igitur, anni quomodo implentur usque ad adventum Christi: Darius enim regnavit annis XVIII; Artaxerxes annis XL et I; deinde rex Ochus qui et Cyrus annis XX et III; Argus anno I; alius Darius qui et Melas nominatus est annis XX et I; Alexander Macedo annis XII; deinde post Alexandrum, qui et Medis et Persis regnaverat quos devicerat et in Alexandria regnum suum firmaverat, quando et nomine suo eam appellavit, — post eum regnavit illic in Alexandria Soter annis XXX et V; cui succedit Philadelphus regnans annis XXX et VIII; huic succedit Euergetes annis XX et V; deinde Philopator annis XVII; post hunc Epiphanes annis XX et III; item alius Euergetes annis XX et VII; item alius Soter annis XXX et VIII; Ptolemaeus annis XXX et VII; Cleopatra annis XX et II mensibus V; item adhuc Cleopatra conregnavit Augusto annis XIII; post Cleopatram Augustus aliis annis XL et III imperavit — nam omnes anni imperii Augusti fuerunt L et VI — [11] videmus autem, quoniam in quadragesimo et primo anno imperii Augusti, quo post mortem Cleopatrae vicesimo et octavo anno imperavit, nascitur Christus. Et supervixit idem

Augustus ex quo natus est Christus annis XV et erunt reliqua tempora annorum [in diem nativitatis Christi, in annutn Augusti quadragesimum et primum, qui post mortem Cleopatrae vicesimus et octavus Augusto]: efficiuntur anni CCCCXXX et VII menses V in die nativitatis Christi. [12] Et manifestata est iustitia aeterna et unctus est sanctus sanctorum id est Christus et signata est visio et prophetes et dimissa sunt peccata, — quae per fidem nominis Christi omnibus in eum credentibus tribuuntur. Quid est autem quod dicit signari visum et prophetiam? Quoniam omnes prophetae nuntiabant de illo, quod esset venturus et pati haberet, igitur quoniam adimpleta est prophetia per adventum eius, propterea signari visionem et prophetiam dicebat, quoniam ipse est signaculum omnium prophetarum adimplens omnia quae retro de eo nuntiaverant. [13] Post enim adventum eius et passionem ipsius iam non visio neque prophetes qui Christum nuntiet venturum. Denique si non hoc ita est, exhibeant Iudaei prophetarum post Christum aliqua volumina, angelorum aliquorum visibilia miracula, quae retro patriarchae viderunt usque ad adventum Christi qui iam venit. [14] Ex quo signata est visio et prophetia id est statuta, et merito evangelista: *Lex et prophetae usque ad Iohannem baptizatorem*. Baptizato enim Christo id est sanctificante aquas in suo baptismo omnis plenitudo spiritalium retro charismatum in Christo cesserunt signante visiones et prophetias omnes quas adventu suo adimplevit. [15] Unde firmissime dicit adventum eius signare visum et prophetiam.

Itaque ostendentes et numerum annorum et tempus LX et II et dimidia ebdomadum adimpleta, quibus completis venisse Christum id est natum, videamus, quid aliae VII et dimidia ebdomades quae sunt subdivisae in abscisione priorum ebdomadum, in quo actu sint adimpletae. [16] Post enim Augustum, qui supervixit post nativitatem Christi annis XV, efficiuntur: cui succedit Tiberius Caesar et imperium habuit annis XX et II mensibus VII diebus XX et VIII — huius quintodecimo anno imperii patitur Christus annos habens quasi XXX cum pateretur — ; item Caius Caesar qui et Caligula annis III mensibus VIII diebus XIII; Nero annis XI mensibus IX diebus XIII; Galba mensibus VII diebus VI; Otho mensibus III diebus V; Vitellius mensibus VIII diebus XX et VIII. Vespasianus anno primo imperii sui debellat Iudaeos et fiunt anni L et II menses VI — nam imperavit annis XII — , atque ita in die suae expugnationis Iudaei impleverunt ebdomadas LXX praedictas in Danielo.

[17] Igitur expletis his quoque temporibus et debellatis Iudaeis postea cessaverunt illic libamina et sacrificia quae exinde illic celebrari non potuerunt. Nam et unctio illic exterminata est post passionem Christi; erat enim praedictum exterminari illic unctionem, sicut in psalmis erat prophetatum: *Exterminaverunt manus meas et pedes*. [18] Quae passio Christi [huius exterminium] intra tempora LXX ebdomadarum perfecta est sub Tiberio Caesare, consulibus Rubellio Gemino et Rufio Gemino mense Martio temporibus paschae, die octavo Kalendarum Aprilium, die primo azymorum quo agnum occiderunt ad vesperam, sicut a Moyse fuerat praeceptum. Itaque omnis synagoga filiorum Israelis eum interfecit dicentes ad Pilatum, cum eum vellet dimittere: *Sanguis huius super nos et super filios nostros*, et: *Si hunc dimiseris, non es amicus Caesaris*, ut adimpleri omnia possent quae de eo fuerant scripta.

IX. [1] Incipiamus igitur probare nativitatem Christi a prophetis esse nuntiatam, sicut Esaias praedicat: *Audite domus David! Non pusillum vobis certamen cum hominibus, quoniam deus praestat agonem; propter hoc ipse deus dabit vobis signum: ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium et vocabitur nomen eius Emmanuel, quod interpretatur nobiscum deus; butyrum et mel manducabit, quoniam priusquam cognoscat infans vocare patrem aut matrem accipiet virtutem Damasci et spolia Samariae adversus regem Assyriorum*. “Itaque, dicunt Iudaei, provocemus istam praedicationem Esaias et faciamus comparisonem, an Christus qui iam venit, competat illi primo nomen quod Esaias praedicavit et signa eius quae de eo nuntiavit; et quidem Esaias praedicat eum Emmanuel vocitari oportere, dehinc virtutem sumpturum Damasci et spolia Samariae adversus regem Assyriorum. [2] Porro iste, dicunt, qui venit neque sub eiusmodi nomine est dictus neque re bellica functus.” At nos e contrario admonendos eos existimamus, cohaerentia quoque huius capituli recognoscant. Subiuncta est enim interpretatio Emmanuel ‘nobiscum deus’, uti non solum sonum nominis spectes sed et sensum. Sonus enim Hebraicus quod est Emmanuel interpretationem habet quod est nobiscum deus. [3] Quaere ergo, an ista vox ‘nobiscum deus’ quod est Emmanuel exinde quod Christus inluxit agitetur in Christo, et, puto, non negabis. Nam qui ex Iudaismo credunt in Christum, ex quo in eum credunt, Emmanuel, cum volent dicere nobiscum deum esse, significant, atque ita constat iam venisse illum qui praedicabatur Emmanuel, quia quod significat Emmanuel venit id est

nobiscum deus. [4] Aequae sunt nominis inducuntur, cum virtutem Damasci et spolia Samariae et regnum Assyriorum sic accipiunt, quasi bellatorem portendant Christum, non animadvertentes quia scriptura praemittat: *Quoniam priusquam cognoscat puer vocare patrem aut matrem accipiet virtutem Damasci et spolia Samariae adversus regem Assyriorum.* [5] Ante est enim inspicias aetatis demonstrationem, an virum iam Christum exhibere ista aetas posset nedum imperatorem; scilicet vagitu ad arma esset convocaturus infans et signum belli non tuba sed crepitaculo daturus nec ex equo vel de muro sed de nutricis aut gerulae suae dorso sive collo hostem designaturus atque ita Damascum et Samariam pro mammis subactus. [6] Aliud est, si penes vos infantes in proelia erumpunt, credo, ad solem uncti prius dehinc pannis armati et butyro stipendiati, qui ante norint lanciare quam lancinare. Enimvero si nusquam hoc natura concedit, ante militare quam virum facere, ante virtutem Damasci sumere quam patrem nosse, sequitur ut figurate pronuntiatum videatur.

[7] “Sed et virginem, dicunt, parere natura non patitur et tamen credendum est prophetae.” Et merito; praestruxit enim fidem incredibili rei dicendo quod signum esset futurum: *Propterea, inquit, dabitur vobis signum: ecce virgo concipiet in utero et pariet filium.* Signum autem a deo, nisi novitas aliqua monstruosa fuisset, signum non videretur. [8] Denique si, quando ad deiciendos aliquos ab hac divina praedicatione vel convertere simplices quosque gestitis, mentiri audetis, quasi non virginem sed iuenculam concepturam et parituram scriptura contineat, hinc quoque revincimini, quod nihil signi videri possit res cotidiana, iuenculae scilicet praegnatus et partus. In signum ergo nobis posita virgo mater merito creditur, infans vero bellator non aequae. [9] Neque enim et hic signi ratio versaretur, sed signo nativitatis novae adscripto exinde post signum alius iam ordo infantis edicitur, mel et butyrum manducaturum. Nec hoc utique in signum; est infantiae. “Sed accepturum virtutem Damasci et spolia Samariae adversus regem Assyriorum, hoc est mirabile signum.” [10] Servate modum aetatis et quaerite sensum praedicationis, immo reddite veritati quae credere non vultis, et intellegitur prophetia quae renuntiatur expuncta. credantur orientales illi magi infantiam Christi regem auro et ture munerantes, et accepit infans virtutem Damasci sine proelio et armis. [11] Nam praeter quod omnibus notum est orientis virtutem id est enim vires auro et odoribus pollere solitam, certe est divinis scripturis virtutem ceteram quoque

gentium aurum constituere, sicut per Zachariam dicit: *Et Iudas praetendet apud Hierusalem et congregabit omnem valentiam populorum per circuitum, aurum et argentum.* [12] Nam de hoc auri munere etiam David dicit: *Et dabitur illi ex auro Arabiae*, et rursus: *Reges Arabum et Saba dona adferent illi.* Et magos reges fere habuit oriens et Damascus Arabiae retro deputabatur, antequam transscripta esset in Syrophoenicen ex distinctione Syriarum. Cuius tunc virtutem Christus accepit accipiendo insignia eius, aurum scilicet et odores, spolia autem Samariae ipsos magos, qui, cum illum cognovissent et muneribus honorassent et genu posito adorassent qua dominum et regem sub testimonio indicis et ducis stellae, spolia sunt facti Samariae id est idololatriae, credentes videlicet in Christum. [13] Idololatriam enim Samariae nomine notavit, ut ignominiosae ob idololatriam quae desciverat tunc a deo sub rege Hieroboam. Nec hoc enim novum scripturis divinis, figurate uti translatione nominum ex comparatione criminum. [14] Nam archontas Sodomorum appellat archontas vestros et populum vestrum populum Gomorrae vocat, cum iam essent istae civitates olim extinctae. Et alibi per prophetam ad populum Israel: *Pater, inquit, tuus Amorraeus et mater tua Cethaea*, quorum ex genere procreati non sunt, sed ob consimilem impietatem, quos aliquando etiam filios suos dixerat: *Filios genui et exaltavi.* [15] Sic et Aegyptus nonnumquam totus orbis intellegitur apud illum superstitionis elogio; sic et Babylon apud Iohannem nostrum Romae urbis figura est proinde et magnae et regno superbae et sanctorum debellatricis. Hoc itaque modo magos quoque Samaritanorum appellatione titulavit dispoliatos quod habuerant cum Samaritanis, ut diximus, idololatria adversus dominum. [16] Adversus regem autem Assyriorum adversus diabolum, qui adhuc se regnare putat, si sanctos a religione dei deturbet.

Adiuvabitur haec nostra interpretatio, dum et alibi bellatorem Christum scripturae designant ob armorum quorundam vocabula et eiusmodi verba, sed ex reliquorum sensuum comparatione convincentur Iudaei. *Accingere*, inquit David, *ense super femur.* [17] Sed quid supra legis de Christo? *Tempestivus decore super filios hominum, effusa est gratia in labiis tuis.* Valde autem absurdum est, si, quem ad bellum ense cingebat, ei de tempestivitate decoris et labiorum gratia blandiebatur. De quo subiungens dicebat: *Extende et prospera procede et regna*, et adicit: *Propter lenitatem et iustitiam tuam.* Quis ense operabitur et non contraria lenitati et iustitiae exercet, id est dolum et

asperitatem et iniustitiam propriam scilicet negotii proeliorum? [18] Videamus ergo, an alius sit ensis ille cuius est alius actus, id est dei sermo divinus bis acutus, ut duobus testamentis legis antiquae et legis novae, acutus sapientiae aequitate, reddens unicuique secundum actum suum. [19] Licuit ergo et Christo dei in psalmis sine bellicis rebus ense sermonis dei praecingi figurato, cui praedicta tempestivitas congruat cum gratia labiorum, quem tunc cingebatur super femur apud David, quando venturus in terris ex dei patris decreto nuntiabatur: *Deducet te, inquit, magnifice dextera tua*, virtus scilicet gratiae spiritualis de qua Christi agnitio deducitur; *sagittae tuae, inquit, acutae* — pervolantia ubique dei praecepta — minantes traductionem uniuscuiusque cordis et compungentes et transfigentes conscientiam quamque; *populi sub te cadent*, utique adorantes. [20] Sic bellipotens et armiger Christus est, sic accipiet spolia non solius Samariae verum et omnium gentium. Agnosce et spolia figurata, cuius et arma allegorica didicisti, atque ita in tantum Christus qui venit non fuit bellator, quia non talis ab Esaia praedicabatur. “Sed si Christus, inquiunt, qui venturus creditur non Iesus dicitur, quare is qui venit Iesus Christus appellatur?” [21] Constat autem utrumque nomen in Christo dei, in quo invenitur etiam Iesus appellatus. Disce et erroris tui morem: dum Moysi successor destinaretur Auses filius Naue, transfertur certe de pristino nomine et incipit vocari Iesus. “Certe”, inquis. Hanc prius dicimus figuram futuri fuisse. [22] Nam quia Iesus Christus secundum populum, quod sumus nos nationes in saeculi deserto commorantes ante, introducturus esset in terram repromissionis melle et lacte manantem, id est in vitae aeternae possessionem qua nihil dulcius, idque non per Moysen id est non per legis disciplinam, sed per Iesum id est per novae legis gratiam provenire habebat circumcisis nobis petrina acie id est Christi praeceptis — petra enim Christus multis modis et figuris praedicatus est — , ideo is vir qui in huius sacramenti imagines parabatur etiam nominis dominici inauguratus est figura, ut Iesus nominaretur. Nam qui ad Moysen loquebatur, ipse erat dei filius qui et semper videbatur; deum enim patrem nemo umquam vidit et vixit. [23] Et ideo constat ipsum dei filium Moyseo esse locutum et dixisse ad populum: *Ecce ego mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam*, id est populi, *qui te custodiat in itinere et introducat te in terram quam praeparavi tibi. Intendite illi et audite eum et ne inobaudiens fueris ei; non enim celabit te, quoniam nomen meum super illum est*, populum enim introducturus erat Iesus in terram repromissionis, non

Moyses. Angelum quidem dixit eum ob magnitudinem virtutum quas erat editurus — quas virtutes fecisset Iesus Naue, et ipsi legistis — et ob officium prophetae nuntiantis scilicet divinam voluntatem, sicuti et praecursorem Christi Iohannem futurum angelum appellat per prophetam spiritus dicens ex persona patris: *Ecce ego mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam*, id est Christi, *qui praeparabit viam tuam ante te*. Nec novum est spiritui sancto angelos appellare eos quos ministros suae virtutis deus praeficit. [24] Idem enim Iohannes non tantum angelus Christi vocatus est sed et lucerna lucens ante Christum. *Paravi enim lucernam Christo meo* David praedicat. + quem + ipse Christus veniens adimplere prophetas dicit ad Iudaeos: *Ille fuit*, inquit, *lucerna ardens et lucens*, utpote qui non tantum vias eius parabat in eremo sed et agnum dei demonstrando inluminabat mentes hominum praeconio suo, ut eum esse intellexerent agnum quem Moyses passum nuntiabat. [25] Sic et Iesus ob nominis sui futurum sacramentum. Id enim nomen suum confirmavit quod ipse ei indiderat, quia non angelum nec Ausen sed Iesum eum iusserat exinde vocari. Sic igitur utrumque nomen competit Christo dei, ut et Iesus appellaretur.

[26] Et quoniam ex semine David genus trahere deberet virgo ex qua nasci oportuit Christus, ut supra memoravimus, evidenter propheta in sequentibus dicit: *Et nascetur*, inquit, *virga de radice Iesse*, quod est Maria, *et flos de radice ascendet et requiescet in illum spiritus dei: spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, spiritus agnitionis et pietatis, spiritus consilii et virtutis, spiritus timoris dei implebit illum*. [27] Neque enim ulli hominum universitas spiritualium documentorum competeat nisi Christo, flori quidem ad gloriam ob gratiam adaequato, ex stirpe autem Iesse deputato per Mariam, scilicet inde censendam. Fuit enim de patria Bethleem et de domo David, sicuti apud Romanos in censu descripta est Maria ex qua nascitur Christus. Expostulo etiam, [ut] qui a prophetis praedicabatur ex Iesse genere venturus et omnem humilitatem et patientiam et tranquillitatem [esset] exhibiturus an venerit, [28] atque ita is homo qui talis ostenditur ipse erit Christus qui venit. De hoc enim propheta dicit: *Homo in plaga positus et sciens ferre imbecillitatem*, qui *tamquam ovis ad victimam ductus est et tamquam agnus coram tondente se non aperuit os suum*. Si neque contendit neque clamavit neque audita est foris vox eius, qui arundinem contusam, Israelis fidem, non comminuit, qui linum ardens, id est momentaneum ardorem gentium, non restinxit, sed lucere magis

fecit ortu luminis sui, non potest alius esse quam qui praedicabatur. [29] Oportet itaque actum Christi eius qui venit ad scripturarum regulam recognosci; duplici enim, nisi fallor, operatione distinctum eum legimus, praedicationis et virtutis.

Sed de utroque titulo sic <sit> dispositum. Itaque specialiter dispungamus ordinem coeptum docentes praedicatorem adnuntiatum Christum, ut per Esaiam: [30] *Exclama, inquit, in vigore et ne peperceris, exalta ut tuba vocem tuam et adnuntia plebi meae facinora ipsorum et domui Iacob delicta eorum. Me de die in diem quaerunt et cognoscere vias meas cupiunt, quasi populus qui iustitiam fecerit et iudicium dei non reliquerit* et reliqua — virtutes autem facturum a patre: *Ecce deus noster iudicium retribuet, ipse veniet et salvos faciet nos; tunc infirmi curabuntur et oculi caecorum videbunt et aures surdorum audient et mutorum linguae solvantur et claudus saliet velut cervus* et cetera. [31] Quae operatum Christum nec vos diffitemini, utpote qui dicebatis, quod non propter opera eum lapidaretis, sed quoniam ista sabbatis faciebat.

X. [1] De exitu plane passionis eius ambigitis negantes passionem crucis in Christum praedicatam et argumentantes insuper non esse credendum, ut ad id genus mortis exposuerit deus filium suum, quod ipse dixit: *Maledictus omnis qui pependit in ligno*. Sed huius maledictionis sensum antecedit rerum ratio. [2] Dicit enim in Deuteronomio: *Si autem fuerit in aliquo delictum ad iudicium mortis et morietur et suspendetis in ligno, non manebit corpus eius in ligno, sed sepultura sepelietis eum ipsa die, quoniam maledictus a deo est omnis qui suspensus fuerit in ligno, et non inquinabitis terram quam dominus deus tuus dabit tibi in sortem*. [3] Igitur non in hanc passionem Christum maledixit, sed distinctionem fecit, ut, qui in aliquo delicto iudicium mortis habuisset moreretur suspensus in ligno, hic maledictus a deo esset, qui propter merita delictorum suorum suspenderetur in ligno. [4] Alioquin Christus qui dolum de ore suo locutus non est quique omnem iustitiam et humilitatem exhibuit, et ut supra de eo praedictum memoravimus, non pro meritis suis in id genus mortis expositus est, sed ut ea quae praedicata sunt a prophetis per vos ei obventura implerentur, sicut in psalmis ipse spiritus Christi iam canebat dicens: *Retribuiebant mihi mala pro bonis*, et: *Quae non rapueram tunc exsolvebam*, et: *Exterminaverunt manus meas et pedes*, et: *Miserunt in potum meum fel et in siti mea potaverunt me aceto*, et: *Super vestem meam miserunt sortem*,

sicuti cetera quae in illum commissuri essetis praedicta sunt. [5] Quae quidem omnia ipsa perpressus non pro actu suo aliquo malo passus est, sed ut scripturae implerentur de ore prophetarum. Et utique sacramentum passionis ipsius figurari in praedicationibus oportuerat, quantoque incredibile, tanto magis scandalum futuram si nude praedicaretur, quantoque magnificum, tanto magis obumbrandum, ut difficultas intellectus gratiam a deo quaereret.

[6] Itaque imprimis Isaac, cum a patre hostia duceretur lignum[que] ipse sibi portans, Christi exitum iam tunc denotabat in victimam concessi a patre lignum passionis suae baiulantis. Ioseph et ipse Christum figuratus vel hoc solo, ne cursum demorer, quod persecutionem a fratribus passus est et venumdatus in Aegyptum ob dei gratiam, sicut et Christus ab Israele, carnaliter a fratribus venumdatus, a Iuda cum traditur. [7] Nam et benedicitur a patre in haec verba Ioseph: *Tauri decor eius, cornua unicornis cornua eius; in eis nationes ventilabit pariter ad summum usque terrae*. Non utique rhinoceros destinabatur unicornis nec minotaurus bicornis, sed Christus in illo significabatur, taurus ob utramque dispositionem, aliis ferus ut iudex aliis mansuetus ut salvator, cuius cornua essent crucis extima — nam et in antemna navis quae crucis pars est hoc extremitates eius vocantur — , unicornis autem medio stipite palus. [8] Hac denique virtute crucis et hoc more cornutus universas gentes et nunc ventilat per fidem auferens a terra in caelum et tunc ventilabit per iudicium deiciens de caelo in terram. Idem erit et alibi taurus apud eandem scripturam. Cum Iacob in Simeonem et Levi porrexit benedictionem, de scribis et pharisaeis prophetat; ex illis enim deducitur census illorum. [9] Interpretatur enim spiritaliter sic: *Simeon et Levi perfecerunt iniquitatem ex sua secta*, qua scilicet Christum sunt persecuti; *in concilium eorum ne veniat anima mea et in stationem eorum ne incubuerint viscera mea, quoniam in indignatione sua interfecerunt homines*, id est prophetas, *et in concupiscentia sua subnervaverunt taurum*, id est Christum quem post necem prophetarum interfecerunt et nervos eius suffigendo clavis desaevierunt. [10] Ceterum vanum, si post homicidia iam ab eis commissa + aliis et non ipsis + exprobrat carnificinam. Iam vero Moyses quid utique tunc tantum, cum Iesus adversus Amelech proeliabatur, expansis manibus orabat residens, quando in rebus tam attonitis magis utique genibus positus et manibus caedentibus pectus et facie humi volutante orationem commendare debuisset, nisi quia illic, ubi nomen domini Iesu dicebat dimicaturi quandoque

adversus diabolum, crucis habitus quoque erat necessarius, per quam Iesus victoriam esset relaturus? Idem rursus Moyses post interdictam omnis rei similitudinem cur aereum serpentem ligno impositum pendentis habitu in spectaculum Israeli salutare proposuit eo tempore quo a serpentibus post idololatriam exterminabantur, nisi quod hic dominicam crucem intentabat, qua serpens diabolus designabatur et laesus quisque ab eiusmodi colubris id est angelis eius a delictorum peccantia ad crucis istius sacramenta intentus salvus efficiebatur? nam qui in illam tunc respiciebat a morsu serpentium liberabatur.

[11] Age nunc, si legisti penes prophetam in psalmis: *Dominus regnavit a ligno*, expecto quid intellegas, ne forte lignarium aliquem regem significari putetis et non Christum qui exinde a passione ligni superata morte regnavit. Proinde et Esaias: *Quoniam puer, inquit, natus est vobis et datus est vobis filius*; quid novum, si non de filio dei dicit? — Et datus est vobis *cuius imperium* [initium] *factum est super humerum ipsius*. [12] Quis omnino regum insigne potestatis suae humero praefert et non aut capite diadema aut manu sceptrum aut + aliqua proprietate usus nova +? Sed solus novus rex aevorum Christus Iesus novam gloriam et potestatem et sublimitatem suam in humero extulit, crucem scilicet, ut secundum superiorem prophetiam exinde dominus regnaret a ligno. De hoc enim ligno etiam deus per Hieremiam insinuat quod essetis dicturi: *Venite, immittamus in pane eius lignum et conteramus eum a terra vivorum et nomen illius non memorabitur amplius*. Utique in corpus eius lignum missum est. Sic enim Christus revelavit panem corpus suum appellans, cuius retro corpus in pane prophetae nuntiavit. [13] Si adhuc quaeris dominicae crucis praedicationes, satis iam poterit tibi facere vicesimus primus psalmus totam Christi continens passionem canentis iam tunc gloriam suam: *Foderunt, inquit, manus meas et pedes*, quae propria est atrocitas crucis. Et rursus, cum auxilium patris implorat: *Salvum me fac*, inquit, *ex ore leonis*, utique mortis, *et de cornibus unicornuorum humilitatem meam*, de apicibus scilicet crucis, ut supra ostendimus. [14] Quam crucem nec ipse David passus est nec ullus regum Iudaeorum, ne putetis alterius alicuius prophetari passionem quam eius qui solus a populo tam insigniter crucifixus est.

Nunc si omnes istas interpretationes respuerit et inriserit duritia cordis vestri, probabimus sufficere posse mortem Christi prophetatam, ut ex hoc quod non esset edicta qualis mors intellegatur per crucem evenisse nec alii deputandam fuisse passionem crucis quam cuius mors praedicabatur. [15] Nam

mortem eius et passionem et sepulturam una voce Esaiae volo ostendere: *A facinoribus, inquit, populi mei perductus est ad mortem et dabo malos pro sepultura eius et divites pro morte eius, quia scelus non fecit nec dolus in ore eius inventus est; et deus voluit eximere a morte animam eius et cetera.* [16] Dicit etiam adhuc: *Sepultura eius sublata est e medio.* Nec sepultus enim est nisi mortuus nec sepultura eius sublata est e medio nisi per resurrectionem eius. Denique subiungit: *Propterea ipse multos in hereditatem habebit et multorum dividet spolia* — quis alius nisi qui + natus + est, ut supra ostendimus? — *pro eo quod tradita est in mortem anima eius.* Ostensa enim causa gratiae eius, pro iniuria scilicet mortis repensandae, pariter ostensum est haec illum propter mortem consecuturum post mortem, utique post resurrectionem, consecuturum. [17] Nam quod in passione eius accidit, ut media dies tenebresceret, Amos propheta adnuntiat dicens: *Et erit, inquit, in die illa, dicit dominus: occidet sol media die et tenebrescet super terram dies luminis et convertam dies festos vestros in luctum et omnia cantica vestra in lamentationem et imponam super lumbos vestros saccum et super omne caput calvitium et ponam eum quasi luctum dilecti et eos qui cum illo quasi diem maeroris.* [18] Hoc enim et Moyses initio primi mensis novorum facturos vos prophetavit, cum omne vulgus filiorum Israelis ad vesperam agnum esset immolaturum, et hanc sollemnitatem diei huius id est paschae azymorum cum amaritudine manducatuos praecanebat et adiecit pascha esse domini id est passionem Christi, quod ita quoque adimpletum est, ut prima die azymorum interficeretis Christum. [19] Et ut prophetiae implerentur, properavit dies vesperam facere id est tenebras efficere, quae media die factae sunt, atque ita dies festos vestros convertit deus in luctum et cantica vestra in lamentationem. Post enim passionem Christi etiam captivitas vobis et dispersio obvenit praedicata ante per spiritum sanctum.

XI. [1] Nam et pro istis meritis vestris cladem vestram futuram Ezechiel nuntiat, et non solum in isto saeculo quae iam evenit, sed in die retributionis quae subsequetur. Qua clade nemo liberabitur, nisi qui passionem Christi quem respuitis fuerit obsignatus. [2] Sic enim scriptum est: *Et dixit ad me: fili hominis, vidisti quae seniores Israelis faciunt, unusquisque eorum in tenebris, unusquisque in cubiculo absconso? Quoniam dixerunt: non videt nos dominus, dereliquit dominus terram. Et dixit ad me: adhuc conversus videbis facinora maiora quae isti faciunt.* [3] *Et introduxit me ad limina ianuae domus*

domini quae aspicit ad aquilonem, et ecce illic mulieres sedentes et plangentes Thamuz. Et dixit dominus ad me: fili hominis, vidisti? Numquid modica domus Iuda, ut faciant facinora quae fecerunt? Et adhuc visurus es adfectiones maiores eorum. [4] Et introduxit me in aedem domus domini interiorem, et ecce in liminibus templi domini inter medium elam et inter medium altaris quasi viginti et quinque viri: posteriora sua dederunt ad templum domini et facies suas contra orientem; hi adorabant solem. [5] Et dixit ad me: vides, fili hominis? Numquid pusilla domus Iuda, ut faciant facinora quae fecerunt hic? Quoniam impleverunt impietates suas, et ecce ipsi quasi subsannantes, et ego faciam cum indignatione mea; non parcet oculus meus, sed neque miserebor; et clamabunt ad aures meas voce magna et non exaudiam eos, sed neque miserebor. [6] Et exclamavit in aures meas voce magna dicens: adproximavit vindicta civitatis huius. Et unusquisque habuit vasa exterminii in manu sua, et ecce sex viri veniebant a via portae altae quae aspiciebat ad aquilonem, et uniuscuiusque bipennis dispersionis erat in manu eius. [7] Et unus vir in medio eorum indutus podere et zona saphiri circa lumbos eius, et introierunt et steterunt proximi altaris aerei, et claritas dei Israelis ascendit a Cherubin quae fuit super ea in subdival domus. [8] Et vocavit hominem qui indutus erat podere, qui habuit super lumbos suos zonam, et dixit ad eum dominus: transi mediam Hierusalem et scribe signum in frontibus virorum qui gemunt et dolent super omnia facinora quae fiunt in medio eorum, et in his dixit ad <me> audientem: ite post eum in civitatem et concidite et nolite parcere oculis vestris, et ne misereamini senioris aut iuvenis aut virginis, et parvulos et mulieres interficite omnes ut perdeantur; ad omnes autem super quos est [Tau] signum ne accesseritis, et a sanctis meis incipite. [9] Huius autem signi sacramentum, variis modis praedicatum, est in quo vita hominibus praestuebatur, in quod Iudaei non essent credituri, sicut Moyses ante nuntiabat in Exodo dicens: Eiciemini de terra in qua introibitis, et in nationibus illis non eritis in requiem, et erit instabilitas vestigii pedis tui, et dabit tibi deus cor taedians et tabescentem animam et oculos deficientes ut non videant, et erit vita tua pendens in ligno ante oculos tuos et non credes vitae tuae.

[10] Itaque quoniam impletae prophetiae per adventum eius id est per nativitatem quam supra memoravimus et passionem quam evidenter ediximus, propterea et Daniel signari visionem et propheten dicebat, quoniam Christus

est signaculum omnium prophetatum adimplens omnia quae retro erant de eo nuntiata; post enim adventum eius et passionem ipsius iam non visio neque prophetae. Unde firmissime dicit adventum eius signare visum et prophetiam. [11] Itaque ostendentes et numerum annorum et tempus LX et II et dimidiaebdomadarum adimpletarum probavimus tunc venisse Christum id est natum, et septem et dimidiaebdomadarum, quae sunt subdivisae in abscissione priorum ebdomadatum, — intra quae tempora passum ostendimus Christum atque ita LXX ebdomadibus conclusis et civitate exterminata et sacrificium et unctionem exinde cessare.

Sufficit hucusque de his interim ordinem Christi decucurrisset, quod talis probatur qualis adnuntiabatur [ut] iam ex ista consonantia scripturarum, quae ex praeiudicio maioris partis adversus Iudaeos elocuti sumus; neque enim in dubium deducant vel negent quae scripta proferimus, ut ex hoc quoque paria esse scripturis divinis negare non possint, ut quae post Christum futura praecanebantur adimpleta cognoscantur. [12] Neque, nisi ille venisset post quem habebant expungi quae nuntiabantur, quae completa sunt etiam probarentur. XII. [1] Aspice universas nationes de voragine erroris humani exinde emergentes ad dominum deum creatorem et Christum eius, et, si audes negare prophetatum, statim tibi promissio patris occurrit in psalmis dicens: *Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te; pete a me, et dabo tibi gentes hereditatem tuam et possessionem tuam terminos terrae.* [2] Nec poteris alium dei filium dicere quam Christum aut terminos terrae David potius promissos qui intra unicum Iudaeam regnavit quam Christo qui totum iam orbem evangelii sui fide cepit, sicut per Esaiam dicit: *Ecce dedi te in dispositionem generis mei, in lucem gentium, aperire oculos caecorum, utique errantium, solvere de vinculis vinctos, id est de delictis liberare, et de domo carceris, id est mortis, sedentes in tenebris, ignorantiae scilicet.* Quae si per Christum eveniunt, non in alium erunt prophetata quam per quem expuncta consideramus.

XIII. [1] Igitur quoniam filii Israelis adfirmant nos errare recipiendo Christum qui iam venit, praescribamus eis ex ipsis scripturis iam venisse Christum qui praedicabatur, quamvis ex temporibus Danielis praedicantis probaverimus iam venisse Christum qui nuntiabatur. Nasci enim eum oportuit in Bethleem Iudae. [2] Sic enim scriptum est in propheta: *Et tu, Bethleem, non minima es in ducibus Iudae; ex te enim exiet dux qui pascet populum meum*

Israellem. Si autem adhuc natus non est, qui processurus dux de tribu Iuda ex Bethleem nuntiabatur? [3] Oportebat enim eum de tribu Iuda et a Bethleem procedere. Animadvertimus autem nunc neminem de genere Israelis in civitate Bethleem remansisse exinde quo interdictum est, ne in confinio ipsius regionis demoretur quisquam Iudaeorum, ut hoc quoque esset adimpletum, id est propheta: [4] *Terra vestra deserta, civitates vestrae igni exustae* — id est quod belli tempore eis evenerit — , *regionem vestram in conspectu vestro exteri comedent, et deserta et subversa erit a populis alienis*, id est a Romanis. Et alio loco sic propheta dicit: *Regem cum claritate videbitis*, id est Christum facientem virtutes in gloriam dei patris, *et oculi vestri videbunt terram de longinquo*, quod vobis pro meritis vestris post expugnationem Hierusalem prohibitis ingredi in terram vestram de longinquo eam oculis tantum videre permissum est; *anima*, inquit, *vestra meditabitur timorem*, scilicet quod tempore excidii sui passi sunt. [5] Quomodo igitur nascetur dux de Iuda et quatenus procedet de Bethleem, sicuti divina prophetarum volumina nuntiant, cum nullus omnino sit illic in hodiernum derelictus ex Israele, cuius ex stirpe possit nasci Christus? Si enim secundum Iudaeos adhuc non venit, cum venire coeperit unde unguetur? [6] Lex enim praecepit in captivitate non licere unctionem chrismatis regalis confici. Si autem iam nec unctio est illic, ut Daniel prophetavit — dicit enim *exterminabitur* — , ergo iam non est illic unctio, quia nec templum ubi erat cornu de quo reges unguebantur. [7] Si ergo non est unctio, unde unguetur dux qui nascetur in Bethleem aut quomodo procedet de Bethleem, cum de semine Israelis nullus omnino sit in Bethleem?

[8] Iterato denique ostendamus et venisse iam Christum secundum prophetas et passum et in caelis iam receptum et inde venturum secundum praedicationes prophetarum. [9] Nam post adventum eius secundum Daniele[m] quod ipsa civitas exterminari haberet, legimus et ita factum recognoscimus. Dicit enim scriptura sic: civitatem et sanctum simul exterminari cum duce. Quo duce? Indubitate qui de Bethleem et de tribu Iuda esset processurus. [10] Unde et manifestum est, quod civitas simul eo tempore exterminari deberet, cum ducator eius in ea pati haberet secundum scripturas prophetarum dicentium: *Expandi manus meas tota die ad populum contumacem et contradicentem mihi, qui ambulant via non bona sed post peccata sua*. Item in psalmis: *Exterminaverunt manus meas et pedes, dinumeraverunt omnia ossa mea; ipsi autem contemplati sunt et viderunt me, et: In siti mea potaverunt me*

aceto. [11] Haec David passus non est, ut de se merito dixisse videatur, sed Christus qui crucifixus est: manus et pedes non exterminantur nisi eius qui in ligno suspenditur. Unde et ipse David regnaturum ex ligno dominum dicebat; nam et alibi propheta ligni huius fructum praedicat dicens: *Terra dedit benedictiones suas*, utique illa terra virgo nondum pluviis irrigata nec imbribus fecundata, ex qua homo tunc primum plasmatus est, ex qua nunc Christus secundum carnem ex virgine natus est; *et lignum*, inquit, *tulit fructum suum*, non illud lignum in paradiso quod mortem dedit protoplastis, sed lignum passionis Christi unde vita pendens a vobis credita non est. [12] Hoc enim lignum tunc in sacramento, cum Moyses aquam amaram indulcavit unde populus qui siti periebat in eremo bibendo revixit, sicuti nos qui de saeculi calamitatibus extracti in quo commorabamur siti pereuntes, id est verbo divino probati, ligno passionis Christi per aquam baptismatis potantes fidem quae est in eum reviximus. [13] A qua fide Israel excidit secundum Hieremiam prophetam dicentem: *Mittite, interrogate nimis, si facta sunt talia, si mutabunt gentes deos suos et isti non sunt dii; populus autem meus mutavit gloriam suam, ex quo nihil proderit eis; expavit caelum super isto.* Et quando expavit? Indubitate quando passus est Christus. [14] *Et horruit*, inquit, *plurimum nimis.* Et quando horruit nimis nisi in passione Christi, cum terra quoque contremuit et sol media die tenebricavit et velum templi scissum est et monumenta dirapta sunt? *Quoniam*, inquit, *duo haec nequam fecit populus meus: me dereliquerunt fontem aquae vitae et foderunt sibi lacus contritos qui non poterunt aquam continere.* [15] Indubitate non recipiendo Christum fontem aquae vitae lacus contritos coeperunt habere, id est synagogas in dispersiones gentium, in quibus iam spiritus sanctus non immoratur, ut in praeteritum in templo commorabatur ante adventum Christi qui est verum dei templum. [16] Nam et istam sitim divini spiritus eos passuros praedicat propheta dicens: *Ecce qui serviunt mihi manducabunt, vos autem esurietis; servientes mihi potabuntur, vos autem sitietis et a contributione spiritus ululabitis; remittetis enim nomen vestrum in satietatem electis meis, vos autem interficiet dominus; eis autem qui serviunt mihi nomen nominabitur novum quod benedicetur in terris.*

[17] Adhuc huius ligni sacramentum etiam in Regnorum legimus celebratum. Nam cum filii prophetarum super flumen Iordanem lignum securibus caederent, exsiliit ferrum et mersum est in flumine, atque ita

Helisaeo propheta superveniente petunt ab eo filii prophetarum, uti ferrum flumini quod immersum fuerat erueret. [18] Atque ita [Helisaeus] accepto ligno et misso in eum locum ubi submersum fuerat, ferrum statim supernatavit, quod receperunt filii prophetarum, et lignum mersum est. Ex quo intellexerunt, quod Heliae spiritus in eum sit repraesentatus. [19] Quid manifestius huius ligni sacramento, quod duritia huius saeculi mersa in profundo erroris et a ligno Christi id est passionis eius in baptismo liberatur, ut quod perierat olim per lignum in Adam id restitueretur per lignum Christi, nobis scilicet qui successimus in loco prophetarum ea sustinentes hodie in saeculo quae semper passi prophetae propter divinam religionem; [20] alios enim lapidaverunt, alios fugaverunt, plures vero ad necem tradiderunt, quod negare non possunt. Hoc lignum sibi et Isaac filius Abrahae ad sacrificium ipse portabat, cum sibi eum deus hostiam fieri praecepisset. [21] Sed quoniam haec fuerant sacramenta quae temporibus Christi perficienda servabantur, et Isaac cum ligno servatus est ariete oblato in vepre cornibus haerente et Christus suis temporibus lignum humeris suis portavit inhaerens cornibus crucis corona spinea capiti eius circumdata. Hunc enim oportebat pro omnibus gentibus fieri sacrificium qui *tamquam ovis ad victimam ductus est et velut agnus coram tondente se sine voce sic non aperuit os suum*. [22] Hic enim Pilato interroganti nihil locutus est; *in humilitate enim iudicium eius sublatum est. Nativitatem autem eius quis enarrabit?* Quare? Quia nullus omnino hominum nativitatis Christi fuit conscius in conceptu, cum virgo Maria a verbo dei praegnans inveniretur, et quia tolleretur a terra vita eius. [23] Cur ita? Quia post resurrectionem eius a mortuis quae die tertia effecta est caeli eum receperunt secundum prophetiam emissam huiusmodi: *Ante lucem surgent ad me dicentes: eamus et revertamur ad dominum deum nostrum, quoniam ipse eripiet et liberabit nos post biduum die tertia*, quae est resurrectio eius gloriosa, cuius neque nativitatem neque passionem Iudaei agnoverunt: de terra in caelos eum recepit, unde et venerat ipse spiritus ad virginem.

[24] Igitur quoniam adhuc contendunt Iudaei necdum venisse Christum quem tot modis adprobavimus venisse, recognoscant [Iudaei] exitum suum quem post adventum Christi relaturi praedicabantur ob impietatem qua eum et despexerunt et interfecerunt. Primo enim ex qua die secundum dictum Esaiae proiecit homo abominamenta sua aurea et argentea quae fecerunt adorare vanis et nocivis, id est ex quo gentes nos dilucidati pectora per Christi

veritatem proiecimus idola, vident Iudaei et quod sequitur expunctum. [25] Tulit enim dominus Sabaoth a Iudaeis et ab Hierusalem inter cetera et sapientem architectum qui aedificat ecclesiam, dei templum et civitatem sanctam et domum domini. Nam exinde destitit apud illos dei gratia et mandatum est nubibus, ne pluerent imbrem super vineam Sorech, id est caelestibus beneficiis, ne provenirent domui Israelis. [26] Fecerat enim spinas ex quibus Christum coronaverat et non iustitiam sed clamorem quo in crucem eum extorserat. Et ita subtractis charismatis prioribus lex et prophetae usque ad Iohannem fuerunt et piscina Bethesda usque ad adventum Christi: [valetudines ab Israele curare] desiit a beneficiis deinde, cum ex perseverantia furoris sui nomen domini per ipsos blasphemaretur, sicut scriptum est: *Propter vos nomen domini blasphematur in gentibus*. Ab illis enim incepit infamia, et tempus medium a Tiberio usque ad Vespasianum. Qui cum ista commisissent nec intellexissent Christum in tempore suae visitationis venientem, facta est terra eorum deserta et civitates eorum igni exustae; regionem ipsorum sub eorum conspectu extraneis devorantibus derelicta est filia Sion tamquam specula in vinea, velut in cucumerario casula, ex quo scilicet Israel dominum non cognovit et populus eum non intellexit, sed dereliquit magis et ad indignationem provocavit sanctum Israelis. [27] Sic et machaerae condicionalis comminatio: *Si nolueritis nec obaudieritis, gladius vos comedet*. Ex quo probamus machaeram Christum fuisse, quem non audiendo perierunt, qui et in psalmo dispersionem eis postulat a patre dicens: *Disperge eos in virtute tua*. Qui et rursus per Esaïam in exustionem eorum perorans: *Propter me*, inquit, *haec facta sunt vobis; in anxietate dormietis*. [28] Haec igitur cum pati praedicarentur Iudaei propter Christum et passos eos inveniamus et in dispersionem demorari cernamus, manifestum est propter Christum Iudaeis ista accidisse conspirante sensu scripturarum cum exitu rerum et ordine temporum. [29] Aut si nondum venit Christus propter quem haec passuri praedicabantur, cum venerit ergo patientur. Et ubi tunc filia Sion relinquenda quae in Iudaea hodie <non> est? Ubi civitates exurendae quae iam in tumulis? Ubi dispersio gentis quae iam extorris est? Redde statum Iudaeae quem Christus inveniat et alium contendere venire.

XIV. [1] Discite nunc ex abundantia erroris vestri ducatum. Duos dicimus Christi habitus a prophetis demonstratos, totidem adventus eius prae notatos: unum in humilitate, utique primum, cum tamquam ovis ad victimam deduci

habebat et tamquam agnus ante tondentem sine voce sic non aperiens os, ne aspectu quidem honestus. [2] *Adnuntiavimus enim, inquit, de illo: sicut puerulus, sicut radix in terra sitiendi, et non erat ei species neque gloria, et vidimus eum et non habebat speciem neque decorem, sed species eius inhonorata, deficiens citra filios hominum, homo in plaga positus et sciens ferre infirmitatem, scilicet ut positus a patre in lapidem offensionis et minoratus ab eo modicum citra angelos, vermem se pronuntians et non hominem, ignominiam hominis et abiectionem populi.* [3] Quae ignobilitatis argumenta primo adventui competunt sicut sublimitatis secundo, cum fiet iam non lapis offensionis nec petra scandali, sed lapis summus angularis post reprobationem adsumptus et sublimatus in consummationem et petra sane illa apud Daniele de monte praecisa quae imaginem saecularium regnorum comminuet et conteret. [4] De quo secundo adventu eius prophetae: *Et ecce cum nubibus caeli tamquam filius hominis veniens venit usque ad veterem dierum et aderat in conspectu eius et qui adsistebant adduxerunt illum; et data est ei potestas regia et omnes nationes terrae secundum genus et omnis gloria serviens illi et potestas illius aeterna quae non auferetur et regnum eius quod non corrumpetur.* [5] Tunc scilicet speciem honorabilem et decorem habiturus est indeficientem supra filios hominum — *tempestivus enim decore ultra filios hominum; effusa est gratia* [inquit] *in labiis tuis, propterea benedixit te deus in saecula; accingere ensem tuum circa femur tuum, potentissime tempestivitate et pulchritudine tua* — , cum et pater, posteaquam diminuit illum modicum quid citra angelos, gloria et honore coronavit illum et subiecit omnia sub pedibus eius. [6] Et tunc cognoscent eum quem pupugerunt et caedent pectora sua tribus ad tribum, utique quod retro non agnoverint eum in humilitate condicionis humanae constitutum. *Et homo est,* inquit Hieremias, *et quis cognoscet illum, quia et nativitatem eius,* inquit Esaias, *quis enarrabit?*

[7] Sic et apud Zachariam [ait] in persona Iesu, immo et in ipsius nominis sacramento verissimus sacerdos patris Christus ipsius duplici habitu in duos adventus deliniatur: primo sordibus indutus id est carnis passibilis et mortalis indignitate, cum et diabolus adversabatur ei, auctor scilicet Iudae traditoris qui eum etiam post baptismum temptaverat, dehinc spoliatus pristinas sordes, exornatus podere et mitra et cidari munda id est secundi adventus, quoniam gloriam et honorem adeptus demonstratur. [8] Nec poteritis eum Iosedech filium dicere qui nulla omnino veste sordida sed semper sacerdotali fuit

exornatus nec umquam sacerdotali munere privatus, sed Iesus iste Christus dei patris summi sacerdos qui primo adventu suo humanae formae et passibilis venit in humilitate usque ad passionem, ipse effectus etiam hostia per omnia pro omnibus nobis, qui post resurrectionem suam indutus podere sacerdos in aeternum dei patris nuncupatur. [9] Sic enim et duorum hircorum qui ieiunio offerebantur faciam interpretationem. Nonne et illi utrumque ordinem Christi qui iam venit ostendunt, pares quidem atque consimiles propter eundem domini conspectum, quia non in alia venturus est forma, ut qui agnosci habet a quibus et laesus est; unus autem eorum circumdatus coccino maledictus et consputatus et convulsus et compunctus a populo extra civitatem abiciebatur in perditionem, manifestis notatus insignibus Christi passionis qui coccinea circumdatus veste et consputatus et omnibus contumeliis adflictus extra civitatem crucifixus est; alter vero pro delictis oblatus et sacerdotibus tantum templi in pabulum datus secundae repraesentationis argumenta signabat, quia delictis omnibus expiatis sacerdotes templi spiritualis id est ecclesiae dominicae gratiae quasi visceratione quadam fruerentur ieiunantibus ceteris a salute. [10] Igitur quoniam primus adventus et plurimis figuris obscuratus et omni inhonestate prostratus caneatur, secundus vero et manifestus et deo dignus, idcirco quem facile et intellegere et credere potuerunt eum solum intuentes id est secundum qui est in honore et gloria non innerito decepti sunt circa obscuriorem certe indigniorem id est primum. Atque ita in hodiernum negant venisse Christum suum, quia non in sublimitate venerit, dum ignorant in humilitate primum fuisse venturum.

[11] Sufficit hucusque de his interim ordinem Christi decucurrisse, quo talis probatur qualis adnuntiabatur, ut iam ex ista consonantia scripturarum divinarum [intellegamus] et quae post Christum futura praedicabantur ex dispositione divina credantur expuncta. Nisi enim ille venisset post quem habebant expungi, nullo modo evenissent quae in adventu eius futura praedicabantur. [12] Igitur si universas nationes de profundo erroris humani exinde emergentes ad deum creatorem et Christum eius cernitis, — quod prophetatum non audetis negare, quia et si negaretis statim vobis in psalmis, sicuti iam praelocuti sumus, promissio patris occurreret dicentis: *Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te; pete a me et dabo tibi gentes hereditatem tuam et possessionem tuam terminos terrae.* Nec poteritis in istam praedicationem magis David filium Solomonem vindicare quam Christum dei filium nec

terminos terrae David filio promissos qui intra unicam Iudaeam regnavit quam Christo filio dei qui totum iam orbem evangelii sui radiis inluminavit. ^[13] Denique et thronus in aevum magis Christo dei filio competit quam Solomoni, temporali scilicet regi qui solo Israeli regnavit. Christum enim hodie invocant nationes quae eum non sciebant et populi hodie ad Christum confugiunt quem retro ignorabant. Non potes futurum contendere quod vides fieri. ^[14] Haec aut prophetata nega, cum coram videntur, aut adimpleta, cum leguntur; aut si non negas utrumque, in eo erunt adimpleta in quem sunt prophetata.

De Praescriptione Haereticorum (On the Prescription of Heretics)

I. [1] Condicio praesentium temporum etiam hanc admonitionem prouocat nostram non oportere nos mirari super haereses istas, siue quia sunt, futurae enim praenuntiabantur, siue quia fidem quorundam subuertunt, ad hoc enim sunt ut fides habendo temptationem haberet etiam probationem. [2] Vane ergo et inconsiderate plerique hoc ipso scandalizantur quod tantum haereses ualeant. Quantum si non ualerent, non fuissent. [3] Cum quod sortitum est, ut omnimodo sit, sicut caussam accipit ob quam sit, sic uim consequitur per quam sit, nec esse non possit.

II. [1] Febrem denique inter ceteros mortiferos et cruciarios exitus erogando homini deputatam neque quia est miramur, est enim, neque quia erogat hominem, ad hoc enim est. [2] Proinde haereses ad languorem et interitum fidei productas si expauescimus hoc posse, prius est ut expauescamus hoc eas esse quae dum sunt, habent posse et dum possunt, habent esse. [3] Sed enim febrem, ut malum et de causa et de potentia sua, ut notum est, abominamur potius quam miramur et quantum in nobis est praecauemus, non habentes abolitionem eius in nostra potestate. [4] Haereses uero mortem aeternam et maioris ignis ardorem inferentes malunt quidam mirari quod hoc possint, quam deuitare ne possint, cum habeant deuitandi potestatem. [5] Ceterum nihil ualebunt, si illas tantum ualere non mirentur. Aut enim dum mirantur in scandalum subministrantur, aut quia scandalizantur, ideo mirantur quasi quod tantum ualeant ex aliqua ueniat ueritate. [6] Mirum scilicet ut malum uires suas habeat, nisi quod haereses apud eos multum ualeant qui in fide non ualent. [7] In pugna pugilum et gladiatorum plerumque non quia fortis est uincit quis aut quia non potest uinci, sed quoniam ille qui uictus est nullis uiribus fuit : adeo idem ille uictor bene ualenti postea comparatus, etiam superatus recedit. [8] Non aliter haereses de quorundam infirmitatibus habent quod ualent, nihil ualentes, si in bene ualentem fidem incurrant.

III. [1] Solent quidem isti miriones etiam de quibusdam personis ab haeresi captis aedificari in ruinam, [2] quare illa uel ille fidelissimi prudentissimi et usitatissimi in ecclesia in illam partem transierunt? [3] Quis hoc dicens non ipse sibi respondet neque prudentes neque fideles neque usitados aestimandos quos haereses potuerint demutare? Et hoc mirum, opinor, ut probatus aliqui

retro postea excidat? [4] Saul, bonus prae caeteris, liuore postea euertitur. Daud uir bonus secundum cor Domini, postea caedis et stupri reus est. Solomon omni gratia et sapientia donatus a Domino, ad idololatriam a mulieribus inducitur. [5] Soli enim Dei filio seruabatur sine delicto permanere. Quid ergo si episcopus, si diaconus, si uidua, si uirgo, si doctor, si etiam martyr lapsus a regula fuerit? Ideo haereses ueritatem uidebuntur obtinere? [6] Ex personis probamus fidem, an ex fide personas? Nemo est sapiens nisi fidelis, nemo maior nisi christianus, nemo autem christianus nisi qui ad finem usque perseuerauerit. [7] Tu, ut homo, extrinsecus unumquemque nosti, putas quod uides, uides autem quousque oculos habes. Sed oculi, inquit, Domini alti. Homo in faciem, Deus in praecordia contemplatur. [8] Et ideo cognoscit Dominus qui sunt eius, et plantam quam non plantauit eradicat, et de primis nouissimos ostendit et uentilabrum in manu portat ad purgandam aream suam. [9] Auolent quantum uolent paleae leuis fidei quocumque afflatu temptationum, eo purior massa frumenti in horrea Domini reponetur. [10] Nonne ab ipso Domino quidam discentium scandalizati deuerterunt? Nec tamen propterea ceteri quoque discedendum a uestigiis eius putauerunt, sed qui scierunt illum uitae esse uerbum et a Deo uenisse, perseuerauerunt in comitatu eius usque ad finem, cum illis, si uellent et ipsi discedere placide obtulisset. [11] Minus est et si apostolum eius aliqui, Phygellus et Hermogenes et Philetus, et Hymenaeus reliquerunt; ipse traditor Christi de Apostolis fuit. [12] Miramur de ecclesiis eius si a quibusdam deseruntur cum ea nos ostendunt christianos quae patimur ad exemplum ipsius Christi? [13] Ex nobis, inquit, prodierunt sed non fuerunt ex nobis; si fuissent ex nobis, permansissent utique nobiscum. IV. [1] Quin potius memores simus tam dominicarum pronuntiationum quam apostolicarum litterarum, quae nobis et futuras haereses praenuntiarunt et fugiendas praefinierunt et, sicut esse illas non expauescimus, ita et posse id propter quod effugiendae sunt, non miremur. [2] Instruit Dominus multos esse uenturos sub pellibus ouium rapaces lupos. [3] Quenam istae sunt pelles ouium nisi nominis christiani extrinsecus superficies? Qui lupi rapaces nisi sensus et spiritus subdoli, ad infestandum gregem Christi intrinsecus delitescerent? [4] Qui pseudoprophetae sunt nisi falsi praedicatores? Qui pseudoapostoli, nisi adulteri euangelizatores? Qui antichristi, interim et semper, nisi Christi rebelles? [5] Hoc erunt haereses, non minus nouarum doctrinarum peruersitate ecclesiam lacescentes, quam tunc

antichristus persecutionum atrocitate persequetur nisi quod persecutio et martyras facit, haeresis apostatas tantum. [6] Et ideo haereses quoque oportebat esse, ut probabiles quique manifestarentur, tam qui in persecutionibus steterint quam qui ad haereses non exorbitauerint. [7] Neque enim eos probabiles intelligi iubet qui in haeresim fidem demutant, sicut ex diuerso sibi interpretantur quia dixit alibi: omnia examine, quod bonum est tenete. Quasi non liceat omnibus male examinatis in electionem alicuius mali impingere per errorem. V. [1] Porro si dissensiones et schismata increpat quae sine dubio mala sunt, et in continenti haereses subiungit, [2] quod malis adiungat, malum utique profitetur et quidem maius cum ideo credidisse se dicat de schismatibus et dissensionibus quia sciret etiam haereses oportere esse. [3] Ostendit enim grauioris mali conspectu de leuioribus se facile credidisse; certe non ut ideo de malis crediderit quia haereses bonae essent, sed uti de peioris quoque notae temptationibus praemoneret non esse mirandum quas diceret tendere ad probabiles quosque manifestandos, scilicet quos non potuerit deprauare. [4] Denique si totum capitulum ad unitatem continendam et separationes coercendas sapit, haereses uero non minus ab unitate diuellunt quam schismata et dissensiones. Sine dubio et haereses in ea condicione reprehensionis constituit in qua et schismata et dissensiones. [5] Et per hoc non eos probabiles facit qui in haereses diuerterint, cum maxime diuertere ab eiusmodi obiurget edocens unum omnes loqui et ipsum sapere, quod etiam haereses non sinunt. VI. [1] Nec diutius de isto si idem est Paulus qui et alibi haereses inter carnalia crimina enumerat scribens ad Galatas et qui Tito suggerit hominem haereticum post primam correptionem recusandum quod peruersus sit eiusmodi et delinquat ut a semetipso damnatus. [2] Sed et in omni paene epistula de adulterinis doctrinis fugiendis inculcans haereses taxat quarum opera sunt adulterae doctrinae : haereses dictae graeca uoce ex interpretatione electionis qua quis maxime siue ad instituendas siue ad suscipiendas eas utitur. [3] Ideo et sibi damnatum dixit haereticum quia et in quo damnatur sibi elegit. Nobis uero nihil ex nostro arbitrio inducere licet sed nec eligere quod aliquis de arbitrio suo induxerit. [4] Apostolos Domini habemus auctores qui nec ipsi quicquam ex suo arbitrio quod inducerent, elegerunt, sed acceptam a Christo disciplinam fideliter nationibus adsignauerunt. [5] Itaque etiamsi angelus de caelis aliter euangelizaret, anathema diceretur a nobis. [6] Prouiderat iam tunc Spiritus sanctus futurum in

uirgine quadam Philumene angelum seductionis transfigurantem se in angelum lucis, cuius signis et praestigiis Apelles inductus nouam haeresin induxit. VII. [1] Hae sunt doctrinae hominum et daemoniorum prurientibus auribus natae de ingenio sapientiae saecularis quam Dominus stultitiam uocans stulta mundi in confusionem etiam philosophiae ipsius elegit. [2] Ea est enim materia sapientiae saecularis, temeraria interpret diuinae naturae et dispositionis. [3] Ipsae denique haereses a philosophia subornantur. Inde aeones et formae nescio quae infinitae et trinitas hominis apud Valentinum: Platonius fuerat. Inde Marcionis deus, melior de tranquillitate: a Stoicis uenerat. [4] Et ut anima interire dicatur : Epicurus obseruatur; et ut carnis restitutio negetur, de una omnium philosophorum schola sumitur; et ubi materia cum Deo aequatur, Zenonis disciplina est; et ubi aliquid de igneo deo adlegatur, Heraclitus interuenit. [5] Eadem materia apud haereticos et philosophos uoluntatur, idem retractatus implicantur : unde malum et quare? et unde homo et quomodo? et quod proxime Valentinus proposuit : unde deus? scilicet de Enthymesi et ectomate. [6] Miserum Aristotelen! qui illis dialecticam instituit, artificem struendi et destruendi, uersipellem in sententiis, coactam in coniecturis, duram in argumentis, operariam contentionum, molestam etiam sibi ipsam, omnia retractantem ne quid omnino tractauerit. [7] Hinc illae fabulae et genealogiae interminabiles et quaestiones infructuosae et sermones serpentes uelut cancer, a quibus nos apostolus refrenans nominatim philosophiam [et inanem seductionem] contestatur cauere oportere scribens ad Colossenses : Videte ne qui sit circumueniens uos per philosophiam et inanem seductionem, secundum traditionem hominum, praeter prouidentiam Spiritus sancti. [8] Fuerat Athenis et istam sapientiam humanam affectatricem et interpolatricem ueritatis de congressibus nouerat, ipsam quoque in suas haereses multipartitam uarietate sectarum inuicem repugnantium. [9] Quid ergo Athenis et Hierosolymis? quid academiae et ecclesiae? quid haereticis et christianis? [10] Nostra institutio de porticu Solomonis est qui et ipse tradiderat Dominum in simplicitate cordis esse quaerendum. [11] Viderint qui Stoicum et Platicum et dialecticum christianismum protulerunt. [12] Nobis curiositate opus non est post Christum Iesum nec inquisitione post euangelium. [13] Cum credimus, nihil desideramus ultra credere. Hoc enim prius credimus non esse quod ultra credere debeamus. VIII. [1] Venio itaque ad illum articulum quem et nostri praetendunt ad ineundam curiositatem et haeretici inculcant ad

importandam scrupulositatem. [2] Scriptum est, inquirunt quaerite et inuenietis. [3] Quando hanc uocem Dominus emisit, recordemur. Puto in primitiis ipsis doctrinae suae cum adhuc dubitaretur apud omnes an Christus esset, cum adhuc nec Petrus illum Dei filium pronuntiasset, cum etiam Ioannes de illo certus esse desisset. [4] Merito ergo tunc dictum est : quaerite et inuenietis, quando quaerendus adhuc erat qui adhuc agnitus non erat, et hoc quantum ad Iudaeos. [5] Ad illos enim pertinet totus sermo suggillationis istius qui habebant ubi quaererent Christum. [6] Habent, inquit, Moysen et Heliam, id est legem et prophetas Christum praedicantes secundum quod et alibi aperte : scrutamini scripturas in quibus salutem speratis; illae enim de me loquuntur. Hoc erit quaerite et inuenietis. [7] Nam et sequentia in Iudaeos competere manifestum est: pulsate et aperietur uobis. [8] Iudaei retro penes Deum fuerant, dehinc eiecti ob delicta extra Deum esse coeperunt; [9] nationes uero nunquam penes Deum nisi stillicidium de situla et puluis ex area et foris semper. [10] Itaque qui foris semper, quomodo pulsabit eo ubi nunquam fuit? quam ianuam nouit in quam nec receptus nec eiectus aliquando? an qui scit se intus fuisse et foras actum, is potius pulsabit et ostium nouit? [11] Etiam, petite et accipietis ei competit qui sciebat a quo esset petendum, a quo et erat aliquid repromissum, a Deo scilicet Abraham, Isaac et Iacob, quem nationes magis non nouerant quam ullam repromissionem eius. [12] Et adeo ad Israel loquebatur: non sum, inquit, missus nisi ad oues perditas domus Israel. [13] Nondum canibus iactabat panem filiorum, nondum in uiam nationum ire mandarant. [14] Siquidem in fine praecepit, ut uaderent ad docendas et tinguendas nationes, consecuturi mox Spiritum sanctum Paraclitum qui illos deducturus esset in omnem ueritatem. Et hoc ergo illos facit. [15] Quodsi nationibus destinati doctores apostoli ipsi quoque doctorem consecuturi erant paraclitum, multo magis uacabit erga nos quaerite et inuenietis, quibus ultro erat obuentura doctrina per apostolos et ipsis apostolis per Spiritum sanctum. [16] Omnia quidem dicta Domini omnibus posita sunt, per aures Iudaeorum ad nos transierunt sed pleraque in personas directa, non proprietatem admonitionis nobis constituerunt, sed exemplum.

IX. [1] Cedo nunc sponte de gradu isto. Omnibus dictum sit, quaerite et inuenietis; tamen et hic expedit sensus certa re cum interpretationis gubernaculo. [2] Nulla uox diuina ita dissoluta est et diffusa ut uerba tantum defendantur et ratio uerborum non constituatur. [3] Sed inprimis hoc propono, unum utique et certum aliquid institutum esse a Christo, quod credere omni

modo debeant nationes et idcirco quaerere ut possint, cum inuenerint, credere.

[4] Vnius porro et certi instituti infinita inquisitio non potest esse; quaerendum est donec inuenias et credendum ubi inueneris, et nihil amplius nisi custodiendum quod credidisti, dum hoc insuper credis, aliud non esse credendum ideoque nec requirendum cum id inueneris et credideris quod ab eo institutum est, qui non aliud tibi mandat inquirendum quam quod instituit.

[5] De hoc quidem, si quis dubitat, constabit penes nos esse id quod a Christo institutum est. [6] Interim ex fiducia probationis praeuenio admonens quosdam, nihil esse quaerendum ultra quod crediderunt, id esse, quod quaerere debuerunt, ne quaerite et inuenietis sine disciplina rationis interpretentur. X. [1]

Ratio autem dicti huius in tribus articulis constitit, in re, in tempore, in modo.

In re ut quid sit quaerendum consideres; in tempore ut quando; in modo ut quousque. [2] Igitur quaerendum est quod Christus instituit utique quamdiu non

inuenis, utique donec inuenias. Inuenisti autem cum credidisti. [3] Nam non credidisses si non inuenisses, sicut nec quaesisses nisi ut inuenires. [4] Ad hoc

ergo quaerens ut inuenias et ad hoc inueniens ut credas omnem prolationem quaerendi et inueniendi credendo fixisti. [5] Hunc tibi modum statuit fructus

ipse quaerendi. Hanc tibi fossam determinauit ipse, qui te non uult aliud credere quam quod instituit ideoque nec quaerere. [6] Ceterum si quia et alia

tanta ab aliis sunt instituta, propterea in tantum quaerere debemus, in quantum possumus inuenire, semper quaeremus et nunquam omnino credemus. [7] Vbi

enim erit finis quaerendi? ubi statio credendi? ubi expunctio inueniendi? Apud Marcionem? Sed et Valentinus proponit: quaerite et inuenietis. [8] Apud

Valentinum? Sed et Apelles hac me pronuntiatione pulsabit; et Hebion et Simon et omnes ex ordine non habent aliud quo se mihi insinuantes me sibi

adducant. [9] Erit itaque nusquam, dum ubique conuenio quaerite et inuenietis et uelut si nusquam et quasi qui numquam apprehenderim illud quod Christus

instituit, quod quaeri oportet, quod credi necesse est. XI. [1] Impune erratur nisi delinquatur, quamuis et errare delinquere est; impune, inquam, uagatur qui

nihil deserit. [2] At enim si quod debui credere credidi et aliud denuo puto requirendum, spero utique aliud esse inueniendum, nullo modo speraturus

istud nisi quia aut non credideram qui uidebar credidisse aut desii credidisse. [3] Ita fidem meam deserens, negator inuenior. Semel dixerim : nemo quaerit

nisi qui aut non habuit aut perdidit. [4] Perdiderat unam ex decem drachmis anus illa et ideo quaerebat : ubi tamen inuenit, quaerere desiit. [5] Panem

uicinus non habebat et ideo pulsabat : ubi tamen apertum est ei et accepit, pulsare cessauit. [6] Vidua a iudice petebat audiri quia non admittebatur : sed ubi audita est, hactenus institit. [7] Adeo finis est et quaerendi et pulsandi et petendi. Petenti enim dabitur, inquit, et pulsanti aperietur et quaerenti inuenietur. [8] Viderit qui quaerit semper quia non inuenit; illic enim quaerit ubi non inuenietur. [9] Viderit qui semper pulsat quia numquam aperietur : illuc enim pulsat ubi nemo est. [10] Viderit qui semper petit quia numquam audietur; ab eo enim petit qui non audit. XII. [1] Nobis etsi quaerendum esset adhuc et semper, ubi tamen quaeri oportet? apud haereticos? ubi omnia extranea et aduersaria nostrae ueritatis ad quos uetamur accedere? [2] Quis seruus cibaria ab extraneo, ne dicam ab inimico domini sui sperat? Quis miles ab infoederatis, ne dicam ab hostibus regibus donatium et stipendium captat nisi plane desertor et transfuga et rebellis? [3] Etiam anus illa intra tectum suum dragmam requirebat, etiam pulsator ille uicini ianuam tundeat, etiam uidua illa non inimicum licet durum iudicem interpellabat. [4] Nemo inde instrui potest unde destruitur; nemo ab eo inluminatur a quo contenebratur. [5] Quaeramus ergo in nostro et a nostris et de nostro : idque dumtaxat quod salua regula fidei potest in quaestionem deuenire. XIII. [1] Regula est autem fidei, ut iam hinc quid defendamus profiteamur, illa scilicet qua creditur. [2] Vnum omnino Deum esse nec alium praeter mundi conditorem qui uniuersa de nihilo produxerit per uerbum suum primo omnium emissum. [3] Id uerbum filium eius appellatum in nomine Dei uarie uisum a patriarchis, in prophetis semper auditum, postremo delatum ex spiritu patris Dei et uirtute in uirginem Mariam, carnem factum in utero eius et ex ea natum egisse Iesum Christum. [4] Exinde praedicasse nouam legem et nouam promissionem regni caelorum, uirtutes fecisse, cruci fixum, tertia die resurrexisse, in caelos ereptum sedisse ad dexteram patris, [5] misisse uicariam uim spiritus sancti qui credentes agat, uenturum cum claritate ad sumendos sanctos in uitae aeternae et promissorum caelestium fructum et ad profanos adiudicandos igni perpetuo, facta utriusque partis resurrectione cum carnis restitutione. [6] Haec regula a Christo, ut probabitur, instituta nullas habet apud nos quaestiones nisi quas haereses inferunt et quae haereticos faciunt. XIV. [1] Ceterum manente forma eius in suo ordine quantumlibet quaeras et tractes et omnem libidinem curiositatis effundas, si quid tibi uidetur uel ambiguitate pendere uel obscuritate obumbrari : [2] est utique frater aliqui doctor gratia scientiae donatus, est aliqui

inter exercitatos conuersatus, aliqui tecum, curiosius tamen quaerens. Nouissime ignorare melius est ne quod non debeas noris quia quod debeas nosti. [3] Fides, inquit, tua te saluum fecit, non exercitatio scripturarum. [4] Fides in regula posita est, habet legem et salutem de obseruatione legis. Exercitatio autem in curiositate consistit, habens gloriam solam de peritiae studio. [5] Cedat curiositas fidei, cedat gloria saluti. Certe aut non obstrepant aut quiescant. Aduersus regulam nihil scire omnia scire est. [6] Vt non inimici essent ueritatis haeretici, ut de refugiendis eis non praemoneremur, quale est conferre cum hominibus qui et ipsi adhuc se quaerere profiteantur? [7] Si enim uere adhuc quaerunt, nihil adhuc certi reppererunt, et ideo quaecumque uidentur interim tenere, dubitationem suam ostendunt, quamdiu quaerunt. [8] Itaque tu, qui perinde quaeris, spectans ad eos qui et ipsi quaerunt, dubius ad dubios, incertus ad incertos, caecus a caecis in foueam deducaris necesse est. [9] Sed cum decipiendi gratia praetendunt se adhuc quaerere ut nobis per sollicitudinis iniunctionem tractatus suos insinuent, denique ubi adierint ad nos statim quae dicebant quaerenda esse defendunt, iam illos sic debemus refutare ut sciant nos non Christo, sed sibi negatores esse. [10] Cum enim quaerunt adhuc, nondum tenent; cum autem nondum tenent, nondum crediderunt; cum autem nondum crediderunt non sunt christiani. [11] At cum tenent quidem et credunt, quaerendum tamen dicunt ut defendant. [12] Antequam defendant, negant quod credunt, confitentes se nondum credidisse dum quaerunt. [13] Qui ergo nec sibi sunt christiani, quanto magis nobis? Qui per fallaciam ueniunt, qualem fidem disputant? Cui ueritati patrocinantur qui eam a mendacio inducunt? [14] ‘Sed ipsi de scripturis agunt, et de scripturis suadent’? Aliunde scilicet loqui possent de rebus fidei nisi ex literis fidei? XV. [1] Venimus igitur ad propositum. Huc enim dirigebamus et hoc praestruēbamus allocutionis praefatione, ut iam hinc de eo congregiamur, de quo aduersarii prouocant. [2] Scripturas obtendunt et hac sua audacia statim quosdam mouent. In ipso uero congressu firmos quidem fatigant, infirmos capiunt, medios cum scrupulo dimittunt. [3] Hunc igitur potissimum gradum obstruimus non admittendos eos ad ullam de scripturis disputationem. [4] Si hae sunt illae uires eorum, uti eas habere possint, dispici debet cui competat possessio scripturarum, ne is admittatur ad eas cui nullo modo competit. XVI. [1] Hoc de consilio diffidentiae aut de studio aliter ineundae constitutionis induxerim, nisi ratio constiterit, inprimis illa, quod fides nostra obsequium apostolo debeat

prohibenti quaestiones inire, nouis uocibus aures accommodare, haereticum post unam correptionem conuenire, non post disputationem. [2] Adeo interdixit disputationem correptionem designans causam haeretici conueniendi. Et hoc unam, scilicet quia non est christianus, ne more christiani semel et iterum, et sub duobus aut tribus testibus castigandus uideretur, cum ob hoc sit castigandus propter quod non sit cum illo disputandum. Dehinc quoniam nihil proficiat congressio scripturarum, nisi plane ut aut stomachi quis ineat euersionem, aut cerebri. XVII. [1] Ista haeresis non recipit quasdam scripturas; et si quas recipit, non recipit integras adiectionibus et detractationibus ad dispositionem instituti sui interuertit, et si aliquatenus integras praestat, nihilominus diuersas expositiones commentata conuertit. [2] Tantum ueritati obstreperit adulter sensus quantum et corruptor stylus; uanae praesumptiones necessario nolunt agnoscere ea per quae reuincuntur; [3] his nituntur quae ex falso composuerunt et quae de ambiguitate ceperunt. [4] Quid promouebis, exercitatissime scripturarum, cum si quid defenderis, negetur ex diuerso, si quid negaueris defendatur? [5] Et tu quidem nihil perdes nisi uocem in contentione, nihil consequeris nisi bilem de blasphematione. XVIII. [1] Ille uero, si quis est cuius causa in congressum descendis scripturarum ut eum dubitantem confirmes, ad ueritatem an magis ad haereses deuerget? [2] Hoc ipso motus quod te uideat nihil promouisse, aequo gradu negandi et defendendi diuersa parte, statu certe pari, altercatione incertior discedet, nesciens quam haeresin iudicet. [3] Haec utique et ipsi habent in nos retorquere. Necesse est enim et illos dicere a nobis potius adulteria scripturarum et expositionum mendacia inferri, qui proinde sibi defendant ueritatem. XIX. [1] Ergo non ad scripturas prouocandum est nec in his constituendum certamen in quibus aut nulla aut incerta uictoria est aut parum certa. [2] Nam etsi non ita euaderet conlatio scripturarum ut utramque partem parem sisteret, ordo rerum desiderabat illud prius proponi quod nunc solum disputandum est: quibus competat fides ipsa, cuius sunt scripturae, a quo et per quos et quando et quibus sit tradita disciplina, qua fiunt christiani. [3] Vbi enim apparuerit esse ueritatem et disciplinae et fidei christianae, illic erit ueritas scripturarum et expositionum et omnium traditionum christianarum. XX. [1] Christus Iesus, Dominus noster, permittat dicere interim, quisquis est, cuiuscumque Dei filius, cuiuscumque materiae homo et Deus, cuiuscumque fidei praeceptor, cuiuscumque mercedis repromissor, [2] quid esset, quid

fuisse, quam patris uoluntatem administraret, quid homini agendum determinaret, quamdiu in terris agebat, ipse pronuntiabat siue populo palam, siue discentibus seorsum, ex quibus duodecim praecipuos lateri suo allegerat destinatos nationibus magistros. [3] Itaque uno eorum decusso reliquos undecim digrediens ad patrem post resurrectionem iussit ire et docere nationes tinguendas in Patrem et in Filium et in Spiritum sanctum. [4] Statim igitur apostoli - quos haec appellatio missos interpretatur - adsumpto per sortem duodecimo Matthia in locum Iudae ex auctoritate prophetiae quae est in psalmo Daudid, consecuti promissam uim Spiritus sancti ad uirtutes et eloquium, primo per Iudaeam contestata fide in Iesum Christum et ecclesiis institutis, dehinc in orbem profecti eandem doctrinam eiusdem fidei nationibus promulgauerunt. [5] Et perinde ecclesias apud unamquamque ciuitatem condiderunt, a quibus traducem fidei et semina doctrinae ceterae exinde ecclesiae mutuatae sunt et cottidie mutantur ut ecclesiae fiant. [6] Ac per hoc et ipsae apostolicae deputantur ut soboles apostolicarum ecclesiarum. [7] Omne genus ad originem suam censeatur necesse est. Itaque tot ac tantae ecclesiae una est illa ab apostolis prima, ex qua omnes. [8] Sic omnes primae et omnes apostolicae, dum una omnes. Probant unitatem communicatio pacis et appellatio fraternitatis et contesseratio hospitalitatis. [9] Quae iura non alia ratio regit quam eiusdem sacramenti una traditio. XXI. [1] Hinc igitur dirigimus praescriptionem: si Dominus Christus Iesus apostolos misit ad praedicandum, alios non esse recipiendos praedicatores quam Christus instituit, [2] quia nec alius patrem nouit nisi filius et cui filius reuelauit, nec aliis uidetur reuelasse filius quam apostolis quos misit ad praedicandum utique quod illis reuelauit. [3] Quid autem praedicauerint, id est quid illis Christus reuelauerit, et hic praescribam non aliter probari debere nisi per easdem ecclesias quas ipsi apostoli condiderunt, ipsi eis praedicando tam uiua, quod aiunt, uoce quam per epistolas postea. [4] Si haec ita sunt, constat proinde omnem doctrinam, quae cum illis ecclesiis apostolicis matricibus et originalibus fidei conspiret, ueritati deputandam, id sine dubio tenentem, quod ecclesiae ab apostolis, apostoli a Christo, Christus a Deo accepit; [5] omnem uero doctrinam de mendacio praeiudicandam quae sapiat contra ueritatem ecclesiarum et apostolorum Christi et Dei. [6] Superest ergo uti demonstramus, an haec nostra doctrina cuius regulam supra edidimus de apostolorum traditione censeatur et hoc ipso an ceterae de mendacio ueniant. [7] Communicamus cum ecclesiis

apostolicis quod nulla doctrina diuersa: hoc est testimonium ueritatis. XXII. [1] Sed quoniam tam expedita probatio est ut si statim proferatur, nihil iam sit retractandum, ac si prolata non sit a nobis, locum interim demus diuersae parti, si quid putant ad infirmandam hanc praescriptionem mouere se posse. [2] Solent dicere non omnia apostolos scisse, eadem agitati dementia qua susum rursus conuertunt, omnia quidem apostolos scisse sed non omnia omnibus tradidisse, in utroque Christum reprehensioni inicientes qui aut minus instructos aut parum simplices apostolos miserit. [3] Quis igitur integrae mentis credere potest aliquid eos ignorasse quos magistros Dominus dedit, indiuiduos habens in comitatu in discipulatu in conuictu, quibus obscura quaeque seorsum disserebat, illis dicens datum esse cognoscere arcana quae populo intelligere non liceret? [4] Latuit aliquid Petrum, aedificandae ecclesiae petram dictum, clausus regni caelorum consecutum et soluendi et alligandi in caelis et in terris potestatem? [5] Latuit et Ioannem aliquid, dilectissimum Domino, pectori eius incubantem cui soli Dominus Iudam traditorem praemonstrauit, quem loco suo filium Mariae demandauit? [6] Quid eos ignorasse uoluit quibus etiam gloriam suam exhibuit, et Moysen et Heliam et insuper de caelo patris uocem? non quasi ceteros reprobans sed quoniam in tribus testibus stabit omne uerbum. [7] Ignorauerunt itaque et illi quibus post resurrectionem quoque in itinere omnes scripturas disserere dignatus est. [8] Dixerat plane aliquando: Multa habeo adhuc loqui uobis, sed non potestis modo ea sustinere, [9] tamen adiiciens: Cum uenerit ille spiritus ueritatis, ipse uos deducet in omnem ueritatem, ostendit illos nihil ignorasse quos omnem ueritatem consecuturos per spiritum ueritatis repromiserat. [10] Et utique impleuit repromissum, probantibus actis apostolorum descensum spiritus sancti. [11] Quam scripturam qui non recipiunt nec spiritus sancti esse possunt, qui necdum spiritum sanctum possunt agnoscere discentibus missum. Sed nec ecclesiam se defendere qui, quando et quibus incunabulis institutum est hoc corpus, probare non habent. [12] Tanti est enim illis non habere probationes eorum quae defendunt, ne pariter admittantur traductiones eorum quae mentiuntur.

XXIII. [1] Proponunt ergo ad suggillandam ignorantiam aliquam apostolorum quod Petrus et qui cum eo reprehensi sunt a Paulo. [2] ‘Adeo’, inquiunt, ‘aliquid eis defuit’, ut ex hoc etiam illud struant potuisse postea pleniorē scientiam superuenire, qualis obuenerit Paulo reprehendendi antecessores. [3] Possum et hic acta apostolorum repudiantibus dicere: ‘Prius

est ut ostendatis quis iste Paulus et quid ante apostolum et quomodo apostolus', quatenus et alias ad quaestiones plurimum eo utuntur. [4] Neque enim, si ipse se apostolum de persecutore profitetur, sufficit unicuique examine credenti, quando nec Dominus ipse de se testimonium dixerit. [5] Sed credant sine scripturis ut credant aduersus scripturas. Tamen doceant ex eo quod allegant Petrum a Paulo reprehensum aliam euangelii formam a Paulo superductam citra eam quam praemisera Petrus et ceteri. [6] Atquin demutatus in praedicatorem de persecutore deducitur ad fratres a fratribus ut unus ex fratribus, ad illos ab illis, qui ab apostolis fidem induerant. [7] Dehinc, sicut ipse enarrat, ascendit Hierosolymam cognoscendi Petri causa, ex officio et iure scilicet eiusdem fidei et praedicationis. [8] Nam et illi non essent mirati de persecutore factum praedicatorem si aliquid contrarium praedicaret nec Dominum praeterea magnificassent quia aduersarius eius Paulus obuenerat. [9] Itaque et dexteram ei dederunt, signum concordiae et conuenientiae, et inter se distributionem officii ordinauerunt, non separationem euangelii nec ut aliud alter sed ut aliis alter praedicarent, Petrus in circumcisionem, Paulus in nationes. [10] Ceterum si reprehensus est Petrus quod, cum conuixisset ethnicis, postea se a conuictu eorum separabat personarum respectu, utique conuersationis fuit uitium, non praedicationis. [11] Non enim ex hoc alius Deus quam creator et alius Christus quam ex Maria, et alia spes quam resurrectio annuntiabatur.

XXIV. [1] Non mihi tam bene est, immo non mihi tam male est ut apostolos committam. [2] Sed quoniam peruersissimi isti illam reprehensionem ad hoc obtendunt ut suspectam faciant doctrinam superiorem, respondebo quasi pro Petro: ipsum Paulum dixisse factum se esse omnibus omnia, Iudaeis Iudaeum, non Iudaeis non Iudaeum ut omnes lucrificaret. [3] Adeo pro temporibus et personis et causis quaedam reprehendebant, in quae et ipsi aequae pro temporibus et personis et causis committebant, quemadmodum si et Petrus reprehenderet Paulum quod prohibens circumcisionem circumciderit ipse Timotheum. [4] Viderint qui de Apostolis iudicant. Bene quod Petrus Paulo et in martyrio adaequatur. [5] Sed et si in tertium usque caelum ereptus Paulus et in paradysum delatus audiit quaedam illic, non possunt uideri fuisse quae illum in aliam doctrinam instructiorem praestarent, cum ita fuerit condicio eorum ut nulli hominum proderentur. [6] Quod si ad alicuius conscientiam manauit nescio quid illud et hoc se aliqua haeresis sequi affirmat aut Paulus secreti

proditus reus est, aut et alius postea in paradysum ereptus debet ostendi cui permissum sit eloqui quae Paulo mutire non licuit.

XXV. [1] Sed, ut diximus, eadem dementia est cum confitentur quidem nihil apostolos ignorasse nec diuersa inter se praedicasse, non tamen omnia uolunt illos omnibus reuelasse. [2] Quaedam enim palam et uniuersis, quaedam secreto et paucis demandasse quia et hoc uerbo usus est Paulus ad Timotheum: O Timothee, depositum custodi, et rursum: Bonum depositum serua. [3] Quod hoc depositum est? tacitum ut alteri doctrinae deputetur? [4] An illius denuntiationis, de qua ait: Hanc denuntiationem commendo apud te, filiule Timothee? [5] Item illius praecepti de quo ait: Denuntio tibi ante Deum, qui uiuificat omnia et Iesum Christum, qui testatus est sub Pontio Pilato bonam confessionem, custodias praeceptum? [6] Quod autem praeceptum et quae denuntiatio? Ex supra et infra scriptis intelligere erat, non nescio quid subostendi hoc dicto de remotiore doctrina sed potius inculcari de non admittenda alia praeter eam quam audierat ab ipso, et puto coram multis, inquit, testibus. [7] Quos multos testes si nolunt ecclesiam intelligi, nihil interest, quando nihil tacitum fuerit quod sub multis testibus proferebatur. [8] Sed nec quia uoluit illum haec fidelibus hominibus demandare, qui idonei sint et alios docere, id quoque ad argumentum occulti alicuius euangelii interpretandum est. [9] Nam cum dicit haec, de eis dicit de quibus in praesenti scribebat; de occultis autem, ut de absentibus apud conscientiam, non haec sed illa dixisset.

XXVI. [1] Porro consequens erat, ut cui demandabat euangelii administrationem, non passim nec inconsiderate administrandam adiceret secundum dominicam uocem ‘ne margaritam porcis et sanctum canibus iactaret’. [2] Dominus palam edixit, sine ulla significatione alicuius taciti sacramenti; ipse praeceperat si quid in tenebris et in abscondito audissent, in luce et in tectis praedicarent. [3] Ipse per similitudinem praefigurauerat ne unam mnam, id est unum uerbum eius, sine fructu in abdito reseruarent. [4] Ipse docebat lucernam non sub modium abstrudi solere sed in candelabrum constitui ut luceat omnibus qui in domo sunt. [5] Haec apostoli aut neglexerunt aut minime intellexerunt si non adimpleuerunt abscondentes aliquid de lumine, id est, de Dei uerbo et Christi sacramento. [6] Neminem, quod scio uerebantur, non Iudaeorum uim, non ethnicorum. Quo magis utique in ecclesia libere praedicabant qui in synagogis et in locis publicis non tacebant.

[7] Immo neque Iudaeos conuertere neque ethnicos inducere potuissent nisi, quod credi ab eis uolebant, ordine exponerent. [8] Multo magis iam credentibus ecclesiis nihil subtraxissent quod aliis paucis seorsum demandarent. [9] Quamquam, etsi quaedam inter domesticos, ut ita dixerim, disserebant, non tamen ea fuisse credendum est, quae aliam regulam fidei superducerent, diuersam et contrariam illi quam catholicae in medium proferebant, [10] ut alium Deum in ecclesia dicerent, alium in hospitio, aliam Christi substantiam designarent in aperto, aliam in secreto, aliam spem resurrectionis apud omnes annuntiarent, aliam apud paucos, [11] cum ipsi obsecrarent in epistulis suis, ut idipsum et unum loquerentur omnes et non essent scismata et dissensiones in ecclesia, quia siue Paulus siue alii, eadem praedicarent. [12] Alioquin meminerant, Sit sermo uester, est est, non non. Nam quod amplius hoc, a malo est, ne euangelium in diuersitate tractarent. XXVII. [1] Si ergo incredibile est uel ignorasse apostolos plenitudinem praedicationis uel non omnem ordinem regulae omnibus edidisse, uideamus ne forte apostoli quidem simpliciter et plene, ecclesiae autem suo uitio aliter acceperint quam apostoli proferebant. [2] Omnia ista scrupulositatis incitamenta inuenias praetendi ab haereticis. [3] Tenent correptas ab apostolo ecclesias: O insensati Galatae, quis uos fascinauit? et: Tam bene currebatis, quis uos impediit? ipsumque principium: Miror, quod sic tam cito transferemini ab eo qui uos uocauit in gratia, ad aliud euangelium; [4] item ad Corinthios scriptum quod essent adhuc carnales qui lacte educarentur, nondum idonei ad pabulum, qui putarent se scire aliquid quando nondum scirent quemadmodum scire oporteret. [5] Cum correptas ecclesias opponunt, credant et emendatas. [6] Sed et illas recognoscant de quarum fide et scientia et conuersatione apostolus gaudet et Deo gratias agit; quae tamen hodie cum illis correptis unius institutionis iura miscent. XXVIII. [1] Age nunc, omnes errauerint, deceptus sit et apostolus de testimonio reddendo quibusdam; nullam respexerit Spiritus sanctus uti eam in ueritatem deduceret, ad hoc missus a Christo, ad hoc postulatus de patre ut esset doctor ueritatis. Neglexerit officium Dei uillicus, Christi uicarius, sinens ecclesias aliter interim intelligere, aliter credere quod ipse per apostolos praedicabat; ecquid uerisimile est ut tot ac tantae in unam fidem errauerint? [2] Nullus inter multos euentus unus est exitus: uariasse debuerat error doctrinae ecclesiarum. [3] Ceterum quod apud multos unum inuenitur, non est erratum sed traditum. [4] Audeat ergo aliquis dicere illos errasse qui tradiderunt! XXIX. [1] Quoquo

modo sit erratum, tamdiu utique regnauit error, quamdiu haereses non erant. [2] Aliquos Marcionitas et Valentinianos liberanda ueritas expectabat. [3] Interea perperam euangelizabatur, perperam credebatur, tot milia milium perperam tincta, tot opera fidei perperam ministrata, tot uirtutes, tot charismata perperam operata, tot sacerdotia, tot ministeria perperam functa, tot denique martyria perperam coronata. [4] Aut si non perperam nec in uacuum, quale est ut ante res Dei current quam cuius Dei notum esset? ante christiani quam Christus inuentus? Ante haereses quam uera doctrina? [5] Sed enim in omnibus ueritas imaginem antecedit, post rem similitudo succedit. [6] Ceterum satis ineptum ut prior in doctrina haeresis habeatur, uel quoniam ipsa est quae futuras haereses et cauendas praenuntiabat. [7] Ad eius doctrinae ecclesiam scriptum est, immo ipsa doctrina ad ecclesiam suam scribit: Et si angelus de caelo aliter euangelizauerit citra quam nos, anathema sit. XXX. [1] Vbi tunc Marcion, ponticus nauclerus, Stoicae studiosus? ubi Valentinus Platonicae sectator? [2] Nam constat illos neque adeo olim fuisse, Antonini fere principatu, et in catholicae primo doctrinam credidisse apud ecclesiam Romanensem sub episcopatu Eleutherii benedicti, donec ob inquietam semper eorum curiositatem, qua fratres quoque uitabant, semel et iterum eiecti, Marcion quidem cum ducentis sestertiis quae ecclesiae intulerat, nouissime in perpetuum discidium relegati, uenena doctrinarum suarum disseminauerunt. [3] Postmodum Marcion paenitentiam confessus cum condicioni datae sibi occurrit, ita pacem recepturus si ceteros quoque, quos perditioni erudisset, ecclesiae restitueret, morte praeuentus est. [4] Oportebat enim haereses esse. Nec tamen ideo bonum haereses quia esse eas oportebat. Quasi non et malum oportuerit esse. Nam et Dominum tradi oportebat sed uae traditori! ne quis etiam hinc haereses defendat. [5] Si et Apellis stemma retractandum est, tam non uetus et ipse quam Marcion institutor et praeformator eius, sed lapsus in feminam desertor continentiae Marcionensis, ab oculis sanctissimi magistri Alexandriam secessit. [6] Inde post annos regressus non melior nisi tantum quam iam non Marcionites, in alteram feminam impegit, illam uirginem Philumenen, quam supra edidimus, postea uero inmane prostibulum et ipsam, cuius energemate circumuentus, quas ab ea didicit Fanerw&seij scripsit. [7] Adhuc in saeculo supersunt qui meminerint eorum, etiam proprii discentes et successores ipsorum ne se posteriores negare possint. [8] Quamquam et de operibus suis, ut dixit Dominus, reuincuntur. [9] Si enim Marcion nouum

testamentum a uetere separauit, posterior est eo quod separauit quia separare non posset nisi quod unitum fuit. [10] Vnitum ergo antequam separaretur postea separatum posteriorem ostendit separatorem. [11] Item Valentinus aliter exponens et sine dubio emendans hoc nomine quicquid emendat, ut mendosum retro, antierius fuisse demonstrat. [12] Hos ut insigniores et frequentiores adulteros ueritatis nominamus. [13] Ceterum et Nigidius nescio qui et Hermogenes et multi alii adhuc ambulant peruertentes uias Domini. Cupio, ostendant mihi ex qua auctoritate prodierint. [14] Si alium deum praedicant, quomodo eius Dei rebus et litteris nominibus utuntur aduersus quem praedicant? Si eundem, quomodo aliter? [15] Proben se nouos apostolos esse, dicant Christum iterum descendisse, iterum ipsum docuisse, iterum crucifixum, iterum mortuum, iterum resuscitatum. [16] Sic enim apostolos solet facere, dare praeterea illis uirtutem eadem signa edendi quae et ipse. [17] Volo igitur et uirtutes eorum proferri, nisi quod agnosco maximam uirtutem eorum qua apostolos in peruersum aemulantur. Illi enim de mortuis uiuos faciebant, isti de uiuis mortuos faciunt. XXXI. [1] Sed ab excessu reuertar ad principalitatem ueritatis et posteritatem mendacitatis disputandam, ex illius quoque parabola patrocinio quae bonum semen frumenti a Domino seminatum in primore constituit, auenarum autem sterilis faeni adulterium ab inimico diabolo postea superducit. [2] Proprie enim doctrinarum distinctionem figurat quia et alibi uerbum Dei seminis similitudo est. [3] Ita ex ipso ordine manifestatur id esse dominicum et uerum quod sit prius traditum, id autem extraneum et falsum quod sit posterius immissum. [4] Ea sententia manebit aduersus posteriores quasque haereses, quibus nulla constantia de conscientia competit ad defendendam sibi ueritatem. XXXII. [1] Ceterum si quae audent interserere se aetati apostolicae ut ideo uideantur ab apostolis traditae quia sub apostolis fuerunt, possumus dicere: edant ergo origines ecclesiarum suarum, euoluant ordinem episcoporum suorum, ita per successionem ab initio decurrentem ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex apostolis uel apostolicis uiris, qui tamen cum apostolis perseuerauerit, habuerit auctorem et antecessorem. [2] Hoc enim modo ecclesiae apostolicae census suos deferunt, sicut Smyrnaeorum ecclesia Polycarpum ab Iohanne conlocatum refert, sicut Romanorum Clementem a Petro ordinatum est. [3] Perinde utique et ceterae exhibent quos ab apostolis in episcopatum constitutos apostolici seminis traduces habeant. [4] Configant tale aliquid haeretici. Quid enim illis post

blasphemiam illicitum est? [5] Sed etsi confinxerint, nihil promouebunt. Ipsa enim doctrina eorum cum apostolica comparata ex diuersitate et contrarietate sua pronuntiabit neque apostoli alicuius auctoris esse neque apostolici quia, sicut apostoli non diuersa inter se docuissent, ita et apostolici non contraria apostolis edidissent nisi illi, qui ab apostolis didicerunt, aliter praedicauerunt. [6] Ad hanc itaque formam prouocabuntur ab illis ecclesiis quae, licet nullum ex apostolis uel apostolicis auctorem suum proferant, ut multo posteriores, quae denique cottidie instituuntur, tamen in eadem fide conspirantes non minus apostolicae deputantur pro consanguinitate doctrinae. [7] Ita omnes haereses ad utramque formam a nostris ecclesiis prouocatae probent se quaquam putant apostolicas. [8] Sed adeo nec sunt nec probare possunt quod non sunt, nec recipiuntur in pacem et communicationem ab ecclesiis quoquo modo apostolicis, scilicet ob diuersitatem sacramenti nullo modo apostolicae. XXXIII. [1] Adhibeo super haec ipsarum doctrinarum recognitionem quae tunc sub apostolis fuerunt ab isdem apostolis et demonstratae et deieratae. [2] Nam et sic facilius traducentur dum aut iam tunc fuisse deprehenduntur aut ex illis quae iam tunc fuerunt, semina sumpsisse. [3] Paulus, in prima ad Corinthios notat negatores et dubitatores resurrectionis : haec opinio propria Sadducaeorum. [4] Partem eius usurpat Marcion et Apelles et Valentinus et si qui alii resurrectionem carnis infringunt. [5] Et ad Galatas scribens inuehitur in obseruatores et defensores circumcisionis et legis, Hebionis haeresis sic est. [6] Timotheum instruens nuptiarum quoque interdictores suggillat. Ita instituunt Marcion et Apelles eius secutor. [7] Aequae tangit eos qui dicerent factam iam resurrectionem : id de se Valentiniani asseuerant. [8] Sed et cum genealogias indeterminatas nominat, Valentinus agnoscitur, apud quem Aeon ille nescio qui noui et non unius nominis generat e sua Charite Sensum et Veritatem; et hi aequae procreant ex se Sermonem et Vitam, dehinc et isti generant Hominem et Ecclesiam de qua prima ogdoade Aeonum exinde decem alii et duodecim reliqui Aeones miris nominibus oriuntur in meram fabulam triginta Aeonum. [9] Idem apostolus, cum improbat elementis seruientes, aliquid Hermogenis ostendit qui, materiam non natam introducens Deo non nato eam comparat et ita matrem elementorum deam faciens potest ei seruire quam Deo comparat. [10] Ioannes uero in Apocalypsi idolothyta edentes et stupra committentes iubetur castigare: sunt et nunc alii Nicolaitae, Caiana haeresis dicitur. [11] At in epistula eos maxime antichristos uocat qui Christum negarent in carne uenisse

et qui non putarent Iesum esse filium Dei: illud Marcion, hoc Hebion uindicauit. [12] Simonianae autem magiae disciplina angelis seruiens utique et ipsa inter idololatrias deputabatur, et a Petro apostolo in ipso Simone damnabatur.

XXXIV. [1] Haec sunt, ut arbitror, genera doctrinarum adulterinarum quae sub apostolis fuisse ab ipsis apostolis discimus. [2] Et tamen nullam inuenimus institutionem inter tot diuersitates peruersitatum quae de Deo creatore uniuersorum controuersiam mouerit. [3] Nemo alterum deum ausus est suspicari, facilius de filio quam de patre haesitabatur, donec Marcion praeter Creatorem alium Deum solius bonitatis induceret. [4] Apelles creatorem angelum nescio quem gloriosum superioris Dei faceret deum legis et Israelis, illum igneum affirmans, Valentinus Aeonas suos spargeret et unius Aeonis uitium in originem deduceret Dei creatoris. [5] His solis et his primis reuelata est ueritas diuinitatis, maiorem scilicet dignationem et plenior gratiam a diabolo consecutis qui Deum sic quoque uoluerit aemulari, ut de doctrinis uenenorum, quod Dominus negauit, ipse faceret discipulos super magistrum. [6] Eligant igitur sibi tempora uniuersae haereses quae quando fuerint - dum non intersit quae quando dum de ueritate non sint - et utique quae sub apostolis non fuerunt, fuisse non possunt. [7] Si enim fuissent, nominarentur et ipsae ut et ipsae coercendae; quae uero sub apostolis fuerunt, in sua nominatione damnantur. [8] Siue ergo eadem nunc sunt aliquanto expolitiores quae sub apostolis rudes, habent suam exinde damnationem, siue aliae quidem fuerunt, aliae autem postea obortae, quidam ex illis opinionis usurpauerunt, habendo cum eis consortium praedicationis habeant necesse est etiam consortium damnationis, praecedente illo fine supradicto posteritatis, quo etsi nihil de damnaticis participarent, de aetate sola praeiudicarentur, tanto magis adulterae quanto nec ab apostolis nominatae. [9] Vnde firmitus constat has esse quae adhuc tunc nuntiabantur futurae.

XXXV. [1] His definitionibus prouocatae a nobis et reuictae haereses omnes, siue quae posterae, siue quae coaetanae apostolorum, dummodo diuersae, siue generaliter siue specialiter notatae ab eis, dummodo praedamnatae, audeant respondere et ipsae aliquas eiusmodi praescriptiones aduersus nostram disciplinam. [2] Si enim negant ueritatem eius, debent probare illam quoque haeresin esse, eadem forma reuictam qua ipsae reuincuntur, et ostendere simul ubinam quaerenda sit ueritas quam apud illas non esse iam

constat. [3] Posterior nostra res non est, immo omnibus prior est. Hoc erit testimonium ueritatis ubique occupantis principatum. [4] Apostolis non damnatur, immo defenditur: hoc erit indicium proprietatis; [5] quam enim non damnant qui extraneam quamque damnarunt, suam ostendunt, ideoque et defendunt.

XXXVI. [1] Age iam, qui uoles curiositatem melius exercere in negotio salutis tuae, percurrere ecclesias apostolicas apud quas ipsae adhuc cathedrae apostolorum suis locis praesident, apud quas ipsae authenticae litterae eorum recitantur sonantes uocem et repraesentantes faciem uniuscuiusque . [2] Proxima est tibi Achaia, habes Corinthum. Si non longe es a Macedonia, habes Philippos; si potes in Asiam tendere, habes Ephesum; si autem Italiae adiaces , habes Romam unde nobis quoque auctoritas praesto est . [3] Ista quam felix ecclesia cui totam doctrinam apostoli cum sanguine suo profuderunt, ubi Petrus passioni dominicae adaequatur, ubi Paulus Ioannis exitu coronatur, ubi apostolus Ioannes posteaquam in oleum igneum demersus nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur; [4] uideamus quid didicerit, quid docuerit: cum Africanis quoque ecclesiis contesseratis, [5] unum Deum Dominum nouit, creatorem uniuersitatis, et Christum Iesum ex uirgine Maria filium Dei creatoris, et carnis resurrectionem, legem et prophetas cum euangelicis et apostolicis litteris miscet, et inde potat fidem; eam aqua signat, sancto spiritu uestit, eucharistia pascit, martyrium exhortatur et ita aduersus hanc institutionem neminem recipit. [6] Haec est institutio, non dico iam quae futuras haereses praenuntiabat sed de qua haereses prodierunt. Sed non sunt ex illa , ex quo factae sunt aduersus illam. [7] Etiam de oliuae nucleo mitis et optimae et necessariae asper oleaster oritur; etiam de papauere ficus gratissimae et suauissimae uentosa et uana caprificus exsurgit. [8] Ita et haereses de nostro frutice, non nostro genere, ueritatis grano sed mendacio siluestres.

XXXVII. [1] Si haec ita se habent, ut ueritas nobis adiudicetur, quicumque in ea regula incedimus quam ecclesiae ab apostolis, apostoli a Christo, Christus a Deo tradidit, constat ratio propositi nostri definientis non esse admittendos haereticos ad ineundam de scripturis prouocationem quos sine scripturis probamus ad scripturas non pertinere. [2] Si enim haeretici sunt, christiani esse non possunt, non a Christo habendo quod de sua electione sectati haeticorum nomine admittunt. [3] Ita non christiani nullum ius capiunt christianarum litterarum ad quos merito dicendum est: ‘ Qui estis? quando et

unde uenistis? quid in meo agitis, non mei? quo denique, Marcion, iure siluam meam caedis? qua licentia, Valentine, fontes meos transuertis? qua potestate, Apelles, limites meos commoues? [4] [mea est possessio,] Quid hic, ceteri, ad uoluntatem uestram seminatis et pascitis? Mea est possessio, olim possideo, prior possideo, habeo origines firmas ab ipsis auctoribus quorum fuit res. [5] Ego sum heres apostolorum. Sicut cauerunt testamento suo, sicut fidei commiserunt, sicut adiurauerunt, ita teneo. [6] Vos certe exheredauerunt semper et abdicauerunt ut extraneos, ut inimicos'. [7] Vnde autem extranei et inimici apostolis haeretici, nisi ex diuersitate doctrinae, quam unusquisque de suo arbitrio aduersus apostolos aut protulit aut recepit?

XXXVIII. [1] Illic igitur et scripturarum et expositionum adulteratio deputanda est ubi diuersitas doctrinae inuenitur. [2] Quibus fuit propositum aliter docendi, eos necessitas institit aliter disponendi instrumenta doctrinae. [3] Alias enim non potuissent aliter docere nisi aliter haberent per quae docerent. Sicut illis non potuisset succedere corruptela doctrinae sine corruptela instrumentorum eius, ita et nobis integritas doctrinae non competisset sine integritate eorum per quae doctrina tractatur. [4] Etenim quid contrarium nobis in nostris? Quid de proprio intulimus ut aliquid contrarium ei et in Scripturis deprehensum detractione uel adiectione uel transmutatione remediaremus? [5] Quod sumus, hoc sunt scripturae ab initio suo. Ex illis sumus, antequam nihil aliter fuit quam sumus; quid denique fuit, antequam a uobis interpolarentur? [6] Cum autem omnis interpolatio posterior credenda sit, ueniens utique ex causa aemulationis quae neque prior neque domestica unquam est eius quod aemulatur, tam incredibile est sapienti cuique ut nos adulterum stilum intulisse uideamur scripturis qui sumus et primi et ex ipsis, quam illos non intulisse qui sunt et posterius et aduersi. [7] Alius manu scripturas, alius sensus expositione interuertit. [8] Neque enim si Valentinus integro instrumento uti uidetur, non callidior ingenio quam Marcion manus intulit ueritati. [9] Marcion enim exerte et palam machaera, non stilo usus est, quoniam ad materiam suam caedem scripturarum confecit. [10] Valentinus autem pepercit quoniam non ad materiam scripturas sed materiam ad scripturas excogitauit. Et tamen plus abstulit et plus adiecit, auferens proprietates singulorum quoque uerborum et adiciens dispositiones non comparentium rerum.

XXXIX. [1] Haec sunt ingenia de spiritalibus nequitiae cum quibus luctatio est nobis, fratres, merito contemplanda, fidei necessaria ut electi

manifestentur, ut reprobi detegantur. [2] Et ideo habent uim et in excogitandis instruendisque erroribus facilitatem, non adeo mirandam quasi difficilem et inexplicabilem, cum de saecularibus quoque scripturis exemplum praesto sit eiusmodi facilitatis. [3] Vides hodie ex Virgilio fabulam in totum aliam componi, materia secundum uersus et uersibus secundum materiam concinnatis. [4] Denique Hosidius Geta Medeam tragoediam ex Virgilio plenissime exsuxit. Meus quidam propinquus ex eodem poeta inter cetera stili sui otia Pinacem Cebetis explicuit. [5] Homerocentones etiam uocari solent qui de carminibus Homeri propria opera more centonario ex multis hinc inde compositis in unum sarcium corpus. [6] Et utique fecundior diuina litteratura ad facultatem cuiuscumque materiae. [7] Nec periclitor dicere, ipsas quoque scripturas sic esse ex Dei uoluntate dispositas, ut haereticis materias subministrarent cum legam oportere haereses esse, quae sine scripturis esse non possunt.

XL. [1] Sed quaeritur, a quo intellectus interuertatur eorum quae ad haereses faciant? [2] A diabolo scilicet, cuius sunt partes interuertendi ueritatem qui ipsas quoque res sacramentorum diuinorum idolorum mysteriis aemulatur. [3] Tingit et ipse quosdam utique credentes et fideles suos; expositionem delictorum de lauacro repromittit, [4] et si adhuc memini Mithrae, signat illic in frontibus milites suos. Celebrat et panis oblationem et imaginem resurrectionis inducit et sub gladio redimit coronam. [5] Quid, quod et summum pontificem in unis nuptiis statuit? Habet et uirgines, habet et continentes. [6] Ceterum si Numae Pompilii superstitiones reuoluamus, si sacerdotalia officia et insignia et priuilegia, si sacrificantium ministeria et instrumenta et uasa, <si> ipsorum sacrificiorum ac piaculorum et uotorum curiositates consideremus, nonne manifeste diabolus morositatem illam Iudaicae legis imitatus est? [7] Qui ergo ipsas res de quibus sacramenta Christi administrantur, tam aemulanter adfectauit exprimere in negotiis idololatriae, utique et idem et eodem ingenio gestiit et potuit instrumenta quoque diuinarum rerum et sanctorum christianorum, sensum de sensibus, uerba de uerbis, parabolas de parabolis, profanae et aemulae fidei attemperare. [8] Et ideo neque a diabolo inmissa esse spiritalia nequitiae, ex quibus etiam haereses ueniunt, dubitare quis debet, neque ab idololatria distare haereses cum et auctoris et operis eiusdem sint, cuius et idololatria. [9] Deum aut fingunt alium aduersus creatorem aut si unicum creatorem confitentur, aliter eum

disserunt quam in uero est. [10] Itaque omne mendacium quod de Deo dicunt, quoddammodo genus est idololatriae.

XLI. [1] Non omittam ipsius etiam conuersationis haereticae descriptionem quam futilis, quam terrena, quam humana sit, sine grauitate, sine auctoritate, sine disciplina ut fidei suae congruens. [2] In primis quis catechumenus, quis fidelis incertum est, pariter adeunt, pariter audiunt, pariter orant; etiam ethnici si superuenerint, sanctum canibus et porcis margaritas, licet non ueras, iactabunt. [3] Simpliciter uolunt esse prostrationem disciplinae cuius penes nos curam lenocinium uocant. Pacem quoque passim cum omnibus miscent. [4] Nihil enim interest illis, licet diuersa tractantibus, dum ad unius ueritatis expugnationem conspirent. Omnes tument, omnes scientiam pollicentur. Ante sunt perfecti catechumeni quam edocti. [5] Ipsae mulieres haereticae, quam procaces! quae audeant docere, contendere, exorcismos agere, curationes repromittere, fortasse an et tingere. [6] Ordinationes eorum temerariae, leues, inconstantes. Nunc neophytos conlocant, nunc saeculo obstrictos, nunc apostatas nostros ut gloria eos obligent quia ueritate non possunt. [7] Nusquam facilius proficitur quam in castris rebellium ubi ipsum esse illic promereri est. [8] Itaque alius hodie episcopus, cras alius; hodie diaconus qui cras lector; hodie presbyter qui cras laicus. Nam et laicis sacerdotalia munera iniungunt.

XLII. [1] De uerbi autem administratione quid dicam cum hoc sit negotium illis, non ethnicos conuertendi sed nostros euertendi? [2] Hanc magis gloriam captant, si stantibus ruinam, non si iacentibus eleuationem operentur. Quoniam et ipsum opus eorum non de suo proprio aedificio uenit sed de ueritatis destructione, nostra suffodiunt ut sua aedificent: [3] adime illis legem Moysi et prophetas et creatorem Deum, accusationem et loqui non habent. [4] Ita fit ut ruinas facilius operentur stantium aedificiorum quam exstructiones iacentium ruinarum.] [5] Ad haec solummodo opera humiles et blandi et summissi agunt. Ceterum nec suis praesidibus reuerentiam nouerunt. [6] Et hoc est quod scismata apud haeticos fere non sunt quia, cum sint, non parent: schisma est enim unitas ipsa. [7] Mentior si non etiam a regulis suis uariant inter se dum unusquisque proinde suo arbitrio modulatur quae accepit, quemadmodum de suo arbitrio ea composuit ille qui tradidit. [8] Agnoscit naturam suam et originis suae morem profectus rei. Idem licuit Valentinianis quod Valentino, idem Marcionitis quod Marcioni, de arbitrio suo fidem innouare. [9] Denique penitus inspectae haereses omnes in multis cum

auctoribus suis dissentientes deprehenduntur. [10] Plerique nec ecclesias habent, sine matre, sine sede, orbi fide, extorres, quasi sibilati uagantur.

XLIII. [1] Notata sunt etiam commercia haereticorum cum magis quam plurimis, cum circulatoribus, cum astrologis, cum philosophis, curiositati scilicet deditis. [2] Quaerite et inuenietis ubique meminerunt. Adeo et de genere conuersationis qualitas fidei aestimari potest: doctrinae index disciplina est. [3] Negant Deum timendum: itaque libera sunt illis omnia et soluta. [4] Vbi autem Deus non timetur nisi ubi non est? ubi Deus non est, nec ueritas ulla est; ubi ueritas nulla est, merito et talis disciplina est. [5] At ubi Deus, ibi metus in Deum qui est initium sapientiae. Vbi metus in Deum, ibi grauitas honesta et diligentia attonita et cura sollicita et adlectio explorata et communicatio deliberata et promotio emerita et subiectio religiosa et apparitio deuota et processio modesta, et ecclesia unita et Dei omnia.

XLIV. [1] Proinde haec pressioris apud nos testimonia disciplinae ad probationem ueritatis accedunt, a qua diuertere nemini expedit qui meminerit futuri iudicii, quo omnes nos necesse est apud Christi tribunal astare, reddentes rationem in primis fidei ipsius. [2] Quid ergo dicent, qui illam stuprauerint adulterio haeretico uirginem traditam a Christo? [3] Credo allegabunt nihil unquam sibi ab illo uel apostolis eius, de saeuis et peruersis doctrinis futuris praenuntiatum et de cauendis abominandisque praeceptum. [4] Agnoscant suam potius culpam quam illorum qui non ante praestruxerunt. [5] Adicient praeterea multa de auctoritate cuiusque doctoris haeretici: signis illos maxime doctrinae suae fidem confirmasse, mortuos suscitasse, debiles reformasse, futura significasse uti merito apostoli crederentur. [6] Quasi nec hoc scriptum sit uenturos multos qui etiam uirtutes maximas ederent ad fallaciam muniendam corruptae praedicationis. Itaque ueniam merebuntur. [7] Si uero memores dominicarum et apostolicarum [scripturarum et] denuntiationum in fide integra steterint, credo de uenia periclitabuntur respondente Domino: [8] ‘Praenuntiaueram plane futuros fallaciae magistros in meo nomine et prophetarum et apostolorum etiam, et discentibus meis eadem ad uos praedicare mandaueram. [9] Semel euangelium et eiusdem regulae doctrinam apostolis meis delegaueram. Sed cum uos non crederetis, libuit mihi postea aliqua inde mutare. [10] Resurrectionem promiseram etiam carnis sed recogitauit ne implere non possem. Natum me ostenderam ex uirgine sed postea turpe mihi uisum est. [11] Patrem dixeram qui solem et pluuias fecit, sed

alius me pater melior adoptauit. Prohibueram uos aurem accommodare haereticis sed errauit.’ [12] Talia capit opinari eos qui exorbitant et fidei ueritatis periculum non cauent. [13] Sed nunc quidem generaliter actum est a nobis aduersus haereses omnes certis et iustis et necessariis praescriptionibus repellendas a conlatione scripturarum. [14] De reliquo si Dei gratia adnuerit etiam specialiter quibusdam respondebimus.

Apologeticus pro Christianis (Apology for the Christians)

I. [1] Si non licet vobis, Romani imperii antistites, in aperto et edito, in ipso fere vertice civitatis praesidentibus ad iudicandum palam dispicere et coram examinare, quid sit liquido in causa Christianorum, si ad hanc solam speciem auctoritas vestra de iustitiae diligentia in publico aut timet aut erubescit inquirere, si denique, quod proxime accidit, domesticis iudiciis nimis operata infestatio sectae huius obstruit defensionem: liceat veritati vel occulta via tacitarum litterarum ad aures vestras pervenire.

[2] Nihil de causa sua deprecatur, quia nec de condicione miratur. Scit se peregrinam in terris agere, inter extraneos facile inimicos invenire, ceterum genus, sedem, spem, gratiam, dignitatem in caelis habere. Unum gestit interdum, ne ignorata damnetur. [3] Quid hic deperit legibus in suo regno dominantibus, si audiat? An hoc magis gloriabitur potestas earum, quo etiam auditam damnabunt veritatem? Ceterum inauditam si damnent, praeter invidiam iniquitatis etiam suspicionem merebuntur alicuius conscientiae, nolentes audire, quod auditum damnare non possint.

[4] Hanc itaque primam causam apud vos collocamus iniquitatis odii erga nomen Christianorum. Quam iniquitatem idem titulus et onerat et revincit, qui videtur excusare, ignorantia scilicet. Quid enim iniquius, quam ut oderint homines quod ignorant, etiam si res meretur odium? Tunc etenim meretur, cum cognoscitur an mereatur. [5] Vacante autem meriti notitia, unde odii iustitia defenditur, quae non de eventu, sed de conscientia probanda est? Cum ergo propterea oderunt homines, quia ignorant, quale sit quod oderunt, cur non liceat eiusmodi illud esse, quod non debeant odisse? Ita utrumque ex alterutro redarguimus, et ignorare illos, dum oderunt, et iniuste odisse, dum ignorant.

[6] Testimonium ignorantiae est, quae iniquitatem dum excusat, condemnat, cum omnes, qui retro oderant, quia ignorabant, quale sit quod oderant, simul desinunt ignorare, cessant et odisse. Ex his fiunt Christiani, utique de comperto, et incipiunt odisse quod fuerant et profiteri quod oderant; et sunt tanti, quanti et denotamur: [7] Obsessam vociferantur civitatem; in agris, in castellis, in insulis Christianos; omnem sexum, aetatem, condicionem, etiam dignitatem transgredi ad hoc nomen quasi detrimento maerent. [8] Nec tamen

hoc ipso ad aestimationem alicuius latentis boni promovent animos. Non licet rectius suspicari, non libet prop[r]ius experiri. Hic tantum curiositas humana torpescit: Amant ignorare, cum alii gaudeant cognovisse. Quanto magis hos Anacharsis denotasset imprudentes de prudentibus iudicantes quam immusicos de musicis! [9] Malunt nescire, quia iam oderunt. Adeo quod nesciant, praeiudicant id esse, quod, si sciant, odisse non poterant — quando, si nullum odii debitum deprehendatur, optimum utique sit desinere iniuste odisse, si vero de merito constet, non modo nihil odii detrahatur, sed amplius adquiratur ad perseverantiam, etiam iustitiae ipsius auctoritate.

[10] “Sed non ideo”, inquit, “bonum, quia multos convertit; quanti enim ad malum performantur! Quanti transfugae in perversum!” Quis negat? Tamen quod vere malum est, ne ipsi quidem, quos rapit, defendere pro bono audent. Omne malum aut timore aut pudore natura perfudit. [11] Denique malefici gestiunt latere, devitant apparere; trepidant deprehensi, negant accusati, ne torti quidem facile aut semper confitentur, certe damnati maerent: Dinumerant in semet ipsos mentis malae impetus, <ignaviam> vel fato vel astris imputant; nolunt enim suum esse, quod malum agnoscunt. [12] Christianus vero quid simile? Neminem pudet, neminem paenitet, nisi plane retro non fuisse; si denotatur, gloriatur; si accusatur, non defendit; interrogatus vel ultro confitetur; damnatus gratias agit. [13] Quid hoc mali est, quod naturalia mali non habet, timorem, pudorem, tergiversationem, paenitentiam deplorationem? Quod hoc malum est, cuius reus gaudet, cuius accusatio votum est et poena felicitas? Non potes dementiam dicere, qui revinceris ignorare.

II. [1] Si certum est denique nos nocentissimos esse, cur a vobis ipsis aliter tractamur quam pares nostri, id est ceteri nocentes, cum eiusdem noxae eadem tractatio deberet intervenire? [2] Quodcumque dicimur, cum alii dicuntur, et proprio ore et mercennaria advocacy utuntur ad innocentiae suae commendationem; respondendi, altercandi facultas patet, quando nec liceat indefensos et inauditos omnino damnari. [3] Sed Christianis solis nihil permittitur loqui quod causam purget, quod veritatem defendat, quod iudicem non faciat iniustum; sed illud solum expectatur, quod odio publico necessarium est: Confessio nominis, non examinatio criminis — [4] quando, si de aliquo nocente cognoscatis, non statim confesso eo nomen homicidae vel sacrilegi vel incesti vel publici hostis, ut de nostris elogiis loquar, contenti sitis ad pronuntiandum, nisi et consequentia exigatis, qualitatem facti,

numerus, locum, tempus, conscios, socios. [5] De nobis nihil tale, cum aequae extorqueri oporteret quod cum falso iactatur, quot quisque iam infanticidia degustasset, quot incesta contenebrasset, qui coqui, qui canes affuissent. O quanta illius praesidis gloria, si eruisset aliquem, qui centum iam infantes comedisset!

[6] Atquin invenimus inquisitionem quoque in nos prohibitam. Plinius enim Secundus, cum provinciam regeret, damnatis quibusdam Christianis, quibusdam gradu pulsus, ipsa tamen multitudine perturbatus, quid de cetero ageret, consuluit tunc Traianum imperatorem, adlegans praeter obstinationem non sacrificandi nihil aliud se de sacramentis eorum comperisse quam coetus antelucanos ad canendum Christo ut deo et ad confoederandam disciplinam, homicidium adulterium fraudem perfidiam et cetera scelera prohibentes. [7] Tunc Traianus rescripsit hoc genus inquirendos quidem non esse, oblatos vero puniri oportere. [8] O sententiam necessitate confusam! Negat inquirendos ut innocentes et mandat puniendos ut nocentes. Parcit et saevit, dissimulat et animadvertit. Quid temet ipsam, censura, circumvenis? Si damnas, cur non et inquiris? Si non inquiris, cur non et absolvis? Latronibus vestigandis per universas provincias militaris statio sortitur, in reos maiestatis et publicos hostes omnis homo miles est: Ad socios, ad conscios usque inquisitio extenditur. [9] Solum Christianum inquiri non licet, offerri licet, quasi aliud esset actura inquisitio quam oblationem. Damnatis itaque oblatum, quem nemo voluit requisitum; qui, puto, iam non ideo meruit poenam, quia nocens est, sed quia non requirendus inventus est.

[10] Itaque nec in illo ex forma malorum iudicandorum agitis erga nos, quod ceteris negantibus tormenta adhibetis ad confitendum, solis Christianis ad negandum, cum, si malum esset, nos quidem negaremus, vos vero confiteri tormentis compelleretis. Neque enim ideo non putaretis requirenda quaestionibus scelera, quia certi essetis admitti ea ex nominis confessione, qui hodie de confesso homicida, scientes homicidium quid sit, nihilominus ordinem extorquetis admissi. [11] Quo perversius, cum praesumatis de sceleribus nostris ex nominis confessione, cogitis tormentis de confessione decedere, ut negantes nomen pariter utique negemus et scelera, de quibus ex confessione nominis praesumpseratis.

[12] Sed, opinor, non vultis nos perire, quos pessimos creditis. Sic enim soletis dicere homicidae: “Nega”, laniari iubere sacrilegum, si confiteri

perseveraverit. Si non ita agitis circa [nos] nocentes, ergo nos innocentissimos iudicatis, cum quasi innocentissimos non vultis in ea confessione perseverare, quam necessitate, non iustitia damnandam a vobis sciatis. [13] Vociferatur homo: “Christianus sum.” Quod est dicit; tu vis audire quod non est. Veritatis extorquendae praesides de nobis solis mendacium elaboratis audire. “Hoc sum”, inquit, “quod quaeris an sim. Quid me torques in perversum? Confiteor et torques; quid faceres, si negarem?” Plane aliis negantibus non facile fidem accommodatis: nobis, si negaverimus, statim creditis.

[14] Suspecta sit vobis ista perversitas, ne qua vis lateat in occulto, quae vos adversus formam, adversus naturam iudicandi, contra ipsas quoque leges ministret. Nisi fallor enim, leges malos erui iubent, non abscondi, confessos damnari praescribunt, non absolvi. Hoc senatus consulta, hoc principum mandata definiunt. Hoc imperium, cuius ministri estis, civilis, non tyrannica dominatio est. [15] Apud tyrannos enim tormenta etiam pro poena adhibebantur, apud vos soli quaestioni temperatur. Vestram illis servate legem usque ad confessionem necessariis, et iam, si confessione praeveniantur, vacabunt, sententia opus est; debito poenae nocens expungendus est, non eximendus. Denique nemo illum gestit absolvere. [16] Non licet hoc velle; ideo nec cogitur quisquam negare. Christianum hominem omnium scelerum reum, deorum, imperatorum, legum, morum, naturae totius inimicum existimas, et cogis negare, ut absolveras quem non poteris absolvere, nisi negaverit. [17] Praevaricaris in leges: Vis ergo neget se nocentem, ut eum facias innocentem, et quidem invitum, iam nec de praeterito reum. Unde ista perversitas, ut etiam illud non recogitatis, sponte confesso magis credendum esse quam per vim neganti? Vel ne compulsus negare non ex fide negarit et absolutus ibidem post tribunal de vestra rideat aemulatione iterum Christianus?

[18] Cum igitur in omnibus nos aliter disponitis quam ceteros nocentes, ad unum contendendo, ut de eo nomine excludamur — excludimur enim, si faciamus quae faciunt non Christiani — , intellegere potestis non scelus aliquod in causa esse, sed nomen, quod quaedam ratio aemulae operationis insequitur, hoc primum agens, ut homines nolint scire pro certo, quod se nescire pro certo sciunt. [19] Ideo et credunt de nobis quae non probantur et nolunt inquiri, ne probentur non esse quae malunt credidisse, ut nomen illius aemulae rationis inimicum praesumptis, non probatis criminibus de sua sola confessione damnetur. Ideo torquemur confitentes et punimur perseverantes et

absolvimur negantes, quia nominis proelium est.

[20] Denique quid de tabella recitatis illum “Christianum”? Cur non et “homicidam”? Si homicida Christianus? Cur non et “incestum” vel quodcumque aliud esse nos creditis? In nobis solis pudet aut piget ipsis nominibus scelerum pronuntiare? “Christianus” si nullius criminis nomine [reus] est, valde ineptum, si solius nominis crimen est.

III. [1] Quid quod ita plerique clausis oculis in odium eius impingunt, ut bonum alicui testimonium ferentes admisceant nominis exprobrationem? “Bonus vir Gaius Seius, tantum quod Christianus.” Item alius: “Ego <miror Lucium> Titium, sapientem virum, repente factum Christianum.” Nemo retractat, ne ideo bonus Gaius et prudens Lucius, quia Christianus, aut ideo Christianus, quia prudens et bonus. [2] Laudant quae sciunt, vituperant quae ignorant, et id quod sciunt eo quod ignorant irrumpunt, cum sit iustius occulta de manifestis praediudicare quam manifesta de occultis praedamnare. [3] Alii, quos retro ante hoc nomen vagos, viles, improbos noverant, ex ipso denotant, quod laudant: Caecitate odii in suffragium impingunt: “Quae mulier! Quam lasciva, quam festiva! Qui[s] iuvenis! Quam lusus, quam amasius! Facti sunt Christiani.” Ita nomen emendationi imputatur. [4] Nonnulli etiam de utilitatibus suis cum odio isto paciscuntur, contenti iniuria, dum ne domi habeant quod oderunt. Uxorem iam pudicam maritus iam non zelotypus <eiecit>, filium <iam> subiectum pater retro patiens abdicavit, servum iam fidelem dominus olim mitis ab oculis relegavit; ut quisque hoc nomine emendatur, offendit. Tanti non est bonum, quanti odium Christianorum.

[5] Nunc igitur, si nominis odium est, quis nominum reatus, quae accusatio vocabulorum, nisi si aut barbarum sonat aliqua vox nominis aut infaustum aut maledicum aut impudicum? “Christianus” vero, quantum interpretatio est, de unctione deducitur. Sed et cum perperam “Chrestianus” pronuntiatur a vobis — nam nec nominis certa est notitia penes vos — , de suavitate vel benignitate compositum est. Oditur itaque in hominibus innocuis etiam nomen innocuum.

[6] At enim secta oditur in nomine utique sui auctoris. Quid novi, si aliqua disciplina de magistro cognomentum sectatoribus suis inducit? Nonne philosophi de auctoribus suis nuncupantur Platonici, Epicurei, Pythagorici? Etiam a locis conventiculorum et stationum suarum Stoici, Academici? Aequae medici ab Erasistrato et grammatici ab Aristarcho, coqui etiam ab Apicio? [7]

Nec tamen quemquam offendit professio nominis cum institutione transmissi ab institutore. Plane, si qui probabit malam sectam et ita malum et auctorem, is probabit et nomen malum, dignum odio de reatu sectae et auctoris; ideoque ante odium nominis competebat prius de auctore sectam recognoscere vel auctorem de secta. [8] At nunc utriusque inquisitione et agnitione neglecta nomen detinetur, nomen expugnatur, et ignotam sectam, ignotum et auctorem vox sola praedamnat, quia nominantur, non quia revincuntur.

IV. [1] Atque adeo quasi praefatus haec ad suggillandam odii erga nos publici iniquitatem, iam de causa innocentiae consistam, nec tantum refutabo quae nobis obiciuntur, sed etiam in ipsos retorquebo, qui obiciunt, ut ex hoc quoque sciant homines in Christianis non esse quae in se nesciunt esse, simul uti erubescant accusantes, non dico pessimi optimos, se iam, ut volunt, compares suos. [2] Respondebimus ad singula, quae in occulto admittere dicimur — quae illos palam admittentes invenimus — , in quibus scelesti, in quibus vani, in quibus damnandi, in quibus irridendi deputamur.

[3] Sed quoniam, cum ad omnia occurrit veritas nostra, postremo legum obstruitur auctoritas adversus eam, ut aut nihil dicatur retractandum esse post leges aut ingratis necessitas obsequii praeferatur veritati, de legibus prius concurram vobiscum ut cum tutoribus legum.

[4] Iam primum, cum dure definitis dicendo: “Non licet esse vos!” et hoc sine ullo retractatu humaniore praescribitis, vim profitemini et iniquam ex arce dominationem, si ideo negatis licere, quia vultis, non quia debuit non licere. [5] Quodsi, quia non debet, ideo non vultis licere, sine dubio id non debet licere quod bene fit. Si bonum invenero esse quod lex tua prohibuit, nonne ex illo praeiudicio prohibere me non potest, quod, si malum esset, iure prohiberet? Si lex tua erravit, puto, ab homine concepta est; neque enim de caelo ruit. [6] Miramini hominem aut errare potuisse in lege condenda aut resipuisse in reprobanda? Non enim et ipsius Lycurgi leges a Lacedaemoniis emendatae tantum auctori suo doloris incusserunt, ut in secessu inedia de semet ipso iudicaret? [7] Nonne et vos cottidie experimentis illuminantibus tenebras antiquitatis totam illam veterem et squalentem silvam legum novis principalium rescriptorum et edictorum securibus truncatis et caeditis? [8] Nonne vanissimas Papias leges, quae ante liberos suscipi cogunt quam Iuliae matrimonium contrahi, post tantae auctoritatis senectutem heri Severus, constantissimus principum, exclusit? [9] Sed et iudicatos in partes secari a

creditoribus leges erant; consensu tamen publico crudelitas postea erasa est, in pudoris notam capitis poena conversa est. Bonorum adhibita proscripcio suffundere maluit hominis sanguinem quam effundere.

[10] Quot adhuc vobis repurgandae latent leges! Quas neque annorum numerus neque conditorum dignitas commendat, sed aequitas sola, et ideo, cum iniquae recognoscuntur, merito damnantur, licet damnent. Quomodo iniquas dicimus? [11] Immo, si nomen puniunt, etiam stultas; si vero facta, cur de solo nomine puniunt facta, quae in aliis de admissio, non de nomine probata defendunt? Incestus sum: Cur non requirunt? Infanticida: Cur non extorquent? In deos, in Caesares aliquid committo: Cur non audior qui habeo quo purger? [12] Nulla lex vetat discuti quod prohibet admitti, quia neque iudex iuste ulciscitur, nisi cognoscat admissum esse quod non licet, neque civis fideliter legi obsequitur ignorans, quale sit quod ulciscitur lex. [13] Nulla lex sibi soli conscientiam iustitiae suae debet, sed eis, a quibus obsequium expectat. Ceterum suspecta lex est, quae probari se non vult, improba autem, si non probata dominetur.

V. [1] Ut de origine aliquid retractemus eiusmodi legum, vetus erat decretum, ne qui deus ab imperatore consecraretur nisi a senatu probatus. Scit M. Aemilius de deo suo Alburno. Facit et hoc ad causam nostram, quod apud vos de humano arbitratu divinitas pensatur. Nisi homini deus placuerit, deus non erit; homo iam deo propitius esse debet. [2] Tiberius ergo, cuius tempore nomen Christianum in saeculum introivit, adnuntiatus sibi ex Syria Palaestina, quod illic veritatem ipsius divinitatis revelaverat, detulit ad senatum cum praerogativa suffragii sui. Senatus, quia non ipse probaverat, respuit; Caesar in sententia mansit, comminatus periculum accusatoribus Christianorum. [3] Consulite commentarios vestros; illic reperietis primum Neronem in hanc sectam cum maxime Romae orientem Caesariano gladio ferocisse. Sed tali dedicatore damnationis nostrae etiam gloriamur. Qui enim scit illum, intellegere potest non nisi grande aliquod bonum a Nerone damnatum. [4] Temptaverat et Domitianus, portio Neronis de crudelitate; sed, qua et homo, facile coeptum repressit, restitutis etiam quos relegaverat. Tales semper nobis insecutores, iniusti, impii, turpes, quos et ipsi damnare consuevistis, a quibus damnatos restituere soliti estis.

[5] Ceterum de tot exinde principibus ad hodiernum divinum humanumque sapientibus edite aliquem debellatorem Christianorum! [6] At nos e contrario

edimus protectorem, si litterae Marci Aurelii, gravissimi imperatoris, requirantur, quibus illam Germanicam sitim Christianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbri discussam contestatur. Sicut non palam ab eiusmodi hominibus poenam dimovit, ita alio modo palam dispersit, adiecta etiam accusatoribus damnatione, et quidem taetriore. [7] Quales ergo leges istae, quas adversus nos soli exercent impii iniusti, turpes truces, vani dementes, quas Traianus ex parte frustratus est vetando inquiri Christianos, quas nullus Hadrianus, quamquam omnium curiositatum explorator, nullus Vespasianus, quamquam Iudaeorum debellator, nullus Pius, nullus Verus impressit. [8] Facilius utique pessimi ab optimis quibusque, ut ab aemulis, quam a suis sociis eradicandi iudicarentur.

VI. [1] Nunc religiosissimi legum et paternorum institutorum protectores et ultores respondeant velim de sua fide et honore et obsequio erga maiorum consulta, si a nullo desciverunt, si in nullo exorbitaverunt, si non necessaria et aptissima quaeque disciplinae oblitteraverunt. [2] Quon[i]am illae leges abierunt sumptum et ambitionem comprimentes, quae centum aera non amplius in cenam subscribi iubebant, nec amplius quam unam inferri gallinam, et eam non saginatam, quae patricium, quod decem pondo argenti habuisset, pro magno ambitionis titulo senatu submovebant, quae theatra stuprandis moribus orientia statim destruebant, quae dignitatum et honestorum natalium insignia non temere nec impune usurpari sinebant? [3] Video enim et centenarias cenas a centenis iam sestertiis dicendas, et in lances — parum est, si senatorum et non libertinorum vel adhuc flagra rumpentium — argentaria metalla producta. Video et theatra nec singula satis esse nec nuda. Nam ne vel hieme voluptas impudica frigeret, primi Lacedaemonii paenulam ludis excogitaverunt. Video et inter matronas atque prostibulas nullum de habitu discrimen relictum.

[4] Circa feminas quidem etiam illa maiorum instituta ceciderunt quae modestiae, quae sobrietati patrocinebantur, cum aurum nulla norat praeter unico digito, quem sponsus oppignerasset pronubo anulo; cum mulieres usque adeo vino abstinerentur, ut matronam ob resignatos cellae vinariae loculos sui inedia necarint, sub Romulo vero quae vinum attigerat impune a Metennio marito trucidata sit. [5] Idcirco et oscula propinquis offerre etiam necessitas erat, ut spiritu iudicarentur. [6] Ubi est illa felicitas matrimoniorum de moribus utique prosperata, qua[e] per annos ferme sescentos ab urbe condita nulla

repudium domus scripsit? At nunc in feminis prae auro nullum leve est membrum, prae vino nullum liberum est osculum, repudium vero iam et votum est, quasi matrimonii fructus.

[7] Etiam circa ipsos deos vestros quae prospecte decreverant patres vestri, idem vos obsequentissimi rescidistis. Liberum Patrem cum mysteriis suis consules senatus auctoritate non modo urbe, sed universa Italia eliminaverunt.

[8] Serapidem et Isidem et Arpocratem cum suo Cynocephalo Capitolio prohibitos inferri, id est curia deorum pulsos, Piso et Gabinius consules, non utique Christiani, eversis etiam aris eorum abdicaverunt, turpium et otiosarum superstitionum vitia cohibentes. His vos restititis summam maiestatem contulistis.

[9] Ubi religio, ubi veneratio maioribus debita a vobis? Habitu, victu, instructu, sensu, ipso denique sermone proavis renuntiastis. Laudatis semper antiquitatem, et nove de die vivitis. Per quod ostenditur, dum a bonis maiorum institutis deceditis, ea vos retinere et custodire, quae non debuistis, cum quae debuistis non custodistis. [10] Adhuc quod videmini fidelissime tueri a patribus traditum, in quo principaliter reos transgressionis Christianos destinastis, studium dico deorum colendorum, de quo maxime erravit antiquitas, licet Serapidi eam Romano aras restruxeritis, licet Baccho iam Italico furias vestras immol[ar]etis, suo loco ostendam proinde despici et neglegi et destrui a vobis adversus maiorum auctoritatem. [11] Nunc enim ad illam occultorum facinorum infamiam respondebo, ut viam mihi ad manifestiora purgem.

VII. [1] Dicimur sceleratissimi de sacramento infanticidii et pabulo inde et post convivium incesto, quod eversores luminum canes, lenones scilicet tenebrarum, libidinum impiarum in verecundiam procurent. [2] Dicimur tamen semper, nec vos quod tamdiu dicimur eruere curatis. Ergo aut eruite, si creditis, aut nolite credere, qui non eruistis! De vestra vobis dissimulatione praescribitur non esse quod nec ipsi audetis eruere. Longe aliud munus carnifici in Christianos imperatis, non ut dicant quae faciunt, sed ut negent quod sunt.

[3] Census istius disciplinae, ut iam edidimus, a Tiberio est. Cum odio sui coepit veritas; simul atque apparuit, inimica est. Tot hostes eius quot extranei, et quidem proprie ex aemulatione Iudaei, ex concussione milites, ex natura ipsi etiam domestici nostri. [4] Cottidie obsidemur, cottidie prodimur, in ipsis plurimum coetibus et congregationibus nostris opprimimur. Quis umquam

taliter vagienti infanti supervenit? [5] Quis cruenta, ut invenerat, Cyclopum et Sirenum ora iudici reservavit? Quis vel in uxoribus aliqua immunda vestigia deprehendit? Quis talia facinora, cum invenisset, celavit aut vendidit, ipsos trahens homines?

Si semper latemus, quando proditum est quod admittimus? [6] Immo a quibus prodi potuit? Ab ipsis enim reis non utique, cum vel ex forma omnibus mysteriis silentii fides debeatur. Samothracia et Eleusinia reticentur: Quanto magis talia, quae prodita interim etiam humanam animadversionem provocabunt, dum divina serva[n]tur! [7] Si ergo non ipsi proditores sui, sequitur ut extranei. Et unde extraneis notitia, cum semper etiam [in]piae initiationes arceant profanos et <ab> arbitris caveant? Nisi si impii minus metuunt.

[8] Natura famae omnibus nota est. Vestrum est: “Fama malum, qua non aliud velocius ullum.” Cur malum fama? Quia velox? Quia index? An quia plurimum mendax? Quae ne tunc quidem, cum aliquid veri affert, sine mendacii vitio est, detrahens, adiciens, demutans de veritate. [9] Quid quod ea illi condicio est, ut non nisi cum mentitur, perseveret, et tamdiu vivit, quamdiu non probat? Siquidem, ubi probavit, cessat esse et quasi officio nuntiandi functa rem tradit; et exinde res tenetur, res nominatur. [10] Nec quisquam dicit verbi gratia: “Hoc Romae aiunt factum”, aut: “Fama est illum provinciam sortitum”, sed: “Sortitus est ille provinciam”, et: “Hoc factum est Romae”. [11] Fama, nomen incerti, locum non habet, ubi certum est. An vero famae credat nisi inconsideratus? Quia sapiens non credit incerto. Omnium est aestimare, quantacumque illa ambitione diffusa sit, quantacumque adseveratione constructa, quod ab uno aliquando principe exorta sit necesse est. [12] Exinde in traduces linguarum et aurium serpit, et ita modici seminis vitium cetera rumoris obscurat, ut nemo recogitet, ne primum illud os mendacium seminaverit, quod saepe fit aut ingenio aemulationis aut arbitrio suspicionis aut non nova, sed ingenita quibusdam mentiendi voluptate. [13] Bene autem quod omnia tempus revelat, testibus etiam vestris proverbiis atque sententiis, ex dispositione naturae, quae ita ordinavit, ut nihil diu lateat, etiam quod fama non distulit.

[14] Merito igitur fama tamdiu conscia sola est scelerum Christianorum; hanc indicem adversus nos profertis, quae quod aliquando iactavit tantoque spatio in opinionem corroboravit, usque adhuc probare non valuit.

VIII. [1] Ut fidem naturae ipsius appellem adversus eos, qui talia credenda esse praesumunt, ecce proponimus horum facinorum mercendam: Vitam aeternam repromittunt. Credite interim! De hoc enim quaero, an et qui credideris tanti habeas ad eam tali conscientia pervenire. [2] Veni, demerge ferrum in infantem nullius inimicum, nullius rerum, omnium filium; vel, si alterius officium est, tu modo adsiste morienti homini, antequam vixit; fugientem animam novam expecta, excipe rudem sanguinem, eo panem tuum satia, vescere libenter! [3] Interea discumbens dinumera loca, ubi mater, ubi soror; nota diligenter, ut, cum tenebrae ceciderint caninae, non erres! Piaculum enim admiseris, nisi incestum feceris. [4] Talia initiatus et consignatus vivis in aevum. Cupio respondeas, si tanti aeternitas; aut si non, ideo nec credenda. Etiam si credideris, nego te velle; etiam si volueris, nego te posse. Cur ergo alii possint, si vos non potestis? cur non possitis, si alii possunt? [5] Alia nos, opinor, natura, Cynopennae aut Sciapodes; alii ordines dentium, alii ad incestam libidinem nervi. Qui ista credis de homine, potes et facere; homo es et ipse, quod et Christianus. Qui non potes facere, non debes credere. Homo est enim et Christianus, et quod et tu.

[6] “Sed ignorantibus subicitur et imponitur. Nihil enim tale de Christianis adseverari sciebant, observandum utique sibi et omni vigilantia investigandum.” [7] Atquin volentibus initiari moris est, opinor, prius patrem illum sacrorum adire, quae praeparanda sint describere. Tum ille: “Infans tibi necessarius adhuc tener, qui nesciat mortem, qui sub cultro tuo rideat; item panis, quo sanguinis iurulentiam colligas; praeterea candelabra et lucernae et canes aliqui et offulae, quae illos ad eversionem luminum extendant; ante omnia cum matre et sorore tua venire debebis.” [8] Quid si noluerint vel nullae fuerint? Quid denique singulares Christiani? Non erit, opinor, legitimus Christianus nisi frater aut filius. [9] Quid nunc, et si ista omnia ignaris praeparantur? Certe postea cognoscunt et sustinent et ignoscunt. “Timent plecti, si proclamant.” Qui defendi merebuntur, qui etiam ultro perire malint quam sub tali conscientia vivere? Age nunc, timeant; cur etiam perseverant? Sequitur enim, ne ultra velis id te esse quod, si prius scisses, non fuisses.

IX. [1] Haec quo[que] magis refutaverim, a vobis fieri ostendam partim in aperto, partim in occulto, per quod forsitan et de nobis credidistis.

[2] Infantes penes Africam Saturno immolabantur palam usque ad proconsulatum Tiberii, qui eosdem sacerdotes in eisdem arboribus templi sui

obumbratricibus scelerum votivis crucibus exposuit, teste militia patriae nostrae, quae id ipsum munus illi proconsuli functa est. [3] Sed et nunc in occulto perseveratur hoc sacrum facinus. Non soli vos contemnunt Christiani, nec ullum scelus in perpetuum eradicatur, aut mores suos aliqui deus mutat. [4] Cum propriis filiis Saturnus non pepercit, extraneis utique non parcendo perseverabat, quos quidem ipsi parentes sui offerebant; et libentes respondebant et infantibus blandiebantur, ne lacrimantes immolarentur. Et tamen multum homicidio parricidium differt.

[5] Maior aetas apud Gallos Mercurio prosecatur. Remitto fabulas Tauricas theatri suis. Ecce in illa religiosissima urbe Aeneadarum piorum est Iuppiter quidam, quem ludis suis humano sanguine proluunt. “Sed bestiarum”, inquit. Hoc, opinor, minus quam hominis! An hoc turpius, quod mali hominis? certe tamen de homicidio funditur. O Iovem Christianum et solum patris filium de crudelitate!

[6] Sed quoniam de infanticidio nihil interest, sacro an arbitrio perpetretur, licet parricidium homicidio intersit, convertar ad populum. Quot vultis ex his circumstantibus et in Christianorum sanguinem hiantibus, ex ipsis etiam vobis iustissimis et severissimis in nos praesidibus apud conscientias pulsem, qui natos sibi liberos enecent? [7] Si quid[em] et de genere necis differt, utique crudelius in aqua spiritum extorquetis aut frigori et fami et canibus exponitis; ferro enim mori aetas quoque maior optaverit. [8] Nobis vero semel homicidio interdicto etiam conceptum utero, dum adhuc sanguis in hominem delib[er]atur, dissolvere non licet. Homicidii festinatio est prohibere nasci, nec refert, natam quis eripiat animam an nascentem disturbet. Homo est et qui est futurus; etiam fructus omnis iam in semine est.

[9] De sanguinis pabulo et eiusmodi tragicis ferculis legite, necubi relatum sit — est apud Herodotum, opinor — defusum brachiis sanguinem ex alterutro degustatum nationes quasdam foederi comparasse. Nescio quid et sub Catilina degustatum est. Aiunt et apud quosdam gentiles Scytharum defunctum quemque a suis comedi. [10] Longe excurro. Hodie istic Bellonae sacratus sanguis de femore proscisso in palmulam exceptus et <u>sui datus signat. [11] Item illi, qui munere in arena noxiorum iugulorum sanguinem recentem, de iugulo decurrentem [exceptum], avida siti comitali morbo medentes hauserunt, ubi sunt? Item illi qui de arena ferinis obsoniis cenant, qui de apro, qui de cervo petunt? Aper ille quem cruentavit colluctando deterisit, cervus ille

in gladiatoris sanguine iacuit. Ipsorum ursorum alvei appetuntur cruditantes adhuc de visceribus humanis; ructatur proinde ab homine caro pasta de homine. [12] Haec qui editis, quantum abestis a convivii Christianorum? Minus autem et illi faciunt, qui libidine fera humanis membris inhiant, quia vivos vorant? minus humano sanguine ad spurcitiam consecrantur, quia futurum sanguinem lambunt? Non edunt infantes plane, sed magis puberes.

[13] Erubescat error vester Christianis, qui ne animalium quidem sanguinem in epulis esculentis habemus, qui propterea suffocatis quoque et morticinis abstinemus, ne quo [modo] sanguine contaminemur vel intra viscera sepulto.

[14] Denique inter temptamenta Christianorum botulos etiam cruore distensos admovetis, certissimi scilicet illicitum esse penes illos, per quod exorbitare eos vultis. Porro quale est, ut quos sanguinem pecoris horrere confiditis, humano inhiare credatis, nisi forte suaviorem eum experti? [15] Quem quidem et ipsum proinde examinatorem Christianorum adhiberi oportebat, ut foculum, ut acerram. Proinde enim probarentur sanguinem humanum appetendo, quemadmodum sacrificium respuendo; alioquin negandi, si non gustassent, quemadmodum si immolassent. Et utique non deesset vobis in auditione custodiarum et damnatione sanguis humanus.

[16] Proinde incesti qui magis quam quos ipse Iuppiter docuit? Persas cum suis matribus misceri Ctesias refert. Sed et Macedones suspecti, quia, cum primum Oedipum tragoediam audissent, ridentes incesti dolorem: “Ἡλᾶυνε “, dicebant, “εἰς τὴν μητέρα !”. [17] Iam nunc recognitate, quantum liceat erroribus ad incesta miscenda, suppeditante materias passivitate luxuriae. Inprimis filios exponitis suscipiendos ab aliqua praetereunte misericordia extranea, vel adoptandos melioribus parentibus emancipatis. Alienati generis necesse est quandoque memoriam dissipari; et simul error impeggerit, exinde iam tradux proficient incesti serpente genere cum scelere. [18] Tunc deinde quocumque in loco, domi, peregre, trans freta, comes est libido, cuius ubique saltus facile possunt alicubi ignaris filios pangere vel ex aliqua seminis portione, ut i<t>a sparsum genus per commercia humana concurrat in memorias suas, neque eas caecus incesti sanguini agnoscat. [19] Nos ab isto eventu diligentissima et fidelissima castitas saepsit, quantumque ab stupris et ab omni post matrimonium excessu, tantum et ab incesti casu tuti sumus. Quidam multo securiores totam vim huius erroris virgine continentia depellunt, senes pueri.

[20] Haec in vobis esse si consideraretis, proinde in Christianis non esse perspiceretis. Idem oculi renuntiassent utrumque. Sed caecitatis duae species facile concurrunt, ut qui non vident quae sunt, videre videantur quae non sunt. Sic per omnia ostendam. Nunc de manifestioribus dicam.

X. [1] “Deos”, inquitis, “non colitis et pro imperatoribus sacrificia non penditis.” Sequitur, ut eadem ratione pro aliis non sacrificemus, qu[i]a nec pro nobis ipsis, semel deos non colendo. Itaque sacrilegii et maiestatis rei convenimur. Summa haec causa, immo tota est et utique digna cognosci, si non praesumptio aut iniquitas iudicet, altera quae desperat, altera quae recusat veritatem.

[2] Deos vestros colere desinimus, ex quo illos non esse cognoscimus. Hoc igitur exigere debetis, uti probemus non esse illos deos, et idcirco non colendos, quia tunc demum coli debuissent, si dei fuissent. Tunc et Christiani puniendi, si, quos non colerent, quia putarent non esse, constaret illos deos esse. [3] “Sed nobis”, inquitis, “dei sunt.” Appellamus et provocamus a vobis ad conscientiam vestram; illa nos iudicet, illa nos damnet, si poterit negare omnes istos deos vestros homines fuisse. [4] Si et ipsa infitias ierit, de suis antiquitatum instrumentis revincetur, de quibus eos didicit, testimonium perhibentibus ad hodiernum et civitatibus, in quibus nati sunt, et regionibus, in quibus aliquid operati vestigia reliquerunt, in quibus etiam sepulti demonstrantur. [5] Nunc ergo per singulos decurram, tot ac tantos, novos veteres, barbaros Graecos, Romanos peregrinos, captivos adoptivos, proprios communes, masculos feminas, rusticos urbanos, nauticos militares? [6] Otiosum et etiam titulos persequi. Ut colligam in compendium, et hoc non quo cognoscatis, sed recognoscatis — certe enim oblitos agitis —, ante Saturnum deus penes vos nemo est; ab illo census totius vel potioris et notioris divinitatis. Itaque quod de origine constiterit, id et de posteritate conveniet. [7] Saturnum itaque, si quantum litterae docent, neque Diodorus Graecus aut Thallus neque Cassius Severus aut Cornelius Nepos neque ullus commentator eiusmodi antiquitatum aliud quam hominem promulgaverunt; si quantum rerum argumenta, nusquam invenio fideliora quam apud ipsam Italiam, in qua Saturnus post multas expeditiones postque Attica hospitia consedit, exceptus a Iano, vel Iane, ut Salii volut. [8] Mons, quem incoluerat, Saturnius dictus; civitas, quam depalaverat, Saturnia usque nunc est, tota denique Italia post Oenotriam Saturnia cognominabatur. Ab ipso primum tabulae et imagine

signatus nummus, et inde aerario praesidet.

[9] Tamen, si homo Saturnus, utique ex homine, et quia ab homine, non utique de Caelo et Terra. Sed cuius parentes ignoti erant, facile fuit eorum filium dici, quorum et omnes possumus videri. Quis enim non caelum ac terram matrem ac patrem venerationis et honoris gratia appellet vel ex consuetudine humana, qua ignoti vel ex inopinato apparentes de caelo supervenisse dicuntur? [10] Proinde Saturno repentino ubique caelitem contigit dici; nam et terrae filios vulgus vocat, quorum genus incertum est. Taceo quod ita rudes adhuc homines agebant, ut cuiuslibet novi viri adspectu quasi divino commoverentur, cum hodie iam politi, quos ante paucos dies luctu publico mortuos sint confessi, in deos consecrent. [11] Satis iam de Saturno, licet paucis. Etiam Iovem ostendemus tam hominem quam ex homine, et deinceps totum generis examen tam mortale quam seminis sui par.

XI. [1] Et quoniam, sicut illos homines fuisse non audetis negare, ita post mortem deos factos instituistis adseverare, causas, quae hoc exegerint, retractemus. [2] Inprimis quidem necesse est concedatis esse aliquem sublimiorem deum et mancipem quendam divinitatis, qui ex hominibus deos fecerit. Nam neque sibi illi sumere potuissent divinitatem, quam non habebant, nec alius praestare eam non habentibus, nisi qui proprie possidebat. [3] Ceterum si nemo esset, qui deos faceret, frustra praesumitis deos factos, auferendo factorem. Certe quidem, si ipsi se facere potuissent, numquam homines fuissent, possidentes scilicet condicionis melioris potestatem.

[4] Igitur si est qui faciat deos, revertor ad causas examinandas faciendorum ex hominibus deorum, nec ullas invenio, nisi si ministeria et auxilia officiiis divinis desideravit ille magnus deus. Primo indignum est, ut alicuius opera indegeret, et quidem mortui, cum dignius ab initio deum aliquem fecisset qui mortui erat operam desideraturus. [5] Sed nec operae locum video. Totum enim hoc mundi corpus, sive innatum et infectum secundum Pythagoram sive natum factumve secundum Platonem, semel utique in ista constructione dispositum et instructum et ordinatum cum omni<s> rationis gubernaculo inventum est. Imperfectum non potuit esse quod perfecit omnia. [6] Nihil Saturnum et Saturniam gentem expectabat. Vani erunt homines, nisi certi sint a primordio et pluvias de caelo ruisse et sidera radiasse et lumina floruisse et tonitrua mugisse et ipsum Iovem quae in manu eius imponitis fulmina timuisse, item omnem frugem ante Liberum et Cererem et Minervam, immo

ante illum aliquem principem hominem de terra exuberasse, quia nihil continendo et sustinendo homini prospectum post hominem potuit inferri. [7] Denique invenisse dicuntur necessaria ista vitae, non instituisse. Quod autem invenitur, fuit, et quod fuit, non eius deputabitur qui invenit, sed eius qui instituit; erat enim antequam inveniretur. [8] Ceterum si propterea Liber deus, quod vitem demonstravit, male cum Lucullo actum est, qui primus cerasia ex Ponto Italiae promulgavit, quod non est propterea consecratus ut frugis novae auctor, qui ostensor. [9] Quamobrem, si ab initio et instructa et certis exercendorum officiorum suorum rationibus dispensata universitas constitit, vacat ex hac parte causa allegandae humanitatis in divinitatem, quia quas illis stationes et potestates distribuistis, tam fuerunt ab initio quam et fuissent etiamsi deos istos non creassetis.

[10] Sed convertimini ad causam aliam respondentes collationem divinitatis meritorum remunerandorum fuisse rationem. Et hinc conceditis, opinor, illum deum deificum iustitia praecellere, qui non temere nec indigne nec prodige tantum praemium dispensarit. [11] Volo igitur merita recensere, an eiusmodi sint, ut illos in caelum extulerint et non potius in inum Tartarum merserint, quem carcerem poenarum infernarum, cum vultis, affirmatis. [12] Illuc enim abstrudi solent impii quique in parentes et incesti in sorores et maritarum adulteri et virginum raptores et puerorum contaminatores, et qui saeviunt, et qui occidunt, et qui furantur, et qui decipiunt, et quicumque similes sunt alicuius dei vestri, quem neminem integrum a crimine aut vitio probare poteritis, nisi hominem negaveritis.

[13] Atquin, ut illos homines fuisse non potestis negare, etiam istae notae accedunt, quae nec deos postea factos credi permittunt. Si enim vos talibus puniendis praesidetis, si commercium, colloquium, convictum malorum et turpium probi quique respuitis, horum autem pares deus ille maiestatis suae consortio adscivit, quid ergo damnatis, quorum collegas adoratis? [14] Suggillatio est in caelo vestra iustitia. Deos facite criminosissimos quosque, ut placeatis deis vestis! Illorum est honor consecratio coaequalium.

[15] Sed, ut omittam huius indignitatis retractatum, probi et integri et boni fuerint! Quot tamen potiores viros apud inferos reliquistis! Aliquem de sapientia Socratem, de iustitia Aristiden, de militia Themistoclem, de sublimitate Alexandrum, de felicitate Polycraten, de copia Croesum, de eloquentia Demosthenen. [16] Quis ex illis deis vestris gravior et sapientior

Catone, iustior et militarior Scipione? quis sublimior Pompeio, felicior Sylla, copiosior Crasso, eloquentior Tullio? Quanto dignius istos deos ille adsumendos expectasset, praescius utique potiorum! Properavit, opinor, et caelum semel clusit et nunc utique melioribus apud inferos mussitantibus erubescit.

XII. [1] Cesso iam de isto, ut qui sciam me ex ipsa veritate demonstraturum, quid non sint, cum ostendero, quid sint. Quantum igitur de deis vestris, nomina solummodo video quorundam veterum mortuorum et fabulas audio et sacra de fabulis recognosco: [2] quantum autem de simulacris ipsis, nihil aliud reprehendo quam materias sorores esse vasculorum instrumentorumque communium vel ex isdem vasculis et instrumentis quasi fatum consecratione mutantes, licentia artis transfigurante, et quidem contumeliosissime et in ipso opere sacrilege, ut revera nobis maxime, qui propter ipsos deos plectimur, solatium poenarum esse possit, quod eadem et ipsi patiuntur, ut fiant.

[3] Crucibus et stipitibus imponitis Christianos: Quod simulacrum non prius argilla deformat cruci et stipiti superstructa? in patibulo primum corpus dei vestri dedicatur. [4] Ungulis deraditis latera Christianorum: At in deos vestros per omnia membra validius incumbunt asciae et runcinae et scobinae. Cervices ponimus: Ante plumbum et glutinum et gomphos sine capite sunt dei vestri. Ad bestias impellimur: Certe quas Libero et Cybele et Caelesti applicatis. [5] Ignibus urimur: Hoc et illi a prima quidem massa. In metalla damnamur: Inde censentur dei vestri. In insulis relegamur. Solet et in insula aliqui deus vester aut nasci aut mori. Si per haec constat divinitas aliqua, ergo qui puniuntur consecrantur et numina erunt dicenda supplicia.

[6] Sed plane non sentiunt has iniurias et contumelias fabricationis suae dei vestri sicut nec obsequia. O impiae voces, o sacrilega convicia! Infrendite, inspumate! Idem estis, qui Senecam aliquem pluribus et amarioribus de vestra superstitione perorantem <non> ;reprehendistis. [7] Igitur si statuas et imagines frigidas mortuorum suorum simillimas non adoramus, quas milvi et mures et araneae intellegunt, nonne laudem magis quam poenam merebatur repudium agniti erroris? Possumus enim videri laedere eos, quos certi sumus omnino non esse? Quod non est, nihil ab ullo patitur, quia non est.

XIII. [1] “Sed nobis dei sunt”, inquis. Et quomodo vos e contrario impii et sacrilegi et irreligiosi erga deos vestros deprehendimini, qui quos praesumitis esse, neglegitis, quos timetis, destruitis, quos etiam vindicatis, illuditis? [2]

Recognoscite, si mentior. Primo qui, cum alii alios colitis, utique quos non colitis, offenditis. Praelatio alterius sine alterius contumelia non potest procedere, quia nec electio sine reprobatione. [3] Iam ergo contemnitis quos reprobatis, quos reprobando offendere non timetis. Nam, ut supra praestrinximus, status dei cuiusque in senatus aestimatione pendeat. Deus non erat, quem homo consultus noluisse et nolendo damnasset.

[4] Domesticos deos, quos Lares dicitis, domestica potestate tractatis pignerando venditando demutando aliquando in caccabulum de Saturno, aliquando in trullam de Minerva, ut quisque contritus atque contusus est, dum diu colitur, ut quisque dominus sanctiorem expertus est domesticam necessitatem. [5] Publicos aequae publico iure foedatis, quos in hastario vectigales habetis. Sic Capitolium, sic olitorium forum petitur; sub eadem voce praeconis, sub eadem hasta, sub eadem adnotatione quaestoris divinitas addicta conducitur. [6] Sed enim agri tributo onusti viliores, hominum capita stipendio censa ignobiliora (nam hae sunt notae captivitatis), dei vero, qui magis tributarii, magis sancti; immo qui magis sancti, magis tributarii. Maiestas quaestuaria efficitur: Circuit cauponas religio mendicans; exigitur mercedem pro solo templi, pro aditu sacri. Non licet deos gratis nosse; venales sunt.

[7] Quid omnino ad honorandos eos facitis, quod non etiam mortuis vestris conferatis? Aedes proinde, aras proinde. Idem habitus et insignia in statu; ut aetas, ut ars, ut negotium mortui fuit, ita deus est. Quo differt ab epulo Iovis silicernium, a simpulo obba, ab haruspice pollinctor? Nam et haruspex mortuis apparet. [8] Sed digne imperatoribus defunctis honorem divinitatis dicatis, quibus et viventibus eum addicatis. Accepto ferent dei vestri, immo gratulabuntur, quod pares eis fiant domini sui. [9] Sed cum Larentinam publicum scortum (velim saltem Laidem aut Phrynem), inter Iunones et Cereres et Dianam adoratis; cum Simonem Magum statua et inscriptione Sancti Dei inauguratis; cum de paedagogis aulicis nescio quem synodi deum facitis, licet non nobiliores dei veteres, tamen contumeliam a vobis deputabunt, hoc et aliis licuisse, quod solis antiquitas contulit.

XIV. [1] Volo et ritus vestros recensere. Non dico quales sitis in sacrificando, cum enecta et tabidosa et scabiosa quaeque mactatis, cum de opimis et integris supervacua quaeque truncatis, capitula et ungulas, quae domi quoque pueris vel canibus destinassetis, cum de decima Herculis nec

tertiam partem in aram eius imponitis; laudabo magis sapientiam, quod de perdito aliquid eripitis. [2] Sed conversus ad litteras vestras, quibus informamini ad prudentiam et liberalia officia, quanta invenio ludibria! Deos inter se propter Troianos et Achivos ut gladiatorum paria congressos depugnasse; Venerem humana sagitta sauciatam, quod filium suum Aenean paene interfectum ab eodem Diomede rapere vellet; [3] Martem tredecim mensibus in vinculis paene consumptum; Iovem, ne eandem vim a ceteris caelitibus experiretur, opera cuiusdam monstri liberatum, et nunc flentem Sarpedonis casum, nunc foede subantem in sororem sub commemoratione non ita dilectarum iam pridem amicarum. [4] Exinde quis non poeta ex auctoritate principis sui dedecorator invenitur deorum? Hic Apollinem Admeto regi pascendis pecoribus addicit; ille Neptuni structorias operas Laomedonti locat. [5] Est et ille de lyricis, Pindarum dico, qui Aesculapium canit avaritiae merito, quia medicinam nocenter exercebat, fulmine iudicatum. Malus Iuppiter, si fulmen illius est, impius in nepotem, invidus in artificem! [6] Haec neque vera prodi neque falsa confingi apud religiosissimos oportebat. Nec tragici quidem aut comici parcunt, ut non aerumnas vel errores domus alicuius dei praefentur. [7] Taceo de philosophis, Socrate contentus, qui in contumeliam deorum quercum et hircum et canem deierabat. “Sed propterea damnatus est Socrates, quia deos destruebat.” Plane olim, id est semper, veritas odio est. [8] Tamen cum paenitentia sententiae Athenienses et criminatores Socratis postea affligerint et imaginem eius auream in templo collocarint, rescissa damnatio testimonium Socrati reddit. [9] Sed et Diogenes nescio quid in Herculem ludit, et Romanus cynicus Varro trecentos Ioves, sive Iu<p>iteros dicendos, sine capitibus introducit.

XV. [1] Cetera lasciviae ingenia etiam voluptatibus vestris per deorum dedecus operantur. Dispicite Lentulorum et Hostiliorum venustates, utrum mimos an deos vestros in iocis et strophis rideatis: “moechum Anubin” et “masculum Lunam” et “Dianam flagellatam” et “Iovis mortui testamentum recitatum” et “tres Hercules famelicos irrisos”. [2] Sed et histrionum litterae omnem foeditatem eorum designant. Luget Sol filium de caelo iactatum laetantibus vobis, et Cybele pastorum suspirat fastidiosum non erubescens vobis, et sustinetis Iovis elogia cantari, et Iunonem Venerem Minervam a pastore iudicari. [3] Ipsum quod imago dei vestri ignominiosum caput et famosum vestit, quod corpus impurum et ad istam artem effeminatione

productum Minervam aliquam vel Herculem repraesentat, nonne violatur maiestas et divinitas constupratur laudantibus vobis?

[4] Plane religiosiores estis in cavea, ubi super sanguinem humanum, super inquinamenta poenarum proinde saltant dei vestri, argumenta et historias noxiis ministrantes, nisi quod et ipsos deos vestros saepe noxii induunt. [5] Vidimus aliquando castratum Attin, illum deum ex Pessinunta, et qui vivus ardebat, Herculem induerat. Risimus et inter ludicras meridianorum crudelitates Mercurium mortuos cauterio examinantem; vidimus et Iovis fratrem gladiatorum cadavera cum malleo deducentem. [6] Singula ista quaeque adhuc investigare quis posset, si honorem inquietant divinitatis, si maiestatis vestigia obsoletant, de contemptu utique censentur tam eorum, qui eiusmodi factitant, quam eorum, quibus factitant.

[7] Sed ludica ista sint! Ceterum si adiciam, quae non minus conscientiae omnium recognoscent, in templis adulteria componi, inter aras lenocinia tractari, in ipsis plerumque aedituorum et sacerdotum tabernaculis, sub isdem vittis et apicibus et purpuris thure flagrante libidinem expungi, nescio, ne plus de vobis dei vestri quam de Christianis querantur. Certe sacrilegi de vestris semper apprehenduntur; Christiani enim templa nec interdum norunt; spoliarent forsitan ea et ipsi, si et ipsi ea adorarent.

[8] Quid ergo colunt qui talia non colunt? Iam quidem intellegi subiacet veritatis esse cultores qui mendacii non sint, nec errare amplius in eo, in quo errasse se recognoscendo cessaverunt. Hoc prius capite et omnem hinc sacramenti nostri ordinem haurite, repercutis ante tamen opinionibus falsis.

XVI. [1] Nam, ut et quidam, somniastis caput asininum esse deum nostrum. Hanc Cornelius Tacitus suspicionem eiusmodi inseruit. [2] Is enim in quinta Historiarum suarum bellum Iudaicum exorsus ab origine gentis etiam de ipsa tam origine quam de nomine et religione gentis quae voluit argumentatus, Iudaeos refert Aegypto expeditos sive, ut putavit, extorres vastis Arabiae, in locis aquarum egentissimis cum siti macerarentur, onagris, qui forte de pastu potum petitori aestimabantur, indicibus fonti[bus] usos ob eam gratiam consimilis bestiae superficiem consecrasse. [3] Atque ita inde praesumptum opinor nos quoque, ut Iudaicae religionis propinquos, eidem simulacro initiari. At enim idem Cornelius Tacitus, sane ille mendaciorum loquacissimus, in eadem Historia refert Gnaeum Pompeium, cum Hierusalem cepisset proptereaque templum adisset speculandis Iudaicae religionis arcanis, nullum

illic repperisse simulacrum. [4] Et utique, si id colebatur, quod aliqua effigie repraesentabatur, nusquam magis quam in sacrario suo exhiberetur, eo magis, quia nec verebatur extraneos arbitros quamquam vana cultura. Solis enim sacerdotibus adire licitum; etiam conspectus ceterorum velo oppanso interdicebatur. [5] Vos tamen non negabitis et iumenta omnia et totos cantherios cum sua Epona coli a vobis. Hoc forsitan improbamur, quod inter cultores omnium pecudum bestiarumque asinarii tantum sumus.

[6] Sed et qui crucis nos religiosos putat consecraneus erit noster. Cum lignum aliquod propitiatur, viderit habitus, cum materiae qualitas eadem sit; viderit forma, dum id ipsum dei corpus sit. Et tamen quanto distinguitur a crucis stipite Pallas Attica, et Ceres Pharia[m], quae sine effigie rudi palo et infirmi ligno prostat? [7] Pars crucis est omne robur, quod erecta statione defigitur. Nos, si forte, integrum et totum deum colimus. Diximus originem deorum vestrorum a plastis de cruce induci. Sed et Victorias adoratis in tropaeis, cum cruces intestina sint tropaeorum. [8] Religio Romanorum tota castrensis signa veneratur, signa iurat, signa omnibus deis praeponit. Omnes illi imaginum suggestus in signis monilia crucum sunt; siphara illa vexillorum et cantabrorum stolae crucum sunt. Laudo diligentiam: Noluistis incultas et nudas cruces consecrare.

[9] Alii plane humanius et versimilius solem credunt deum nostrum. Ad Persas, si forte, deputabimur, licet solem non in linteo depictum adoremus habentes ipsum ubique in suo clipeo. [10] Denique inde suspicio, quod innotuerit nos ad orientis regionem precari. Sed et plerique vestrum affectatione aliquando et caelestia adorandi ad solis ortum labia vibratis. [11] Aequae si diem solis laetitiae indulgemus, alia longe ratione quam religione solis, secundo loco ab eis sumus, qui diem Saturni otio et victui decernunt exorbitantes et ipsi a Iudaico more, quem ignorant.

[12] Sed nova iam dei nostri in ista proxime civitate editio publicata est, ex quo quidam frustrandis bestiis mercenarius noxius picturam proposuit cum eiusmodi inscriptione: “Deus Christianorum ὀνοκοίτης “. Is erat auribus asininis, altero pede unguatus, librum gestans et togatus. Risimus et nomen et formam. [13] Sed illi debebant adorare statim biforme numen, qui et canino et leonino capite commixtos et de capro et de ariete cornutos et a lumbis hircos et a cruribus serpentes et planta vel tergo alites deos receperunt.

[14] Haec ex abundanti, ne quid rumoris irrepercussum quasi de conscientia

praeterissemus. Quae omnia conversi iam ad demonstrationem religionis nostrae repurgabimus.

XVII. [1] Quod colimus deus unus est, qui totam molem istam cum omni instrumento elementorum corporum spirituum verbo quo iussit, ratione qua disposuit, virtute qua potuit, de nihilo expressit in ornamentum maiestatis suae, unde et Graeci nomen mundo κόσμον accommodaverunt. [2] Invisibilis est, etsi videatur; incomprehensibilis, etsi per gratiam repraesentetur; inaeestimabilis, etsi humanis sensibus aestimetur; ideo verus et tantus est. Ceterum quod videri communiter, quod comprehendere, quod aestimari potest, minus est et oculis, quibus occupatur, et manibus, quibus contaminatur, et sensibus, quibus invenitur; quod vero inmensum est, soli sibi notum est. [3] Hoc est, quod deum aestimari facit, dum aestimari non capit; ita eum vis magnitudinis et notum hominibus obicit et ignotum. Et haec est summa delicti nolentium recognoscere, quem ignorare non possunt.

[4] Vultis ex operibus ipsius tot ac talibus, quibus continemur, quibus sustinemur, quibus oblectamur, etiam quibus exterremur, vultis ex animae ipsius testimonio comprobemus? [5] Quae licet carcere corporis pressa, licet institutionibus pravis circumscripta, licet libidinibus et concupiscentiis evigorata, licet falsis deis exancillata, cum tamen respiscit, ut ex crapula, ut ex somno, ut ex aliqua valetudine, et sanitatem suam patitur, “deum” nominat, hoc solo, quia proprie verus hic unus. “Deus bonus et magnus” et “quod deus dederit” omnium vox est. [6] Iudicem quoque contestatur illum: “Deus videt” et “deo commendo” et “deus mihi reddet”. O testimonium animae naturaliter Christianae! Denique pronuntians haec non ad Capitolium, sed ad caelum respicit. Novit enim sedem dei vivi; ab illo, et inde descendit.

XVIII. [1] Sed quo plenius et impressius tam ipsum quam dispositiones eius et voluntates adiremus, adiecit instrumentum litteraturae, si qui velit de deo inquirere et inquisito invenire et invento credere et credito deservire. [2] Viros enim iustitiae innocentia dignos deum nosse et ostendere a primordio in saeculum emisit spiritu divino inundatos, quo praedicarent deum unicum esse, qui universa condiderit, qui hominem de humo struxerit — hic enim est verus Prometheus — , qui saeculum certis temporum dispositionibus et exitibus ordinavit, [3] exinde quae signa maiestatis suae iudicantis ediderit per imbres, per ignes, quas demerendo sibi disciplinas determinaverit, quae ignoratis et deser[i]tis et observatis his praemia destinarit, ut qui producto aevo isto

iudicaturus sit suos cultores in vitae aeternae retributionem, profanos in ignem aequae perpetem et iugem, suscitatis omnibus ab initio defunctis et reformatis et recensitis ad utriusque meriti disputationem. [4] Haec et nos risimus aliquando. De vestris sumus: Fiunt, non nascuntur Christiani.

[5] Quos diximus praedicatores prophetae de officio praefandi vocantur. Voces eorum itemque virtutes, quas ad fidem divinitatis edebant, in thesauris litterarum manent, nec istae latent. Ptolemaeorum eruditissimus, quem Philadelphum supernominant, et omnis litteraturae sagacissimus, cum studio bibliothecarum Pisistratum, opinor, aemularetur, inter cetera memoriarum, quibus aut vetustas aut curiositas aliqua ad famam patrocinebatur, ex suggestu Demetri<i> Phalerei, grammaticorum tunc probatissimi, cui praefecturam mandaverat, libros a Iudaeis quoque postulavit, proprias atque vernaculas litteras, quas soli habebant. [6] Ex ipsis enim et ad ipsos semper prophetae peroraverant, scilicet ad domesticam dei gentem ex patrum gratia. Hebraei retro, qui nunc Iudaei; igitur et litterae Hebraeae et eloquium. [7] Sed ne notitia vacaret, hoc quoque a Iudaeis Ptolemaeo subscriptum est septuaginta et duobus interpretibus indultis, quos Menedemus quoque philosophus, providentiae vindex, de sententiae communione suspexit. Affirmavit haec vobis etiam Aristaeus. [8] Ita in Graecum stilum exapta monumenta reliquit; hodie apud Serapeum Ptolemaei bibliothecae cum ipsis Hebraicis exhibentur. [9] Sed et Iudaei palam lectitant. Vectigalis libertas; vulgo aditur sabbatis omnibus. Qui audierit, inveniet deum; qui etiam studuerit intellegere, cogetur et credere.

XIX. [1] Primam instrumentis istis auctoritatem summa antiquitas vindicat; apud vos quoque religionis est instar fidem de temporibus adserere.

(Fragmentum Fuldense)

[F1] Auctoritatem litteris praestat antiquitas summa. Primus enim prophetae, Moyses, qui mundi conditionem et generis humani pul<lu>latione<m> et mox ulticem iniquitatis illius aevi vim cataclysmi de praeterito exorsus est per vaticinationem usque ad suam aetatem, et deinceps per res suas futurorum imagines edidit, penes quem et temporum ordo, digestus ab initio, supputationem saeculi praestitit, superior invenitur annis circiter trecentis quam ille antiquissimus penes vos Danaus in Argo<s> transvenisset. [F2] Troiano denique proelio ad mille annos ante est, unde et ipso Saturno. Secundum enim historiam Thalli, qua relatum est Bel[l]um

Assyriorum et Saturnum Titanorum reges cum Iove dimicasse, ostenditur Bel[1]um CCCXX et duobus annis Iliacum exitum antecessisse. Per hunc Moysen etiam illa lex propria Iudaeis a deo missa est. [F3] Deinceps multa et alii prophetae, vetustiores litteris vestris; nam et qui ultimo cecinit, aut aliquantulo praecucurrit aut certe concurrit aetate sapientiae auctoribus, etiam latoribus legis. [F4] Cyri enim et Darii regno fuit Zacharias, quo in tempore Thales, physicorum princeps, sciscitanti Croeso nihil certum de divinitate respondit, turbatus scilicet vocibus prophetarum. Solon eidem regi finem longae vitae intuendum praedicavit, non aliter quam prophetae. [F5] Adeo respici potest tam iura vestra quam studia de lege deque divina doctrina concepisse. Quod prius est, hoc sit semen necesse est. Inde quaedam nobiscum vel prope nos habetis: [F6] De sophia amor eius philosophia vocitatus est; de prophetia adfectatio eius poeticam vaticinationem deputavit. Gloriae homines si quid invenerant, ut proprium facerent, adulteraverunt. Etiam fructibus a semine degenerare contigit.

[F7] Multis adhuc de vetustate modis consisterem divinarum litterarum, si non maior auctoritas illis ad fidem de veritatis suae viribus quam de aetatis annalibus suppetisset. Quid enim potentius patrociniabitur testimonio earum, nisi dispunctio cotidiana saeculi totius, cum dispositione<s> regnorum, cum casus urbium, cum exitus gentium, cum status temporum ita omnibus respondent, quemadmodum ante milia annorum praenuntiabantur? [F8] Unde et spes nostra, quam ridetis, animatur, et fiducia, quam praesumptionem vocatis, corroboratur. Idonea est enim recognitio praeteritorum ad disponendam fiduciam futurorum: Eadem voces praedicaverunt utramque partem, eadem litterae notaverunt. [F9] Unum est tempus apud illas, quod apud nos separari videtur. Ita omnia, quae supersunt, i<a>m probata sunt nobis, quia cum illis, quae probata sunt, tunc futuris praedicabantur. Habetis, quod sciam, et vos Sibyllam, quatinus appellatio ista verae vatis dei veri passim super ceteros, qui vaticinari videbantur, usurpata est, sicut vestrae Sibyllae nomen de veritate mentitae, quemadmodum et dei vestri.

[2] Omnes itaque substantias omnesque materias origines ordines venas veterani cuiusque stili vestri, gentes etiam plerasque et urbes insignes historiarum et canas memoriarum, ipsas denique effigies litterarum, indices custodesque rerum, et — puto adhuc minus dicimus — ipsos, inquam, deos vestros, ipsa templa et oracula et sacra unius interim prophetae scrinium

saeculis vincit, in quo videtur thesaurus collocatus totius Iudaici sacramenti et inde iam nostri. [3] Si quem audistis interim Moysen, Argivo Inacho pariter aetate est; quadingentis paene annis — nam et septem minus — Danaum, et ipsum apud vos vetustissimum, praevenit; mille circiter cladem Priami antecedit; possem etiam dicere quingentis amplius et Homerum, habens quos sequar. [4] Ceteri quoque prophetae etsi Moysi postumant, extremissimi tamen eorum non retrosiores reprehenduntur primoribus vestris sapientibus et legiferis et historicis?

[5] Haec quibus ordinibus probari possint, non tam difficile est nobis exponere quam enorme, nec arduum, sed interim longum. Multis instrumentis cum digitorum supputariis gesticulis adsidendum est; reseranda antiquissimarum etiam gentium archiva, Aegyptiorum Chaldaeorum Phoenicum; [6] advocandi municipes eorum, per quos notitia subministrata est, ali[o]qui[n] Manethon Aegyptius et Berosus Chaldaeus, sed et Hieromus Phoenix, Tyri[i] rex; sectatores quoque ipsorum Mendesius Ptolemaeus et Menander Ephesius et Demetrius Phalereus et rex Iuba et Apion et Thallus et, si quis istos aut probat aut revincit, Iudaeus Iosephus, antiquitatum Iudaicarum vernaculus vindex; [7] Graecorum etiam censuales conferendi, et quae quando sint gesta, [a]ut concatenationes temporum aperiantur, per quae luceant annalium numeri; peregrinandum est in historias et litteras orbis. Et tamen quasi partem iam probationis intulimus, cum per quae probari possint, adpersimus. [8] Verum differre praestat, vel ne minus persequamur festinando vel diutius evagemur persequendo.

XX. [1] Plus iam offerimus pro ista dilatione: Maiestatem scripturarum, si non vetustate divinas probamus, si dubitatur antiquitas. Nec hoc tardius aut aliunde discendum; coram sunt quae docebunt: Mundus et saeculum et exitus. [2] Quicquid agitur, praenuntiabatur; quicquid videtur, audiebatur. Quod terrae vorant urbes, quod insulas maria fraudant, quod externa atque interna bella dilaniant, quod regnis regna compulsant, quod fames et lues et locales quaeque clades et frequentiae plerumque mortium vastant, quod humiles sublimitate, sublimes humilitate mutantur, [3] quod iustitia rarescit, iniquitas increbrescit, bonarum omnium disciplinarum cura torpescit, quod etiam officia temporum et elementorum munia exorbitant, quod et monstribus et portentis naturalium forma turbatur, providenter scripta sunt. Dum patimur, leguntur; dum recognoscimus, probantur. Idoneum, opinor, testimonium

divinitatis veritas divinationis. [4] Hinc igitur apud nos futurorum quoque fides tuta est, iam scilicet probatorum, quia cum illis, quae cottidie probantur, praedicebantur: Eaedem voces sonant, eadem litterae notant, idem spiritus pulsant, unum tempus est divinationi futura praefanti; [5] apud homines, si forte, distinguitur, dum expungitur, dum ex futuro praesens, dehinc ex praesenti praeteritum deputatur. Quid delinquimus, oro vos, futura quoque credentes, qui iam didicimus illi per duos gradus credere?

XXI. [1] Sed quoniam edidimus antiquissimis Iudaeorum instrumentis sectam istam esse suffultam, quam aliquanto novellam, ut Tiberiani temporis, plerique sciunt profitentibus nobis quoque, fortasse an hoc nomine de statu eius retractetur, quasi sub umbraculo insignissimae religionis, certe licitae, aliquid propriae praesumptionis abscondat, [2] vel quia praeter aetatem neque de victus exceptionibus neque de solemnitatibus dierum neque de ipso signaculo corporis neque de consortio nominis cum Iudaeis agimus, quod utique oporteret, si eidem deo manciparemur. [3] Sed et vulgus iam scit Christum ut hominum aliquem, qualem Iudaei indicaverunt: quo facilius quis nos hominis cultores existimaverit. Verum neque de Christo erubescimus, cum sub nomine eius deputari et damnari iuvat, neque de deo aliter praesumimus. Necesse est igitur pauca de Christo ut deo.

[4] Totum Iudaeis erat apud deum gratia, ubi et insignis iustitia et fides originalium auctorum. Unde illis et generis magnitudo et regni sublimitas floruit et tanta felicitas, ut de dei vocibus, quibus edocebantur, de promerendo deo et non offendendo praemonerentur. [5] Sed quanta deliquerint, fiducia patrum inflati ad declinandum, derivantes a disciplina in profanum modum, etsi ipsi non confiterentur, probaret exitus hodiernus ipsorum. Dispersi, palabundi, et soli et caeli sui extorres vagantur per orbem sine homine, sine deo rege, quibus nec advenarum iure terram patriam saltim vestigio salutare conceditur. [6] Cum haec illis sanctae voces praeminarentur, eadem semper omnes ingerebant fore, uti sub extimis curriculum saeculi ex omni iam gente et populo et loco cultores sibi allegeret deus multo fideliores, in quos gratiam transferret, plenior quidem ob disciplinae auctioris capacitatem.

[7] Venit igitur qui ad reformandam et illuminandam eam venturus a deo praenuntiatur, Christus ille filius dei. Huius igitur gratiae disciplinaeque arbiter et magister, illuminator atque deductor generis humani filius dei adnuntiabatur — non quidem ita genitus, ut erubescat in filii nomine aut de

patris semine. [8] Non de sororis incesto nec de stupro filiae aut coniugis alienae deum patrem passus est squamatum aut cornutum aut plumatum, amatorem in auro conversum Danaidis. Iovis ista sunt numina vestra. [9] Ceterum dei filius nullam de impudicitia habet matrem; etiam quam videtur habere, non nupserat. Sed prius substantiam edisseram, et ita nativitatis qualitas intellegetur.

[10] Iam ediximus deum universitatem hanc mundi verbo et ratione et virtute molitum. Apud vestros quoque sapientes λόγος , id est sermonem atque rationem, constat artificem videri universitatis. Hunc enim Zeno determinat facitorem, qui cuncta in dispositione formaverit; eundem et fatum vocari et deum et animum Iovis et necessitatem omnium rerum. Haec Cleanthes in spiritum congerit, quem permeatorem universitatis affirmat. [11] Et nos autem sermoni atque rationi itemque virtuti, per quae omnia molitum deum ediximus, propriam substantiam spiritum inscribimus, cui et sermo insit pronuntianti et ratio adsit disponenti et virtus praesit perficienti. Hunc ex deo prolatum didicimus et prolatione generatum et idcirco filium dei et deum dictum ex unitate substantiae; nam et deus spiritus. [12] Et cum radius ex sole porrigitur, portio ex summa; sed sol erit in radio, quia solis est radius nec separatur substantia sed extenditur, [ita de spiritu spiritus et de deo deus] ut lumen de lumine accensum. Manet integra et indefecta materia[e] matrix, etsi plures inde traduces qualitatis mutueris. [13] Ita et quod de deo profectum est, deus et dei filius et unus ambo; ita et de spiritu spiritus et de deo deus modulo alter[um], numerum gradu, non statu fecit, et a matrice non recessit, sed excessit. [14] Iste igitur dei radius, ut retro semper praedicabatur, delapsus in virginem quandam et in utero eius caro figuratus nascitur homo deo mixtus. Caro spiritu instructa nutritur adolescit affatur docet operatur et Christus est. Recipite interim hanc fabulam — similis est vestris — , dum ostendimus, quomodo Christus probetur et qui penes vos eiusmodi fabulas aemulas ad destructionem veritatis istius [modi] praeministraverint.

[15] Sciebant et Iudaei venturum esse Christum, scilicet quibus prophetae loquebantur. Nam et nunc adventum eius expectant, nec alia magis inter nos et illos compulsatio est, quam quod iam venisse non credunt. Duobus enim adventibus eius significatis, primo, qui iam expunctus est in humilitate condicionis humanae, secundo, qui concludendo saeculo imminet in sublimitate divinitatis exsertae, primum non intellegendo secundum, quem

manifestius praedicatum sperant, unum existimaverunt. [16] Ne enim intellegerent pristinum, credituri, si intellexissent, et consecuturi salutem, si credidissent, meritum fuit delictorum. Ipsi legunt ita scriptum multatos se sapientia et intellegentia et oculorum et aurium fruge.

[17] Quem igitur hominem solummodo praesumpserant de humilitate, sequebatur, uti magum aestimarent de potestate, cum ille verbo daemonia de hominibus excuteret, caecos reluminaret, leprosos purgaret, paralyticos restringeret, mortuos denique verbo redderet vitae, elementa ipsa famularet compescens procellas et freta ingrediens, ostendens se esse verbum dei id est LOGON illud primordiale, primogenitum, virtute et ratione comitatum et spiritu fultum, eundem qui verbo omnia et faceret et fecisset. [18] Ad doctrinam vero eius, qua revincebantur, magistri primoresque Iudaeorum ita exasperabantur, maxime quod ingens ad eum multitudo defleceret, ut postremo oblatum Pontio Pilato, Syriam tunc ex parte Romana procuranti, violentia suffragiorum in crucem [Iesum] dedi sibi extorserint. Praedixerat et ipse ita facturos; parum, si non et prophetae retro. [19] Et tamen suffixus multa mortis illius propria ostendit insignia. Nam spiritum cum verbo sponte dimisit praevento carnificis officio. Eodem momento dies medium orbem signante sole subducta est. Deliquium utique putaverunt qui id quoque super Christo praedicatum non scierunt. Et tamen eum mundi casum relatum in arcanis vestris habetis. [20] Tunc Iudaei detractum et sepulcro conditum magna etiam militari manu custodiae diligentia circumsederunt, ne, quia praedixerat tertia die resurrecturum se a morte, discipuli furto amoliti cadaver fallerent suspectos. [21] Sed ecce tertia die concussa repente terra et mole revoluta, quae obstruxerat sepulcrum, et custodia pavore disiecta, nullis apparentibus discipulis, nihil in sepulcro repertum est praeterquam exuviae sepulti. [22] Nihilominus tamen primores, quorum intererat et scelus divulgare et populum vectigalem et famularem sibi a fide revocare, subreptum a discipulis iactitaverunt. Nam nec ille se in vulgus eduxit, ne impii errore liberarentur, ut et fides, non mediocri praemio destinata, difficultate constaret. [23] Cum discipulis autem quibusdam apud Galilaeam, Iudaeae regionem, ad quadraginta dies egit docens eos quae docerent. Dehinc ordinatis eis ad officium praedicandi per orbem circumfusa nube in caelum est receptus multo verius quam apud vos adseverare de Romulo Proculi solent.

[24] Ea omnia super Christo Pilatus, et ipse iam pro sua conscientia

Christianus, Caesari tunc Tiberio nuntiavit — sed et Caesares credidissent super Christo, si aut Caesares non essent necessarii saeculo, aut si et Christiani potuissent esse Caesares. [25] Discipuli quoque diffusi per orbem ex praecepto magistri dei paruerunt, qui et ipsi a Iudaeis insequentibus multa perpassi utique pro fiducia veritatis libenter Romae postremo per Neronis saevitiam sanguinem Christianum seminaverunt.

[26] Sed monstrabimus vobis idoneos testes Christi ipsos illos, quos adoratis. Multum est, si eos adhibeam, ut credatis Christianis, propter quos non creditis Christianis. [27] Interim hic est ordo nostrae institutionis, hunc edidimus et sectae et nominis censum cum suo auctore. Nemo iam infamiam incutiat, nemo aliud existimet, quia nec fas est ulli de sua religione mentiri. Ex eo enim, quod aliud a se coli dicit quam colit, negat quod colit, et culturam et honorem in alterum transfert et transferendo iam non colit, quod negavit. [28] Dicimus et palam dicimus et vobis torquentibus lacerati et cruenti vociferamur: “Deum colimus per Christum”. Illum hominem putate; per eum et in eo se cognosci et coli deus vult.

[29] Ut Iudaeis respondeamus, et ipsi deum per hominem Moysen colere didicerunt; ut Graecis occurram, Orpheus Pieriae, Musaeus Athenis, Melamp[h]us Argis, Trophonius Boeotiae initiationibus homines obligaverunt; ut ad vos quoque dominatores gentium adspiciam, homo fuit Pompilius Numa, qui Romanos operosissimis superstitionibus oneravit. [30] Licuerit et Christo commentari divinitatem, rem propriam, non qua rupices et adhuc feros homines multitudini tot numinum demerendorum attonitos efficiendo ad humanitatem temperaret, quod Numa, sed qu[i]a iam expolitos et ipsa urbanitate deceptos in agnitionem veritatis ocularet. [31] Quaerite igitur, si vera est ista divinitas Christi, si ea est, qua cognita ad bonum quis reformatur, sequitur ut falsae renuntietur, comperta inprimis illa omni ratione, quae delitiscens sub nominibus et imaginibus mortuorum quibusdam signis et miraculis et oraculis fidem divinitatis operatur.

XXII. [1] Atque adeo dicimus esse substantias quasdam spiritales. Nec novum nomen est; sciunt daemones philosophi Socrate ipso ad daemonii arbitrium exspectante. Quidni? Cum et ipsi daemonium a pueritia adhaesisse dicatur, dehortatorium plane a bono. [2] Omnes sciunt poetae; etiam vulgus indoctum in usu<m> maledicti frequentat. Nam et Satanan, principem huius mali generis, proinde de propria conscientia animae eadem execramenti voce

pronuntiat. Angelos quoque etiam Plato non negavit. Utriusque nominis testes esse vel magi adsunt. [3] Sed quomodo de angelis quibusdam sua sponte corruptis corruptior gens daemonum evaserit, damnata a deo cum generis auctoribus et cum eo, quem diximus, principe, apud litteras sanctas ordo cognoscitur. [4] Nunc de operatione eorum satis erit exponere.

Operatio eorum est hominis eversio; sic malitia spiritalis a primordio auspicata est in hominis exitium. Itaque corporibus quidem et valetudines infligunt et aliquos casus acerbos, animae vero repentinos et extraordinarios per vim excessus. [5] Suppetit illis ad utramque substantiam hominis adeundam subtilitas et tenuitas sua. Multum spiritalibus viribus licet, ut invisibiles et insensibiles in effectum potius quam in actu suo appareant, si poma, si fruges nescio quod aurae latens vitium in flore praecipitat, in germine exanimat, in pubertate convulnerat, ac si caeca ratione temptatus aer pestilentes haustus suos offundit. [6] Eadem igitur obscuritate contagionis adspiratio daemonum et angelorum mentis quoque corruptelas agit furoribus et amentis foedis aut saevis libidinibus cum erroribus variis, quorum iste potissimus, quo deos istos captis et circumscriptis hominum mentibus commendat, ut et sibi pabula propria nidoris et sanguinis procuret simulacris imaginibus oblata. [7] Et quae illi accuratior pascua est, quam <ut> hominem e cogitatu verae divinitatis avertat praestigiis falsis? Quas et ipsas quomodo [ut] operetur expediam.

[8] Omnis spiritus ales est: hoc angeli et daemones. Igitur momento ubique sunt. Totus orbis illis locus unus est; quid ubi geratur tam facile sciunt quam adnuntiant. Velocitas divinitas creditur, quia substantia ignoratur. Sic et auctores interdum videri volunt eorum, quae adnuntiant; et sunt plane malorum nonnumquam, bonorum tamen numquam. [9] Dispositiones etiam dei et tunc prophetis contionantibus excerpunt et nunc lectionibus resonantibus carpunt. Ita et hinc sumentes quasdam temporum sortes aemulantur divinitatem, dum furantur divinationem. [10] In oraculis autem quo ingenio ambiguitates temperent in eventus, sciunt Croesi, sciunt Pyrrhi. Ceterum testudinem decoqui cum carnibus pecudis Pythius eo modo renuntiavit, quo supra diximus: momento apud Lydiam fuerat. Habentes de incolatu aeris et de vicinia siderum et de commercio nubium caelestes sapere paraturas, ut et pluvias, quas iam sentiunt, repromittant. [11] Benefici plane et circa curas valetudinum. Laedunt enim primo, dehinc remedia praecipiant ad miraculum nova sive contraria; post quae desinunt laedere, et curasse creduntur.

[12] Quid ergo de ceteris ingeniis vel etiam viribus fallaciae spiritalis edisseram, phantasmata Castorum et aquam cribro gestatam et navem cingulo promotam et barbam tactu irrufatam, ut numina lapides crederentur, ut deus verus non quaeretur?

XXIII. [1] Porro si et magi phantasmata edunt et iam defunctorum infamant animas, si pueros in eloquium oraculi elidunt, si multa miracula circulatoriis praestigiis ludunt, si et somnia immittunt, habentes semel invitatorum angelorum et daemonum adsistentem sibi potestatem, per quos et caprae et mensae divinare consuerunt: quanto magis ea potestas de suo arbitrio et pro suo negotio studeat totis viribus operari quod alienae praestat negotiationi! [2] Aut si eadem et angeli et daemones operantur, quae et dei vestri, ubi est ergo praecellentia divinitatis, quam utique superiorem omni potestate credendum est? Non ergo dignius praesumetur ipsos esse, qui se deos faciant, cum eadem edant, quae faciant deos credi, quam pares angelis et daemonibus deos esse? [3] Locorum differentia distinguitur, opinor, ut a templis deos existimetis, quos alibi deos non dicitis, ut aliter dementire videatur qui sacras turres pervolat, aliter qui tecta viciniae transilit, et alia vis pronuntietur in eo, qui genitalia vel lacertos, alia <in eo>, qui sibi gulam prosecat. Compar[a] exitus furoris et una ratio est instigationis.

[4] Sed hactenus verba; iam hinc demonstratio rei ipsius, qua[m] ostendemus unam esse utriusque nominis qualitatem. Edatur hic aliqui ibidem sub tribunalibus vestris, quem daemone agi constet; iussus a quolibet Christiano loqui spiritus ille tam se daemonem confitebitur de vero quam alibi deum de falso. [5] Aequae producat aliquis ex his, qui de deo pati existimantur, qui aris inhalantes numen de nidore concipiunt, qui ructando curantur, qui anhelando praefantur. [6] Ista ipsa Virgo Caelestis, pluviarum pollicitatrix, ipse iste Aesculapius, medicinarum demonstrator, alia die morituris socordio et <h>anatio et asclepiodoto <vitae> subministrator, nisi se daemones confessi fuerint, Christiano mentiri non audentes, ibidem illius Christiani procacissimi sanguinem fundite!

[7] Quid isto opere manifestius? Quid hac probatione fidelius? Simplicitas veritatis in medio est; virtus illi sua adsistit; nihil suspicari licebit. Magia aut aliqua eiusmodi fallacia fieri [dictis non] dicitis, si oculi vestri et aures permiserint vobis. [8] Quid autem inici potest adversus id, quod ostenditur nuda sinceritate? Si altera parte vere dei sunt, cur sese daemonia mentiuntur? An ut

nobis obsequantur? Iam ergo subiecta est Christianis divinitas vestra; nec divinitas deputanda est, quae subdita est homini et, si quid ad dedecus facit, aemulis suis. [9] Si altera parte daemones sunt vel angeli, cur se alibi pro deis agere respondent? Nam sicut illi, qui dei habentur, daemones se dicere noluissent, si vere dei essent, scilicet ne se de maiestate deponerent, ita et isti, quos directo daemonas nostis, non auderent alibi pro deis agere, si aliqui omnino dei essent, quorum nominibus utuntur; vererentur enim abuti maiestatem superiorum sine dubio et timendorum. [10] Adeo nulla est divinitas ista, quam tenetis, quia, si esset, neque a daemoniis affectaretur in confessione neque a deis negaretur. Cum ergo utraque pars concurrit in confessionem deos esse <se> negans, agnoscite unum genus esse, id est daemonas [verum] utrobique.

[11] Iam deos quaerite; quos enim praesumpseratis, daemonas esse cognoscitis. Eadem vero opera nostra ab eisdem deis vestris non tantum hoc detegentibus, quod neque ipsi dei sint neque ulli alii, etiam illud in continenti cognoscitis, qui[d] sit vere deus, et an ille et an unicus, quem Christiani profiteamur, et an ita credendus colendusque, ut fides, ut disciplina disposita est Christianorum. [12] Dicent ibidem et quis ille “Christus cum sua fabula”, si homo communis condicionis, si magus, si post mortem de sepulchro a discipulis subreptus, si nunc denique penes inferos, si non in caelis potius et inde venturus cum totius mundi motu, cum orbis horrore, cum planctu omnium, sed non Christianorum, ut dei virtus et dei spiritus et sermo et sapientia et ratio, et dei filius. [13] Quodcumque ridetis, rideant et illi vobiscum; negent Christum omnem ab aevo animam restituto corpore iudicaturum, dicant hoc pro tribunali, si forte, Minoen et Rhadamanthum secundum consensum Platonis et poetarum hoc esse sortitos. [14] Suae saltem ignominiae et damnationis notam refutant: Renu[nti]ant se immundos spiritus esse, quod vel ex pabulis eorum, sanguine et fumo et putidis rogis pecorum, et impuratissimis linguis ipsorum vatum intellegi debuit; renuant ob malitiam praedamnatos se in eundem iudicii diem cum omnibus cultoribus et operationibus suis.

[15] Atquin omnis haec nostra in illos dominatio et potestas de nominatione Christi valet et de commemoratione eorum, quae sibi a deo per arbitrum Christum imminetia expectant. Christum timentes in deo et deum in Christo subiciuntur servis dei et Christi. [16] Ita de contactu deque afflatu nostro,

contemplatione et repraesentatione ignis illius correpti etiam de corporibus nostro imperio excedunt inviti et dolentes et vobis praesentibus erubescences. [17] Credite illis, cum verum de se loquuntur, qui mentientibus creditis! Nemo ad suum dedecus mentitur, quin potius ad honorem. Magis fides proxima est adversus semetipsos confitentes quam pro semetipsis negantes. [18] Haec denique testimonia deorum vestrorum Christianos facere consuerunt; quam plurimum illis credendo in Christo deum credimus. Ipsi litterarum nostrarum fidem accendunt, ipsi spei nostrae fidentiam aedificant. [19] Colitis illos, quod sciam, etiam de sanguine Christianorum. Nollent itaque vos tam fructuosos, tam officiosos sibi amittere, vel ne a vobis quandoque [a] Christianis, fugentur, si illis sub Christiano volente vobis veritatem probare, mentiri liceret.

XXIV. [1] Omnis ista confessio illorum, qua se deos negant esse quaque non alium deum respondent praeter unum, cui nos mancipamur, satis idonea est ad depellendum crimen laesae maxime Romanae religionis. Si enim non sunt dei pro certo, nec religio pro certo est; si religio non est, quia nec dei, pro certo, nec nos pro certo rei sumus laesae religionis. [2] At e contrario in vos exprobratio resultabit, qui mendacium colentes veram religionem veri dei non modo negligendo, quin insuper expugnando, in verum committitis crimen verae irreligiositatis.

[3] Nunc ut constaret illos deos esse, nonne conceditis de aestimatione communi aliquem esse sublimiorem et potentiolem, velut principem mundi perfectae [peritiae] maiestatis? Nam et sic plerique disponunt divinitatem, ut imperium summae dominationis esse penes unum, officia eius penes multos velint, ut Plato Iovem magnum in caelo comitatum exercitu describit deorum pariter et daemonum; itaque oportere et procurantes et praefectos et praesides pariter suspici. [4] Et tamen quod facinus admittit, qui magis ad Caesarem promerendum et opera<m> et spem suam transfert nec appellationem dei, ita ut imperatoris, in ali<o> quam principe confitetur, cum capitale esse iudicetur alium praeter Caesarem et dicere et audire? [5] Colat alius deum, alius Iovem; alius ad caelum manus supplices tendat, alius ad aram Fidei manus; alius (si hoc putatis) nubes numeret orans, alius lacunaria; alius suam animam deo suo voveat, alius hirci. [6] Videte enim, ne et hoc ad irreligiositatis elogium concurrat, adimere libertatem religionis et interdicere optionem divinitatis, ut non liceat mihi colere quem velim, sed cogar colere quem nolim. Nemo se ab

invito coli volet, ne homo quidem.

[7] Atque adeo et Aegyptiis permissa est tam vanae superstitionis potestas avibus et bestiis consecrandis et capite damnandi qui aliquem huiusmodi deum occideri<n>t. [8] Unicuique etiam provinciae et civitati suus deus est, ut Syriae Atargatis, ut Arabiae Dusares, ut Norici<s> Belenus, ut Africae Caelestis, ut Mauritaniae reguli sui. Romanas, ut opinor, provincias edidi, nec tamen Romanos deos earum, quia Romae non magis coluntur quam qui per ipsam quoque Italiam municipali consecratione censentur: Casi[a]niensium Deluentinus, Narnensium Visidianus, A[e]sculanorum Ancharia, Volsiniensium Nortia, Oriculanorum Valentia, Sutrinorum Hostia; Faliscorum in honorem patris Curris et accepit cognomen Iuno. [9] Sed nos soli arcemur a religionis proprietate. Laedimus Romanos nec Romani habemur, qui non Romanorum deum colimus. [10] Bene quod omnium deus est, cuius, velimus ac nolimus, omnes sumus. Sed apud vos quodvis colere ius est praeter deum verum, quasi non hic magis omnium sit deus, cuius omnes sumus.

XXV. [1] Satis quidem mihi videor probasse de falsa et vera divinitate, cum demonstravi, quemadmodum probatio consistat, non modo disputationibus, nec argumentationibus, sed ipsorum etiam testimoniis, quos deos creditis, ut nihil iam ad hanc causam sit retractandum. [2] Quoniam tamen Romani nominis proprie menti<o> occurrit, non omittam congressionem, quam provocat illa praesumptio dicentium Romanos pro merito religiositatis diligentissimae in tantum sublimitatis elatos, ut orbem occuparint, et adeo deos esse, ut praeter ceteros floreat qui illis officium praeter ceteros faciant. [3] Scilicet ista merces Romano nomini a Romanis deis pro gratia expensa est: Sterculus et Mutunus et Larentina provexit imperium. Peregrinos enim deos non putem extraneae genti magis fa<cgt;tum voluisse quam suae et patrium solum, in quo nati, adulti, nobilitati sepultique sunt, transfretanis dedisse.

[4] Viderit Cybele, si urbem Romanam ut memoriam Troiani generis adamavit, vernaculi sui scilicet, adversus Achivorum arma protecti, si ad ultores transire prospexit, quo<s> sciebat Graeciam Phrygiae debellatorem subacturos. [5] Itaque maiestatis suae in urbem collatae grande documentum nostra etiam aetate proposuit, cum M. Aurelio apud Sirmium rei publicae exempto die sexto decimo Kalendarum Aprilium archigallus ille sanctissimus die nono Kalendarum earundem, quo sanguinem impurum lacertos quoque castrando libabat, pro salute imperatoris Marci iam intercepti solita aequae

imperia mandavit. [6] O nuntios tardos, o somniculosa diplomata, quorum vitio excessum imperatoris non ante Cybele cognovit, ne deam talem riderent Christiani!

[7] Sed non statim et Iuppiter Cretam suam Romanis fascibus concuti sineret, oblitus antrum illud Idaeum et aera Corybantia et iocundissimum illic nutricis suae odorem. Nonne omni Capitolio tumultum illum suum praeposuisset, ut ea potius orbi terra[e] praecelleret, quae cineres Iovis texit?

[8] Vellet <et> Iuno Punicam urbem “posthabita Samo” dilectam ab Aeneadarum utique gente deleri? Quod sciam:

hic illius arma,

hic currus fuit; hoc regnum dea gentibus esse,

si qua fata sinant, iam tum tenditque fovetque.

Misera illa “coniu<n>x Iovis et soror” adversus fata non valuit! Plane “fato stat Iuppiter ipse”. [9] Nec tantum tamen honoris fatis Romani dicaverunt dedentibus sibi Carthaginem adversus destinatum votumque Iunonis, quantum prostitutissimae lupae La[u]rentinae.

[10] Plures deos vestros regnasse certum est. Igitur si conferendi imperii tenent potestatem — cum ipsi regnarent, a quibus acceperant eam gratiam? Quem coluerat Saturnus et Iuppiter? Aliquem, opinor, Sterculum. Sed postea Romani cum indigitamentis suis. [11] Etiam si qui non regnaverunt, tamen regnabantur ab aliis nondum cultoribus suis, ut qui nondum dei habebantur. Ergo aliorum est regnum dare, quia regnabatur multo ante quam isti dei inciderentur.

[12] Sed quam vanum est fastigium Romani nominis religiositatis meritis deputare, cum post imperium sive adhuc regnum religio profecerit, age iam, rebus religio profecerit. Nam, etsi a Numa concepta est curiositas superstitiosa, nondum tamen aut simulacris aut templis res divina apud Romanos constabat. [13] Frugi religio et pauperes ritus et nulla Capitolia certantia ad caelum, sed temeraria de caespite altaria, et vasa adhuc Samia, et nidor exil[is] et deus ipse nusquam. Nondum enim tunc ingenia Graecorum atque Tuscorum fingendis simulacris urbem inundaverant. Ergo non ante religiosi Romani quam magni, ideoque non ob hoc magni, quia religiosi.

[14] Atquin quomodo ob religionem magni, quibus magnitudo de irreligiositate provenit? Ni fallor enim, omne regnum vel imperium bellis quaeritur et victoriis propagatur. Porro bella et victoriae captis et eversis

plurimum urbibus constant. Id negotium sine deorum iniuria non est; eadem strages moenium et templorum, pares caedes civium et sacerdotum nec dissimiles rapinae sacrarum divitiarum et profanarum. [15] Tot igitur sacrilegia Romanorum quot tropaea, tot <de> deis quot de gentibus triumphi, tot manubiae quot manent adhuc simulacra captivorum deorum. [16] Et ab hostibus ergo suis sustinent adorari et illis “imperium sine fine” decernunt, quorum magis iniurias quam adulationes remunerasse debuerant. Sed qui nihil sentiunt, tam impune laeduntur quam frustra coluntur. [17] Certe non potest fidei convenire, ut religionis meritis excrevisse videantur qui, ut suggessimus, religionem aut laedendo creverunt aut crescendo laeserunt. Etiam illi, quorum regna conflata sunt in imperii Romanii summam, cum ea amitterent, sine religionibus non fuerunt.

XXVI. [1] Videte igitur, ne ille regna dispenset cuius est et orbis qui regnatur et homo ipse qui regnat; ne ille vices dominationum ipsis temporibus in saeculo ordinarit, qui ante omne tempus fuit et saeculum corpus temporum fecit; ne ille civitates extollat aut deprimat, sub quo fuit sine civitatibus aliquando gens hominum! [2] Quid erratis? Prior est quibusdam deis suis silvestris Roma; ante regnavit quam tantum ambitum Capitolii extrueret[ur]. Regnaverant et Babylonii ante pontifices et Medi ante quindecimviros et Aegyptii ante Salios et Assyrii ante Lupercos et Amazones ante virgines Vestales. [3] Postremo si Romanae religiones regna praestant, numquam retro Iudaea regnasset despectrix communium istarum divinitatum, cuius et deum victimis et templum donis et gentem foederibus aliquamdiu, Romani, honorastis, numquam dominaturi eius, si non deliquisset ultimo in Christum.

XXVII. [1] Satis haec adversus intimationem laesae divinitatis, quo non videamur laedere eam, quam ostendimus non esse. Igitur provocati ad sacrificandum obstruimus gradum pro fide conscientiae nostrae, qua certi sumus, ad quos ista perveniant officia sub imaginum prostitutione et humanorum nominum consecratione. [2] Sed quidam dementiam existimant, quod, cum possimus et sacrificare in praesenti et illaesi abire manente apud animum proposito, obstinationem saluti praeferamus. [3] Datis scilicet consilium, quo vobis abutamur; sed agnoscimus, unde talia suggerantur, quis totum hoc agitet, et quomodo nunc astutia suadendi, nunc durtia saeviendi ad constantiam nostram deiciendam operetur: [4] Ille scilicet spiritus daemonicae et angelicae paraturae, qui noster ob divortium aemulus et ob dei gratiam

invidus, de mentibus vestris adversus nos proeliatur occulta inspiratione modulatis et subornatis ad omnem, quam in primordio exorsi sumus, et iudicandi perversitatem et saeviendi iniquitatem.

[5] Nam licet subiecta sit nobis tota vis daemonum et eiusmodi spirituum, ut nequam tamen [et] servi metu nonnumquam contumaciam miscent et laedere gestiunt quos alias verentur; odium enim etiam timor spirat, [6] praeterquam et desperata condicio eorum ex praedamnatione solatium reputat fruendae interim malignitatis de poenae mora. Et tamen apprehensi subiguntur et condicioni suae succidunt, et quos de longinquo oppugnant, de proximo obsecrant. [7] Itaque, cum vice rebellantium ergastulorum sive carcerum vel metallorum vel hoc genus poenalis servitutis erumpunt adversus nos, in quorum potestate sunt, certi et impares se esse et hoc magis perditos, ingratis resistimus ut aequales et repugnamus perseverantes in eo, quod oppugnant et illos numquam magis detriumphamus quam cum pro fideli obstinatione damnamur.

XXVIII. [1] Quoniam autem facile iniquum videretur liberos homines invitos urgeri ad sacrificandum — nam et alias divinae rei faciundae libens animus indicitur — , certe ineptum existimaretur, si quis ab alio cogeretur ad honorem deorum, quos ultro sui causa placare deberet, ne prae manu esset iure libertatis dicere: “Nolo mihi Iovem propitium; tu quis es? Me conveniat Ianus iratus ex qua velit fronte; quid tibi mecum est?” [2] Formati estis ab isdem utique spiritibus, uti nos pro salute imperatoris sacrificare cogatis, et imposita est tam vobis necessitas cogendi quam nobis obligatio periclitandi.

[3] Ventum est igitur ad secundum titulum laesae augustioris maiestatis, siquidem maiore formidine et callidior timiditate Caesarem observatis quam ipsum de Olympo Iovem. Et merito, si sciatis. Quis enim ex viventibus quilibet non mortuo potior? [4] Sed nec hoc vos ratione facitis potius quam respectu praesentanae potestatis; adeo et in isto irreligiosi erga deos vestros deprehendimini, cum plus timoris humano dominio dicatis. Citius denique apud vos per omnes deos quam per unum genium Caesaris peieratur.

XXIX. [1] Constet igitur prius, si isti, quibus sacrificatur, salutem imperatoribus vel cuilibet homini impertire possunt, et ita nos crimini maiestatis addicite, si angeli aut daemones substantia pessimi spiritus beneficium aliquod operantur, si perditii conservant, si damnati liberant, si denique, quod in conscientia vestra est, mortui vivos tuentur. [2] Nam utique

suas primo statuas et imagines et aedes tuerentur, quae, ut opinor, Caesarum milites excubiis salva praestant. Puto autem, eae ipsae materiae de metallis Caesarum veniunt, et tota templa de nutu Caesaris constant. [3] Multi denique dei habuerunt Caesarem iratum; facit ad causam, si et propitium, cum illis aliquid liberalitatis aut privilegii confert. Ita qui sunt in Caesaris potestate, cuius et toti sunt, quomodo habebunt salutem Caesaris in potestate, ut eam praestare posse videantur, quam facilius ipsi a Caesare consequantur?

[4] Ideo ergo committimus in maiestatem imperatorum, quia illos non subicimus rebus suis, quia non ludimus de officio salutis ipsorum, qui eam non putamus in manibus esse plumbatis! [5] Sed vos irreligiosi, qui eam quaeritis ubi non est, petitis a quibus dari non potest, praeterito eo, in cuius est potestate, insuper eos debellatis, qui eam sciunt petere, qui etiam possunt impetrare, dum sciunt petere!

XXX. [1] Nos enim pro salute imperatorum deum invocamus aeternum, deum verum, deum vivum, quem et ipsi imperatores propitium sibi praeter ceteros malunt. Sciunt, quis illis dederit imperium; sciunt, qua homines, quis et animam; sentiunt eum esse deum solum, in cuius solius potestate sint, a quo sint secundi, post quem primi, ante omnes et super omnes deos. Quidni? Cum super omnes homines, qui utique vivunt et mortuis antistant. [2] Recogitant quousque vires imperii sui valeant, et ita deum intellegunt; adversus quem valere non possunt, per eum valere se cognoscunt. Caelum denique debellet imperator, caelum captivum triumpho suo invehat, caelo mittat excubias, caelo vectigalia imponat! Non potest. [3] Ideo magnus est, quia caelo minor est; illius enim est ipse, cuius et caelum est et omnis creatura. Inde est imperator, unde et homo antequam imperator; inde potestas illi, unde et spiritus. [4] Illuc suspicientes Christiani manibus expansis, quia innocuis, capite nudo, quia non erubescimus, denique sine monitore, quia de pectore oramus, precantes sumus semper pro omnibus imperatoribus vitam illis prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum, quaecumque hominis et Caesaris vota sunt. [5] Haec ab alio orare non possum quam a quo me scio consecuturum, quoniam et ipse est, qui solus praestat, et ego sum, cui impetrare debetur, famulus eius, qui eum solus observo, qui propter disciplinam eius occidor, qui ei offero opimam et maiorem hostiam, quam ipse mandavit, orationem de carne pudica, de anima innocenti, de spiritu

sancto profectam, [6] non grana turis unius assis, Arabicae arboris lacrimas, nec duas meri guttas, nec sanguinem reprobis bovis mori optantis, et post omnia inquinamenta etiam conscientiam spurcam: ut mirer, cum hostiae probantur penes vos a vitiosissimis sacerdotibus, cur [quibus] praecordia potius victimarum quam ipsorum sacrificantium examinentur.

[7] Sic itaque nos ad deum expansos ungulae fodiant, cruces suspendant, ignes lambant, gladii guttura detruncant, bestiae insiliant: paratus est ad omne supplicium ipse habitus orantis Christiani. Hoc agite, boni praesides, extorquete animam deo supplicantem pro imperatore! Hic erit crimen, ubi veritas et dei devotio est!

XXXI. [1] Adolati nunc sumus imperatori et mentiti vota, quae diximus, ad evadendam scilicet vim? Plane proficit ista fallacia; admittitis nos enim probare quodcumque defendimus. Qui ergo putaveris nihil nos de salute Caesarum curare, inspicite dei voces, litteras nostras, quas neque ipsi supprimimus et plerique casus ad extraneos transferunt. [2] Scitote ex illis praeceptum esse nobis ad redundantiam benignitatis etiam pro inimicis deum orare et persecutoribus nostris bona precari. Qui magis inimici et persecutores Christianorum quam de quorum maiestate convenimur in crimen? [3] Sed etiam nominatim atque manifeste: “Orate”, inquit, “pro regibus et pro principibus et potestatibus, ut omnia tranquilla sint vobis!” Cum enim concutitur imperium, concussis etiam ceteris membris eius, utique et nos, licet extranei a turbis aestimemur, in aliquo loco casus invenimur.

XXXII. [1] Est et alia maior necessitas nobis orandi pro imperatoribus, etiam pro omni statu imperii rebusque Romanis, qui vim maximam universo orbi imminentem ipsamque clausulam saeculi acerbitates horrendas comminantem Romani imperii commeatu scimus retardari. Itaque nolumus experiri et, dum precamur differri, Romanae diuturnitati favemus.

[2] Sed et iuramus sicut non per genios Caesarum, ita per salutem eorum, quae est augustior omnibus geniis. Nescitis genios daemones dici et inde diminutiva voce daemonia? Nos iudicium dei suspicimus in imperatoribus, qui gentibus illos praefecit. [3] Id in eis scimus esse, quod deus voluit, ideoque et salvum volumus esse quod deus voluit, et pro magno id iuramento habemus. Certerum daemones, id est genios, adiurare consuevimus, ut illos de hominibus exigamus, non deierare, ut eis honorem divinitatis conferamus.

XXXIII. [1] Sed quid ego amplius de religione atque pietate Christiana in

imperatore<m>? quem necesse est suspiciamus ut eum, quem dominus noster elegit, ut merito dixerim: “Noster est magis Caesar, a nostro deo constitutus.”

[2] Itaque ut meo plus ego illi operor in salutem, si quidem non solum ab eo postulo eam, qui potest praestare, aut quod talis postulo, qui merear impetrare, sed etiam quod temperans maiestatem Caesaris infra deum magis illum commendo deo, cui soli subicio; subicio autem, cui non adaequo. [3] Non enim deum imperatorem dicam, vel quia mentiri nescio, vel quia illum deridere non audeo, vel quia nec ipse se deum volet dici. Si homo sit, interest homini deo cedere; satis habeat appellari imperator; grande et hoc nomen est, quod a deo traditur. Negat illum imperatorem qui deum dicit; nisi homo sit, non est imperator. [4] Hominem se esse etiam triumphans in illo sublimissimo curru admonetur; suggeritur enim ei a tergo: “Respice post te! Hominem te memento!” Et utique hoc magis gaudet tanta se gloria coruscare, ut illi admonitio condicionis suae sit necessaria. Minor erat, si tunc deus diceretur, quia non vere diceretur. Maior est qui revocatur, ne se deum existimet.

XXXIV. [1] Augustus, imperii formator, ne dominum quidem dici se volebat. Et hoc enim dei est cognomen. Dicam plane imperatorem dominum, sed more communi, sed quando non cogor, ut dominum dei vice dicam. Ceterum liber sum illi; dominus enim meus unus est, deus omnipotens, aeternus, idem qui et ipsius. [2] Qui pater patriae est, quomodo dominus est? Sed et gratius est nomen pietatis quam potestatis; etiam familiae magis patres quam domini vocantur.

[3] Tanto abest, ut imperator deus debeat dici, quod non potest credi — non modo turpissima, sed et perniciosa adulatione. Tamquam si habens imperatorem alterum appelles, nonne maximam et inexorabilem offensam contrahes eius, quem habuisti, etiam ipsi timendam, quem appellasti? Esto religiosus in deum, qui vis illum propitium imperatori! Desine alium deum credere atque ita et hunc deum dicere, cui deo opus est! [4] Si non de mendacio erubescit adulatio eiusmodi hominem deum appellans, timeat saltem de infausto: Maledictum est ante apotheosin deum Caesarem nuncupari.

XXXV. [1] Propterea igitur publici hostes Christiani, quia imperatoribus neque vanos neque mentientes neque temerarios honores dicant, quia verae religionis homines etiam solemnia eorum conscientia potius quam lascivia celebrant. [2] Grande videlicet officium focos et toros in publicum educere, vicitim epulari, civitatem tabernae habitu abolefacere, vino lutum cogere,

cateruatim cursitare ad iniurias, ad impudentias, ad libidinis illecebras! Sicine exprimitur publicum gaudium per dedecus publicum? Haecine solemnes dies principum decent, quae alios dies non decent? [3] Qui observant disciplinam de Caesaris respectu, hi eam propter Caesarem deserunt, et malorum morum licentia pietas erit, occasio luxuriae religio deputabitur! [4] O nos merito damnandos! Cur enim vota et gaudia Caesarum casti et sobrii et probi expungimus? cur die laeto non laureis postes obumbramus nec lucernis diem infringimus? Honesta res est solemnitate publica exigente induere domui tuae habitum alicuius novi lupanaris!

[5] Velim tamen in hac quoque religione secundae maiestatis, de qua in secundum sacrilegium convenimur Christiani non celebrando vobiscum solemnia Caesarum, quo more celebrari nec modestia nec verecundia nec pudicitia permittunt, sed occasio voluptatis magis quam digna ratio persuasit, fidem et veritatem vestram demonstrare, ne forte et istic deteriores Christianis deprehendantur qui nos nolunt Romanos haberi, sed ut hostes principum Romanorum. [6] Ipsos Quirites, ipsam vernaculam septem collium plebem convenio, an alicui Caesari suo parcat illa lingua Romana: Testis est Tiberis, et scholae bestiarum. [7] Iam si pectoribus ad translucendum quandam specularem materiam natura obduxisset, cuius non praecordia insculpta appare<re>nt novi ac novi Caesaris scaenam congiario dividendo praesidentis, etiam illa hora, qua acclamant: “de nostris annis augeat tibi Iuppiter annos!” Haec Christianus tam enuntiare non novit quam de novo Caesare optare.

[8] “Sed vulgus”, inquis. Ut vulgus, tamen Romani, nec ulli magis depostulatores Christianorum quam vulgus. Plane ceteri ordines pro auctoritate religiosi ex fide; nihil hosticum de ipso senatu, de equite, de castris, de palatiis ipsis spirant! [9] Unde Cassii et Nigri et Albini? Unde qui inter duas laurus obsident Caesarem? Unde qui faucibus eius exprimendis palaesticam exercent? Unde qui armati palatium irrumpunt, omnibus tot Sigeriis atque Partheniis audaciores? De Romanis, nisi fallor, id est de non Christianis. [10] Atque adeo omnes illi sub ipsa usque impietatis eruptione et sacra faciebant pro salute imperatoris et genium eius deierabant, alii foris, alii intus, et utique publicorum hostium nomen Christianis dabant. [11] Sed et qui nunc scelestarum partium socii aut plausores cottidie revelantur, post vindemiam parricidarum racematio superstes, quam recentissimis et

ramosissimis laureis postes praestuebant, quam elatissimis et clarissimis lucernis vestibula nebulabant, quam cultissimis et superbissimis toris forum sibi dividebant, non ut gaudia publica celebrarent, sed ut vota propria iam edicerent in aliena sollemnitate et exemplum atque imaginem spei suae inaugurarent nomen principis in corde mutantes.

[12] Eadem officia dependunt et qui astrologos et haruspices et augures et magos de Caesarum capite consultant, quas artes ut ab angelis desertoribus proditas et a deo interdictas ne suis quidem causis adhibent Christiani. [13] Cui autem opus est perscrutari super Caesaris salute, nisi a quo aliquid adversus illam cogitatur vel optatur, aut post illam speratur et sustinetur? Non enim ea mente de caris consulitur qua de dominis. Aliter curiosa est sollicitudo sanguinis, aliter servitutis.

XXXVI. [1] Si haec ita sunt, ut hostes deprehendantur qui Romani vocabantur, cur nos, qui hostes existimamur, Romani negamur? Non possumus et Romani non esse et hostes esse, cum hostes reperiantur qui Romani habebantur.

[2] Adeo pietas et religio et fides imperatoribus debita non in huiusmodi officiis consistit, quibus et hostilitas magis ad velamentum sui potest fungi, sed in his moribus, quibus divinitas imperat tam vere, quam circa omnes necesse habet, exhiberi. [3] Neque enim haec opera bonae mentis solis imperatoribus debentur a nobis. Nullum bonum sub exceptione personarum administramus, quia nobis praestamus, qui non ab homine aut laudis aut praemii expensum captamus, sed a deo exactore et remuneratore indifferentis benignitatis. [4] Idem sumus imperatoribus, qui et vicinis nostris. Male enim velle, male facere, male dicere, male cogitare de quoquam ex aequo vetamur. Quodcumque non licet in imperatorem, id nec in quemquam; quod in neminem, eo forsitan magis nec in ipsum, qui per deum tantus est.

XXXVII. [1] Si inimicos, ut supra diximus, iubemur diligere, quem habemus odisse? Item, si laesi vicem referre prohibemur, ne de facto pares simus, quem possumus laedere? [2] Nam de isto ipsi recognoscite! Quotiens enim in Christianos desaevitis, partim animis propriis, partim legibus obsequentes! Quotiens etiam praeteritis vobis suo iure nos inimicum vulgus invadit lapidibus et incendiis! Ipsi Bacchanalium furiis nec mortuis parcunt Christianis, quin illos de requie sepulturae, de asylo quodam mortis, iam alios, iam nec totos avellant, dissecant, distrahant. [3] Quid tamen de tam conspiratis

umquam denotatis, de tam animatis ad mortem usque pro iniuria repensatis, quando vel una nox pauculis faculis largiter ultionis posset operari, si malum malo dispungi penes nos liceret? Sed absit, ut aut igni humano vindicetur divina secta aut doleat pati, in quo probatur!

[4] Si enim et hostes exsertos, non tantum vindices occultos agere vellemus, deesset nobis vis numerorum et copiarum? Plures nimirum Mauri et Marcomanni ipsique Parthi, vel quantaecumque unius tamen loci et suorum finium gentes quam totius orbis. Hesterni sumus, et vestra omnia implevimus, urbes insulas castella municipia conciliabula castra ipsa tribus decurias palatium senatum forum; sola vobis reliquimus templa. [5] Cui bello non idonei, non prompti fuissetus etiam impares copiis, qui tam libenter trucidamur, si non apud istam disciplinam magis occidi liceret quam occidere?

[6] Potuimus et inermes nec rebelles, sed tantummodo discordes, solius divortii invidia adversus vos dimicasse. Si enim tanta vis hominum in aliquem orbis remoti sinum abruptissemus a vobis, suffudisset utique dominationem vestram tot quali^{<um>}cumque civium amissio, immo et ipsa destitutione punisset. [7] Procul dubio expavissetis ad solitudinem vestram, ad silentium rerum et stuporem quendam quasi mortui orbis; quaesissetis quibus imperaretis; plures hostes quam cives vobis remansissent. [8] Nunc enim pauciores hostes habetis prae multitudine Christianorum, paene omnium civi^{<tat>}um paene omnes cives Christianos habendo. Sed hostes maluistis vocare generis humani potius quam erroris humani.

[9] Quis autem vos ab illis occultis et usquequaque vastantibus mentes et valetudines vestras hostibus raperet, a daemoniorum incursibus dico, quae de vobis sine praemio, sine mercede depellimus? Suffecisset hoc solum nostrae ultioni, quod vacua exinde possessio immundis spiritibus pateret^{<is>}. [10] Porro nec tanti praesidii compensationem cogitantes non modo non molestum vobis genus, verum etiam necessarium hostes iudicare maluistis, qui^[a] sumus plane, non generis humani tamen, sed potius erroris.

XXXVIII. [1] Proinde nec paulo lenius inter ^{<il>}licitas factiones sectam istam deputari oportebat, a qua nihil tale committitur, quale de illicitis factionibus timeri solet. [2] Nisi fallor enim, prohibendarum factionum causa de providentia constat modestiae publicae, ne civitas in partes scinderetur, quae res facile comitia concilia curias contiones, spectacula etiam aemulis studiorum compulsionibus inquietaret, cum iam et in quaestu habere

coepissent venalem et mercenariam homines violentiae suae operam. [3] At enim nobis ab omni gloriae et dignitatis ardore frigentibus nulla est necessitas coetus nec ulla magis res aliena quam publica. Unam omnium rem publicam agnoscimus, mundum. [4] Aeque spectaculis vestris in tantum renuntiamus, in quantum originibus eorum, quas scimus de superstitione conceptas, cum et ipsis rebus, de quibus transiguntur, praetersumus. Nihil est nobis dictu visu auditu cum insania circi, cum impudicitia theatri, cum atrocitate arenae, cum xysti vanitate. [5] Licuit Epicureis aliam decernere voluptatis veritatem, id est animi aequitatem: In quo vos offendimus, si alias praesumimus voluptates? Si oblectari noviss<im>e nolumus, nostra iniuria est, si forte, non vestra. Sed reprobamus, quae placent vobis. Nec vos nostra delectant.

XXXIX. [1] Edam iam nunc ego ipse negotia Christianae factionis, ut, qui mala refutaverim, bona ostendam. Corpus sumus de conscientia religionis et disciplinae unitate et spei foedere. [2] Coimus in coetum et congregationem, ut ad deum quasi manu facta precationibus ambiamus orantes. Haec vis deo grata est. Oramus etiam pro imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum et potestatibus, pro statu saeculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis. [3] Coimus ad litterarum divinarum commemorationem, si quid praesentium temporum qualitas aut praemonere cogit aut recognoscere. Certe fidem sanctis vocibus pascimus, spem erigimus, fiduciam figimus, disciplinam praeceptorum nihilominus inculcationibus densamus. [4] Ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes et censura divina. Nam et iudicatur magno cum pondere, ut apud certos de dei conspectu, summumque futuri iudicii praeiudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit, ut a communicatione orationis et conventus et omnis sancti commercii relegetur. [5] Praesident probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio, sed testimonio adepti, neque enim pretio ulla res dei constat. Etiam, si quod arcae genus est, non de honoraria summa quasi redemptae religionis congregatur. Modicam unusquisque stipem menstrua die, vel cum velit et si modo velit et si modo possit, apponit. Nam nemo compellitur, sed sponte confert. [6] Haec quasi deposita pietatis sunt. Nam inde non epulis nec potaculis nec ingratis voratrinis dispensatur, sed egenis alendis humandisque et pueris ac puellis re ac parentibus destitutis iamque domesticis senibus, item naufragis et si qui in metallis et si qui in insulis vel in custodiis, dumtaxat ex causa dei sectae, alumni confessionis suae fiunt. [7] Sed eiusmodi vel maxime dilectionis operatio notam nobis inurit penes quosdam. “Vide”, inquiunt, “ut

invicem se diligant” — ipsi enim invicem oderunt — “et ut pro alterutro mori sint parati”; ipsi enim ad occidendum alterutrum paratiores erunt.

[8] Sed et quod fratres nos vocamus, non alias, opinor, insaniunt, quam quod apud ipsos omne sanguinis nomen de affectione simulatum est. Fratres autem etiam vestri sumus iure naturae matris unius, etsi vos parum homines, quia mali fratres. [9] At quanto dignius fratres et dicuntur et habentur, qui unum patrem deum agnoverint, qui unum spiritum biberint sanctitatis, qui de uno utero ignorantiae eiusdem ad unam lucem expaverint veritatis! [10] Sed eo fortasse minus legitimi existimamur, quia nulla de nostra fraternitate tragoedia exclamat, vel quia ex substantia familiari fratres sumus, quae penes vos fere dirimit fraternitatem. [11] Itaque qui animo animaque miscemur, nihil de rei communicatione dubitamus. Omnia indiscreta sunt apud nos praeter uxores. [12] In isto loco consortium solvimus, in quo solo ceteri homines consortium exercent, qui non amicorum solummodo matrimonia usurpant, sed et sua amicis patientissime subministrant — ex illa, credo, maiorum et sapientissimorum disciplina, Graeci Socratis et Romani Catonis, qui uxores suas amicis communicaverunt, quas in matrimonium duxerant liberorum causa et alibi creandorum, nescio quidem an invitas; [13] quid enim de castitate curarent, quam mariti tam facile donaverant? O sapientiae Atticae, o Romanae gravitatis exemplum: leno[n] est philosophus et censor!

[14] Quid ergo mirum, si tanta caritas convivatur? Nam et cenulas nostras, praeterquam sceleris infames, ut prodigas quoque suggillatis. De nobis scilicet Diogenis dictum est: “Megarenses obsonant quasi crastina die morituri, aedificant vero quasi numquam morituri.” [15] Sed stipulam quis in alieno oculo facilius perspicit quam in suo trabem. Tot tribubus et curiis et decuriis ructantibus acescit aer; Saliis cenaturis creditor erit necessarius; Herculanarum decimanarum et polluctorum sumptus tabularii supputabunt; Apaturiiis, Dionysiis, mysteriis Atticis cocorum dilectus indicitur; ad fumum cenae Serapiacae sparteoli excitabuntur — de solo triclinio Christianorum retractatur.

[16] Cena nostra de nomine rationem sui ostendit: Id vocatur quod dilectio penes Graecos. Quantiscumque sumptibus constet, lucrum est pietatis nomine facere sumptum, siquidem inopes quosque refrigerio isto iuvamus, non qua penes vos parasiti affectant ad gloriam famulandae libertatis sub auctoramento ventris inter contumelias saginandi, sed qua penes deum maior est

contemplatio mediocrium. [17] Si honesta causa est convivii, reliquum ordinem disciplinae de causa aestimate! Quod sit de religionis officio, nihil vilitatis, nihil immodestiae admittit. Non prius discumbitur quam oratio ad deum praegustetur; editur quantum esurientes capiunt; bibitur quantum pudicis utile est. [18] Ita saturantur, ut qui meminerint, etiam per noctem adorandum deum sibi esse; ita fabulantur, ut qui sciant dominum audire. Post aquam manualet et lumina, ut quisque de scripturis sanctis vel de proprio ingenio potest, provocatur in medium deo canere; hinc probatur quomodo biberit. Aequa oratio convivium dirimit. [19] Inde disceditur non in catervas caesionum nec in classes discursationum nec in eruptiones lasciviarum, sed ad eandem curam modestiae et pudicitiae, ut qui non tam cenam cenaverint quam disciplinam.

[20] Haec coitio Christianorum merito sane illicita, si illicitis par, merito damnanda, si quis de ea queritur eo titulo, quo de factionibus querela est. [21] In cuius perniciem aliquando convenimus? Hoc sumus congregati, quod et dispersi, hoc universi, quod et singuli: Neminem laedentes, neminem contristantes. Cum probi, cum boni coeunt, cum pii, cum casti congregantur, non est factio dicenda, sed curia.

XL. [1] At e contrario illis nomen factionis accommodandum est, qui in odium bonorum et proborum conspirant, qui adversum sanguinem innocentium conclamant, praetextentes sane ad odii defensionem illam quoque vanitatem, quod existiment omnis publicae cladis, omnis popularis incommodi Christianos esse in causa[m]. [2] Si Tiberis ascendit in moenia, si Nilus non ascendit in arva, si caelum stetit, si terra movit, si fames, si lues, statim: “Christianos ad leonem!” acclamatur. Tantos ad unum?

[3] Oro vos, ante Tiberium, id est ante Christi adventum, quantae clades orbem et urbes ceciderunt! Legimus Hieran, Anaphen et Delon et Rhodon et Co insulas multis cum milibus hominum pessum abisse. [4] Memorat et Plato maiorem Asiae vel Africae terram Atlantico mari ereptam. Sed et mare Corinthium terrae motus ebibit, et vis undarum Lucaniam abscisam in Siciliae nomen relegavit. Haec utique non sine iniuria incolentium accidere potuerunt. [5] Ubi vero tunc, non dicam deorum vestrorum contemptores Christiani, sed ipsi dei vestri, cum totum orbem cataclysmus abolevit vel, ut Plato putavit, campestre solummodo? [6] Posteriores enim illos clade diluvii contestantur ipsae urbes, in quibus nati mortuique sunt, etiam quas condiderunt; neque enim alias hodiernum manerent nisi et ipsae postumae cladis illius. [7] Nondum

Iudaicum ab Aegypto examen Palaestina suscepit, nec iam illic Christianae sectae origo consederat, cum regiones adfines eius, Sodoma et Gomorra, igneus imber exussit. Olet adhuc incendio terra, et si qua illic arborum poma, conantur oculis tenus, ceterum contacta cinerescunt. [8] Sed nec Tuscia iam tunc atque Campania de Christianis querebantur, cum Vulsinius de caelo, Pompeios de suo monte perfudit ignis. Nemo adhuc Romae deum verum adorabat, cum Hannibal apud Cannas per Romanos anulos caedes suas modio metiebatur. Omnes dei vestri ab omnibus colebantur, cum ipsum Capitolium Senones occupaverant. [9] Et bene quod, si quid adversi urbibus accidit, eadem clades templorum quae et moenium fuerunt, ut iam hoc revincam non ab eis evenire, quia et ipsis evenit.

[10] Semper humana gens male de deo meruit, primo quidem ut inofficiosa eius, quem cum intellegeret ex parte, non requisivit, sed et alios insuper sibi commentata, quos coleret; dehinc quod non inquirendo innocentiae magistrum et nocentiae iudicem et exactorem omnibus vitiis et criminibus inolevit. [11] Ceterum si requisisset, sequebatur, ut cognosceret requisitum et recognitum observaret et observatum propitium magis experiretur quam iratum. [12] Eundem igitur nunc quoque scire debet iratum, quem et retro semper, priusquam Christiani nominarentur. Cuius bonis utebatur ante editis quam sibi deos fingeret, cur non ab eo etiam mala intellegat evenire, cuius bona esse non sensit? Illius rea est, cuius et ingrata.

[13] Et tamen pristinas clades comparemus, leviora nunc accidunt, ex quo Christianos a deo orbis accepit. Ex eo enim et innocentia saeculi iniquitates temperavit et deprecatores dei esse coeperunt. [14] Denique cum ab imbribus aestiva hiberna suspendunt et annus in cura est, vos quidem cottidie pasti statimque pransuri balneis et cauponis et lupanaribus operantibus aquilicia Iovi immolatis, nudipedalia populo denuntiatis, caelum apud Capitolium quaeritis, nubila de laquearibus exspectatis, aversi ab ipso et deo et caelo. [15] Nos vero ieiuniis aridi et omni continentia expressi, ab omni vitae fruge dilati, in sacco et cinere volutantes invidia caelum tundimus, deum tangimus et, cum misericordiam extorserimus — Iuppiter honoratur.

XLI. [1] Vos igitur importuni rebus humanis, vos rei, publicorum incommodorum illices semper, apud quos deus spernitur, statuae adorantur. Etenim credibilis haberi debet eum irasci, qui neglegatur quam qui coluntur; [2] aut ne illi iniquissimi, si propter Christianos etiam cultores suos laedunt,

quos separare deberent a meritis Christianorum! “Hoc”, inquit, “et in deum vestrum repercutere est, si quod et ipse pati[a]tur, propter profanos etiam suos cultores laedi.” Admittite prius dispositiones eius, et non retorquebitis. [3] Qui enim semel aeternum iudicium destinavit post saeculi finem, non praecipitat discretionem, quae est condicio iudicii, ante saeculi finem. Aequalis est interim super omne hominum genus, et indulgens et increpans; communia voluit esse et commoda profanis et incommoda suis, ut pari consortio omnes et lenitatem eius et severitatem experiremur. [4] Quia haec ita didicimus apud ipsum, diligimus lenitatem, metuimus severitatem; vos contra utramque despicitis; et sequitur, ut omnes saeculi plagae nobis, si forte, in admonitionem, vobis in castigationem a deo obveniant. [5] Atquin nos nullo modo laedimur; inprimis quia nihil nostra refert in hoc aevo nisi de eo quam celeriter excedere; dehinc quia, si quid adversi infligitur, vestris meritis deputatur. Sed et si aliqua nos quoque praestringunt ut vobis cohaerentes, laetamur magis recognitione divinarum praedicationum, confirmantium scilicet fiduciam et fidem spei nostrae. Sin vero ab eis, quos colitis, omnia vobis mala eveniunt nostri causa, quid colere perseveratis tam ingratos, tam iniustos, qui magis vos in dolore Christianorum iuvare et adserere debuerant [quos separare deberent a meritis Christianorum]?

XLII. [1] Sed alio quoque iniuriarum titulo postulamus: et infructuosi [in] negotiis dicimur. Quo pacto homines vobiscum degentes, eiusdem victus habitus instructus, eiusdem ad vitam necessitatis? Neque enim Brachmanae aut Indorum gymnosophistae sumus, silvicolae et exules vitae. [2] Meminimus gratiam debere nos deo domino creatori; nullum fructum operum eius repudiamus, plane temperamus, ne[c] ultra modum aut perperam utamur. Itaque non sine foro, non sine macello, non sine balneis tabernis officinis stabulis nundinis vestris ceterisque commerciis cohabitamus in hoc saeculo. [3] Navigamus et nos vobiscum et militamus et rusticamur et mercatus proinde miscemus, artes, opera nostra publicamus usui vestro. Quomodo infructuosi videmur negotiis vestris, cum quibus et de quibus vivimus, non scio.

[4] Sed si caerimonias tuas non frequento, attamen et illa die homo sum. Non labor diluculo Saturnalibus, ne et noctem et diem perdam; attamen labor honesta hora et salubri, quae mihi et calorem et sanguinem servet; rigere et pallere post lavacrum mortuus possum. [5] Non in publico Liberalibus discumbo, quod bestiariis supremam cenantibus mos est; attamen ubi, de

copiis tuis ceno. [6] Non emo capiti coronam; quid tua interest, emptis nihilominus floribus quomodo utar? Puto gratius esse liberis et solutis et undique vagis; sed et si in coronam coactis, nos coronam naribus novimus; viderint qui per capillum odorantur! [7] Spectaculis non convenimus; quae tamen apud illos coetus venditantur si desideravero, liberius de propriis locis sumam. Tur<a> plane non emimus; si Arabiae queruntur, sciant Sabaei plures et cariores suas merces Christianis sepeliendis profligari quam deis fumigandis.

[8] “Certe”, inquitis, “templorum vectigalia cottidie decoquunt; stipes quotusquisque iam iactat?” Non enim sufficimus et hominibus et deis vestris mendicantibus opem ferre, nec putamus aliis quam petentibus impertiendum. Denique porrigat manum Iuppiter et accipiat, cum interim plus nostra misericordia insumit vicatim quam vestra religio templatim.

[9] Sed cetera vectigalia gratias Christianis agent ex fide dependetibus debitum, qua alieno fraudando abstinemus, ut, si ineatur, quantum vectigalibus pereat fraude et mendaciostrarum professionum, facile ratio haberi possit, unius speciei querela compensata pro commodo ceterarum rationum.

XLIII. [1] Plane confitebor, quinam, si forte, vere de sterilitate Christianorum conqueri possint. Primi erunt lenones perductores aquarioli, tum sicarii venenarii magi, item haruspices harioli mathematici. [2] His infructuosos esse magnus est fructus.

Et tamen, quodcumque dispendium est rei vestrae per hanc sectam, cum aliquo praesidio compensari potest. Quanti habetis, non dico iam qui de vobis daemonia excutiant, non dico iam qui pro vobis quoque vero deo preces sternant, quia forte non creditis, sed a quibus nihil timere possitis?

XLIV. [1] At enim illud detrimentum rei publicae tam grande quam verum nemo circumspicit, illam iniuriam civitatis nullus expendit, cum tot iusti impendimur, cum tot innocentes erogamur. [2] Vestros enim iam contestamur actus, qui cottidie iudicandis custodiis praesidetis, qui sententiis elogia dispungitis. Tot a vobis nocentes variis criminum elogiis recensentur: quis illic sicarius, quis manticularius, quis sacrilegus aut corruptor aut lavantium praedo, quis ex illis etiam Christianus adscribitur? aut cum Christiani suo titulo offeruntur, quis ex illis etiam talis quales tot nocentes? [3] De vestris semper aestuat carcer, de vestris semper metalla suspirant, de vestris semper

bestiae saginantur, de vestris semper munerarii noxiorum greges pascunt. Nemo illic Christianus, nisi plane tantum Christianus; aut, si et aliud, iam non Christianus.

XLV. [1] Nos ergo soli innocentes! Quid mirum, si necesse est? Enimvero necesse est. Innocentiam a deo edocti et perfecte eam novimus, ut a perfecto magistro revelatam, et fideliter custodimus, ut ab in contemptibili dispectore mandatam. [2] Vobis autem humana aestimatio innocentiam tradidit, humana item dominatio imperavit; inde nec plenae nec adeo timendae estis disciplinae ad innocentiae veritatem. Tanta est prudentia hominis ad demonstrandum bonum quanta auctoritas ad exigendum; tam illa falli facilis quam ista contemni. [3] Atque adeo quid plenius, dicere: “Non occides” an docere: “Ne irascaris quidem”? Quid perfectius, prohibere adulterium an etiam ab oculorum solitaria concupiscentia arcere? Quid eruditius, de maleficio an et de maliloquio interdicare? Quid instructius, iniuriam non permittere an nec vicem iniuriae sinere? [4] Dum tamen sciatis ipsas leges quoque vestras, quae videntur ad innocentiam pergere, de divina lege ut antiquiore forma mutuatas. Diximus iam de Moysi aetate.

[5] Sed quanta auctoritas legum humanarum, cum illas et evadere homini contingat [et] plerumque in admissis delitescenti, et aliquando contemnere ex voluntate vel necessitate deliquenti? [6] Recogitate ea etiam pro brevitate supplicii cuiuslibet non tamen ultra mortem remansuri. Sic et Epicurus omnem cruciatum doloremque depretiat, modicum quidem contemptibilem pronuntiando, magnum vero non diuturnum. [7] Enimvero nos, qui sub deo omnium speculatore dispungimur quique aeternam ab eo poenam providemus, merito soli innocentiae occurrimus et pro scientiae plenitudine et pro latebrarum difficultate et pro magnitudine cruciatus, non diuturni, verum sempiterni, eum timentes, quem timere debebit et ipse, qui timentes iudicat, deum, non proconsulem timentes.

XLVI. [1] Constitimus, ut opinor, adversus omnium criminum intimationem, quae Christianorum sanguinem flagitat; ostendimus totum statum nostrum, et quibus modis probare possimus ita esse sicut ostendimus, ex fide scilicet et antiquitate divinarum litterarum, item ex confessione spiritualium potestatum. Qui nos revincere audebit, non arte verborum, sed eadem forma, qua probationem constituimus, de veritate? [2] Sed dum unicuique manifestatur veritas nostra, interim incredulitas, dum de bono

sectae huius obducitur, quod usu[i] iam et de commercio innotuit, non utique divinum negotium existimat, sed magis philosophiae genus. “Eadem”, inquit, “et philosophi monent atque profitentur, innocentiam iustitiam patientiam sobrietatem pudicitiam.” [3] Cur ergo quibus comparamur de disciplina, non proinde illis adaequamur ad licentiam impunitatemque disciplinae? vel cur et illi, ut pares nostri, non urgentur ad officia, quae nos non obeuntes periclitamur? [4] Quis enim philosophum sacrificare aut deierare aut lucernas meridie vanas proferre compellit? Quin immo et deos vestros palam destruunt et superstitiones vestras commentariis quoque accusant laudantibus vobis. Plerique etiam in principes latrant sustinentibus vobis, et facilius statuis et salariis remunerantur quam ad bestias pronuntiantur.

[5] Sed merito; philosophi enim, non Christiani cognominantur. Nomen hoc philosophorum daemonia non fugat. Quidni? Cum secundum deos philosophi daemones deputent. Socratis vox est: “Si daemonium permittat.” Idem et cum aliquid de veritate sapiebat deos negans, Aesculapio tamen gallinaceum prosecari iam in fine iubebat, credo, ob honorem patris eius, quia Socratem Apollo sapientissimum omnium cecinit. O Apollinem inconsideratum! Sapientiae testimonium reddidit ei viro, qui negabat deos esse. [6] In quantum odium flagrat veritas, in tantum qui eam ex fide praestat offendit; qui autem adulterat et affectat, hoc maxime nomine gratiam pangit apud insectatores veritatis. [7] Quam illusores et corruptores inimice philosophi affectant veritatem et affectando corrumpunt, ut qui gloriam captant, Christiani et necessario appetunt et integre praestant, ut qui saluti suae curant.

[8] Adeo neque de scientia neque de disciplina, ut putatis, aequamur. Quid enim Thales, ille princeps physicorum, sciscitanti Croeso de divinitate certum renuntiavit, commeatus deliberandi saepe frustratus? [9] Deum quilibet opifex Christianus et invenit et ostendit et exinde totum, quod in deum quaeritur, re quoque adsignat, licet Plato affirmet factitatore universitatis neque inveniri facilem et inventum enarrari in omnes difficilem. [10] Ceterum si de pudicitia provocemur, lego partem sententiae Atticae, in Socratem corruptorem adolescentium pronuntiatum. Sexum nec femineum mutat Christianus. Novi et Phrynen meretricem Diogenis supra recumbentis ardore[m] subantem; audio et quendam Speusippum de Platonis schola in adulterio perisse. Christianus uxori suae soli masculus nascitur. [11] Democritus excaecando semetipsum, quod mulieres sine concupiscentia adspicere non posset et doleret, si non esset

potitus, incontinentiam emendatione profitetur. At Christianus salvis oculis feminas non videt; animo adversus libidinem caecus est. [12] Si de probitate defendam, ecce lutulentis pedibus Diogenes superbos Platonis toros alia superbia deculcat; Christianus nec in pauperem superbit. [13] Si de modestia certem, ecce Pythagoras apud Thurios, Zenon apud Prienenses tyrannidem affectant; Christianus vero nec aedilitatem. [14] Si de aequanimitate congregiar, Lycurgus apocarteresin optavit, quod leges eius Lacones emendassent; Christianus etiam damnatus gratias agit. Si de fide comparem, Anaxagoras depositum hos<pi>tibus denegavit; Christianus et extra fidelis vocatur. [15] Si de simplicitate consistam, Aristoteles familiarem suum Hermian turpiter loco excedere fecit; Christianus nec inimicum suum laedit. Idem Aristoteles tam turpiter Alexandro, regendo potius, adulatur, quam Plato a Dionysio ventris gratia venditur. [16] Aristippus in purpura sub magna gravitatis superficie nepotatur, Ichthy[di]as, dum civitati insidias disponit, occiditur. Hoc pro suis omni atrocitate dissipatis nemo umquam temptavit Christianus.

[17] Sed dicet aliquis etiam de nostris excidere quosdam a regula disciplinae. Desinunt tamen Christiani haberi penes nos; philosophi vero illi cum talibus factis in nomine et honore sapientiae perseverant.

[18] Adeo quid simile philosophus et Christianus, Graeciae discipulus et caeli, famae negotiator et vitae, verborum et factorum operator, et rerum aedificator et destructor, amicus et inimicus erroris, veritatis interpolator et integrator et expressor, et furator eius et custos?

XLVII. [1] Antiquior omnibus veritas, nisi fallor: et hoc mihi proficit antiquitas praestructa divinae litteraturae, quo facile credatur thesaurum eam fuisse posteriori cuique sapientiae. Et si non onus iam voluminis temperarem, excurrerem in hanc quoque probationem. [2] Quis poetarum, quis sophistarum, qui non omnino de prophetarum fonte potaverit? Inde igitur philosophi sitim ingenii sui rigaverunt, ut quae de nostris habent, ea nos comparent illis. Inde, opinor, et a quibusdam philosophia quoque eiecta est, a Thebaeis dico et a Spartiatis et Argivis. [3] Dum ad nostra conantur et homines gloriae, ut diximus, et eloquentiae solius libidinosi, si quid in sanctis [scripturis] offenderunt digestis [ex] pro instituto curiositatis, ad propria opera verterunt, neque satis credentes divina esse, quo minus interpolarent, neque satis intellegentes, ut adhuc tunc subnubila, etiam ipsis Iudaeis obumbrata, quorum propria videbantur. [4] Nam et si qua simplicitas erat veritatis, eo magis

scrupulositas humana fidem aspernata nutabat, per quod <in> incertum miscuerunt etiam quod invenerant certum. [5] Inventum enim solummodo deum non ut invenerant disputaverunt, ut et de qualitate et de natura eius et de sede disceptent. [6] Alii incorporalem adseverant, alii corporalem, ut tam Platonici quam Stoici; alii ex atomis, alii ex numeris, qua Epicurus et Pythagoras; alius ex igni, qua Heraclito visum est; et Platonici quidem curantem rerum, contra Epicurei otiosum et inexercitum et, ut ita dixerim, neminem humanis rebus; [7] positum vero extra mundum Stoici, qui figuli modo extrinsecus torqueat molem hanc; intra mundum Platonici, qui gubernatoris exemplo intra id maneat, quod regat. [8] Sic et de ipso mundo, natus innatusve sit, decessurus mansurusve sit, variant; sic et de animae statu, quam alii divinam et aeternam, alii dissolubilem contendunt; ut quis sensit, ita et intulit aut reformavit.

[9] Nec mirum, si vetus instrumentum ingenia philosophorum interverterunt. Ex horum semine etiam nostram hanc noviciolam paraturam viri quidam suis opinionibus ad philosophicas sententias adulteraverunt et de una via obliquos multos et inexplicabiles tramites sciderunt. Quod ideo suggererim, ne cui nota varietas sectae huius in hoc quoque nos philosophis adaequare videatur et ex varietate defensionum iudicet veritatem. [10] Expedite autem praescribimus adulteris nostris illam esse regulam veritatis, quae veniat a Christo transmissa per comites ipsius, quibus aliquanto posteriores diversi isti commentatores probabuntur.

[11] Omnia adversus veritatem de ipsa veritate constructa sunt, operantibus aemulationem istam spiritibus erroris. Ab his adulteria huiusmodi salutaris disciplinae subornata, ab his quaedam etiam fabulae immissae, quae de similitudine fidem infirmarent veritatis vel eam sibi potius evincerent, ut quis ideo non putet Christianis credendum, quia nec poetis nec philosophis, vel ideo magis poetis et philosophis existimet credendum, quia non Christianis. [12] Itaque ridemur praedicantes deum iudicaturum. Sic enim et poetae et philosophi tribunal apud inferos ponunt. Et gehennam si comminemur, quae est ignis arcani subterraneam ad poenam thesaurus, proinde decachinnamur. Sic enim et Pyriphlegethon apud mortuos amnis est. [13] Et si paradisum nominemus, locum divinae amoenitatis recipiendis sanctorum spiritibus destinatum, maceria quadam igneae illius zonae a notitia orbis communis segregatum, Elysii campi fidem occupaverunt.

[14] Unde haec, oro vos, philosophis aut poetis tam consimilia? Non nisi de nostris sacramentis. Si de nostris sacramentis, ut de prioribus, ergo fideliora sunt nostra magisque credenda, quorum imagines quoque fidem inveniunt. Si de suis sensibus, iam ergo sacramenta nostra imagines posteriorum habebuntur, quod rerum forma non sustinet; numquam enim corpus umbra aut veritatem imago praecedit.

XLVIII. [1] Age iam, si qui philosophus adfirmet, ut ait Laberius de sententia Pythagorae, hominem fieri ex mulo, colubram ex muliere, et in eam opinionem omnia argumenta eloquii virtute distorserit, nonne consensum movebit et fidem infiget? Etiam ab animalibus abstinendi propterea persuasum quis habeat, ne forte bubulam de aliquo proavo suo obsonet? At enim Christianus si de homine hominem ipsumque de Gaio Gaium reducem repromittat, lapidibus magis nec saltem coetibus a populo exigetur.

[2] Si quaecumque ratio praeest animarum humanarum reciprocandarum in corpora, cur non in eandem substantiam redeant, cum hoc sit restitui: Id esse, quod fuerat? Iam non ipsae sunt, quae fuerant, quia non potuerunt esse quod non erant, nisi desinant esse quod fuerant. [3] Multis etiam locis ex otio opus erit, si velimus ad hanc partem lascivire, quis in quam bestiam reformari videretur. Sed de nostra magis defensione, qui proponimus multo utique dignius credi hominem ex homine rediturum, quemlibet pro quolibet, dum hominem, ut eadem qualitas animae in eandem restau[ra]retur condicionem, etsi non effigiem. [4] Certe quia ratio restitutionis destinatio iudicii est, necessario idem ipse, qui fuerat, exhibebitur, ut boni seu contrarii meriti iudicium a deo referat. Ideoque repraesentabuntur et corpora, quia neque pati quicquam potest anima sola sine materia stabili, id est carne, et, quod omnino de iudicio dei pati debent animae, non sine carne meruerunt, intra quam omnia egerunt.

[5] “Sed quomodo”, inquis, “dissoluta materia exhiberi potest?” Considera temetipsum, o homo, et fidem rei invenies. Recogita, quid fueris antequam esses. Utique nihil; meminisses enim, si quid fuisses. Qui ergo nihil fueras priusquam esses, idem nihil factus cum esse desieris, cur non possis rursus esse de nihilo eiusdem ipsius auctoris voluntate, qui te voluit esse de nihilo? Quid novi tibi eveniet? [6] Qui non eras, factus es; cum iterum non eris, fies. Redde, si potes, rationem qua factus es, et tunc require, qua fies! Et tamen facilius utique fies quod fuisti aliquando, quia aequè non difficile factus es,

quod numquam fuisti aliquando.

[7] Dubitabitur, credo, de dei viribus, qui tantum corpus hoc mundi de eo, quod non fuerat, non minus quam de morte vacationis et inanitatis imposuit, animatum spiritu omnium animarum animatore, signatum et ipsum humanae resurrectionis exemplum in testimonium vobis. [8] Lux cottidie interfecta resplendet et tenebrae pari vice decedendo succedunt, sidera defuncta vivescunt, tempora ubi finiuntur incipiunt; fructus consummantur et redeunt, certe semina non nisi corrupta et dissoluta fecundius surgunt; omnia pereundo servantur, omnia de interitu reformantur. [9] Tu homo, tantum nomen, si intellegas te, vel de titulo Pythiae discens, dominus omnium morientium et resurgentium, ad hoc morieris, ut pereas? Ubicumque resolutus fueris, quaecumque te materia destruxerit, hauserit, aboleverit, in nihilum prodegerit, reddet te. Eius est nihilum ipsum, cuius et totum.

[10] “Ergo”, inquit, “semper moriendum erit et semper resurgendum?” Si ita rerum dominus destinasset, ingratis experireris conditionis tuae legem. At nunc non aliter destinavit quam praedicavit. [11] Quae ratio universitatem ex diversitate composuit, ut omnia aemulis substantiis sub unitate constarent, ex vacuo et solido, ex animali et inanimati, ex comprehensibili et incomprehensibili, ex luce et tenebris, ex ipsa vita et morte, eadem aevum quoque ita destinata <et> distincta conditione conseruit, ut prima haec pars, ab exordio rerum quam incolimus, temporali aetate ad finem defluat, sequens vero, quam expectamus, in infinitam aeternitatem propagetur.

[12] Cum ergo finis et limes, medius qui interhiat, adfuerit, ut etiam ipsius mundi species transferatur aequae temporalis, quae illi dispositioni aeternitatis aulaei vice oppansa est, tunc restituetur omne humanum genus ad expungendum, quod in isto aevo boni seu mali meruit, et exinde pendendum in immensam aeternitatis perpetuitatem. [13] Ideoque nec mors iam, nec rursus ac rursus resurrectio, sed erimus idem qui nunc, nec alii post, dei quidem cultores apud deum semper, superinduti substantia propria aeternitatis; profani vero et qui non integre ad deum, in poena aequae iugis ignis, habentes ex ipsa natura eius divina[m] scilicet, subministrationem incorruptibilitatis. [14] Noverunt et philosophi diversitatem arcani et publici ignis. Ita longe alius est, qui usui humano, alius qui iudicio dei apparet, sive de caelo fulmina stringens, sive de terra per vertex montium eructans; non enim absumit quod exurit, sed dum erogat, reparat. [15] Adeo manent montes semper ardentes, et qui de

caelo tangitur, salvus est, ut nullo iam igni decinerescat. Et hoc erit testimonium ignis aeterni, hoc exemplum iugis iudicii poenam nutrientis: Montes uruntur et durant. Quid nocentes et dei hostes?

XLIX. [1] Hae<c> sunt, quae in nobis solis praesumptiones vocantur, in philosophis et poetis summae scientiae et insignia ingenia. Illi prudentes, nos inepti; illi honorandi, nos irridendi, immo eo amplius et puniendi. [2] Falsa nunc sint quae tuentur et merito praesumptio, attamen necessaria; inepta, attamen utilia, siquidem meliores fieri coguntur qui eis credunt, metu aeterni supplicii et spe aeterni refrigerii. Itaque non expedit falsa dici nec inepta haberi quae expedit vera praesumi. Nullo titulo damnari licet omnino quae prosunt. In vobis itaque praesumptio est haec ipsa, quae damnat utilia. Proinde nec inepta esse possunt. [3] Certe, etsi falsa et inepta, nulli tamen noxia. Nam et multis aliis similia, quibus nullas poenas inrogatis, vanis et fabulosis, inaccusatis et impunitis, ut innoxiiis. Sed in eiusmodi enim, si utique, inrisui iudicandum est, non gladiis et ignibus et crucibus et bestiis.

[4] De qua iniquitate saevitiae non modo caecum hoc vulgus exsultat et insultat, sed et quidam vestrum, quibus favor vulgi de iniquitate captatur, gloriantur; quasi non totum, quod in nos potestis, nostrum sit arbitrium. [5] Certe, si velim, Christianus sum. Tunc ergo me damnabis, si damnari velim. Cum vero quod in me potes, nisi velim, non potes, iam meae voluntatis est quod potes, non tuae potestatis. Proinde et vulgus vane de nostra vexatione gaudet. [6] Proinde enim nostrum est gaudium, quod sibi vindicat, qui malumus damnari quam a deo excidere. Contra illi, qui nos oderunt, dolere, non gaudere debebant, consecutis nobis quod elegimus.

L. [1] “Ergo”, inquit, “cur querimini, quod vos insequamur, si pati vultis, cum diligere debeatis per quos patimini quod vultis?” Plane volumus pati, verum eo more, quo et bellum miles. Nemo quidem libens patitur, cum et trepidare et periclitari sit necesse; [2] tamen et proeliatur omnibus viribus et vincens in proelio gaudet qui de proelio querebatur, quia et gloriam consequitur et praedam. Proelium est nobis, quod provocamur ad tribunalia, ut illic sub discrimine capitis pro veritate certemus. Victoria est autem, pro quo certaveris, obtinere. Ea victoria habet et gloriam placendi deo et praedam vivendi in aeternum. [3] Sed obducimur. Certe, cum obtinuimus. Ergo vicimus, cum occidimur, denique evadimus, cum obducimur. Licet nunc sarmenticios et semaxios appelletis, quia ad stipitem dimidii axis revincti sarmentorum

ambitu exurimur, hic est habitus victoriae nostrae, haec palmata vestis, tali curru triumphamus.

[4] Merito itaque victis non placemus; propterea enim desperati et perditii existimamur. Sed haec desperatio atque perditio penes vos in causa gloriae et famae vexillum virtutis extollunt. [5] Mucius dexteram suam libens in ara reliquit: O sublimitas animi! Empedocles totum sese [Atheniensium] Aetnaeis incendiis donavit: O vigor mentis! Aliqua Carthaginis conditrix rogo [se] secundum matrimonium dedit: O praeconium castitatis! [6] Regulus, ne unus pro multis hostibus viveret, toto corpore cruces patitur: O virum fortem et in captivitate victorem! Anaxarchus cum in exitum ptisanæ pilo contunderetur: “Tunde, tunde”, aiebat, “Anaxarchi follem; Anaxarchum enim non tundis!” O philosophi magnanimitatem, qui de tali exitu suo etiam iocabatur! [7] Omitto eos, qui cum gladio proprio vel alio genere mortis mitiore de laude pepigerunt. Ecce enim et tormentorum certamina coronantur a vobis. [8] Attica meretrix carnifice iam fatigato postremo linguam suam comesam in faciem tyranni saevientis expellit, ut exspueret et vocem, ne coniuratos confiteri posset, si etiam victa voluisset. [9] Zeno Eleates consultus a Dionysio, quidnam philosophia praestaret, cum respondisset: “Contemptum mortis”, impassibilis flagellis tyranni obiectus sententiam suam ad mortem usque signabat. Certe Laconum flagella sub oculis etiam hortantium propinquorum acerbata tantum honorem tolerantiae domui conferunt, quantum sanguinis fuderint.

[10] O gloriam licitam, quia humanam, cui nec praesumptio perdita nec persuasio desperata reputatur in contemptu mortis et atrocitatis omnimodae, cui tantum pro patria, pro imperio, pro amicitia pati permissum est, quantum pro deo non licet! [11] Et tamen illis omnibus et statuas defunditis et imagines inscribitis et titulos inciditis in aeternitatem. Quantum de monumentis potestis scilicet, praestatis et ipsi quodammodo mortuis resurrectionem. Hanc qui veram a deo sperat, si pro deo patiatur, insanus est!

[12] Sed hoc agite, boni praesides, meliores multo apud populum, si illis Christianos immolaveritis, cruciate, torquete, dammate, atterite nos: probatio est enim innocentiae nostrae iniquitas vestra. Ideo nos haec pati deus patitur. Nam et proxime ad lenonem damnando Christianam potius quam ad leonem, confessi estis labem pudicitiae apud nos atrociorē omni poena et omni morte reputari. [13] Nec quicquam tamen proficit exquisitior quaeque crudelitas vestra; illecebra est magis sectae. Plures efficimur, quotiens metimur a vobis:

semen est sanguis Christianorum. [14] Multi apud vos ad tolerantiam doloris et mortis hortantur, ut Cicero in Tusculanis, ut Seneca in Fortuitis, ut Diogenes, ut Pyrrhon, ut Callinicus; nec tamen tantos inveniunt verba discipulos, quantos Christiani factis docendo. [15] Illa ipsa obstinatio, quam exprobratis, magistra est. Quis enim non contemplatione eius concutitur ad requirendum, quid intus in re sit? Quis non, ubi requisivit, accedit, ubi accessit, pati exoptat, ut totam dei gratiam redimat, ut omnem veniam ab eo compensatione sanguinis sui expediat? [16] Omnia enim huic operi delicta donantur. Inde est, quod ibidem sentiis vestris gratias agimus. Ut est aemulatio divinae rei et humanae, cum damnamur a vobis, a deo absolvimur.

Ad Nationes (To the Nations)

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LIBER I.

I

I. [1] Testimonium ignorantiae uestrae, quae iniquitatem dum defendit, reuincit, in promptu est, quod omnes qui uobiscum retro ignorabant et uobiscum oderant, simul eis contigit scire, desinunt odisse qui desinunt ignorare, immo fiunt et ipsi quod oderant, et incipiunt odisse quod fuerant. [2] Adeo quotidie adolescentem numerum Christianorum ingemitis; obsessam uociferamini ciuitatem, in agris, in castellis, in insulis Christianos; omnem sexum, omnem aetatem, omnem denique dignitatem transgredi a uobis quasi detrimento doletis. [3] Nec tamen hoc ipso ad aestimationem alicuius latentis boni animos promouetis; non licet rectius suspicari, non libet propius experiri; hic tantum curiositas humana torpescit. [4] Amatis ignorare quod alii gaudeant inuenisse; mauultis nescire, quia iam odistis, quasi certi non odituros uos si sciatis. [5] Atquin si nullum meritum odii repperietur, optimum utique ab iniustitia priore discedere: sin uero causa constiterit, nihil odio detrahetur, quod adeo amplius iustitiae conscientia cumulabitur. Nisi si emendari pudet aut excusari piget.

[6] Scio plane qua responsione soletis redundantiae nostrae testimonium conuenire: non utique eo bonum praeiudicari, quia plerosque conuertat et sibi rapiat, inquitis. [7] Noui demutationem mentis in malas partes. Quot desertores bonae uitae? Quot transfugae in peruersum? Multi bona fide, immo iam plures pro extremitatibus temporum. [8] Verum deficit adaequatio comparationis istius. Nam de malo ita constat apud omnes, ut ne ipsi quidem rei, qui ad malum transeunt et a bonis in peruersa deuertunt, defendere malum pro bono audeant. Turpia timori, pudori impia habent. [9] Denique gestiunt latere, deuitant apparere, trepidant deprehensi, negant accusati; ne torti quidem facile aut semper confitentur, certe damnati maerent. Exprobrant etenim quod erant in semetipsos, malae menti ab innocentia transitum uel fato imputant. Adeo nolunt suum esse, quia malum negare non possunt.

[10] Christiani uero quid tale consequuntur? Neminem pudet, neminem paenitet, nisi tantum pristinorum. Si denotatur, gloriatur; si trahitur, non subsistit; si accusatur, non defendit, interrogatus confitetur, damnatus gloriatur. Quod hoc malum est, in quo mali natura cessat?

II. [1] In quo ipsi etiam contra formam iudicandorum malorum iudicatis.

Nam nocentes quidem perductos, si admissum negent, tormentis urgetis ad confessionem, Christianos uero sponte confessos tormentis conprimitis ad negationem. [2] Quae tanta peruersitas, ut confessioni repugnetis, tormentorum officia mutetis, grati reum euadere, inuitum compellentes negare? Praesides extorquendae ueritatis de solis nobis mendacium exquiritis, ut dicamus nos non esse quod sumus. [3] Opinor, non uultis nos malos esse ideoque gestitis de isto nomine excludere. Sane ceteros ad hoc tenditis et carnificatis, ut negent quod esse dicuntur? Atquin illis negantibus non creditis: nobis, si negauerimus, statim creditis. [4] Si certi estis nos nocentissimos esse, cur etiam in hoc aliter quam nocentes a uobis agimur? Non dico quod neque accusationi neque recusationi spatium commodetis (soletis inaccusatos et indefensos non temere damnare): [5] sed uerbi gratia, si de homicida consultatur, non statim confesso eo nomen homicidae dispuncta causa est aut satiata cognitio (quamquam confessis difficile creditis), [6] uerum insuper consequentia exigitis, quotiens caedem egerit, quibus telis, quibus in locis, quibus spoliis sociis receptoribus, ne quid omnino mali hominis delitescat aut desit aliquid instruendae ad sententiam ueritati. [7] Porro de nobis quos atrocioribus ac pluribus criminibus deputatis, breuiora ac leuiora elogia conficitis: credo, non uultis oneratos, quos omni opere perditos uultis, aut non putatis requirenda quae nostis. [8] Hoc ergo peruersius, si cogitis negare de quibus certissime scitis, immo, quo magis odio uestro competeat seposita forma iudicandi proprio studio non ad negationem certare, ne quos odistis liberaretis, sed ad confessionem singulorum scelerum, quo magis inimicitiae satiarentur exaggeratione poenarum, dum recognoscitur quot quisque iam conuiuia illa: celebrasset, quotiens in tenebris incursasset incesta. [9] Quid, quod eradicandi generis diffundenda erat requisitio, porrigenda quaestio in socios consociosque? Perducerentur infantariae et coci, ipsi canes pronubi: emendata res esset. Etiam spectaculis gratia adgregaretur: quanto enim studio in caueam conueniretur depugnaturum aliquo qui centum infantes deuorasset? [10] Si enim tam horrenda tamque monstruosa de nobis deferuntur, utique erui debuerunt, ne incredibilia uiderentur et odium in nos publicum refrigesceret. Nam et plerique fidem talium temperant, honorantes naturam, quae quaerere pabulum ferinum quam concubitum ab humano genere praecluit.

III. [1] Vos igitur, alias diligentissimi ac pertinacissimi discussores scelerum longe minorum, cum in talibus tam horrendis et omnem impietatem

supergrassis eam diligentiam deseratis neque confessionem recipiendo, iudicantibus semper laborandam, neque exquisitionem digerendo, damnatoribus semper consulendam, iam apparet omne in nos crimen non alicuius sceleris, sed nominis dirigi. [2] Adeo, si de criminum ueritate constaret, ipsa criminum nomina damnatis accommodarentur, ut ita pronuntiaretur in nos: “illum homicidam” uel “incestum” uel quodcumque iactamur, “duci, suffigi, ad bestias dari placet”. Porro sententiae uestrae nihil nisi Christianum confessum notant; nullum criminis nomen extat, nisi nominis crimen est.

[3] Haec etenim est reuera ratio totius odii aduersus nos: nomen in causa est, quod quaedam occulta uis per uestram ignorantiam oppugnat, ut nolitis scire pro certo quod uos pro certo nescire certi estis, et ideo nec creditis quae non probantur, et ne probentur facile, non uultis inquirere, ut nomen inimicum sub praesumptione criminum puniatur. [4] Adeo, ut de nomine inimico recedatur, ideo negare compellimur, dehinc negantes liberamur, tota impunitate praeteritorum, iam non cruenti neque incesti, quia nomen illud amisimus.

[5] Sed dum haec ratio suo loco ostenditur, uos quam insequimini ad expugnationem nominis, edite: quod nominis crimen, quae offensa, quae culpa? [6] Praescribitur enim uobis non posse crimina obicere quae neque institutum dirigit neque probatio adsignat neque sententia enumerat: quod praesidi offeratur, quod de reo inquiratur, quod respondetur uel negatur, quod de consilio recitatur, id reum agnosco. [7] Itaque de nominis merito si qui reatus est nominum, si qua accusatio uocabulorum, ego arbitror nullam esse uocabulo aut nomini querellam, nisi cum quid aut barbarum sonat aut infaustum sapit uel inpudicum uel aliter quam enuntiantem deceat aut audientem delectet. [8] Haec uocabulorum aut nominum crimina, sicuti uerborum atque sermonum barbarismus est uitium et soloecismus et insulsiore figura. Christianum uero nomen, quantum significatio est, de unctione interpretatur. [9] Etiam cum corrupte a uobis Chrestiani pronuntiamur (nam ne nominis quidem ipsius liquido certi estis), sic quoque de suauitate uel bonitate modulatum est. [10] Detinetis igitur in hominibus innoxii etiam nomen innoxium nostrum, non incommodum linguae, non auribus asperum, non homini malum, non pari infestum, sed et Graecum cum aliis, et sonorum et interpretatione iucundum. Et utique non gladio aut cruce aut bestiis punienda sunt nomina!

IV. [1] Sed dicitis sectam nomine puniri sui auctoris. Primo quidem sectam de auctoris appellationem mutuari utique probum. usitatumque ius est, dum philosophi quoque de auctoribus cognominentur Pythagorici et Platonici, ut medici Erasistratei et grammatici Aristarchii. [2] Itaque si ob auctorem malum mala secta, tradux mali nominis plectitur. Atquin temeritate praesumeretur. Prius erat cognoscere auctorem, ut cognosceretur secta, quam de secta inspectionem auctoris retinere. [3] At nunc necessario ignorando sectam, quia ig noratis auctorem, aut non recensendo auctorem, quia nec sectam recensetis, in solum nomen inpingitis, quasi in illo detinentes sectam et auctorem, quos omnino non nostis. [4] Et tamen philosophis patet libertas transgrediendi a uobis in sectam et auctorem et suum nomen, nec quisquam illis odium mouet, cum in mores ritus cultus uictusque uestros palam ac publice omnem eloquii amaritudinem elatrent, cum legum contemptu, sine respectu personarum, ut quidam etiam in principes ipsos libertatem suam inpune iaculentur.

[5] Sed ueritatem saeculo perosissimam philosophi quidem affectant, possident autem Christiani, ideoque qui possident magis displicent, quia qui affectat, inludit, qui possidet, defendit. [6] Denique Socrates ex ea parte damnatus est, qua propius temptauerat ueritatem, deos uestros destruendo: quamquam nondum tunc in terris nomen Christianum, tamen ueritas semper damnabatur. [7] Itaque et sapientem non negabitis, cui etiam Pythius uester testimonium dixerat: “uirorum,” inquit, “omnium Socrates sapientissimus.” Vicit Apollinem ueritas, ut ipse aduersus se pronun tiaret; confessus est enim se deum non esse, sed eum quoque sapientissimum affirmans qui deos abnuebat. Porro apud uos eo minus sapiens, quia deos abnuens, cum ideo sapiens, quia deos abnuens.

[8] Quo more etiam nobis soletis: “bonus uir Lucius Titius, tantum quod Christianus.” Item alius: “Ego miror Gaium Seium, grauem uimm, factum Christianum.” [9] Pro stultitiae caecitate laudant, quae sciunt, uituperant, quae nesciunt, et id quod sciunt, eo quod nesciunt uitiant. [10] Nemini subuenit, ne ideo bonus quis et prudens, quia Christianus, aut ideo Christianus, quia prudens et bonus, cum sit humanius occulta manifestis adiudicare quam manifesta de occulto praeiudicare. [11] Alii, quos retro ante hoc nomen uagos uiles improbos norant, emendatos repente mirantur, et tamen mirari quam assequi norunt; alii tanta obstinatione certant, ut cum suis utilitatibus depugnent, quas de commercio istius nominis capere possunt. [12] Scio

maritum unum atque alium, anxium retro de uxoris suae moribus, qui ne mures quidem in cubiculum inrepentes sine gemitu suspicionis sustinebat, comperta causa nouae sedulitatis et inusitatae captiuitatis omnem uxori patientiam obtulisse, negasse zelotypum, maluisse lupae quam Christianae maritum; ipsi suam licuit in peruersum demutare naturam, mulieri non permisit in melius reformari. [13] Pater filium, de quo queri desierat, exheredauit; dominus seruum, quem praeterea necessarium senserat, in ergastulum dedit: simul quis intellexerit Christianum, mauult nocentem. [14] Nam et ipsa per se traducitur disciplina nec aliunde prodimur quam de bono nostro. Sic et mali de suo malo radiant? Aut nos soli contra instituta naturae pessimi de bono denotamur? [15] Quid enim insigne praeferimus, nisi primam sapientiam, qua friuola humanae manus opera non adoramus; abstinentiam, qua ab alieno temperamus; pudicitiam quam nec oculis contaminamus; misericordiam, qua super indigentes flectimur; ipsam ueritatem, qua offendimus, ipsam libertatem, pro qua mori nouimus? Qui uult intellegere, qui sint Christiani, istis indicibus utatur necesse est.

V. [1] Quod ergo dicitis: “pessimi et probrosissimi auaritia luxuria improbitate”, non negabimus quosdam; sufficit et hoc ad testimonium nominis nostri, si non omnes, si non plures. [2] Necesse est in corpore et quantum uelis integro aut puro, aut naeuus aliqui effruticet aut uerrucula exsurgat aut lentigo sordescat. [3] Caelum ipsum nulla serenitas tam colata purgat, ut non alicuius nubiculae flocculo resignetur; modica macula in fronte, in parte quadam exemplari † uisa quo uniuersitas munda est. Maior boni portio modico malo ad testimonium sui utitur. [4] Cum tamen aliquos de nostris malos probatis, iam hoc ipso Christianos non probatis. Quaerite sectam cui malitiae deputatur. [5] Ipsi in conloquio, si quando aduersus nos, “cur ille, inquitis, “fraudator, si abstinentes Christiani? cur immitis, si misericordes?” Adeo testimonium redditus non esse tales Christianos, dum cur tales sint qui dicuntur Christiani retorquetis.

[6] Multum distantiae inter crimen et nomen, inter opinionem et ueritatem. Nam et nomina sic sunt instituta, ut fines suos habeant inter dici et esse. [7] Quot denique philosophi dicuntur nec tamen legem philosophiae adimplent? [8] Omnes nomen de professionibus gestant: si ducant nomen sine professionis praestantia, qui superficie uocabuli infamant ueritatem, non statim sunt quia dicuntur, sed quia non sunt, frustra dicuntur et fallunt eos qui rem nomini

addicunt, cum de re status nominis competat. [9] Et tamen eiusmodi neque congregant neque participant nobiscum, facti per delicta denuo uestri, quando ne illis quidem misceamur, quos uestra uis atque saeuitia ad negandum subegit. [10] Vtique enim facilius inter nos inuiti desertores disciplinae quam uoluntarii continerentur. Ceterum sine causa uocatis Christianos, quos ipsi negant Christiani, qui se negare non norunt.

VI. [1] His propositionibus responsionibusque nostris quas ueritas de suo suggerit, quotiens comprimitur et coartatur conscientia uestra, tacita ignorantiae suae testis, confugitis aestuantes ad arulam quandam, id est legum auctoritatem, quod utique non plecterent sectam istam, nisi de meritis apud conditores legum constitisset. [2] Quid ergo prohibuit apud exsecutores quoque legum proinde constare, cum de ceteris criminibus, quae similiter legibus arcentur ac puniuntur, nisi prius requiratur, poena cessat? [3] Verbi gratia homicidam, adulterum lege: discutitur tamen de ordine admissi, et tamen cognitum est omnibus genus facti.

[4] Christianum puniunt leges. Si quod est factum Christiani, erui debet. Nulla lex prohibet inquirere, atquin pro legibus facit inquisitio: quomodo enim legem obseruabis cauendo quod lege prohibetur, adempta diligentia cauendi per defectionem agnoscendi quid obserues? [5] Nulla sibi lex debet conscientiam iustitiae suae, sed eis a quibus captat obsequium. Ceterum suspecta lex est, si probare se non uult. [6] Merito igitur tamdiu iustae in Christianos et reuerendae et obseruandae censentur, quamdiu ignoratur quod persequuntur; merito post agnitionem iniquissimae repertae cum suis machaeris et patibulis et leonibus despuuntur. [7] Legis iniustae honor nullus est: ut opinor autem, dubitatur de iniquitate legum quarundam, cum quotidie nouis consultis constitutisque duritias nequitiasque earum temperetis.

VII. [1] “Vnde ergo”, inquitis, “tantum de uobis Famae licuit, cuius testimonium suffecerit forsitan conditoribus legum?” Quis, oro, sponsor aut illis tunc aut exinde uobis de fide Famae? [2] Nonne haec est

Fama malum, quo non aliud uelocius ullum?

Cur malum, si uera semper sit? Non mendacio plurimum? Quae ne tum quidem, cum uera defert, a libidine mendacii cessat, ut non falsa ueris intextat adiciens detrahens uarietate confundens. [3] Quid, quod ea condicio illi, ut nonnisi quod mentitur perseueret? Tamdiu enim uiuit quamdiu non probat quicquam, siquidem approbata cadit et quasi officio nuntiandi functa decedit;

exinde res tenetur, res nominatur, nec quisquam dicit uerbi gratia: “hoc Romae aiunt factum,” aut: “fama est illum prouinciam sortitum,” sed: “ille prouinciam sortitus est,” et: “hoc factum est Romae.” [4] Nemo Famam nominat nisi incertus, quia nemo fit fama sed conscientia certus; nemo Famae credit nisi stultus, quia sapiens non credit incerto.

[5] Fama quantacumque ambitione diffusa est, ab uno aliquando ore exorta sit necesse est; exinde in traduces quodammodo linguarum et aurium serpit et modicum originum uitium rumoris obscurat, ut nemo recogitet, ne primum illud os mendacia seminauerit, quod saepe fit aut aemulationis ingenio aut suspicionis arbitrio aut etiam noua mentiendi uoluptate. [6] Sed bene quod omnia tempus reuelat, testibus sententiis et prouerbiis uestris ipsaque natura, quae ita ordinata est, ut nihil lateat, etiam quod Fama non prodidit. [7] Videte, qualem prodigam aduersus nos subornastis, quia quod semel detulit tantoque tempore ad fidem corroborauit, usque adhuc probare non potuit.

[8] Principe Augusto nomen hoc ortum est, Tiberio disciplina eius inluxit, Nerone damnatio inualuit, ut iam hinc de persona persecutoris ponderetis: si pius ille princeps, impii Christiani; si iustus, si castus, iniusti et incesti Christiani; si non hostis publicus, nos publici hostes: quales simus, damnator ipse demonstrauit, utique aemula sibi puniens.

[9] “Et tamen permansit erasis omnibus hoc solum institutum Neronianum, iustum denique ut dissimile sui auctoris.” [10] Igitur aetati nostrae nondum anni CC. Tot iniqui interea, tot cruces diuinitatem consecutae, tot infantiae trucidatae, tot panes cruentati, tot strages lucernarum, tot errores nuptiarum, — et adhuc Christianis sola Fama decernit! [11] Habet quidem grande fundamentum de uitio ingenii humani: felicius in acerbis atrocibusque mentitur. Quanto enim proni ad malitiam, tanto ad mali fidem oportuni estis; facilius denique falso malo quam uero bono creditur. [12] Si quem tamen apud uos prudentiae locum iniquitas reliquisset, ad explorandam Famae fidem utique iustitia poscebat dispicere, a quibus potuisset Fama in uulgus et ita in totum orbem dari. [13] Ab ipsis enim Christianis non opinor, cum uel ex forma ac lege omnium mysteriorum silentii fides debeatur, quanto magis talium, quae prodita non uitarent interim humana animaduersione praesentaneum iudicium? [14] Si ergo non ipsi proditores sui, sequitur ut extranei. Porro extraneis unde notitia, cum etiam iusta et licita mysteria omnem arbitrum extraneum caueant, nisi si illicita minus spernunt? Atquin extraneis tam

onerare quam confingere magis competit. [15] “At domesticorum curiositas furata est per rimulas et cauernas.” Quid, cum domestici eos uobis, prodentes omnes? A nullis magis prodimur, quanto magis, si atrocitas tanta sit, quae iustitia indignationis omnem familiaritatis fidem rumpat? Non potuerit continere, quod horruit mens, quod expauit oculus. [16] Hoc quoque mirum, si et ille, qui tanto impatientiae iure prosiluit deferre, non et probare gestit, et ille, qui audiit, et non uidere curauit, siquidem par fructus est et delatoris, si quod detulit probet, et auditoris, si quod audit etiam sibi credat. [17] “Tunc”, inquit, “primo delatum, et exhibitum est; auditum, et inspectum est, atque exinde famae commendatum.” Hoc quidem superscendit omnem admirationem, si semel deprehensum est, quod semper admittitur; nisi si desiimus iam talia factitare. [18] Atquin et idem uocamur, et in isdem deputamur et de die redundamus: quod plures, hoc pluribus odiosi. Magis increscit odium increscente materia; proficiente multitudine reorum, quid ita non proficit multitudo nuntiatorum?

[19] Quod sciam, et conuersatio notior facta est: scitis et dies conuentuum nostrorum; itaque et obsidemur et oppri mimur, et in ipsis arcanis congregationibus detinemur. [20] Quis umquam tamen semeso cadaueri superuenit? Quis in cruentato pane uestigia dentium deprehendit? Quis tenebris repentino lumine inruptis imunda aliqua, ne dixerim incesta, indicia recognouit? [21] Si praemio impetramus, ne tales in publicum extrahamur, quales et opprimimur, possumus et omnino non extrahi: quis enim prodicionem criminis alicuius sine crimine ipso aut uendit aut redimit?

[22] Sed quid extraneis speculatoribus et indicibus detractem, qui talia obiciatis quae non ab ipsis nobis cum maxima uociferatione publicentur aut statim audita, si prius demonstrantur, aut postea reperta, si interim celantur? [23] Sine dubio enim initiari uolentibus mos est prius ad magistrum sacrorum uel patrem adire. Tum ille dicet: infans tibi, qui adhuc uagetur, necessarius, qui immoletur, et panis aliquantum, qui in sanguine infringatur; [24] praeterea candelabra, quae canes annexi deturbent, et offulae, quae eosdem canes; sed et mater aut soror tibi necessaria est. Quid, si nullae erunt? Opinor, legitimus Christianus esse non poteris. [25] Haec, oro uos, denuntiata ab aliis sustinent prodi? “Verum opus non est scire illos. Prius fallaciae negotium perpetratur: ignaris et dapes et nuptiae subiciuntur: nihil enim umquam retro de Christianis mysteriis audierant.” [26] Tamen postea cognoscant necesse est, uel aliis quos

inducunt, praeministranda. Ceterum quam uanum est profanos scire quod nesciat sacerdos! [27] Tacent igitur et accepto ferunt, et nihil in tragoediam Thyestae uel Oedipodis erumpunt, et non protrahunt ad populum fidei ministros et magistros, et de ipsis potiores morsus iam doctis . . .ibus rapiunt. [28] Si nihil tale probetur, grande nescio quid aestimari oportet, cuius compensatio tantarum atrocitatum tolerantia constat.

[29] Miserae atque miserandae nationes, ecce proponimus uobis disciplinae nostrae sponsonem: uitam aeternam sectatoribus et conseruatoribus suis spondet, e contrario profanis et aemulis supplicium aeternum aeterno igni comminatur; ad utramque causam mortuorum resurrectio praedicatur. [30] Viderimus de fide istorum, dum suo loco digeruntur; interim credite quemadmodum nos. Volo enim scire, si per talia scelera adire parati estis, quemadmodum nos. [31] Veni, si quis es, demerge ferrum in infantem, uel si alterius officium est, tu modo specta morientem animam antequam uixit; certe excipe rudem sanguinem, in quo panem tuum saties, uescere libenter; [32] interea discumbe, dinumera loca, ubi mater aut soror torum presserit; nota diligenter, ut, cum tenebrae inruerint, temptantes scilicet diligentiam singulorum, non erres extraneam incursans: piaculum feceris, nisi incestum!

[33] “Haec cum expunxeris, uiues in aeuum.” Cupio respondeas, si tanti facis aeternitatem. Immo idcirco nec credis; etiamsi credideris, nego te uelle; etiamsi uelles, nego te posse. Cur autem alii possint, si uos non potestis? cur non possitis, si alii possunt? [34] Inpunitatem, aeternitatem quanto constare uultis? An hae nobis omni modo redimendae uidentur? An alii ordines dentium Christianorum, et alii specus faucium, et alii ad incestam libidinem nerui? Non opinor: satis enim est nobis sola ueritate a uestra positione discerni!

VIII. [1] Plane, tertium genus dicimur. Cynopennae aliqui uel Sciapodes uel aliqui de subterraneo Antipodes? Si qua istic apud uos saltem ratio est, edatis uelim primum et secundum genus, ut ita de tertio constet. [2] Psammetichus quidem putauit inuenisse ingenio exploratus fidem primam generis. Dicitur enim infantes recenti e partu seorsum a commercio hominum alendos tradidisse nutrici, quam et ipsam propterea elingauerat, ut in totum exules uocis humanae non auditu formarent loquellam, sed de suo promentes eam primam nationem designarent, cuius sonum natura dictasset. [3] Prima uox “beccos” renunciata est; interpretatio eius panis apud Phrygas nomen est:

Phryges primi genus exinde habentur.

[4] Sed unum hoc erit de uanitatibus uestrarum fabularum, non otiose nobis retractandum, quo fidem uestram uanitatibus quam ueritatibus deditam demonstrare gestimus. [5] An omnino credibile sit, tali membro desecto, uastato ipsius animae organo et utique radicitus caeso, castratis faucibus quae etiam extrinsecus periculose uulnerantur, exinde tabo in praecordia refluenta, postremo aliquamdiu cessantibus alimentis uitam nutrici illi perseuerasse? [6] Age nunc, perseuerauerit Philomelae medicamentis < > quam et ipsam prudentiores non linguae caede, sed rapti pudoris rubore mutam interpretantur. [7] Si ergo uixit, potuit effutire aliquid: obtusum et exarticulatum sonum tinnitumque sine modulatu labellorum, expanso ore, lingua stupente de solis faucibus cogi licet. [8] Id fors tunc infantes, quia unicum, facilius commentati paulo modulatus, utpote linguatuli in inuentum alicuius interpretationis impegerint.

[9] Sint nunc primi Phryges: non tamen tertii Christiani. Quantae enim aliae gentium series post Phrygas? Verum recogitate, ne quos tertium genus dicitis, principem locum optineant, siquidem non ulla gens non Christiana. [10] Itaque quaecumque gens prima, nihilominus Christiana: ridicula dementia nouissimos dicitis et tertios nominatis.

[11] Sed de superstitione tertium genus deputamur, non de natione ut sint Romani, Iudaei, dehinc Christiani. Vbi autem Graeci? [12] Vel si in Romanorum superstitionibus censentur, quoniam quidem etiam deos Graeciae Roma sollicitauit, ubi saltem Aegyptii, et ipsi, quod sciam, priuati curiosaeque religionis? [13] Porro si tam monstruosi, qui tertii loci, quales habendi, qui primo et secundo antedecunt?

IX. [1] Sed quid ego mirer uana uestra, cum ex forma naturali concorporata et concreta intercessit malitia et stultitia sub eodem mancipe erroris? [2] Sane, quia non miror, enumerem necesse est, ut uos recognoscendo miremini, in quantam stultitiam incidatis, qui omnis cladis publicae uel iniuriae nos causas esse uultis. [3] Si Tiberis redundauit, si Nilus non redundauit, si caelum stetit, si terra mouit, si lues aestiua uastauit, si fames afflixit, statim omnium uox: "Christianorum meritum!" Quasi modicum habeant aut aliud metuere qui deum non metuunt! [4] Opinor, ut contemptores deorum. uestrorum haec iacula eorum prouocamus. Vt supra edidimus, aetatis nostrae nondum anni ducenti.

[5] Quantae clades ante id spatium supra uniuersum orbem [ad] singulas urbes

et provincias ceciderunt, quanta bella externa et intestina? Quot pestes fames ignes hiatus motusque terrarum saeculum digessit? [6] Vbi tunc Christiani, cum res Romana tot historias laborum suorum subministravit? Vbi tunc Christiani, cum Hiera Anaphe et Delos et Rhodos et Cea insula multis cum milibus hominum pessum ierunt, uel quam Plato memorat maiorem Asia aut Africa in Atlantico mari mersam? [7] Cum Vulsinios de caelo, Tarpeios de suo monte perfudit ignis? Cum terrae motu mare Corinthium ereptum est? Cum totum orbem cataclysmus aboleuit? [8] Vbi tunc, non dicam contemptores deorum Christiani, sed ipsi dei uestri, quos clade illa posteriores loca, oppida approbant, in quibus nati morati sepulti sunt, etiam quae condiderunt? Non alias enim superfuissent ad hodiernum, nisi postuma cladis illius. [9] Si relegere et reuoluere non curatis testimonia temporum aliter uobis renuntiata, inprimis necesse est deos uestros iniustissimos pronuntietis, qui propter contemptores etiam cultores suos laedunt; tunc et uosmetipsos errare probatis, si eos traditis, qui uos ameritis profanorum non discernunt. [10] Quodsi, ut unus atque alius stultissimus ait, idcirco uobis quoque irascuntur, quoniam de nostra eradicatione neglegitis, absolutum est de infirmitate et mediocri tate eorum: qui non irascerentur uobis in animaduersione cessantibus, si ipsi exsequi possent. [11] Quamquam et alias confitemini istud, si quando illos supplicio nostro uidemini ulcisci. Si ab aliquo aliud, a maiore defenditur. Pudeat igitur deos ab homine defendi!

X. [1] Effundite iam omnia uenena, omnia calumniae tela infligite huic nomini, non cessabo ultra repellere, at postmodum obtundentur expositione totius nostrae disciplinae. [2] Nunc uero eadem ipsa de nostro corpore reuulsa in uos retorquebo, eadem uulnera criminum in uobis defossa monstrabo, quo machaeris uestris admentationibusque cadatis.

[3] Iam primo quod in nos generali accusatione dirigitis, diuortium ab institutis maiorum, considerate etiam atque etiam, ne uobiscum communicemus crimen istud. [4] Ecce enim per omnia uitae ac disciplinae corruptam, immo deletam in uobis antiquitatem recognosco. De legibus quidem iam supra dictum est, quod eas nouis de die consultis constitutisque obruistis. [5] De reliqua uero conuersationis humanae dispositione palam subiacet, quantum a maioribus mutaueritis, cultu habitu apparatu, ipsoque uictu ipsoque sermone; nam pristinum ut rancidum relegatis. [6] Exclusa ubique antiquitas, in negotiis, in officiis: totam auctoritatem maiorum uestra

auctoritas deiecit. [7] Sane, quod uobis magis probro est, laudatis semper uetustates et nihilominus recusatis. Qua peruersitate tan< > maiorum apud uos † permanere probari debuerunt, cum ea, quae probatis, recusetis? [8] Sed et ipsum quod uidemini a maioribus traditum fidelissime custodire et defendere, uel quo maxime reos nos transgressionis postulatis, de quo totum odium Christiani nominis animatur, deorum dico culturam, perinde a uobis destrui ac despici ostendam. [9] Nisi quod non perinde: nos enim contemptores deorum haberi nulla ratio est, quia nemo contemnit quod sciat omnino non esse. Quod omnino est, id contemni potest; quod nihil est, nihil patitur: igitur quibus est, ab eis patiatur necesse est. [10] Quo magis oneramini, credentes esse et contemnentes, colentes et despuentes, honorantes et lacescentes.

[11] Licet iam hinc recognoscere: inprimis cum alii alios deos colitis, eos quos non colitis, utique contemnitis: praelatio alterius sine alterius contumelia non potest, nec ulla electio non reprobatione componitur; qui de pluribus suscipit aliquem, eum quem non suscipit, despexit. [12] “Sed tot ac tanti ab omnibus coli non possunt.” Iam ergo tunc primo contempsistis, non ueriti scilicet ita instituere, ut omnes coli non possent.

[13] At enim illi sapientissimi acprudenterissimi maiores, quorum institutis renuntiare non nostis maxime in persona deorum uestrorum, ipsi quoque impii deprehenduntur. [14] Mentior, si numquam censuerant, ne qui imperator fanum, quod in bello uouisset, prius dedicasset quam senatus probasset, ut contigit M. Aemilio, qui uouerat Alburno deo. [15] Vtique enim impiissimum, immo contumeliosissimum admissum est, in arbitrio et libidine sententiae humanae < >re honorem diuinitatis, ut deus non sit, nisi cui esse permiserit senatus. [16] Saepe censores inconsulto populo aedes adsolauerunt; certe Liberum Patrem cum sacro suo consules senatus auctoritate non urbe solummodo, uerum tota Italia eliminauerunt. [17] Ceterum Serapem et Isidem et Arpocraten et Anubem prohibitos Capitolio Varro commemorat eorumque aras a senatu deiectas nonnisi per uim popularium restructas. [18] Sed tamen et Gabinius consul Kalendis Ianuariis, cum uix hostias probaret prae popularium coetu, quia nihil de Serape et Iside constituisset, potioem habuit senatus censuram quam impetum uulgi et aras institui prohibuit.

[19] Habetis igitur in maioribus uestris, etsi non nomen, attamen sectam Christianam, quae deos neglegit. Horum si uos saltem integrum † honoribus uestris rei esse laesae religionis, sed inuenio conspirasse a uobis tam

superstitionis quam impietatis profectum. [20] Quanto enim inreligiosiores deprehendimini? Priuatos enim deos, quos Lares et Penates domestica consecratione perhibetis, domestica et licentia inculcatis uenditanto, pignerando pro necessitate ac uoluntate. [21] Essent quidem tolerabiliora eiusmodi contumaciae sacrilegia, nisi quod eo iam contumeliosiora, quod modica. Sed aliquo solacio priuatorum et domesticorum deorum querellae iuuantur, quo publice turpius contumeliosiusque tractetis. [22] Iam primum, quos in hastarium regessistis, publicanis subdidistis, omni quinquennio inter uestigalia uestra proscriptos addicitis. Sic Serapeum, sic Capitolium petitur; addicetur, conducitur diuinitas eadem uoce praeconis, eadem exactione quaestoris. [23] Sed enim agri tributo onusti uiliores, hominum capita stipendio censa ignobiliora (nam hae sunt captiuitati notae, poenae): dei uero, qui magis tributarii, magis sancti; immo, qui magis sancti, magis tributarii. [24] Maiestas prostituitur in quaestum, negotiatione religio proscribitur, sanctitas locationem mendicat; exigitis mercedem pro solo templi, pro aditu sacri, pro stipibus, pro hostiis; uenditis totam diuinitatem: non licet eam gratis coli; plus denique publicanis reficitur quam sacerdotibus!

[25] Non suffecerat uestigalium deorum contumelia, de contemptu scilicet aestimanda, nec contenti estis deis honorem non habuisse, nisi etiam, quemcumque habetis, depretietis aliqua indignitate. [26] Quid enim omnino ad honorandos eos facitis, quod non etiam mortuis uestris ex aequo praebeatis? [27] Exstruitis deis templa: aequae mortuis templa); exstruitis aras dei: aequae mortuis aras; easdem titulis superscribitis litteras, easdem statu is inducitis formas, ut cuique ars aut negotium aut aetas fuit: senex de Saturno, imberbis de Apolline, uirgo de Diana figuratur, et miles in Marte et in Vulcano faber ferri consecratur. [28] Nihil itaque mirum, si hostias easdem mortuis, quas et deis, caeditis eisdemque odores excrematis.

[29] Quis istam contumeliam excuset, quae utut mortuos cum deis deputet? Regibus quidem etiam sacerdotia adscripta sunt ceterique apparatus, ut tensae et currus et solisternia et lectisternia et feriae et ludi. [30] Plane, quoniam illis caelum patet, hoc quoque non sine contumelia deorum, primo quidem, quod non decuerit alios eis adnumerari, quasi his datum sit post mortem deos fieri; [31] secundum, quod tam exserte atque manifeste coram populo non peieraret contemplator < >gis in caelum recepti, nisi contemneret, quos deieraret, quam ipse, quam ei, qui ei peierare permittunt. [32] Consentiant enim ipsi nihil

esse quod deierant, immo insuper et praemio afficiunt, qui publice contempserit periurii uindices. [33] Quamquam periurii apud uos quotusquisque purus est? Immo, iam per deos deierandi periculum euanuit, potiore habita religione per Caesarem deierandi, quod et ipsum ad offuscationem pertinet deorum uestrorum: facilius enim per Caesarem peierantes punirentur quam per ullum Iovem!

[34] Sed contemptus honestior est, habens quandam superbiae gloriam; uenit enim aliquando etiam de fiducia uel conscientiae securitate nel naturali sublimitate animi; derisus uero quanto lasciuior, tanto denotior ad contumeliae morsum. [35] Recognoscite igitur, quam derisores inueniamini mininum uestrorum. Non dico quales sitis in sacrificando, quod enecta et tabida quaeque mactatis, de opimis autem et integris superuacua esui capitula et ungulas et plumarum setarumque praeuulsa, et si quid domi quoque abiecturi fuissetis. [36] Omitto, quae bulgae aut sacrilegae gulae uidebuntur, maiorum prope religionem conuenire: atquin doctissimi, grauissimi, quatenus gravitas atque prudentia de doctrina proficere creduntur, et inreuerentissimi erga deos uestros semper existunt, nec eis cessat litteratura, quominus aut turpius aut uana aut falsa de deis inferat. [37] Ab ipso exordiar uate uestro, † eius unde omnia et omne aequore †, cui quantum honorem adiudicastis, tantum deis uestris derogastis, magnificando qui de eis lusit. [38] Adhuc meminimus Homeri: ille, opinor, est qui diuinam maiestatem humana condicione tractauit, casibus et passionibus humanis deos imbuens, qui de illis fauore diuersis gladiatoria quodammodo paria composuit; [39] Venerem sauciat sagitta humana, Martem tredecim mensibus in uinculis detinet fortasse periturum; eadem Iouem paene perpeßsum a caelitem plebe traducit aut lacrimas eius super Sarpedonem excutit aut luxuriantem cum Iunone foedissime inducit, commendato libidinis desiderio per commemorationem et enumerationem amicarum. [40] Exinde quis non poetarum ex auctoritate principis sui in deos insolens aut uera prodendo aut falsa fingendo? Nec tragici quidem aut comici pepercerunt, ut non aerumnas ac poenas dei praefarentur. [41] Taceo de philosophis, quos superbia seueritatis et duritia disciplinae ab omni timore securos nonnullus etiam afflatus ueritatis aduersus deos erigit. [42] Denique et Socrates in contumeliam eorum quercum et canem et hircum iurat. Nam etsi idcirco damnatus est, cum paenituerit Athenienses damnationis, criminatores quoque inpenderint, restituitur testimonium Socrati,

et possum retorquere probatum esse in illo quod nunc reprobatum in nobis. [43] Sed et Diogenes nescio quid in Herculem lusit, et Romani stili Diogenes Varro trecentos Ioues, seu Iuppiteros dicendum est, sine capitibus inducit.

[44] Cetera lasciuiae ingenia etiam uoluptates uestras per dedecus deorum administrant. Dispicate apud uos Lentulorum et Hostiliorum sacrilegam uenustatem, utrum mimos an deos uestros in strophis et iocis rideatis; sed et. histrionicas litteras magna cum uoluptate suscipitis, quae omnem foeditatem designant deorum. [45] Constuprantur coram uobis maiestates in corpore impuro; famosum et deminutum caput imago cuiuslibet dei uestit. Luget Sol filium fulmine extinctum laetantibus uobis, Cybela pastorem suspirat fastidiosum non erubescens uobis, et sustinetis Iouis elogia modulari.

[46] Plane religiosiores estis in gladiatorum cauea, ubi super sanguinem humanum, super inquinamenta poenarum proinde saltant dei uestri argumenta et historias nocentibus erogandis, aut in ipsis deis nocentes puniuntur. [47] Vidimus saepe castratum Attin deum a Pessinunte, et qui uiuus cremabatur, Herculem induerat; risimus et meridiani ludi de deis lusum, quo Ditis pater, Iouis frater, gladiatorum exsequias cum malleo deducit, quo Mercurius in caluitio pennatulus, in caduceo ignitulus, corpora exanimata iam mortemue simulantia e cauterio probat. [48] Singula ista, quaeque adhuc inuestigare quis possit, si honorem inquietant diuinitatis, si maiestatis fastigium adsolant, de contemptu utique censentur, quam eorum, qui eiusmodi factitant, quam eorum, qui ista suscipiunt. [49] Quare nescio, ne plus de uobis dei uestri quam de nobis querantur. < > ex alia parte adulamini, redimitis si qua delinquitis, et postremo licet uobis in eos quos esse uoluistis. Nos uero in totum auersamur.

XI. [1] Nec tantum in hoc nomine rei desertae communis religionis, sed superductae monstruosae superstitionis. Nam, ut quidam, somniastis caput asininum esse deum nostrum: hanc Cornelius Tacitus suspicionem fecit. [2] Is enim in quarta Historiarum suarum, ubi de bello Iudaico digere, ab origine gentis exorsus, et tam de ipsa origine quam de nomine religionis, ut uoluit, argumentatus, Iudaeos refert in expeditione uastis in locis aquae inopia laborantes onagris, qui de pastu aquam petitori aestimabantur, indicibus fontis usos euasisse: ita ob eam gratiam consimilis bestiae superficiem a Iudaeis coli. [3] Inde, opinor, praesumptum, nos quoque, ut Iudaicae religionis propinquos, eidem simulacro initiari. At enim idem Cornelius Tacitus, sane

ille mendaciorum loquacissimus, oblitus affirmationis suae, in posterioribus refert Pompeium Magnum de Iudaeis debellatis captisque Hierosolymis templum adisse et perscrutatum nihil simulacri reperisse. [4] Vbi ergo is deus fuerit? Vtique nusquam magis quam in templo tam memorabili, praesertim omnibus praeter sacerdotibus clauso, quo non uererentur extraneum.

[5] Sed quid ego defendam, professus interim confessionem temporalem omnium in uobis ex pari transferendorum? Credatur deus noster asinina aliqua persona: certe non negabitis uos eadem colere nobiscum. [6] Sane uos totos asinos colitis et cum sua Epona, et omnia iumenta et pecora et bestias, quae perinde cum suis praesepibus consecratis. Et hoc forsitan crimini datis, quod inter cultores omnium tantum asinari sumus.

XII. [1] Sed et qui crucis nos antistites affirmat, consa cerdos erit noster. Crucis qualitas signum est de ligno: etiam de materia colitis penes uos cum effigie. [2] Quamquam sicut uestrum humana figura est, ita et nostrum. sua propria. Viderint nunc liniamenta, dum una sit qualitas; uiderit forma, dum ipsum sit dei corpus. [3] Quodsi de hoc differentia intercedit, quanto distinguitur a crucis stipite Pallas Attica et Ceres Pharia, quae sine forma rudi palo et solo staticulo ligni informis repraesentatur? Pars crucis, et quidem maior, est omne robur quod directa statione defigitur. [4] Sed nobis tota crux imputatur, cum antennae scilicet suae et cum illo sedilis excessu. Hoc quidem uos incusabiliores, qui mutilum et truncum dicastis lignum, quod alii plenum et structum consecrauerunt!

[5] Enimuero de reliquo integra est religio uobis integrae crucis, sicut ostendam. Ignoratis autem etiam originem ipsam deis uestris de isto patibulo prouenisse. [6] Nam omne simulacrum, seu ligno seu lapide desculpitur, seu aere defunditur, seu quacumque alia locupletiore materia producitur, plasticae manus praecedant necesse est. [7] Plasta autem lignum crucis in primo statuit, quoniam ipsi quoque corpori nostro tacita et secreta linea crucis situs est, quod caput emicat, quod spina dirigitur, quod umerorum obliquatio ; < >; si statueris hominem manibus expansis, imaginem crucisfeceris. [8] Huic igitur exordio et uelut statumini argilla desuper intexta paulatim membra complet, et corpus struit, et habitum, quem placuit argillae, intus cruci ingerit; [9] inde circino et plumbeis modulis praeparatio simulacri, in marmor, in lutum uel aes uel argentum, uel quodcumque placuit deum fieri, transmigratura. A cruce argilla, ab argilla deus: quodammodo transit crux in deum per argillam.

[10] Crucem igitur consecratis, a qua incipitur consecratus. Exempli gratia dictum erit: nempe de oliuae nucleo et nuce persici et grano piperis sub terra temperato arbor exsurgit in ramos, in comam, in speciem sui generis. [11] Eam si transferas, uel de brachiis eius in aliam subolem utaris, cui deputabitur, quod de traduce prouenit? Non illi grano aut nuci aut nucleo? Nam cum tertius gradus secundo adscribitur, aequae primo secundus, sic tertius redigetur ad primum transmissus per secundum. [12] Nec diutius super isto argumentandum est, quando naturali praescriptione omne omnino genus censum ad originem refert, quantoque genus censetur origine, tanto origo conuenitur in genere. [13] Si igitur in genere deorum crucem originem colitis, hic erit nucleus et granum primordiale, ex quibus apud uos simulacrorum siluae propagantur.

[14] Ad manifesta iam. Victorias ut numina, et quidem augustiora, quanto laetiora, ueneramini. Consecratio ne quid melius extollat, cruces erunt intestina quodammodo et tropaeorum; itaque in Victoriis et cruces colit castrensis religio. [15] Signa adorat, signa deierat, signa ipsi Ioui praeferat: sed ille imaginum suggestus et totus auri cultus monilia crucum sunt. [16] Sic etiam in cantabris atque uexillis, quae non minore sanctitate militia custodit, siphara illa uestes crucum sunt. Erubescitis, opinor, incultas et nudas cruces colere!

XIII. [1] Alii plane humanius solem Christiarram. deum aestimant, quod innotuerit ad orientis partem facere nos preca tionem, uel die solis laetitiam curare. [2] Quid uos minus facitis? Non plerique affectatione adorandi aliquando etiam caelestia ad solis initium labra uibratis? [3] Vos certe estis, qui etiam in laterculum septem dierum solem recepistis, et † ex diebus ipsorum praelegistis, quo die lauacrum subtrahatis aut in uesperam differatis, aut otium et prandium . curetis. [4] Quod quidem facitis exorbitantes et ipsi a uestris ad alienas religiones: Iudaei enim festi sabbata et cena pura et Iudaici ritus lucernarum et ieiunia cum azymis et orationes litorales, quae utique aliena sunt a diis uestris. [5] Quare, ut ab excessu reuertar, qui solem et diem eius nobis exprobratis, . agnoscite uicinitatem: non longe a Saturno et sabbatis uestris sumus!

XIV. [1] Noua iam de deo nostro fama suggestit, et adeo nuper quidam perditissimus in ista ciuitate, etiam suae religionis desertor, solo detrimento cutis Iudaeus, utique magis post bestiarum morsus, ut ad quas se locando quotidie toto iam corpore decutitur et circumciditur, picturam in nos proposuit

sub ista proscriptione: “Onocoetes”. Is erat auribus cantherinis, in toga, cum libro, altero pede unguolato. [2] Et credidit uulgus Iudaeo. Quod enim aliud genus seminarium est infamiae nostrae? Inde in tota ciuitate Onocoetes praedicatur. [3] Sed et hoc tametsi hesternum et auctoritate temporis destitutum et qualitate auctoris infirmum libenter excipiam studio retorquendi. Videamus igitur, an hic quoque nobiscum deprehendami. [4] Neque enim interest qua forma, dum deformia simulacra curemus. Sunt penes uos et canino capite, et leonino, et de boue et de ariete et hirco cornuti dii, caprigenae uel anguini, et alites planta, fronte et tergo. Quid itaque nostrum unicum denotatis? Plures Onocoetae penes uos deprehenduntur!

XV. [1] Si in deis aequalitate concurrimus, sequitur ut sacrificii uel sacri quoque inter nos diuersitas nulla sit, ut ex alia specie comparationi satisfiat. [2] Nos infanticidio litamus siue initiamus. Vos, si de memoria abierunt quae caede hominis quaeque infanticidiis transegisse reuincimini, recognoscetis suo ordine: nunc enim differimus pleraque, ne eadem uideamur ubique retractare. [3] Interim, ut dixi, ex alia parte non deest adaequatio. Nam etsi nos aliter, tamen non aliter uos quoque infanticidae, qui infantes editos enecantes legibus quidem prohibemini, sed nullae magis leges tam impune, tam secure sub omnium conscientia unius aeditui tabellis eluduntur. [4] Sed nec eo distat, si uos non ritu sacri neque ferro necatis. Atquin hoc asperius, quod frigore et fame aut bestiis, si exponitis aut longiore in aquis morte, si mergitis. [5] At et si quo < > dissimilius penes uos fit, eo adicite, quod uestra pignora extinguitis, et supplebitur, immo superaceruabitur in uobis quicquid < > a ratione defecerit.

[6] Sed de ea impietatis hostia dicimur uesci. Dum ita quoque in uobis recognoscitur, ubi opportunus positum est, non multo secernimur a uestra uoracitate. [7] Si illa impudica est, nostra uero crudelis, coniungimur, si forte, natura, qua semper saeuitia cum impudicitia concordat. [8] Quamquam quid minus, immo quid non amplius facitis? Parum scilicet humanis uisceribus inhiatis, quia uiuos et puberes deuoratis? Parum humanum sanguinem lambitis, quoniam futurum sanguinem elicitis? Parum infante uescimini, quia infantem totum praecocum perhauritis?

XVI. [1] Ventum est ad horam lucernarum et caninum ministerium et ingenia tenebrarum. Quo in loco metuo ne cedam: quid enim tale in uobis detinebo? [2] Verum iam laudate consilium incesti uerecundi, quod adulteram

noctem commenti sumus, ne aut lucem aut ueram noctem contaminaremus; quod etiam luminibus terrenis parcendum existimauimus; quod nostram quoque conscientiam ludimus: quodcumque enim facimus, si uolumus, suspicamur. [3] Ceterum incesta uestra pro sua libertate et luce omni et nocte omni et tota caeli conscientia fruuntur, quodque felicius proueniat, cum palam misceatis incesta toto conscio caelo, soli ipsi ignoratis; nos uero etiam in tenebris scelera nostra recognoscere possumus.

[4] Plane Persae, Ctesias edit, tam scientes quam non horrentes cum matribus libere faciunt. Sed et Macedones id, quod probauerunt, palam est factitare, siquidem, cum primum scaenam eorum Oedipus intrauit trucidatus oculos, risu ac derisu exceperunt. [5] Tragoedus consternatus retracta persona, “numquid”, ait, “domini, displicui uobis?” Responderunt Macedones: “immo, tu quidem pulchre, at scriptor uanissimus si finxit, aut Oedipus dementissimus si ita fecit”: atque exinde alter ad alterum: “hilaune”, dicebat, ei0j thn mate&ra”. [6] Sed una uel alia gens quantula macula totius orbis? Nos enim omne infecimus solum, omnem pol luimus oceanum. Date igitur aliquam nationem uacantem ab eis, quae omne hominum genus ad incestum trahunt. [7] Si qua gens concubitu ipso et aetatis ac sexus necessitate, ne dixerim libidine et luxuria, caret, ea erit quae carebit incesto; [8] si qua ab humana condicione priuata quadam natura remota est, ut neque ignorantiae neque errori neque casui opposita sit, ea erit quae sola Christianis respondere constantius possit.

[9] Respicite igitur luxuriam inter errores et uentos fluctuantem, si desunt populi, quos ad hoc sceleris incursent lata uada et aspera erroris. [10] Inprimis cum infantes uestros alienae misericordiae exponitis aut in adoptionem melioribus parentibus, obliuiscimini, quanta materia incesti subministratur, quanta occasio casibus aperitur? [11] Plane ex aliqua disciplina seueriores aut certe respectu eiusmodi euentuum a libidine temperatis, quocumque loco, domi aut peregre, ut non dispersio seminum et saltus ubique luxuriae nescientibus filios edat, quos aut ipsi postmodum parentes aut alii filii incursent, quando etiam aetatum moderatio libidine exclusa sit. [12] Quotcumque adulteria, quotcumque stupra, quotcumque publicatae libidinis po< . . . >st< . . > statiuo uel ambulatorio titulo, tot sanguinis mixtiones, tot compagine generis, tot inde traduces ad incestum. [13] Vnde adeo mimis et comoedis argumentorum uenae fluunt; unde ista quoque talis ante tragoedia erupit, Fusciano praefecto urbi iudicata.

[14] Pusio honeste natus fortuita neglegentia comitum ultra ianuam progressus iter praetereuntibus tractus domo excidit: qui eum nutrierat Graeculus, uel a limine Graeculo more captauerat † intrans. [15] Inde mutatus a se aetate Romam in uenalicio refertur. Emit imprudens pater et utitur Graeco; dehinc, ut usum era, adulescentem dominus in agrum et uincula legat. [16] Illic iamdudum paedagogus et nutrix poenas dabant. Repraesentatur eis tota causa, referunt inuicem exitus suos, illi, quod alumnus in pueritia perisset; ille, se quoque a pueritia perisse, ceterum eodem euentu: Romae natum honesta domo; forsitan et signa quaedam retexuerit. [17] Igitur Dei uoluntate fit ut tanta saeculo macula exprobraretur; spiritus de die concutitur, tempora cum aetate respondent; aliquid et oculi de liniamentis recordantur, proprietates nonnullae in corpore recensentur. [18] Dominos, immo iam parentes, tantum prolatae inquisitionis diligentia inpellit; inuestigatur uenaliciarius, infeliciter inuenitur. [19] Reuelato scelere parentes sibi laqueo medentur, bona filio male superstiti praefectus adscribit, non ad hereditatem, sed ad stipendium stupri et incesti. [20] Satis erat unum istud exemplum publicae eruptionis) eiusmodi scelerum delitiscientium in uobis. Nihil semel euenit in rebus humanis: semel plane erui potest. De sacramentis nostrae religionis, opinor, intentatis, et sunt paria uestris etiam non sacramentis!

XVII. [1] De obstinationibus uero uel praesumptionibus si qua proponitis, ne istae quidem ad communionem comparationis absistunt. [2] Prima obstinatio est, qua secunda a deis religio constituitur Caesarianae maiestatis, quod inreligiosi dicamur in Caesares, neque imagines eorum repropitiando neque genios deierando. [3] Hostes populi nuncupamur. Ita uero sit, cum ex uobis nationibus quotidie Caesares et Parthici et Medici et Germanici fiant. Hoc loco Romana gens uiderit, in quibus indomitae et extraneae nationes. [4] “Vos tamen de nostris aduersus nostros conspiratis!” Agnoscimus sane Romanam in Caesares fidem: nulla umquam coniuratio erupit, nullus in senatu uel in palatiis ipsis sanguis Caesaris notam fixit, nulla in prouinciis affectata maiestas! Adhuc Syriae cadauerum odoribus spirant, adhuc Galli Rhodano suo non lauant! [5] Sed omitto uesaniae crimina, quia nec ista Romanum nomen admittunt: uanitatis sacrilegia conueniam et ipsius uernaculae gentis inreuerentiam recognoscam et festiuos libellos, quos statuae sciunt, et illa oblique nonnumquam dicta a concilio atque maledicta quae circi sonant: si non armis, saltem lingua semper rebelles estis. [6] Sed aliud, opinor, est non

iurare per genium Caesaris: dubitatur enim de periuris iure, cum ne per deos quidem uestros ex fide deieretis. [7] Sed non dicimus deum imperatorem: super eiusmodi enim, quod uulgo aiunt, sannam facimus. [8] Immo qui deum Caesarem dicitis, et deridetis dicendo quod non est, et maledicitis, quia non uult esse quod dicitis: mauult enim uiuere quam deus fieri!

XVIII. [1] Reliquum obstinationis in illo capitulo collocatis, quod neque gladios neque cruces neque bestias uestras, non ignem, non tormenta ob duritatem ac contemptum mortis animo recusemus. [2] Atenim haec omnia apud priores maioresque uestros non contemni modo, sed etiam magna laude pensari a uirtute didicerunt. Gladius quot et quantos uiros uoluntarios! Piget prosequi. [3] Crucis uero nouitatem numerosae, abstrusae, Regulus uester libenter dedicauit; regina Aegypti bestiis suis usa est; ignes post Carthaginensem feminam Asdrubale marito in extremis patriae constantiorem docuerat inuadere ipsa Dido. [4] Sed et tormenta mulier Attica fatigauit tyranno negans, postremo, ne cederet corpus et sexus, linguam suam pastam expuit, totum era dicatae confessionis ministerium. [5] Sed uestris ista ad gloriam, nostris ad duritiam deputatis. Destruite nunc gloriam maiorum, quo nos quoque destruat! Contenti estote detrahere etiam laudi parentum ad praesens, ne nobis locum detis! [6] De his forsitan et temporum qualitas robustioris antiquitatis exegerit ingenia duriora; at nunc tranquillitate pacis et ingenia mitiora et mentes hominum etiam in extraneos piaae.

[7] “Esto”, inquit, “ueteribus uos comparete; nobis necesse est in uobis odio pro sequi, quod a nobis non probatur, quia nec inuenitur in nobis”. [8] Respondete igitur ad singulas species. Non eadem in uobis exempla adgnosco? Si contemptu scilicet mortis gladius de maioribus fabulas fecit, utique non uitae amore gladio uos ad lamstas auctoratis nec metu mortis nomen militiae datis. [9] Si feminae alicui de bestiis famosa mors est, medio quotidie pacis sponte libera ad bestias itis. [10] Si crucem, configendi corporis machinam, nullus adhuc ex uobis Regulus pepigit, attamen iam ignis contemptus euasit, ex quo se quidam proxime uestiendum incendiari tunica ad certum usquequaque locum auctorauit. [11] Si flagris mulier insultauit, hoc quoque, qui proxime inter uenatorios ordine transcurso remensus est, ut taceam de Laconica gloria.

XIX. [1] Hucusque, opinor, horrenda obstinationum Christianarum. Quae si uobiscum communicamus, superest deridenda persuasionum conferamus. [2]

Quamquam de persuasionibus omnis obstinatio nostra praestruitur: mortuorum enim praesumimus resurrectionem. Spes resurrectionis fastidium est mortis. [3] Ridete igitur, quantum libet, stupidissimas mentes, quae moriuntur ut uiuant; sed quo facilius rideatis et resolutius decachinnetis, arrepta spongia uel intorsa lingua delete litteras interim uestras, quae similiter asseuerant animas in corpora redituras. [4] Attamen quanto acceptabilior nostra praesumptio est, quae in eadem corpora redituras defendit; uobis autem quanto uanius traditum est, hominis spiritum in cane uel mulo aut pauo moraturum! [5] Item iudicium annuntiamus a Deo pro cuiusque meritis post interitum destinatum; id uos Minoi et Radamantho adscribitis, iustiore omnino Aristide recusato. [6] Eo iudicio iniquos aeterno igni, pios et insontes amoeno in loco dicimus perpetuitatem transacturos: apud uos quoque Pyriphlegethontis et Elysii non alias condicio disponitur. [7] Nec mythici ac poetici soli talia canunt, sed et philosophi de animarum reciprocatione et iudicii distributione confirmant.

XX. [1] Quonam igitur usque, iniquissimae nationes, non agnoscitis, immo insuper execramini uestros, si nihil inter nos diuersitas habet, si unum et eidem sumus? [2] Quia non odistis quod estis, date dextras potius, compingite oscula, miscete complexus, cruenti cum cruentis, incesti cum incestis, coniurati cum coniuratis, obstinati et uani cum aequalibus. [3] Pariter deorum numina laesimus, pariter indignationem eorum prouocamus. [4] Habetis et uos tertium genus, etsi non de tertio ritu, attamen de tertio sexu: illud aptius de uiro et femina uiris et feminis iunctum. [5] Aut numquid ipso uos collegio offendimus? Solet aequalitas aemulationis materiam subministrare: sic figulus figulo, faber fabro inuidet!

[6] Immo, iam desine, simulata confessio! Redigit conscientia ueritatem et ad constantiam ueritatis. [7] Nam omnia ista in uobis solis erunt et a nobis solis reuincuntur, de quibus delata sunt, agnitione scilicet diuersae partis, unde scientia instruitur et consilium inspiratur et iudicium gubernatur. [8] Vestra denique sententia, ne causam quis iudicet nisi duobus auditis, quod in nobis solis negligitis. [9] Naturae uitio satisfacitis, ut quae in uobis non refutetis, in aliis < >tis aut quorum reatum in uobis meminertis, ea in alios iactetis. [10] Qui < >opere occupati eritis: in extraneos casti, in uosmetipsos incesti, exertiores foris, subiecti domi.

[11] Haec est iniquitas, ut gnari ab ignaris, absoluti a reis iudicemur. Auferte

stipulam de oculo uestro, [auf< >de oculo uestro,] ut stipulam de alieno extrahatis. [12] Emendate uosmetipsos prius, ut Christianos puniatis! Nisi quod, si emendaueritis, non punietis, immo eritis Christiani; immo si fueritis Christiani, eritis emendati. [13] Discite quid in nobis accusetis, et non accusabitis; recognoscite quid in uobis non accusetis, et accusabitis! [14] Patet iam hinc uobis, quantum aperire potuerimus e pauculis istis libellulis, erroris inspectio et ueritatis recognitio. [15] Damnite ueritatem, sed inspectam si potestis, et probate errorem, sed repertum si putatis! [16] Quodsi praescribitur vobis errorem amare et odisse ueritatem, cur, quod amatis et odistis, non noueritis?

LIBER II.

I

I. [1] Nunc de deis uestris, miserandae nationes, congregari uobiscum defensio nostra desiderat, prouocans ipsam conscientiam uestram ad recensendum, an uere dei, ut uultis, an falso, ut scire non uultis. [2] Haec enim materia est erroris humani per artificem eius, ne ignorantia erroris tollatur, quo magis rei sitis. [3] Patent oculi nec uident; hiant aures nec audiunt, cor stupet saliens; nescit animus quod agnoscit! [4] Denique si tantam peruersitatem una praescriptione discuti liceret, in expedito esset nuntiatio, cum omnes istos deos ab hominibus institutos non negetis, iam hinc excidere fidem uerae diuinitatis, quod nihil utique aliquando coeptum diuinum uideri iure possit. [5] Sedenim multa sunt, quibus teneritas conscientiae obduratur in callositatem uoluntarii erroris. Ingenti manu ueritas obsidetur, — et ipsa de sua uirtute secura est! [6] Quidni? Quemcumque uult, de ipsis aduersariis socios protectoresque sibimet assumit et omnem illam expugnatorum multitudinem prosternit.

[7] Aduersus haec igitur nobis negotium est, aduersus institutiones maiorum, auctoritates receptorum, leges dominantium, argumentationes prudentium; aduersus uetustatem, consuetudinem, necessitatem; aduersus exempla, prodigia, miracula, quae omnia adulterinam istam diuinitatem [istam] corroborauerunt. [8] Quare secundum uestros commentarios, quos ex omni theologiae genere recepistis, gradum conferens, quoniam maior in huiusmodi penes uos auctoritas literarum quam rerum est, elegi ad compendium Varronis opera, qui, Rerum Diuinarum ex omnibus retro digestis commentatus, idoneum se nobis scopum et posuit.

[9] Hunc si interrogem, qui insinuates deorum, aut philosophos designat aut populos aut poetas. [10] Triplici enim genere deorum censem distinxit: unum esse physicum, quod philosophi retractant, aliud mythicum, quod inter poetas uoluitur, tertium gentile, quod populi sibi quique adoptauerunt. [11] Igitur cum philosophi physicum coniecturis concinnarint, poetae mythicum de fabulis traxerint, populi gentile ultro praesumpserint, ubinam ueritas collocanda? [12] In coniecturis? sed incerta conceptio est. In fabulis? sed foeda relatio est. In adoptionibus? sed < > et municipalis adoptatio est. [13] Denique apud philosophos incerta, quia uaria; apud poetas omnia indigna,

quia turpia; apud populos passiuia omnia, quia uoluntaria. [14] Porro diuinitas, si ueram retractes, ea definitione est, ut ista neque argumentationibus incertis colligatur, neque fabulis indignis contaminetur, neque adoptionibus passiuus iudicetur; haberi enim debet, sicut est, certa, integra, communis, quia scilicet omnium. [15] Ceterum quem deum credam? Quem suspicio aestimauit; quem historia iactauit quem ciuitas uoluit? Dignius multo neminem credam quam dubitandum aut pudendum aut adoptiuum!

II. [1] Sed physico auctoritas philosophorum ut mancipium sapientiae patrocinator. Sane mira sapientia philosophorum, cuius infirmitatem prima haec contestatur uarietas opinionum, ueniens de ignorantia ueritatis. [2] Quis autem sapiens, expers ueritatis, qui ipsius sapientiae ac ueritatis patrem et dominum Deum ignoret? [3] Nam et diuina alias enuntiatio Solomonis: “Initium”, inquit, “sapientiae metus in Deum”. [4] Porro timoris origo notitia est: quis enim timebit, quod ignorat? Itaque † Deum timuerit, ignotio omnium, Deum omnium notitiam et ueritatem assecutus plenam atque perfectam sapientiam optinebit. [5] Hoc autem philosophiae non liquido successit. Licet enim per curiositatem omnimodae literaturae inspiciendae diuinis quoque scripturis, ut antiquioribus, possint uideri incursasse et inde nonnulla dempsisse, cum tamen alia expellant, probant sese aut non omnia dispexisse aut non omnibus credidisse — nam et alias ueritatis simplicitas per scrupulositatem humanam de fide nutat — , et ita accedente libidine gloriae ad proprii ingenii opera mutasse; [6] per quod in incertum abiit etiam quod inuenerant, et facta est argumentationum inundatio de stillicidio uno atque alio ueritatis.

[7] Inuento enim solummodo deo, non ut inuenerunt, exposuerunt, ut de qualitate eius et de natura, etiam de sede disceptent: [8] Platonici quidem curantem rerum et arbitrum et iudicem, Epicurei otiosum et inexercitum, et, ut ita dixerim, neminem; positum uero extra mundum Stoici, intra mundum Platonici. [9] Quem non penitus admiserant, neque nosse potuerunt neque timere nec inde sapere, exorbitantes scilicet ab initio sapientiae, id est metu in Deum. [10] Exstant testimonia tam ignoratae quam dubitatae inter philosophos diuinitatis. Diogenes consultus, quid in caelis agatur, “numquam”, inquit, “ascendi”. Item, an dei essent, “nescio”, inquit, “nisi, ut sint, expedire.” [11] Thales Milesius Croeso sciscitanti, quid de deis arbitraretur, post aliquot deliberandi commeatus, “nihil” renuntiauit. [12] Socrates ipse deos istos quasi

certus negabat; idem Aesculapio gallinacium resecari quasi certus iubebat. [13] Et ideo cum tam incerta et in< > definiendi de deo philosophia deprehenditur, quem potuit metum habere eius, quem non liquido tenebat determinare?

[14] De mundo deos di dicimus. Hinc enim physicum theologiae genus cogunt, qui elementa deos tradiderunt, ut Dionysius Stoicus trifariam deos diuidens unam uult speciem quae in promptu sit, ut Solem, Lunam, < >; aliam, quae non compareat, ut Neptunum; reliquam, quae de hominibus ad diuinitatem transisse dicitur, ut Herculem Amphiarum. [15] Aeque Arcesilaus trinam formam diuinitatis inducit, Olympios, Astra, Titanios, de Caelo et Terra; ex his, Saturno et Ope, Neptunum, Iouem et Orcum, et ceteram successionem. [16] Xenocrates Academicus bifariam facit Olympios et Titanios, qui de Caelo et Terra. [17] Aegyptiorum plerique quattuor deos credunt, Solem et Lunam, Caelum ac Terram. [18] Cum reliquo igni superno deos ortos Democritus suspicatur, cuius instar uult esse naturam Zenon. [19] Vnde et Varro ignem mundi animum facit, ut perinde in mundo ignis omnia gubernet sicut animus in nobis. [20] Atqui uanissime. “Qui cum est,” inquit, “in nobis, ipsi sumus; cum exiuit, emorimur.” Ergo et ignis cum de mundo per fulgura proficiscitur, mundus emoritur.

III. [1] His ita expeditis uidemus physicum istud ad hoc subornatum, ut deos elementa contendat, cum ex his etiam alios deos natos alleget; dei enim nonnisi de deis nascerentur. [2] Quos quoniam in mythico apud poetas plenius suo loco examinabimus, tamen, quod de ipsis interim retractandum est, quod ad praesentem speciem facit, simul et de praesenti specie ad ipsos < >, ostensuri sumus deos nullo modo uideri posse, qui de elementis nati dicuntur, ut iam hinc praeiudicatum sit deos elementa non esse, quia qui de elementis nati dicuntur, dei non sunt; [3] aeque, demonstrantes elementa deos non esse, ad illam agnatorum speciem praestruemus iure deos non esse defendi, quorum parentes, id est elementa, dei non sint.

[4] Scimus deum de deo nasci, quemadmodum de non deo non deum. Igitur, quod elementa contineat mundus iste (ut summaliter tractem de uniuersitate, partibus eius praeministrans, — nam quae condicio eius, eadem utique erit et elementorum ut membrorum —), aut ab aliquo institutus sit necesse est, qua Platonis humanitas, aut a nullo, qua Epicuri duritia; et si institutus est, habendo initium habebit et finem. [5] Ita quod aliquando non fuit ante initium

et quandoque non erit post finem., non capit utique uideri deus, carens substantia diuinitatis, id est aeternitate, quae sine initio et fine censetur. [6] Si uero institutus omnino non est ac propterea deus habendus, quod ut deus neque initium neque finem sui patitur, quomodo quidam assignant elementis, quae deos uolunt, generationem, cum Stoici negent quicquam de deo nasci? Item quomodo uolunt, quos de elementis natos ferunt, deos haberi, cum deum negent nasci? [7] Itaque quod mundi erit, hoc elementis adscribetur, caelo dico et terrae et sideribus et igni, quae deos et deorum parentes aduersus negatam generationem dei et natiuitatem frustra uobis credi proposuit Varro et qui Varroni indicauerunt animalia esse caelum et astra.

[8] Quod si ita est, etiam mortalia sint necesse est, secundum animalium formam; nam etsi immortalem constat animam, ipsi hoc soli licebit, non etiam illi cui adnectatur, id est corpori. [9] Nemo autem negabit elementis corpus esse, cum et contingamus ea et contingamur ab eis, certaue cor pora ex illis decidere uideamus. [10] Ergo si animalia deposita ratione animae, qua corporum condicio, mortalia, non utique dei sunt.

[11] Et tamen unde animalia Varroni uidentur elementa? “Quoniam,” inquit, “mouentur.” Ac ne ex diuerso proponatur multa alia moueri, ut rotas, ut plaustra, ut machinas ceteras, ultro praeuenit dicens eo animalia credita, quod per semetipsa mouerentur, nullo extrinsecus apparente motatore eorum aut initiatore, sicuti apparet qui rotam compellit et plaustra uoluit et machinam temperat. Igitur nisi animalia, non mobilia per se.

[12] Porro allegans quid non appareat, ostendit quid quaesisse debuerat, id est artificem et arbitrum motus; neque enim statim non est quod, quia non uidemus, non credimus esse. [13] Immo, eo altius inuestigandum est quod non uideatur, ut quod uideatur, quale sit, scire possimus. [14] Alioquin si tantum ea quae comparent, ideo esse credantur quia comparent, quomodo deos etiam eos recipitis qui non comparent? [15] Si autem uidentur esse qui non sunt, cur non sint et qui non uidentur? Motatorem dico caelestium rerum. [16] Sint ergo et animalia, quia mobilia per se; etiam mobilia per se, quia non per alium, tamen, ut eo non statim dei, quia animalia, ita nec ideo, quia per se mobilia: aut quid uetat uniuersa animalia, ut mobilia per se, deos haberi? Quod alia sane uanitate Aegyptiis licet.

IV. [1] Aiunt quidam propterea deos appellatos, quod qe/ein id est i3esqai pro currere ac motari interpretatio est. Ergo iam uocabulum istud non est

alicuius maiestatis: a cursu enim et motu, non a potestatis eis dominatione formatum est. [2] Sed cum etiam ille unus Deus, quem colimus, qeoj cognominetur nec tamen aut motus ullus aut cursus eius appareat, quia nec uisibilis cuiquam sit, palam est ut uocabulum istud sit aliunde sumptum propriumque, quia a se natiuum, diuinitatis inuentum. [3] Itaque semota interpretationis eius astutia ueri similis est, non a cursu et motu qeouj *dictos, sed de appellatione ueri dei mutuatum, uti quos aequae deos excudis setis, qeouj cognominaretis.* [4] Denique quam ita sit, probatio suppetit, cum etiam uniuersos deos uestros, in quibus nullius cursus aut motus officium denotatur, qeouj *communiter appelletis.* [5] *Itaque si [aeque] qeouj* aequae immobiles, disceditur uocabuli interpretatione pariter et diuinitatis opinione, qua de cursu et motu modulata rescinditur. [6] Quodsi nomen istud proprium diuinitatis et simplex nec interpretatorium in illo deo reprehensum, in cetera quae deos uultis translatum, docete etiam qualitatis inter illos esse consortium, ut iure consistat collegium nominis communione substantiae. [7] Porro qeoj ille iam hoc solo quod non sit in promptu, uacat a comparatione eorum qui in promptu sunt et uisui et sensui. [8] Sed sensui satis quod est testimonii ad diuersitatem occulti et manifesti renuntiatio: si elementa palam proposita omnibus, si contra deus nemini, quomodo poteris ex ea parte quam non uidisti, quae uides congredi? [9] Cum ergo non habes con iungere sensu neque ratione, quid uocabulo coniungis, ut coniungas etiam potestate? [10] Ecce enim Zeno quoque materiam mundialem a deo separat, uel sic eum per illam tamquam mel per fauos transisse dicit. [11] Itaque materia et deus duo uocabula, duae res: pro discrimine uocabulorum etiam res separantur, etiam materiae condicio uocabulum sequitur. [12] Quodsi materia non deus, quia sic et appellatio praescribit, quomodo quae sunt in materia id est elementa, dei habebuntur, cum membra a corpore aliena esse non possint?

[13] Sed quid ego cum argumentationibus physiologicis? Sursum mens ascendere debuit de statu mundi, non in in- certa descendere. [14] Rotunda mundo Platonica forma: quadratum eum angulatumque commentum ab aliis, credo, circino rotundo ita collegit, quod sine capite solum credi laborat. [15] Sed Epicurus, qui dixerat: “quae super nos, nihil ad nos,” cum et ipse caelum inspicere desiderat, solis orbem pedalem deprehendit. Adhuc scilicet frugalitas et in caelis agebatur. [16] Denique ut ambitio profecit, etiam sol aciem suam extendit; ita illum orbe maiorem Peripatetici denotauerant. [17] Oro

uos, quid sapit coniecturarum libido? Quid probat tanta praesumptione asseuerationis otium affectatae morositatis eloquii artificio adornatum? [18] Merito ergo Milesius Thales, dum totum caelum examinat et ambulat oculis, in puteum cecidit turpiter, multum inrisus Aegyptio illi: “in terra”, inquit, “nihil perspicuens caelum tibi speculandum existimas?” [19] Itaque casus eius per figuram. philosophos notat, scilicet eos, qui stupidam exerceant curiositatem, in res naturae quam prius in artificem eius et praesidem, in uacuum < > dum habituros.

V. [1] Quin ergo ad humaniorem aliquanto conuertimur opinionem, quae de communi omnium sensu et simplici coniectura deducta uideatur? [2] Nam et Varro meminit eius, creditam propterea dicens elementorum diuinitatem, quod nihil omnino sine suffragio illorum gigni ali prouehi possit ad uitae humanae [et] conseruationem, [3] quando ne ipsa quidem corpora aut animas sufficere licuisset sine elementorum temperamento, quo habitatio ista mundi circulatorum condicionibus foederata praestatur, nisi quod hominum incolatui denegauit enormitas frigoris aut caloris, [4] proptereaque deos credi solem, qui diei de suo cumulet, fruges caloribus expediat et annum stationibus seruet, lunam, solacium noctium, patrocinium mensium; † gubernaculis; [5] item sidera, signacula quaedam temporum ad rurationem notandorum; ipsum denique caelum, sub quo omnia, [in] terram, super quam omnia, et quicquid illorum inter se ad commoda humana conspirat; [6] nec tantum de beneficiis fidem diuinitatis elementis conuenire, sed etiam de diuersis quae tamquam de ira et offensa eorum incidere soleant, ut fulmina, ut grandines, ut ardores, ut aerae pestilentes, item diluuia, item hiatus motusque terrarum; [7] et iure credi deos, quorum natura honoranda sit in secundis, metuenda sit in aduersis, domina scilicet iuuandi et nocendi. [8] Porro si ista sentiuntur in communi conuersatione, non perinde rebus ipsis quibus iuuantur siue laeduntur aut gratias referunt aut querellas intendunt, sed his, sub quorum iure et potestate operatio rerum decurrit. [9] Nam in uoluptatibus quoque non tibiae aut citharae coronam ad praemium adiudicatis, sed artifici qui tibiam et citharam suauitatis temperet ui. [10] Aequae cum quis uoletudine male est, non lanis nec antidotis aut malagmatibus ipsis gratiam meministis, sed medicis, quorum opera atque prudentia remedia proueniunt. [11] Item in aduersis: qui ferro sauciantur, non dolorem ipsum aut lanciam accusant, sed hostem uel latronem, et quos ruina opprimit, non tegulas aut imbrices arguunt, sed uetustatem, sicut et naufragi

non petris et fluctibus imputant, sed procellae. [12] Merito : certum enim est, quodcumque fit, ei adscribendum, non per quod fit, sed a quo fit, quia is est caput facti, qui et ut fiat et per quod fiat, instituit (et sunt in omnibus rebus tres tituli isti: quod est, per quod est, et a quo est), quia prius esse qui quid uelit fieri, † et quod possit inueniri. [13] Et ita recte in ceteris agitis auctorem considerantes; at in physicis contra naturam regula uestra, quam in ceteris sapientiam iudicatis, disceditis, auferendo summum gradum auctoris, et quae fiunt, non a quo fieri * *. [14] Ita credere contingit elementorum potestates et arbitria esse quae sunt seruitutes et officia. Nos in ista inuestigatione alicuius artificis intus et domini * *, seruitutes autem contendimus elementorum ex operis eorum, quas facis potestates. [15] Sed dei non seruiunt; ea igitur quae seruiunt, dei non sunt. Aut doceant uulgo fieri, ut de licentia passiuitatis libertas approbetur, de libertate dominatio, de dominatione diuinitas intellegatur. [16] Nam si omnia haec super nos certis curriculis, legitimis decursibus, propriis spatiis, aequis uicibus sub legis instar constituta uoluendis temporibus et exercendis temporum ducatibus occurrere meminerunt, [17] < > ipsa obseruatione condicionum suarum et fide operum et instantia < > uum et cura demutationum, memoria reciprocationum aliquam dominationem sibi praeesse persuadeant uobis, cui apparere uideatur uniuersa negotiatio mundialis perueniens ad humani generis utilitatem < > nem? [18] Non enim potes dicere ea sibi agere ista ac sibi curare nec quicquam hominum causa disponere, cum propterea defendas elementis diuinitatem quod ab illis aut iuuari te aut laedi sentias; nam si sibi praestant, nihil eis debes.

VI. [1] Age iam, conceditisne diuinitatem non modo non seruiliter currere, sed inprimis integre stare neque minui neque intercipi neque corrumpi debere? Ceterum abiit omnis felicitas eius, si quid patitur umquam. [2] Ecce autem et astra intercidunt et intercidisse se attestantur; confitetur et luna, quantum amiserit, cum resumit. [3] Iam maiora eius detrimenta soletis in aquae speculo considerare, ut nihil amplius ullam partem credam, quod magi norunt. Ipse etiam sol saepe defectione temptatus est. [4] Fingite quaslibet rationes caelestium casuum, non uolet deus aut minor fieri aut esse desinere. Viderint igitur humanae doctrinae patrocinia quae coniectandi artificio sapientiam mentiuntur et ueritatem. [5] Num alias natura sic est, ut qui melius dixerit, hic uerius dixisse uideatur? non, qui uerius, is melius? [6] Ceterum cui res

examinabitur, uerisimilius utique dicet elementa ista ab aliquo regi quam ultro carpi: igitur non deos, quae sub aliquo. [7] At si in isto erratur, melius est < . . . > simpliciter quam ut physici diligenter. Sedenim si ad mythicum spectes, melius iam in physico mortalitas errat, eis diuinitatem adiudicando quae super hominem putat situ et ui et magnitudine et diuturnitate sentiri: quod enim super hominem, credas deo proximum.

VII. [1] Ceterum ut ad mythicum transeamus, quod poetis deputatur, nescio an tantum < > mediocritati nostrae, an tanti de documentis diuinitatis confirmentur, ut Mopsus Africanus et Boeotus Amphiarus. Delibanda enim nunc est species ista, cuius suo loco ratio reddetur. [2] Interim hos certe homines fuisse uel eo palam est quod non constanter deos illos, sed heroas appellatis. [3] Quid ergo contendimus? Si addicenda mortuis diuinitas erat, non utique talibus. [4] Ecce uos, cum eadem licentia praesumptionis sepulchris regum uestrorum caelum infamatis, nonne probatos quosque iustitia, uirtute, pietate et omni bono eiusmodi consecrationis solacio honoratis, contenti protalibus etiam inrideri peierantes, [5] at e contrario impios, turpes etiam pristinis humanae gloriae praemiis aufertis, decreta eorum, titulos lancinatis, imagines detrahitis, monetam repercutitis? [6] Ille autem conspector omnium, comprobator, immo < . . . > ctor bonorum, tantae indulgentiae suae ordinationem uulgo prostituet, et plus diligentiae atque iustitiae hominibus licebit in distribuendis dignitatibus habere? Mundiore erunt regum et principum comites quam summi dei? [7] Atquin horretis et auersamini uagos, exules, infirmos, debiles, sordide natos, inhoneste institutos; contra incestos, adulteros, raptos, parricidas etiam legibus † exarendis. Ridendum an irascendum sit, tales deos credi quales homines esse non debeant?

[8] Sedenim in isto mythico genere, quod poetae ferunt, quam incerti agitis circa conscientiae pudorem et pudoris defensionem! [9] Nam quotiens misera uel turpia uel atrocia deorum exprobramus, allegatione poeticae licentiae ut fabulosa defenditis; [10] quotiens ultro siletur de eiusmodi, poeticam non modo non oneratis, sed insuper honora- tis, utique in necessariis artibus habetis: denique per hanc initiatricem litteraturae ingenuitatis studia producit. [11] Criminales deorum poetas eliminari Plato censuit, ipsum Homerum sane coronatum ciuitate pellendum. [12] At cum recipiatis illos et retineatis, cur non credatis talia retexentibus de deis uestris? [13] Igitur si creditis poetis, cur tales deos colitis? Si ideo colitis, quia non creditis poetis, cur laudem mendacibus

fertis nec cauetis ne offendatis eos quorum detractatores honoratis? Sane fides a poetis non exigenda. [14] Nonne, qui dicitis deos post mortem factos, homines confitemini ante mortem? Quid ergo noui, si, qui homines fuerunt, humanis aut casibus aut criminibus aut fabulis polluantur? [15] Non creditis poetis, cum de relationibus eorum etiam sacra quaedam disposueritis? Cur rapitur sacerdos Cereris, si nihil tale Ceres passa est? Cur Saturno alieni liberi immolantur, si ille suis pepercit? [16] Cur Idaee masculus amputatur, si nullus illi fastidiosus adulescens libidinis frustratae dolore castratus est? [17] Cur Herculeum polluctum mulieres Lanuinae non gustant, si non mulierum causa periit? [18] Mentiuntur sane poetae, sed non ideo, quod talia gesserint, ue< > homines † quas defuerint, nec quod non diuinis adscripserint foeditates diuinitatis, cum interim uobis credibilius uisum est deos fuisse, sed non tales, quam tales, sed non deos.

VIII. [1] Superest gentile illud genus inter populos deorum quos libidine sumptos, non pro necessitate ueritatis, docet priuata notitia. [2] Deum ego existimo ubique notum, ubique praesentem, ubique dominantem, omnibus colendum, omnibus demerendum. [3] Atenim cum illi quoque, quos totus orbis communiter colit, excidant probationi uerae diuinitatis, quanto magis isti, quos ne ipsi quidem municipes sui norunt? [4] Nam quae idonea auctoritas praecucurrit eiusmodi theologiae, quam etiam fama destituit? [5] Quanti sunt qui norint uisu uel auditu Atargatim Syrorum, Caelestem Afrorum, Varsutinam Maurorum, Obodan et Dusarem Arabum, Belenum Noricum, [6] uel quos Varro ponit: Casiniensium Deluentinum, Narniensium Visidianum, Atiniensium Numiternum, Asculanorum Anchariam, et quam † praeuerint, Vulsiniensium Nortiam, quorum ne nominum quidem dignitas humanis cognominibus distat? [7] Satis rideo etiam deos decuriones cuiusque municipii, quibus honor intra muros suos determinatur.

[8] Haec libertas adoptandorum deorum quousque profecerit, Aegyptiorum superstitiones docent, qui etiam bestias priuatas colunt, ibes, corcodrillos et anguem suum. [9] Parum est, si etiam hominem consacrauerunt, illum dico quem non iam Aegyptus aut Graecia, uerum totus orbis colit et Afri iurant, de cuius statu quod conici potest, apud nostras litteras, ut uerisimile uidetur, positum est. [10] Nam Serapis iste quidem olim Ioseph dictus fuit, de genere sanctorum; iunior inter ceteros fratres, sed excelsior dignitate ab isdem fratribus per liuorem uenum in Aegyptum datur seruiturus in familia regis

Aegyptiorum Pharaos. [11] A regina minus pudica desideratur, sed quia non obsequebatur, e contrario ab eadem delatus a rege in carcerem datur. [12] Illic somnia quibusdam non perperam interpretatus uim spiritus sui ostendit. [13] Interea rex quoque somniat terribilia quaedam: illi detractantibus quos conuocauerat, ualuit exponere Ioseph, expedita de carcere edocuit, somnium regi aperit: [14] illos boues septem opimissimos diffluentem totidem annorum ubertatem significare, posteriores aequae septem enectos subsequentium septem annorum inopiam praedicare; sapere itaque de recondendis praesidiis in futuram famem de copia priore. [15] Credidit rex: exitus rerum et prudentem et sanctum semper et necessarium probauit; itaque Pharaos uniuersae Aegypto et frumentandae et exinde curandae eum praefecit.

[16] Hunc Serapidem ex suggestu quo caput eius ornatum, uocauerunt; cuius suggestus modalis figura frumentationis eius memoriam obsignat, et curam frugum super caput eius fuisse ipsis spicis, quibus per ambitum notatur, apparet. [17] Propterea et canem, quem apud inferos deputant, sub dextera eius dicauerunt, quod sub manu eius compressa turba Aegyptiorum. [18] (— Et Phariam adiungunt, quam filiam Pharaos deriuatio nominis esse demonstrat. Nam et tunc Pharaos inter cetera honorum et remunerationum filiam quoque in matrimonium ei dederat. —) [19] Sed quia et feras et homines colere susceperant, utramque faciem in unum Anubin contulerunt, in quo naturae condicionisque suae potius argumenta uideri posset consecrasse gens rixosa, suis regibus recontrans, in extraneis deiecta, sane et gula et spurcitia canibus par, par etiam seruitute ipsa.

IX. [1] Haec secundum tripartitam dispositionem totius diuinitatis aut notiora aut insigniora digessimus, ut possit uideri satis responsum de physico genere, de poetico, de gentili. [2] Sed quoniam omnis superstitio non iam philosophorum nec poetarum nec populorum, a quibus tradita est, sed dominantium Romanorum, a quibus occupata est, a quibus auctoritatem sibi extruxit, alia iam nobis ineunda est humani erroris latitudo, immo silua caedenda, quae undique conceptis superstitionum seminibus uitisue ueritatem obumbravit. [3] Sed et Romanorum deos Varro trifariam disposuit in certos, incertos et electos. Tantam uanitatem! Quid enim erat illis cum incertis, si certos habebant? [4] Nisi si Attico stupore recipere uoluerunt: nam et Athenis ara est inscripta: “ignotis deis.” Colit ergo quis quod ignorat? [5] Tum si certos habebant, contenti esse debuerunt nec electos desiderare, in quo

etiam inreligiosi deprehenduntur: si enim dei ut bulbi seliguntur, qui non seliguntur, reprobi pronuntiantur.

[6] Nos uero bifariam Romanorum deos recognoscimus communes et proprios, id est quos cum omnibus habent et quos sibi ipsi sunt commenti. [7] Et numquid hi sunt publici et aduenticii dicti? Id eorum arae docent, aduenticiorum ad fanum Carnae, publicorum in Palatio. [8] Quare cum communes dei quam in physico quam in mythico comprehendantur, actum est iam de his sub istis speciebus. [9] De propriis dicere si placet, de Romanis, stupeamus tertium illud genus hostilium deorum necesse est, eo quod nulla gens alia tantum sibi superstitionis inuenerit. [10] Ipsos in duas species dirigimus; alios de hominibus assumptos, alios mente conceptos. [11] Igitur quoniam idem illis color suppetit consecrationis mortuorum, tamquam ob merita uitae, eandem et nos responsionem opponamus necesse est, neminem ex his quoque tanti fuisse.

[12] Patrem Indigentem Aenean crediderunt, militem numquam gloriosum, lapide debilitatum. Quod telum quantum uolgare atque caninum, tanto ignobile uolnus. Sed et proditor patriae Aeneas inuenitur, tam Aeneas quam Antenor. [13] Ac si hoc uerum nolunt, Aeneas certe patria flagrante dereliquit socios, feminae Punicae subiciendus, quae maritum Hasdrubalem, Aeneae timiditate in his supplicanti hosti, non comitata, raptis secum filiis formam et patrem sibi habere non in fugam sapit, sed in ignes ardentis Carthaginis ut in amplexus patriae pereuntis incubuit. [14] Pius Aeneas ob unicum puerum et decrepitem senem Priamo et Astyanacte destitutis? Atquin Romanis magis detestandus, qui pro salute principum et domus eorum aduersus liberos et coniuges et omne pignus suum deierant. [15] Consecrant filium Veneris, et hoc Volcanus sciens patitur et Iuno concedit. [16] Si baiuli parentum in caelo sedent, cur non potius Argiui iuuenes dei habiti, quod matrem, ne in sacris piaculum committeret, plus quam humano more iugales prouexerunt? [17] Cur non magis dea, quae magis pia, illa filia patris in carcere fame defecti uberibus suis educatrix? [18] Quid aliud Aeneae gloriosum, nisi quod proelio Laurentino nusquam comparuit? Rursus forsitan solito more quasi desertor e proelio fugerit.

[19] Romulus aequae post mortem deus. Si quia Urbem condidit, cur non alii usque in feminas urbium auctores? Sane Romulus et fratrem interfecit et alienas uirgines dolo rapuit. Ideo deus, ideo Quirinus, quia tunc parentibus

[20] Quid Sterculus meruit ad diuinitatem? Si agros stercoribus iuuando diligens fuit, plus fimi Augeas conferebat. [21] Si Faunus Pici filius in ius agitabatur mente ictus, curari eum magis quam consecrari decebat. [22] Si Fauni filia pudicitia praecelebat, ut ne conuersaretur quidem inter uiros aut barbaria aut conscientia deformitatis aut rubore insaniae paternae, quanto dignior Bona Dea Penelopa, quae inter tot uilissimos amatores deuersata obsessam castitatem tenere protexit? [23] Est et Sanctus propter hospitalitatem a rege Plotio fanum consecutus: potuit et Vlixes de humanissimo Alcinoos unum amplius deum uobis contulisse.

[11] Tot exemplis et u< > quis non deus affirmari potuit? Quis denique Antinoo controuersiam diuinitatis agitauit, quod decorior Ganymedes aut carior suo amatori? [12] Patet apud uos mortuis caelum, uiam

ab inferis ad astra subigitis; passim scorta ascendunt, — ne multum putetis uos praestare regibus uestris!

XI. [1] Non tamen contenti eos deos asseuerare, qui uisi retro, auditi contrectatique sunt, quorum effigies descriptae, negotia digesta, memoria propagata est, [2] umbras aliquas incorporales, inanimales et nomina de rebus efflagitantes deos sanciunt, diuidentes omnem statum hominis singulis potestatibus ab ipso quidem uteri conceptu, [3] ut sit deus Conseuius quidam, qui con< >nibus concubitalibus praesit, et Fluiuionia, quae infan-tem in utero nutriat; [4] hinc Vitumnus et Sentinus, per quem uiuiscat infans et sentiat primum; dehinc Diespiter qui puerum perducit ad partum [5] cum primig. > et Candelifera, quoniam ad candelae lumina pariebant, et quae < > < >us dictae. [6] Peruerse natos < > recte uero Prosae Carmentis esse prouinciam [7] > et ab effatu Farinus, et alius a loquendo >uem ad cauendum subministrat < > rix et Albana et una Runcinia. Mirum < > non esse prouisos! [8] Exinde et primi cibi sumendi potionisque capiendae Potina et Edula, et statuendi infantis Statina. [9] Ab adeundo Adeona, abeundo Abeona est. Domiducam et habent et deam < > e et malam, item uoluntatis Volumnium Voletamque. [10] Habent et Pauentinam pauoris, spei Veniliam, uoluptatis Volupiam, praestantiae Praestitiam; aequae ab actu Peragenorem, a consiliis Consum. [11] Est et Iuuenta nouorum togatorum, uirorum iam Fortuna barbata. [12] Si de nuptialibus disseram, Afferenda est ab afferendis dotibus ordinata; sunt, pro pudor! et Mutunus et Tutunus et dea Pertunda et Subigus et Prema mater. [13] < > parcite, dei impudentes: luctantibus sponsis nemo interuenit; ipsi, quorum uotum est, foris gaudentes erubescunt.

XII. [1] Et quonam usque deos < >, quia disserendum, quales deos receperitis? Quantum uobis erubescendum? Rideam uanitatem an exprobrem caecitatem? Est admodum < >ponam. [2] Quot deos et quos utique producam? Maiores an et minores? ueteres an et nouicios? mares an et feminas? caelibes an et legitime nuptos? artifices an et inertes? rusticos an et urbanos? ciues an et peregrinos? [3] Tot enim familiae, tot nationes census bona fide quaerunt, ut dispici et distinguere describique non possint. [4] At quanto diffusa res est, tanto substringenda nobis erit, et ideo, qui in ista specie

unum tuemur propositum demonstrandi illos omnes homines fuisse (— non quidem ut cognoscatis, nam quasi obliti agitis), compendio † ab ipsa dispiciendi rationem summam originem generis illorum retractando. Origo enim totius posteritatis. [5] Ea origo deorum uestrorum Saturno, ut opinor, signatur. Neque enim si Varro antiquissimos deos Iouem, Iunonem et Mineruam refert, nobis excidisse debet omnem patrem filiis antiquiorem, tam Saturnum Ioue quam Caelum Saturno; de Caelo enim et Terra Saturnus.

[6] Et tamen Caeli et Terrae originem omitto; erant undeunde, caelibes diu et orbi, antequam mariti et parentes: longo scilicet aevo crescendum illis fuit ad tantam proceritatem! [7] Denique simul coepit et Caelo uox inolescere et ubera Terrae lapilliscere, faciunt nuptias inter se: credo, aut Caelum descendit ad sponsam aut Terra ascendit ad sponsum. [8] Concepit tamen Terra de Caelo et peperit illa qeoj a!deoj Saturnum, mira ratione: utri parentum similis? [9] Sed etsi peperit, certe ante Saturnum neminem procreauerunt nisi unam post Saturnum Opem; exinde de subole cessatum est. [10] Nam Saturnus quidem Caelum castrauit dormientem (— legimus Caelum genere masculino: ceterum quomodo pater nisi masculinus? [11] Sed et unde ad castrandum falx illi, hoc sane aevo ? Nondum enim Vulcanus artifex ferri. —), Terra uero orbata aspernata est, etsi adhuc iuuenili aetate, alii nubere. [12] “Sed nec habebat Caelo potiore.” Quam tamen nisi illam Mare amplectitur? Sed olet salsuginem: dulcibus est aquis assueta.

[13] Ita Saturnus unicus masculus Caeli atque Terrae. Sed ipse pubescens sorori suae iungitur: nondum leges quae incesta prohiberent, nec quae parricidium plecterent. [14] Itaque filios uirili sexu deuorabat: melius ipse quam lupi, si exponeret! Timebat scilicet, ne quis illorum de paterna falce didicisset. [15] Nato mox et abalienato Ioue saxum infantis ementiti deglutiuit. Hoc ingenio diu securus tandem filio quem non digesserat, in tenebris adulto oppressus regnoque priuatus est. [16] Hunc uobis patriarcham deorum Caelum et Terra poetis obstetricantibus procreauerunt. [17] Sed eleganter quidam sibi uidentur physiologice per allegoricam argumentationem de Saturno interpretari tempus esse, et ideo Caelum et Terram parentes, ut et ipsos origini nullos, et ideo falcatum quia tempore omnia dirimantur, et ideo uoratore suorum quod omnia ex se edita in semetipsum consumat. Nominis quoque testimonium compellunt: Kro&non dictum Graece ut Xro&non. [18] Aequae Latini uocabuli a sationibus rationem deducunt, qui eum procreatorem

coniectant, per eum seminalia caeli in terram deferri. [19] Opem adiungunt, quod opem uiuendi semina conferant, tum et quod opere semina euadant. [20] Quae, oro, huius translationis ratio? Nempe uelim exponas. Aut Saturnus fuit aut tempus. Quomodo Saturnus, si tempus? Si Saturnus, quomodo tempus? Vtrumque enim non potes corporale et incorporale in eo existimare. [21] Quid autem prohibuit tempus coli in sua qualitate, non in fabulis hominis, aut fabulam hominis in sua specie, non in temporibus prodi? [22] Quid sibi uult intellectio ista, nisi foedas materias mentitis argumentationibus colorare? [23] Saturnum neque ideo, quia dicis hominem, uis tempus, aut dum eum tempus facis, iam nec hominem uis fuisse. [24] > omnino Saturnus in terris humanae qualitatis apud ueteres memorias recensetur. Potest incorporaliter fingi quoduis quod non fuerit omnino; uacat fingendi locus, ubi ueritas est. [25] Cum autem Saturnum constat uixisse, frustra demutatis: non conceditur uobis quem non negabitis uixisse, negare fuisse hominem, qui neque deus neque tempus defendi potest.

[26] Exstat apud litteras uestras usquequaque Saturni census. Legimus apud Cassium Seuerum, apud Cornelios Nepotem et Tacitum, apud Graecos quoque Diodorum, quique alii antiquitatum canos collegerunt. [27] Nec fideliora uestigia eius quam in ipsa Italia signata sunt. Nam post plurimas terras et Attica hospitia Italiae uel, ut tunc uocabatur, Oenotriae consedit, exceptus ab Iano siue Iane, ut Salii uocant. [28] Mons quem coluerat, Saturnius dictus, urbs quam depalauerat, Saturnia usque nunc est; tota denique Italia de Saturno uocabatur. [29] Tali teste terra, quae nunc dominatur orbi, etiamsi de origine Saturni dubitatur, de actu tamen constat hominem illum fuisse. [30] Ita si homo Saturnus, procul dubio de homine, immo quia homo, non utique de Caelo atque Terra, sed cui parentes ignoti quidam, facile fuit illum eorum filium dici, quorum possumus omnes uideri. [31] Quis enim non caelum ac terram patrem ac matrem uenerationis gratia appellet? An de consuetudine humana, qua ignoti quique ex inopi nato apparentes de caelo aduenisse dicuntur? [32] Proinde Saturnum, cum esset peregrinus, repentino ubique inoleuit caelitem dici; nam et uolgo generis incertos terrae filios iactitamus. [33] Nihil allego de statu antiquitatis, quo adeo rudes tunc agebant et oculi et mentes hominum, ut cuius libet noui uiri aspectu quasi diuino commouerentur, nedum et regis, et quidem primi.

[34] Adhuc de Saturno immorabor quo et ceteris compendium praestruam,

satiata primordiorum disputatione, nec praetermittam potiora testimonia diuinarum litterarum, quibus fides pro antiquitate superiore debetur. [35] Ante enim Sibylla quam omnis litteratura uestra, illa scilicet Sibylla ueri Dei uera uates, de cuius uocabula daemoniorum uatibus induistis. [36] Ea senario uersu in hunc sensum de Saturni prosapia et rebus eius exponit: “Decima,” inquit, “genitura hominum, ex quo cataclysmus prioribus accidit, regnauit Saturnus et Titan et Iapetus, Terrae et Caeli fortissimi filii.” [37] Si qua ergo uel uestris auctoribus litterisue uestris superioribus, sed idcirco magis proximis, quoniam illius aetatis, fides adiacet, satis de Saturno et prosapia eius probatum est homines fuisse. [38] Tenemus compendium in ceteros originis praescriptionem, ne per singulos euagemur. Qualitas posteritatis a principibus generis ostenditur, mortalia de mortalibus, terrena de terrenis; [39] gradus ad gradus comparantur; nuptiae, conceptus, natiuitates concurrunt; patriae sedes regna monumenta < >. Qui natos non possunt negare, mortuos credant; qui mortuos confitentur, deos nonputent!

XIII. [1] Sedenim manifestis uis sua adsistit. Quos a primordio possunt non < . . . > rere < > diuinitatem, affirmando illos post mortem deos factos, ut Varro, et qui cum eo somniauerunt. [2] Hic igitur consisto: si sunt allekti dei uestri in hoc nomen et numen, ut in ordinem senatorium, < > str < > concedatis iam necesse est, esse aliquem summum dominatorem habentem allegendi potestatem et quasi Caesarem: neque quisquam aliis praestare potest in quo non ipse dominetur; [3] (Ceterum si potuerunt deos sese facere post mortem, cur ergo deterioris condicionis ab initio esse uoluerunt?) [4] Aut si nemo est qui deos faceret, quomodo facti dicentur qui non nisi ab alio fieri potuissent? Ita nullus datur uobis renuendi locus esse mancipem quendam diuinitatis.

[5] Perspiciamus itaque causas allegendae mortalitatis in caelum. Harum duplicem rationem, credo, proferetis. [6] Aut enim ille, quisquis id praestans, facit ut habeat uel amminicula uel munimenta uel etiam ornamenta fastigii sui, aut meritorum necessitate conferens dignis quibusque. [7] Aliud quid suspicare non datur: nemo quid largiendo alicui aut non sua aut illius causa facit. [8] Sed non potest competere numini, ut sit tanta ei potestas, ut scilicet de mortuis deos faciat, et si tanta humanitas inrogetur, quia egeat opera uel etiam munimento quorundam et quidem mortuorum, † quo mirum, cum alios ab initio sibi immortales instituere potuisset? [9] Nec diutius de > tus

conquiret, qui humana diuinis comparauit. Sane quae posterior opinio est, discuti debet, si deus reminiscencia meritorum < > contributa, [10] si pristinis uiris caelum ob merita patuit, recogitandum, quod exinde nemo dignus eo honore fuit. Nisi si capere iam locus non potest: tantis uidelicet < > a meruerit antiquitas. [11] Ergo an meruerit retractemus. Qui ait meruisse, proponat ipsius merita. [12] Si quid incuna < > litatis ualent ad suffragium diuinitatis, incesto commaculatos Opem et Saturnum fratres recepistis. [13] Furtius infans Iuppiter uester, indignus et tecto et ubere humano, merito quem Cretae nutrix tam mala manebat. [14] Adultus denique qualemcumque genitorem pellit, felicissimum regem, aurei scilicet saeculi, sub quo laboris inopiae < > ae pax quiescebat, sub quo

“nulli subigebant arua coloni; ipsaque omnia tellus nullo poscente ferebat.”

[15] “Sed oderat patrem incestum, eius < > castratorem.” Ecce autem et ipse cum sorore miscetur, ut huic primum illud dictum putem: *tou~ patroj to paiidi/on*. Tam pius pater quam pius filius! [16] Quodsi iam tunc legibus ageretur, in duos culleos diuidi Iouem decuit! Post haec quid dubitaret libidine ab incesto corroborata in leuiora, id est adulteria se et stupra diffundere? [17] De quo poetica sic lusitauit, quomodo cum in libello de fugitio palam factum, solemus et operam eius percontandi aliorum abusui nundinare, [18] modo in pretia luxuriae eum figurando, quippe qui bouem aut pretium bouis pensauerit, et imbrem aureum pergulis immiserit, id est aditum pecunia ruperit, modo in similitudines actuum ipsorum, in aquilam qui rapuit, cycnum qui cantauerat.

[19] Adeo non fabulae istae sunt de fa < > sit an non lasciu < > na hominum quos < > emissa iam pridem a fide per incr < >, non est nobis extensius agendum. [20] Si enim et re > pibus et pro seminatoribus suis morata plebs eadem q < > natura, alibi auctoritas exigebat similitudinem morum. < > Quanto deterior, qui non melior? Priuato enim titulo Iouem Optimum dicitis, et est Vergilii “aequus Iuppiter.” [21] Omnes proinde incesti in suos, impudici in extraneos, impii, iniusti: cui nullam insignem infamiam fabula reliquit, is deus fieri non fuit

dignus!

XIV. [1] Sed quoniam alios seorsum uolunt in diuinitatem ab hominibus receptos, et distingui inter natiuos et factos secundum Dionysium Stoicum, de ista quoque specie adiciam. [2] De ipso quidem Hercule ea est summa responsionis, an dignus caelo et diuinitate; sic enim pro uo< > meritis addicunt diuinitatem. [3] Si ob uirtutem, quod feras constanter confecerit, quid tam memorabile? Nonne ludo puniti, uel etiam ad< > arenariae uilitatis plurimas in unum, et quidem studiosiores bestias conficiunt? [4] Si ob peragratum orbem, quantis et locupletibus dulcis peregrinitas aut philosophis famulatoria mendicitas idem praestitit? Non meminerunt Asclepiaden Cynicum unica uaccula, cuius et dorso uehebatur, et, si quando, ubere alebatur, orbem totum oculis subegisse? [5] Si Hercules etiam ad inferos adiit, quis hoc nesciat, uiam ad inferos omnibus patere? [6] >as plurimas < > ille Pompeius < > qui nec Ostia salua in unum angulum Byrsae Cartha< >re. Quo magis Scipio quam Hercules ob tot caedes diuinitati deputatur. [7] Adicite potius titulis Herculaneis stupra uirginum, uxorum et fascias Omphales et ob decori pueri amissionem foede desertam militiam Argonautarum. [8] Adicite ad gloriam post turpitudinem illam etiam furias eius; adorate sagittas quae filios et uxorem interfecerunt! [9] Qui tunc dignius rogo sese inrogasset prae dolore parricidiorum, qui uxoris ob lasciuiam uenenis circumuentus magis meruit id quam ut honesta morte moreretur, hunc uos de pyra in caelum subleuastis, ipsa facilitate qua et alium igni sed diuino confectum, qui pauca experientiae ingenia commentus dicebatur mortuos ad uitam recurasse. [10] Is, etsi Apollinis filius, tam homo quam Iouis nepos, Saturni pronepos, (— nisi habendus spurius ut incerto patre, ut Arguius Socrates detulit —) quem expositum repertum, turpius Ioue educatum, canino scilicet ubere, hominem fuisse nemo negare potest, fulmine haustus est. [11] Malus Iuppiter Optimus hic rursus est, impius in nepotem, inuidus in artificem! [12] Sedenim Pindarus meritum eius non occultauit: cupiditatem et auaritiam lucri in eo canit iudicatam, qua quidem ille uiuos ad mortem, non mortuos rursus ad uitam, praeuaricatione uenalis medicinae agebat. [13] Dicitur etiam mater eius eodem casu obisse, merit< >m< > bestiam ediderat, isdem quasi scalis

ad caelum erupisse. [14] “Et tamen Athenienses sciunt eiusmodi deis sacrificare; nam Aesculapio et matri inter mortuos parentant.” Quasi non et ipsi Thesea suum adorarent, merito deum. Quidni, si conseruatricem suam in litore peregrino dereliquit, eadem obliuione, immo amentia, quae patri causa mortis fuit?

XV. [1] Longum est recensere etiam de illis quos in sidera sepelistis et audaciter deis ministratis. Sic, opinor, digni de caelo Castores et Perseus et Erigona, quemadmodum et Iouis exoletus. Sed quid mirandum? Etiam canes et scorpios et caneros in caelum transtulistis!

[2] Differo de his quos in oraculis co< > et testimonium hic diuini. Qui et tristitiae deos arbitros esse uoltis, ut sit Viduus, qui animam corpore uiduet, quem intra muros cludi non permittendo damnastis, item Caeculus, qui oculos sensu exanimet, item Orbana, quae in orbitatem semina extinguat; et ipsius mortis dea est. [3] Vt cetera transuolem, etiam locorum urbis uel loca deos arbitramini, arcuum Ianum patrem (et diua Arquis est Iana), et montium septem Montinum. [4] < > illi faciunt, qui in isdem locis aras uel aedes habent, prae. in alieno loco aut mercedibus habitant. [5] Taceo Ascensum ab ascensibus, et Cliuicolam a cliuis; taceo deos Forculum a foribus et Cardeam a cardinibus et liminum Limentinum, siue qui alii inter uicinos apud uos numinum ianitorum adorantur. [6] Quid enim magnum, cum et numina sua habeant in lupanaribus, in culinis, et in imo carcere in< >? [7] Cum haec itaque propria his aliisque Romanorum deis, quibus totius uitae officia distribuuntur, taliter ut ceteris deis opus non sit, immo cum priuatim apud Romanos deputentur, quos supra signauimus, nec facile foris cogniti, quomodo ea omnia, quibus illos praeesse uoluerunt, in omni genere humano et in omni gente proueniunt, ubi praesides eorum non modo honore, sed ipsa quoque notitia carent?

XVI. [1] “Sedenim quidam fructus et necessaria uictui demonstraerunt.” Quaeso uos, cum dicitis inuenisse illos, nonne confitemini prius fuisse quae inuenirentur? [2] Cur ergo non auctorem potius honoratis, cuius haec dona sunt, sed auctorem transfertis in repertores? [3] < >que inuenisset, utique auctori gratias egit, utique illum deum sensit, < > ministerium institutoris, a quo et ipse institutus est qui inueniret et ipsum quod inueniretur. [4] Ficum uiridem Romae nemo nouerat Africanam, cum Cato senatui intulit, ut quam prope prouincia hostilis esset, cui subigendae semper instabat,

exprimeret. [5] Cerasium Cn. Pompeius de Ponto primus Italiae prouolgauit. Potuerunt et hi nouorum apud Romanos pomorum repertoires meruisse praeconium diuinitatis!

[6] Tam uanum hoc quam etiam propter artium commenta deos haberi. Quibus si comparentur nostrae aetatis artifices, quanto dignius posteris quam prioribus consecratio competisset? [7] Mentior si non in omnibus iam artificiiis antiquitas exoleuit, usu quotidiano ubique instruente nouitatem. Atque adeo quos ob artes sanctificatis laeditis in ipsis artibus et prouocatis in aemulis insuperatis.

XVII. [1] Denique < >toribus suis non negatis omnibus his quos deos antiquitas uoluit, posteritas credidit, > [2] superstitionum praegrandis praesumptio, cui < >rel< > bemus, propterea scilicet Romanos totius orbis domin< >se, quod officiiis religionum meruerint diuturn< > eis praeualeant.

[3] Nimirum Sterculus et Mutunus et Larentina prouexit hoc imperium, in ius Romanum destinatum! [4] Nam peregrinos deos non putem extraneo potius populo quam suo fauisse, sicut fierent quasi desertores et destitutores, immo proditores patrii soli quo nati, adulti, morati sepultique sunt. [5] Ita ne Iuppiter quidem Cretam Romanis fascibus premi sineret, oblitus antrum illud Idaeum Corybantiaque aera et nutricis suae iucundissimum odorem! Nonne omni Capitolio sepulchrum suum praeposuisset, ut illa potius terra regnaret, quae cineres Iouis tegit? [6] Vellet Iuno urbem suam “posthabita Samo” dilectam et utique Aeneadarum ignibus adoleri? Quod sciam:

hic illius arma, hic currus fuit; hoc regnum dea gentibus esse, si qua fata sinant, iam tunc tenditque fouetque.

[7] Misera aduersus fata non ualuit! Nec tamen tantum honoris Romani fati decreuerunt, ut dedentibus Carthaginem sibi, quantum Larentinae!

[8] Si dei isti conferendi inperii potest< > regnauit enim Iuppiter Cretae et Saturnus Italiae et Isis Aegypto < > regnauerunt, quibus etiam operati plerique traduntur? [9] Ita quib< > dominos facit, et dediticius Admeti ciues Romanos imperio auget, dum liberalem cultorem suum Croesum ambiguis sortibus fallendo circumuenit. Num timebat deus uerum constanter praenuntiare regno exc< >?

[10] < > potestate regnandi qu< . . . > uelut in urbes suas

tueri < > potuissent! Si Romanis praestitisse ualuerunt, cur Athenas a Xerxe Minerua non defendit uel cur Delphos de manu Pyrrhi Apollo non eruit?

[11] Seruent urbem Romam qui suas perdiderunt, si hoc religiositas Romana meruit. Atqui non post summum imperium, auctis iam rebus superstitio quaesita est? [12] Etsi a Numa sacra introducta sunt, nondum tamen aut simulacris aut templis res uestras diuina frustabant. [13] Frugi religio et paupertina superstitio; altaria temeraria et uasa sordida, et nidor exilis ex illis, et deus ipse nusquam. Ergo non ante religiosi quam maiores, neque ideo maiores, quia religiosi.

[14] Atquin quomodo ob religionem et deorum profundissimam curam imperium Romanis < > uideri possit, quod laesis potius deis auctum est? [15] Nisi fallor enim, omne regnum uel imperium bellis quaeritur et bellis ampliatur. Porro < >bus et dei urbis. Nam eadem strages et moenium et templorum, eadem caedes et ciuium et sacerdotum, eadem rapina et profanorum et sacrorum. [16] Tot sacrilegia Romanorum quot tropaea, tot deinde dei quot de gentibus triumphus manent. At simulacra captiua et utique senti< >os non amant. Sed quia nihil sentiunt, inpune laeduntur, et quia inpune laeduntur, frustra adorantur. [17] Itaque, quorum fastigium sacrilegio adultum est, non possunt uideri religionis meritis excreuisse, < >nis siue laedendo creuerunt.

[18] Regnum uniuersae nationes suis quaeque temporibus habuerunt, ut Assyrii, ut Medi, ut Persae, ut Aegyptii; est adhuc penes quosdam, et tamen qui amiserunt, non sine religionibus et cultu et † depropitiis deorum morabantur, donec Romanis cessit uniuersa paene dominatio. [19] Sors temporum ita uoluit< >. Quaerite quis temporum uices ordinauit: idem regna dispensat, et nunc penes Romanos eam summam, tamquam pecuniam de multis nominibus exactam in unam arcam congregauit. Quid de ea statuerit, sciunt proximi ei!

De Testimonio animae (On the Witness of the Soul)

I

Magna curiositate et maiore longe memoria opus est ad studendum, si qui velit ex litteris receptissimis quibusque philosophorum vel poetarum vel quorumlibet doctrinae ac sapientiae saecularis magistrorum testimonia excerpere Christianae veritatis, ut aemuli persecutoresque eius de suo proprio instrumento et erroris in se et iniquitatis in nos rei revincantur. Nonnulli quidem, quibus de pristina litteratura et curiositatis labor et memoriae tenor perseveravit, ad eum modum opuscula penes nos condiderunt commemorantes et contestificantes in singula rationem et originem et traditionem et sententiarum argumenta, per quae recognosci possit nihil nos aut novum aut portentosum suscepisse, de quo non etiam communes et publicae litterae ad suffragium nobis patrocinentur, si quid aut erroris eiecimus aut aequitatis admisimus. Sed suis quidem magistris alias probatissimis [atque lectissimis] fidem inclinavit humana de incredulitate duritia, sicubi in argumenta Christianae defensionis impingunt. Tunc vani poetae, cum deos humanis passionibus et fabulis designant, tunc philosophi duri, cum veritatis fores pulsant. Hactenus sapiens et prudens habebitur, qui prope Christianum pronuntiaverit, cum, si quid prudentiae aut sapientiae affectaverit seu caerimonias despuens seu saeculum revincens, pro Christiano denotetur. Iam igitur nihil nobis erit cum litteris et doctrina perversae felicitatis, cum in falso eis creditur quam in vero. Viderint si qui de unico et solo deo pronuntiaverunt. Immo nihil omnino relatum sit, quod agnoscat Christianus, ne exprobrare possit. Nam et quod relatum est, neque omnes sciunt neque qui sciunt, constare confidunt. Tanto abest, ut nostris litteris annuant homines, ad quas nemo venit nisi iam Christianus. Novum testimonium advoco immo omni litteratura notius, omni doctrina agitatius, omni editione vulgatius, toto homine maius, id est totum quod est hominis. Consiste in medio, anima, seu divina et aeterna res es secundum plures philosophos, eo magis non mentieris: seu minime divina quoniam quidem mortalis ut Epicuro soli videtur, eo magis mentiri non debebis, seu de coelo exciperis, seu de terra conciperis, seu numeris seu atomis concinnaris, seu cum corpore incipis, seu post corpus induceris, undeunde et quoquo modo

hominem facis animal rationale, sensus et scientiae capacissimum. Sed non eam te advoco, quae scholis formata, bybliotheccis exercitata, academiis et porticibus atticis pasta sapientiam ructas. Te simplicem et rudem et impolitam et idioticam compello qualem te habent qui te solam habent, illam ipsam de compito, de trivio, de textrino totam. Imperitia tua mihi opus est, quoniam aliquantulae peritiae tuae nemo credit. Ea expostulo quae tecum homini inferis, quae ex temetipsa aut ex quocumque auctore tuo sentire didicisti. Non es, quod sciam, Christiana. Fieri enim, non nasci solet Christiana.

Tamen nunc a te testimonium flagitant Christiani, ab extranea adversus tuos, ut vel tibi erubescant, quod nos ob ea oderint et inrideant, quae te nunc consciam detinent.

II

Non placemus deum praedicantes hoc nomine unico unicum, a quo omnia et sub quo universa. Dic testimonium, si ita scis. Nam te quoque palam et tota libertate qua non licet nobis, domi ac foris audimus ita pronuntiare, Quod deus dederit, et, Si deus voluerit. Ea voce et aliquem esse significas et omnem illi confiteris potestatem, ad cuius spectas voluntatem, simul et ceteros negas deos esse, dum suis vocabulis nuncupas, Saturnum, Iovem, Martem, Minervam.

Nam solum deum confirmas quem tantum deum nominias, ut, et cum illos interdum deos appellas, de alieno et quasi pro mutuo usa videaris. De natura quoque dei quem praedicamus, nec te latet. Deus bonus, Deus benefacit, tua vox est. Plane, adicis, Sed homo malus, scilicet contraria propositione oblique et figuraliter exprobrans ideo malum hominem, quia a deo bono abscesserit. Etiam quod penes deum bonitatis et benignitatis omnis benedictio inter nos summum sit disciplinae et conversationis sacramentum, Benedicat te deus tam facile pronuntias quam Christiano necesse est, at cum in maledictum convertis dictionem dei, perinde dicto omnem super nos potestatem eius consistere secundum nos confiteris. Sunt qui etsi deum non negent, dispectorem plane et arbitrum et iudicem non putent — in quo utique nos maxime reiciunt, qui ad istam disciplinam metu praedicati iudicii transvolamus — sic deum honorantes, dum curis observationis et molestiis animadversionis absolvunt, cui ne iram quidem adscribunt. Nam si deus, inquit, irascitur, corruptibilis et passionalis est: porro quod patitur quodque corrumpitur, etiam interitum potest capere, quem deus non capit. At idem alibi animam divinam et a deo

conlatam confitentes cadunt in testimonium ipsius animae retorquendum adversus opinionem superiorem. Si enim anima aut divina aut a deo data est, sine dubio datorem suum novit, et si novit, utique et timet et tantum postremo adauctorem. An non timet quem magis propitium velit quam iratum? Unde igitur naturalis timor animae in deum, si deus non novit irasci? Quomodo timebitur, qui nescit offendi? Quid timetur nisi ira? Unde ira nisi ex animadversione? Unde animadversio nisi de iudicio? Unde iudicium nisi de potestate? Cuius potestas summa, nisi dei solius? Hinc ergo tibi, anima, de conscientia suppetit domi ac foris nullo irridente vel prohibente praedicare, Deus videt omnia, et Deo commendo, et Deus reddet, et Deus inter nos iudicabit. Unde tibi hoc non Christianae? Atque adeo et plerumque et vitta Cereris redimita, et pallio Saturni coccinata, et deae Isidis linteata, in ipsis denique templis deum iudicem imploras. Sub Aesculapio stas, Iunonem in aere exornas, [Minervam calcias furvis galeam formis], et neminem de praesentibus deis contestaris. In tuo foro aliunde iudicem appellas, in tuis templis alium deum pateris. O testimonium veritatis, quae apud ipsa daemonia testem efficit Christianorum!

III

Enimvero cum daemonia affirmamus esse, sane quasi non et probemus qui ea soli de corporibus exigimus, aliqui Chrysippi adsentator inludit. Et esse et abominationem sustinere execrationes tuae respondent. Daemonium vocas hominem aut immunditia aut malitia aut insolentia aut quacumque macula quam nos daemoniis deputamus ad necessitatem odii inportunum. Satanam denique in omni vexatione et aspernatione et detestatione pronuntias, quem nos dicimus malitiae angelum, totius erroris artificem, totius saeculi interpolatorem, per quem homo a primordio circumventus, ut praeceptum dei excederet, et propterea in mortem datus exinde totum genus de suo semine infectum suae etiam damnationis traducem fecit. Sentis igitur perditorem tuum, et licet soli illum noverint Christiani vel quaecumque apud dominum secta, et tu tamen eum nosti, dum odisti.

IV

Iam nunc quod ad necessariorem sententiam tuam spectet, quantum et ad ipsum statum tuum tendit, adfirmamus te manere post vitae disunctionem et

expectare diem iudicii proque meritis aut cruciatui destinari aut refrigerio, utroque sempiterno; quibus sustinendis necessario tibi substantiam pristinam eiusdemque hominis materiam et memoriam reversuram, quod et nihil mali ac boni sentire possis sine carnis passionalis facultate et nulla ratio sit iudicii sine ipsius exhibitione qui meruit iudicii passionem. Ea opinio Christiana etsi honestior multo Pythagorica, quae te non in bestias transfert, etsi plenior Platonica, quae tibi etiam dotem corporis reddit, etsi Epicurea gravior, quae te ab interitu defendit, tamen propter suum nomen soli vanitati et stupori et, ut dicitur, praesumptioni deputatur. Sed non erubescimus, si tecum erit nostra praesumptio. Primo enim, cum alicuius defuncti recordaris, misellum vocas eum, non utique quod de bono vitae ereptum sed ut poenae et iudicio iam adscriptum. Ceterum alias securos vocas defunctos. Profiteris et vitae incommodum et mortis beneficium. Vocas porro securos, si quando extra portam cum obsoniis et matteis tibi potius parentans ad busta recedis aut a bustis dilutior redis. At ego sobriam tuam sententiam exigo. Misellos vocas mortuos, cum de tuo loqueris, cum ab eis longe es. Nam in convivio eorum quasi praesentibus et conrecumbentibus sortem suam exprobrare non possis. Debes adulari propter quos lautius vivis. Misellum ergo vocas qui nihil sentit? Quid, quod ut sentienti maledicis? Cuius memoriam cum alicuius offensae morsu facis, terram gravem inprecari et cineri penes inferos tormentum. Aequè ex bona parte cui gratiam debes, ossibus et cineribus eius refrigerium comprecari et ut bene requiescat apud inferos cupis. Si nihil passionis est tibi post mortem, si nulla sensus perseverantia, si denique nihil est tui, cum istud corpus reliquisti, cur mentiris in te, quasi aliquid ultra pati possis? Immo cur in totum times mortem? Nihil est tibi timendum post mortem, qua nec experiundum post mortem. Nam et si dici potest ideo mortem timeri non ultra quid minantem, sed ut commodum vitae amputantem, atquin cum et incommoda longe plura vitae pariter excedant, lucratiōne gravioris partis metum diluit, ne iam timenda est amissio bonorum quae altero bono, id est incommodorum pace, pensatur. Non est timendum quod nos liberat ab omni timendo. Si times vita decedere quia optimam nosti, certe mortem timere non debes quam malam nescis. At cum times, scis malam. Non scires autem malam, quia nec timeres, si non scires aliquid esse post mortem quod eam malam faciat, ut timeas. Omittamus nunc naturalem formam timendi mortem. Nemo timeat quod evadere non potest. Ex altera parte congregior laetioris spei

post mortem. Nam omnibus fere ingenua est fama post mortem cupido. Longum est retexere Curtios et Regulos et Graecos viros quorum innumerabilia elogia sunt contemptae mortis propter postumam famam. Quis non hodie memoriae post mortem frequentandae ita studet, ut vel litteraturae operibus vel simplici laude morum vel ipsorum sepulcrorum ambitione nomen suum servet? Unde animae [hodie] affectare aliquid quod velit post mortem et tantopere praeparare quae sit usura post obitum? Nihil utique de postero curaret, si nihil de postero sciret. Sed forsitan de sensu post excessum tui certior sis quam de resurrectione quandoque cuius nos praesumptores denotamur. Atquin hoc quoque ab anima praedicatur. Nam si de aliquo iam pridem defuncto tanquam de vivo quis requirat, prae manu occurrit dicere, Abiit iam et reverti debet.

V

Haec testimonia animae quanto vera tanto simplicia, quanto simplicia tanto vulgaria, quanto vulgaria tanto communia, quanto communia tanto naturalia, quanto naturalia tanto divina. Non puto cuiquam frivola et ridicula videri posse, si recogitet naturae maiestatem, ex qua censetur auctoritas animae. Quantum dederis magistrae, tantum adiudicabis discipulae. Magistra natura, anima discipula est. Quicquid aut illa edocuit aut ista perdidicit, a deo traditum est, magistro scilicet ipsius magistrae. Quid anima possit de principali institutore praesumere, in te est aestimare de ea quae in te est. Senti illam quae ut sentias efficit. Recogita in praesagiis vatem, in ominibus augurem, in eventibus prospicem. Mirum, si a deo data novit homini divinare? Tam mirum, si eum, a quo data est, novit? Etiam circumventa ab adversario meminit sui auctoris et bonitatis et decreti eius et exitus sui et adversarii ipsius. Sic mirum, si a deo data eadem canit quae deus suis dedit nosse? Sed qui eiusmodi eruptiones animae non putavit doctrinam esse naturae et congenitae et ingenitae conscientiae tacita commissa, dicet potius divinitatis in vulgus opinionibus publicatarum litterarum usum iam et quasi vitium corroboratum taliter sermocinandi. Certe prior animas quam littera, et prior sermo quam liber, et prior sensu quam stilus et prior homo ipse quam philosophus et poeta. Numquid ergo credendum est ante litteraturam et divulgationem eius mutos ab huiusmodi pronuntiationibus homines vixisse? Nemo deum et bonitatem eius, nemo mortem, nemo inferos loquebatur?

Mendicabat sermo, opinor, immo nec ullus esse poterat, cessantibus etiam tunc, sine quibus etiam hodie beator et locupletior et prudentior non potest, si ea, quae tam facilia, tam assidua, tam proxima hodie sunt, in ipsis quodammodo labiis parta, retro non fuerunt, antequam litterae in saeculo germinassent, antequam Mercurius, opinor, natus fuisset. Et unde, oro, ipsis litteris contigit nosse et in usum loquelae disseminare quae nulla umquam mens conceperat aut lingua protulerat aut auris exceperat? At enim cum divinae scripturae quae penes nos vel Iudaeos sunt, in quorum oleastro insiti sumus, multo saecularibus litteris vel modica tantum aetate aliqua antecedant, ut loco suo edocuimus ad fidem earum demonstrandam, et si haec eloquia de litteris usurpavit anima, utique de nostris credendum erit, non de vestris, quia potiora sunt ad instruendam animam priora quam posteriora, quae et ipsa a prioribus instrui sustinebant, cum, etsi de vestris instructam concedamus, ad originem tamen principalem traditio pertineat, nostrumque omnino sit quodcumque de nostris sumsisse et tradidisse contigit vobis. Quod cum ita sit, non multum refert, a deo formata sit animae conscientia an a litteris dei. Quid igitur vis, homo, de humanis sentiis litterarum tuarum exisse haec in usus communis callositatem?

VI

Crede itaque tuis et de commentariis nostris tanto magis crede divinis, sed de animae ipsius arbitrio perinde crede naturae. Elige quam ex his fidem sororem observes veritatis. Si de tuis litteris dubitas, neque deus neque natura mentitur. Ut et naturae et deo credas, crede animae, ita fiet ut et tibi credis. Illa certe est quam tanti facis, quantum illa te facit, cuius es totus, quae tibi omnia est, sine qua nec vivere potes nec mori, propter quam deos neglegis. Cum enim times fieri Christianus, eam conveni. Cur cum alium colat, deum nominat? Cur cum maledicendo spiritus denotat, daemonia pronuntiat? Cur ad caelum contestatur et ad terram detestatur? Cur alibi servit, alibi vindicem convenit? Quid de mortuis iudicat? Quae verba habet Christianorum quos nec auditos visosque vult? Cur aut nobis dedit ea verba aut accepit a nobis? Cur aut docuit aut didicit? Suspectam habe convenientiam praedicationis in tanta disconvenientia conversationis. Vanus es, si huic linguae soli aut Graecae quae propinquae inter se habentur, reputabis eiusmodi, ut neges naturae universitatem. Non Latinis nec Argivis solis anima de caelo cadit. Omnium

gentium unus homo, varium nomen est, una anima, varia vox, unus spiritus, varius sonus, propria cuique genti loquela, sed loquela materia communis. Deus ubique et bonitas dei ubique, daemonium ubique et maledictio daemonii ubique, iudicii divini invocatio ubique et conscientia mortis ubique et testimonium ubique. Omnis anima suo iure proclamat quae nobis nec mutire conceditur. Merito igitur omnis anima et rea et testis est, in tantum et rea erroris in quantum et testis veritatis, et stabit ante aulas dei die iudicii nihil habens dicere. Deum praedicabas et non requirebas, daemonia abominabaris et illa adorabas, iudicium dei appellabas nec esse credebas, inferna supplicia praesumebas et non praecavebas, Christianum nomen sapiebas et persequeris.

De Pallio (On the Ascetic Mantle)

I. I. [1] Principes semper Africae, uiri Carthaginienses, uetustate nobiles, nouitate felices, gaudeo uos tam prosperos temporum, cum ita uacat ac iuuat habitus denotare. Pacis haec et annonae otia. Ab imperio et a caelo bene est. Tamen et uobis habitus aliter olim, tunicae fuere, et quidem in fama de subteminis studio et luminis concilio et mensurae temperamento, quod neque trans crura prodigae nec intra genua inuerecundae nec brachiis parcae nec manibus artae, sed (nec cingulo sinus diuidere expeditum) beatae quadrata iustitia in uiris stabant. Pallii extrinsecus habitus et ipse quadrangulus ab utroque laterum regestus et ceruicibus circumstrictus in fibulae morsu, humeris acquiescebat.

[2] Instar eius hodie Aesculapio iam noster sacerdotium est. Sic et in proximo soror ciuitas uestiebat, et sicubi alibi in Africa Tyros. At cum saecularium sortium uariavit urna et Romanis deus maluit, soror quidem ciuitas suo pte arbitrio mutare properauit, ut adpulsum Scipionem ante iam de habitu salutasset, Romanum praecoca. Vobis uero post iniuriae beneficium, ut senium non fastigium exemptis, post Gracchi obscena omina et Lepidi uiolenta ludibria, post trinas Pompei aras et longas Caesaris moras, ubi moenia Statilius Taurus imposuit, sollemnia Sentius Saturninus enarrauit, cum concordia iuuat, toga oblata est. Pro, quantum circummeauit, a Pelasgis ad Lydos, a Lydis ad Romanos, ut ab humeris sublimioris populi Carthaginienses complecteretur!

[3] Exinde tunicam longiorem cinctu arbitrate suspenditis, et pallii iam teretis redundantiam tabulata congregatione fulcitis, et si quid praeterea condicio uel dignitas uel temporalitas uestit, pallium tamen generaliter uestrum immemores etiam denotatis. Equidem haud miror prae documento superiore. Nam et arietem (non quem Laberius *reciprocicornem et lanicutem et testitrahum*, sed trabes machina est, quae muros frangere militat) nemini unquam adhuc libratum illa dicitur Carthago, *studiis asperrima belli*, prima omnium armasse in oscillum penduli impetus, commentata uim tormenti de bile pecoris capite <se> uindicantis. Cum tamen ultimant tempora patriae et aries iam Romanus in muros quondam suos audet, stupuere illico Carthaginienses ut nouum extraneum ingenium:

Tantum aevi longinqua ualet mutare uetustas!

Sic denique nec pallium agnoscitur.

II. [1] Sit nunc aliunde res, ne Poenicum inter Romanos aut erubescat aut doleat. Certe habitum uertere naturae totius sollemne munus est. Fungitur et ipse mundus interim iste quem incumbimus. Viderit Anaximander, si plures putat, uiderit, si quis uspiam alius, ad Meropas, ut Silenus penes aures Midiae blattit, aptas sane grandioribus fabulis. Sed et si quem Plato aestimat, cuius imago hic sit, etiam ille habeat necesse est proinde mutare. Quippe si mundus, ex diuersis substantiis officiisque constabit, ad formam eius quod mundus hic est; neque enim mundus, si non ut mundus proinde. Diuersa in unum ex demutatione diuersa sunt. Denique diuersitatis discordiam uices foederant. Ita mutando erit mundus omnis qui et diuersitatibus corporatus et uicibus temperatus.

[2] Nostra certe metatio, quod clausis, uel in totum. Homericis oculis liquet, totum uersiforme est. Dies et nox inuicem uertunt. Sol stationibus annuis, luna modulationibus menstruis uariat. Siderum distincta confusio interdum reicit quid, interdum resuscitat. Caeli ambitus nunc subdiuo splendidus, nunc nubilo sordidus; aut imbres ruunt, et si qua missilia cum imbris; dehinc substillum et denuo sudum. Sic et mari fides infamis, dum et flabris aequae mutantibus de tranquillo probum, de flustris temperatum et extemplo de decumanis inquietat. Sic et terram si recenseas temporatim uestiri amantem, prope sis eandem negare, memor uiridem cum conspicias flauam, mox uisurus et canam. Ceteri quoque eius ornatus quid non aliud ex alio mutant, et montium scapulae decurrendo, et fontium uenae cauillando et fluminum uiae obhumando?

[3] Mutauit et totus orbis aliquando, aquis omnibus obsitus. Adhuc maris conchae et buccinae peregrinantur in montibus, cupientes Platoni probare etiam ardua fluitasse. Sed et enatando rursus in forma mutauit rursus orbis, alius idem. Mutat et nunc localiter habitus, cum situs laeditur, cum inter insulas nulla iam Delos, harenae Samos, et Sibylla non mendax, cum <terra> in Atlantico Libyam aut Asiam adaequans iam quaeritur, cum Italiae quondam latus Hadria Tyrrhenoque quassantibus mediotenus interceptum reliquias Siciliam facit, cum tota illa plaga discidii contentiosos aequorum coitus angustis retorquens nouum uitii maris imbuat, non exspuentis maufragia sed deuorantis.

[4] Patitur et continiens de caelo aut de suo. Aspice ad Palaestinam. Qua Iordanis amnis finium arbiter, uastitas ingens, et orba regio, et frustra ager. At

urbes retro, et populi frequentes, et solum audiebat. Dehinc, ut deus censor est et impietas ignium meruit imbres, hactenus Sodoma, et nulla Gomorrha, et cinis omnia, et propinquitas maris iuxta cum solo mortem uiuit. Ex huiuscemodi nubilo et Tuscia Vulsinius pristinos deusta, quo magis de montibus suis Campania speret, erepta Pompeios. Sed absit. Vtinam et Asia secura iam sit de soli ingluuie! Vtinam et Africa semel uoraginiem pauerit, unicis castris fraudatis expiata! Multa et alia huiusmodi detrimenta habitum. orbis nouauere situsque mouere.

[5] Bellis quoque plurimum licuit. Sed piget tristia non minus quara et regnorum uices recensere, quotiens et ista mutauerint iam inde a Nino, Beli progenie, si tamem Ninus regnare primus, ut autumant superiorum profanitas. Ferme apud uos ultra stilus non solet: ab Assyriis, si forte, aevi historiae patescunt. Qui uero diuinas lectitamus, ab ipsius mundi natalibus compotes sumus.

[6] Sed laeta iam malo, quippe et laeta mutant. Denique si quid mare diluit, caelum deussit, terra subduxit, gladius detotondit, alias uersura compensati reddit. Nam et primitus maiorem ambitum terra cassa et uacans hominum, et sicubi aliqua gens occuparat, sibimet soli erat. Itaque colere omnia (si demum intelligis alibi stipantem copiam, alibi deserentem), runcare atque ruspae consuluit, ut inde uelut ex surculis et propaginibus populi de populis, urbes de urbibus per ubique orbis pangerentur. Transuolauere redundantium gentium examina. Scythae exuberant Persas, Phoenices in Africam eructant, Romanos Phryges pariunt, Chaldaeam semen in Aegyptum educatur, dehinc cum inde transducitur, Iudaea gens est. Sic et Herculea posteritas Temeno pariter Peloponnesum occupando producunt; sic et Iones, Nelei comites, Asiam nouis urbibus instruunt; sic et Corinthii cum Archia muniunt Syracusas.

[7] Sed uanum iam antiquitas, quando curricula nostra coram. Quantum reformauit orbis saeculum istud! Quantum urbium aut produxit aut auxit aut reddidit praesentis imperii triplex uirtus! Deo tot Augustis in unum fauente, quot census transcripti, quot populi repurgati, quot ordines illustrati, quot barbari exclusi! Reuera orbis cultissimum huius imperii rus est, eradicated omni aconito hostilitatis et cacto et rubo subdolae familiaritatis conuulso, et amoenus super Alcinoi pometum et Midae rosetum. Laudans igitur orbera mutantem, quid denotas hominem?

III. [1] Mutant et bestiae pro ueste formam; quamquam et pauo pluma uestis,

et quidera de cataclistis, immo omni conchylio pressior qua colla florent, et omni patagio inauratior qua terga fulgent, et omni syrmate solutior qua caudae iacent, multicolor et discolor et uersicolor, nunquam ipsa, semper alia, etsi semper ipsa quando alia, totiens denique mutanda quotiens mouenda.

[2] Nominandus est et serpens, licet pone pauum; nam et iste quod sortitus est conuertit, corium et aeuum. Siquidem ut senium persensit, in angustias stipat, pariterque specum ingrediens et cutem egrediens ab ipso statim limine erasus exuuiis ibidem relictis nouus explicat; cum squamis et anni recusantur. Hyaena, si obserues, sexus annalis est, marem et feminam alternat. Taceo cenium, quod et ipse aetatis suae arbiter, serpente pastus ueneno languescit in iuuentutem.

[3] Est et

Quadrupes tardigrada, agrestis, humilis, aspera.

Testudinem Pacuianam putas? Non est. Capit et alia bestiola uersiculum, de mediocribus oppido, sed nomen grande. Chamaeleontem qui audieris haud ante gnarus, iam timebis aliquid amplius cum leone. At cum offenderis apud uineam, ferme et sub pampino totum, ridebis illico audaciam et Graeci iam nominis, quippe nec sucus est corpori, quod minutioribus multo licet. Chamaeleon pellicula uiuit. Caputulum statim a dorso; nam deficit ceruix. Itaque durum reflecti, sed circumspectu emissicii ocelli, immo luminis puncta uertiginant. Hebes, fessus, uix a terra suspendit, molitur incessura stupens et promouet, gradum magis demonstrat quam explicat, ieiunus scilicet semper et in defectus, oscitans uescitur, follicans ruminat, de uento cibus. Tamen et chamaeleon mutare totus, nec aliud ualet. Nam cum illi coloris proprietas una sit, ut quid accessit, inde suffunditur. Hoc soli chamaeleonti datum, quod uulgo dictum est, *de corio suo ludere*.

[4] Multa dicendum fuit, ut ad hominem praestructum perueniretur. Hunc quoquo primordio accipitis, nudus certe et inuestis figulo suo constitit; post demum sapientiam, haud dum licitum, praereptam potitur. Ibidem quod in nouo corpore indebitum adhuc pudori erat protegere festinans ficulneis foliis interim circumdat; dehinc cura de originis loco exterminat, quippe deliquerat, pellitus orbi ut metallo datur.

[5] Sed arcana ista, nec omnium nosse. Cedo iam de uestro quod Aegyptii narrant et Alexander digerit et mater legit de tempestate Osiridis, qua ad illum ex Libya Ammon facit ouium diues. Denique cura ipsis Mercurium autumant

forte palpati arietis mollitie delectatum deglubasse ouicullam, dumque pertemptat quod facilitas materiae suadebat, tractu prosequente filum eliquasse et in restis pristinae modum, quam philyrae taeniis iunxerat, texuisse. Sed uos omnem lanitii dispensationem structuramque telarum Mineruae maluistis, cum penes Arachnen diligentior officinia.

[6] Exinde materia. Nec de ouibus dico Milesiis et Selgicis et Altinis, aut quis Tarentum uel Baetica cluet natura colorante, sed quoniam et arbusta uestiunt, et lini herbida post uirorem lauacro niuescunt. Nec fuit satis tunicam pangere et serere, ni etiam piscari uestitum contigisset; nam et de mari uellera, qua muscosae lanositatis lautiores conchae comant. Prorsus haud latet bombycem [uermiculi genus est], quae per aerem liquando araneorum horoscopis idonius distendit, dehinc deuorat, mox aluo reddere. Proinde, si necaueris, a nemate iam stamina uolues.

[7] Tantam igitur paraturam materiarum ingenia quoque uestificinae prosecuta, primum tegendo homini, qua necessitas praecessit, dehinc et ornando, immo et inflando, qua ambitio successit, uarias indumentorum formas promulgare. Quarum pars gentilitus inhabitantur, ceteris incommunes, pars uero passiuus, omnibus utiles, ut hoc pallium, etsi Graecum magis, sed lingua iam penes Latium est. Cum uoce uestis intrauit. Atque adeo ipse qui Graecos praeter urbem censebat, litteras eorum uocemque senex iam eruditus, idem Cato iuridicinae suae in tempore humerum exertus, haud minius palliato habitu Graecis fuit.

IV. [1] Quid nunc, si est Romanitas omni salus, nec honestis tamen modis ad Graios estis? Aut, ni ita est, unde gentium, in prouinciis melius exercitis, quas natura agro potius eluctando commodauit, studia palaestrae, male senescentia et cassum laborantia et lutea unctio et puluerea uolutatio, arida saginatio? Vnde apud aliquos Numidas etiam equis caesariatos iuxta cutem tonsor et cultri uertex solus immunis? Vnde apud hirtos et hirsutos tam rapax a culo resina, tam furax a mento uolsella? Prodigium est haec sine pallio fieri. Illius est haec tota res Asiae. Quid tibi Libya, et Europa, cum xysticis munditiis, quas uestire non nosti? Reuera enim quale est Graecatim depilari magis quam amiciri?

[2] Habitum transferre ita demum culpaeprope est, si non consuetudo, sed natura mutetur. Sat refert inter honorem temporis et religionem. Det consuetudo fidem tempori, natura deo. Naturam itaque concussit Larissaeus

heros in uirginem mutando, ille ferarum medullis educatus (unde et nominis concilium, quandoquidem, labiis uacuerat ab uberum gustu), ille apud rupicem et siluicolam et monstrum eruditorem scrupula schola eruditus. Feras, si in puero, matris sollicitudinem patiens; certe iam histriculus, certe iam uirum alicui clanculo functus adhuc sustinet stolam fundere, comam struere, cutem fingere, speculum consulere, collum demulcere, aurem quoque foratu effeminatus, quod illi apud Sigeum strongyla seruat.

Plane postea miles est, necessitas enim reddidit sexum. De proelio sonuerat, nec arma longe. Ipsum, inquit, ferrum uirum attrahit. Ceterum, si post incentiuum quoque puellam persuerasset, potuit et nubere. Ecce itaque mutatio. Monstrum equidem geminum, de uiro femina, mox de femina uir, quando neque ueritas negari debuisset neque fallacia confiteri. Vterque habitus mutandi malus, alter aduersus naturam, alter contra salutem.

[3] Turpius adhuc libido uirum cultu transfigurauit quam aliqua materna formido. Tametsi adoratur a uobis qui erubescendus est, ille scytalosagittipelliger, qui totam epitheti sui sortem cum muliebri cultu compensauit. Tantum Lydiae clanculariae licuit, ut Hercules in Omphale et Omphale in Hercule prostitueretur. Vbi Diomedes et cruenta praesepia? Vbi Busiris et bustuaria altaria? Vbi Geryon ter unus? Cerebris adhuc eorum claua foetere malebat, cum unguentis offenderetur. Vetus iam Hydrae Centaurorumque sanguis in sagittis pumice spiculi excludebatur, insultante luxuria, ut post monstra transfixa coronam forsitan suerent. Ne sobriae mulieris quidem aut uiraginis alicuius scapulae sub exuias bestiae tantae introire potuissent, nisi diu mollitas et euigoratas et exodoratas, quod apud Omphalem balsamo aut telino spero factum. Credo et iubas pectinem passas, ne ceruicem eneruem inureret sciria leonina. Hiatus crinibus infarsus, genuini inter antias adumbrati: tota oris contumelia mugiret, si posset. Nemea certe, si quis loci genius, ingemebat: tunc enim se circumspexit leonem perdidisse. Qualis ille Hercules in serico Omphales fuerit, iam Omphale in Herculis scorto designata descripsit.

[4] Sed et qui ante Tirynthium accesserat, pugil Cleomachus, post Olympiae cum incredibili mutatu de masculo fluxisset, intra cutem caesus et ultra, inter Fullonesiam Nouianos coronandus meritoque mimographo Lentulo in Catinensibus commemoratus, utique sicut uestigia cestuum uiriis occupauit, ita et endromidis solocem aliqua multicia synthesi extrusit.

[5] Physconem et Sardanapallum tacendum est, qui nisi insignes libidinum, alias reges nemo nosset. Tacendum autem, ne quid et illi de Caesaribus quibusdam uestris obmussitent pariter propudiosis, ne caninae forte constantiae mandatum sit impuriorem Physcone et molliorem Sardanapallo Caesarem designare et quidem Subneronem.

[6] Nec tepidior uis uanae quoque gloriae mutandis induiis, etiam uiro saluo. Calor est omnis affectus; uerum cum in affectationem flabellatur, iam de incendio gloriae ardor est. Habes igitur ex isto fomite aestuantem magnum regem, sola gloria minorem. Vicerat Medicam gentem, et uictus est Medica ueste. Triumphalem cataphractem amolitus in captiua sarabara decessit; pectus squamarum signaculis disculptum textu perlucido tegendo nudauit, anhelum adhuc ab opere belli, et ut mollius uentilante serico extinxit. Non erat satis animi tumens Macedo, ni illum etiam uestis inflatior delectasset; nisi quod et philosophi, puto, ipsi aliquid eiusmodi affectant.

[7] Audio enim et in purpura philosophatum. Si philosophus in purpura, cur non et in baxa? Tyrium calciari nisi auro minime Graecatum decet. Atquiri alius et sericatus et crepidam aeratus incessit. Digne quidem, ut bacchantibus indumentis aliquid subtinniret, cymbalo incessit. Quod si iam tunc locorum Diogenes de dolio latraret, non caenulentis pedibus, ut tori Platonici sciunt, <inculcasset>, sed omnino totum Empedoclem in adyta Cloacinarum detulisset, ut qui se caelitem delirarat, sorores prius suas, dehinc homines deus salutaret.

[8] Tales igitur habitus, qui de natura et modestia transferunt, et acie figere et digito destiniare et nutu tradere merito sit. Prorsus, si quis Menandrico fluxu delicatam uestem humi protrahat, audiat penes se quod et *comicus*: *Qualem demens iste chlamydem disperdit?* Enimuero iamdudum censoriae intentionis episcynio disperso, quantum denotatui passiuitas offert? Libertinos in equestribus, subuerbustos in liberalibus, dediticios in ingenuis, rupices in urbanis, scurras in forensibus, paganos in militaribus: uespillo, leno, lanista tecum uestiuntur.

[9] Conuerte et ad feminas. Habes spectare, quod Caecina Seuerus grauiter senatui impressit, matronas sine stola in publico. Denique, Lentuli auguris consultis, quae ita sese exauctorasset, pro stupro erat poena; quoniam quidem indices custodesque dignitatis habitus, ut lenocinii factitandi impedimenta, sedulo quaedam desuefecerant. At nunc in semetipsas lenocinando, quo

planius adeantur, et stolam et supparum et crepidulum et calindrum, ipsas quoque iam lecticas et sellas, quis in publico quoque domestice ac secrete habebantur, eierauere. Sed alius extinguit sua lumina, alius non sua accendit. Aspice lupas, popularium libidinum nundinas, ipsas quoque frictrices, et si praestat oculos abducere ab eiusmodi propudiis occisae in publico castitatis, aspice tamen uel sublimis, iam matronas uidebis.

[10] Et cum latrinarum antistes sericum uentilat et immundiorem loco ceruicem monilibus consolatur et armillas, quas ex uirorum fortium donis ipsae quoque matronae temere usurpassent, omnium pudendorum conscias manus inserit, impuro cruri purum aut mulleolum inducit calceum, cur istos non spectas uel illos item habitus, qui nouitatis uestitu religionem mentiuntur? Cum ob cultum omnia candidatum et ob notam uitae et priuilegium galeri Cereri initiantur; cum ob diuersam affectionem tenebricae uestis et tetrici super caput uelleris in Bellonae montes fugantur; cum latioris purpurae ambitio et Galatici ruboris superiectio Saturnum commendat. Cum ipsum hoc pallium morosius ordinatum et crepidae Graecatim Aesculapio adulantur, quanto tunc magis arguas illud et urgeas oculis, et<si> iam simplicis et inaffectedatae, tamen superstitionis reum? Enimuero cum hanc primum sapientiam uestit, quae uanissimis superstitionibus renuit, tunc certissime pallium super omnes exuias et peplos augusta uestis superque omnes apices et titulos sacerdos suggestus. Deduc oculos, suadeo, reuerere habitum, unius interim. erroris tui renuntiatorem.

V. [1] Tamen, inquis, ita a toga ad pallium? Quid enim, si et a diademate et a sceptro? An aliter mutauit Anacharsis, cum regno Scythiae philosophiam praeuertit? Nulla in melius transgressi sinit signa, est habitus iste quod faciat. Prius etiam, ad simplicem captatellam eius, nullo taedio constat. Adeo nec artificem necesse est qui pridie rugas ab exordio formet et inde deducat in tilias totumque contracti umbonis figmentum custodibus forcipibus assignet, dehinc diluculo, tunica prius cingulo correpta, quam praestabat moderatiorem texuisse, recognito rursus umbone et, si quid exorbitauit, reformato, partem quidem de laeua promittat, ambitum uero eius, ex quo sinis nascitur, iam deficientibus tabulis retrahat a scapulis et, exclusa dextera, in laeuam adhuc congerat cum alio pari tabulato in terga deuoto, atque ita hominem sarcina uestiat.

[2] Conscientiam denique tuam perrogabo, quid te prius in toga sentias,

indutumne an onustum? habere uestem an baiulare? Si negabis, domum consequar; uidebo quid statim a limine properes. Nullius profecto alterius indumenti expositio quam togae gratulatur. Calceos nihil dicimus, proprium togae tormentum, immundissimam pedum tutelam, uertim et falsam. Quem, enim non expediat in algore et ardore rigere nudipedem, quam in calceo uincipedem? Magnum incessui munimentum sutrinae Venetiae prospexere perones effeminatos!

[3] At enim pallio nihil expeditius, etiam si duplex, quod Cratetis. Mora nusquam uestiendo imponitur; quippe tota molitio eius operire est solutum. Id uno circumiectu licet, et quidem nusquam inhumano; ita omnia hominis simul contegit. Humerum uolens exponit uel includit, ceteroquin humero adhaeret, nihil circumfulcit, nihil circumstringit, nihil de tabularum fide laborat, facile sese regit, facile reficit; etiam cum exponitur, nulli cruci in crastinum demandatur. Si quid interulae subter est, uacat zonae tormentum; si quid calceatus inducitur, mundissimum opus est, aut pedes nudi magis, certe uiriles magis quam in calceis.

[4] Haec pro pallio interim, quantum nomine comitiasti. Iam uero et de negotio prouocat. Ego, inquit, nihil foro, nihil campo, nihil curiae debeo; nihil officio aduigilo, nulla rostra praeoccupo, nulla praetoria obseruo; canales non odor, cancellos non adoro; subsellia non contundo, iura non conturbo, causas non elatro; non iudico, non milito, non regno: secessi de populo. In me unicum negotium mihi est; nisi aliud non curo quam ne curem. Vita meliore magis in secessu fruire, quam in promptu. Sed ignauam infamabis: scilicet patriae et imperio reique uiuendum est. Erat olim ista sententia: nemo alii nascitur moriturus sibi. Certe cum ad Epicuros et Zenonas uentum est, sapientes uocas totum quietis magisterium, qui eam summae atque unicae uoluptatis nomine consecrauere.

[5] Tamen propemodum mihi quoque licebit in publicum prodesse. Soleo de qualibet margine uel ara medicinas moribus dicere, quae facilius publicis rebus et ciuitatibus et imperiis bonas ualetudines conferent quam tuae operae. Quippe si pergam ad acuta tecum, plus togae laesere rem publicam quam loricae. Atquin nullis uitiis adolor, nullis ueternis parco, nulli impetigini. Adigo cauterem ambitioni, qua M. Tullius quingentis milibus nummum orbem citri emit, qua bis tantum Asinius Gallus pro mensa eiusdem Mauritaniae numerat — hem, quantis facultatibus aestimauere ligneas maculas! — ,

item qua lances centenarii ponderis Sulla molitur! Vereor sane, ne parua sit ista trutina, cum Drusillanus, equidem seruus Claudii, quingenariam promulsidem aedificat, suprascriptis fortassean mensis necessariam, cui si officina exstructa est, debuit et triclinium.

[6] Immergo aequae scalpellum acerbitati ei, qua Vedius Pollio seruos muraenis inuadendos obieciabat. Noua scilicet saeuitiae delectatio terrenae bestiae exedentulae et exungues et excornes; de piscibus placuit feras cogere, utique statim coquendis, ut in uisceribus earum aliquid de seruorum suorum corporibus et ipse gustaret. Praecidam gulam, qua Hortensius orator primus pauum cibi causa potuit occidere, qua Aufidius Lurco primus sagina corpora uitiauit et coactis alimentis in adulterinum prouexit saporem; qua Asinius Celer nulli unius obsonium sex sestertiis detulit; qua Aesopus histrio ex auibis eiusdem pretiositatis, ut canoris et loquacibus quibusque, centum milium patinam confiscauit; qua filius eius, post tale pulpamentum, potuit aliquid sumptuosius esurire. Margarita namque, uel ipso nomine pretiosa, dehausit, credo ne mendicius patre coenasset.

[7] Taceo Nerones et Apicios, Rufos. Dabo catharticum impuritati Scauri et aleae Curii et uinolentiae Antonii. Et memento istos interim ex multis togatos fuisse; quales apud pallium haud facile. Has purulentias ciuitatis quis eliciet et exuaporabit, ni sermo palliatus?

VI. [1] Sermone, inquit, me suasisti, medicamine sapientissimo. Verum, etsi eloquium quiescat, aut infantia subductum aut uerecundia retentum (nam et elingua philosophia uita contenta est), ipse habitus sonat. Sic denique auditur philosophus dum uidetur. De occurso meo uitia suffundo. Quis non, aemulum suum cum uidet, patitur? Quis oculis in eum potest, in quem mentibus non potest? Grande pallii beneficium est, sub cuius recogitatu improbi mores uel erubescunt.

[2] Viderit nunc philosophia, quid prosit; nec enim sola mecum est. Habeo et alias artes in publico utiles. De meo uestiuntur et primus informator litterarum et primus enodator uocis et primus numerorum harenarius et grammaticus et rhetor et sophista et medicus et poeta et qui musicam pulsat et qui stellarem coniectat et qui uolaticam spectat. Omnis liberalitas studiorum quattuor meis angulis tegitur. Plane post Romanos equites, uerum et accendonis et omnis gladiatorum ignominia togata producit. Haec nimirum indignitas erit: =AB A toga ad pallium =BB!

Sed ista pallium loquitur. At ego iam illi etiam, diuinae sectae ac disciplinae commercium confero. Gaude pallium et exsulta! Melior iam te philosophia dignata est ex quo Christianum uestire coepisti.

Adversus Hermogenem (Against Hermogenes)

I. [1] Solemus haereticis compendii gratia de posteritate praescribere. In quantum enim ueritatis regula prior, quae etiam haereses futuras renuntiauit, in tantum posteriores quaeque doctrinae haereses praeiudicabuntur, quia sunt quae futurae ueritatis antiquiore regula praenuntiabantur. [2] Hermogenis autem doctrina tam nouella est; denique ad hodiernum homo in saeculo, et natura quoque haereticus, etiam turbulentus, qui loquacitatem facundiam existimet et inpuentiam constantiam deputet et maledicere singulis officium bonae conscientiae iudicet. Praeterea pingit <in>licite, nubis assidue, legem dei in libidinem defendit, in artem contemnit, bis falsarius, et cauterio et stilo, totus adulter, et praedicationis et carnis, siquidem et nubentium contagio foetet nec ipse apostolicus Hermogenes in regula perseuerauit. [3] Sed uiderit persona, cum doctrina mihi quaestio est. [Christum] Dominum non alium uidetur agnoscere, alium tamen facit quem aliter agnoscit, immo totum quod est deus aufert nolens illum ex nihilo uniuersa fecisse. [4] A Christianis enim ad philosophos conuersus, de ecclesia in Academiam et Porticum, inde sumpsit [a Stoicis] materiam cum domino ponere, quae et ipsa semper fuerit neque nata neque facta nec initium habens omnino nec finem, ex qua dominus omnia postea fecerit.

II. [1] Hanc primam umbram plane sine lurnine pessimus pictor illis argumentationibus colorauit praestruens aut[em] dominum de semetipso fecisse cuncta aut de nihilo aut de aliquo, ut, cum ostenderit neque ex semetipso fecisse potuisse neque ex nihilo, quod superest exinde confirmet, ex aliquo eum fecisse atque ita aliquid illud materiam fuisse. [2] Negat illum ex semetipso facere potuisse, quia partes ipsius fuissent quaecumque ex semetipso fecisset dominus; porro in partes non deuenire ut indiuisibilem et indemutabilem et eundem semper, qua dominus. Ceterum si de semetipso fecisset aliquid, ipsius fuisset aliquid; omne autem, et quod fieret et quod faceret, imperfectum habendum, quia ex parte fieret et ex parte faceret. [3] <A>ut si totus totum fecisset, oportuisset illum simul et totum esse et non totum, quia oporteret et totum esse, ut faceret semetipsum, et totum non esse, ut fieret de semetipso. Porro difficillimum: si enim esset, non fieret, esset enim; si uero non esset, non faceret, quia nihil esset. Eum autem qui semper sit non fieri sed esse illum in aeuum aeuorum. Igitur non de semetipso fecisse

illum qui non eius fuerit condicionis, ut de semetipso facere potuisset. [4] Proinde ex nihilo non potuisse eum facere sic contendit, bonum et optimum definiens dominum, qui bona atque optima tam uelit facere quam sit; immo nihil non bonum atque optimum et uelle eum et facere. Igitur omnia ab eo bona et optima oportuisse fieri secundum condicionem ipsius. Inueniri autem et mala ab eo facta, utique non ex arbitrio nec ex uoluntate, quia si ex arbitrio et uoluntate, nihil incongruens et indignum sibi faceret. Quod ergo non arbitrio suo fecerit, intellegi oportere ex uitio alicuius rei factum ex materia esse sine dubio.

III. [1] Adicit et aliud: deum semper deum <semper> etiam dominum fuisse, nunquam non dominum. Nullo porro modo potuisse illum semper dominum haberi, sicut et semper deum, si non fuisset aliquid retro semper cuius semper dominus haberetur; fuisse itaque materiam semper deo domino. [2] Hanc coniecturam eius iam hinc destruere properabo, quam hactenus propter non intellegentes adiecisse duxi, ut sciant cetera quoque argumenta <tam> intellegi quam reuinci. [3] Dei nomen dicimus semper fuisse apud semetipsum et in semetipso, dominum uero non semper. Diuersa enim utriusque condicio: [sed] deus substantiae ipsius nomen, id est diuinitatis, dominus uero non substantiae sed potestatis. Substantiam semper fuisse cum suo nomine quod est deus; postea dominus, accedentis scilicet rei mentio. [4] Nam ex quo esse coeperunt in quae potestas domini ageret, ex illo per accessionem potestatis et factus et dictus est dominus, quia et pater deus est et iudex deus est, non tamen ideo pater et iudex semper, quia deus semper, nam nec pater potuit esse ante filium nec iudex ante delictum. Fuit autem tempus cum ei delictum et filius non fuit quod iudicem et qui patrem dominum faceret. Sic et dominus non ant<e> ea quorum dominus existeret sed dominus tantum futurus quandoque, sicut pater per filium, sicut iudex per delictum, ita et dominus per ea quae sibi seruitura fecisset. [5] Argumentari tibi uideor, Hermogenes? Nauiter scriptura nobis patrocinator, quae utrumque nomen ei distinxit et suo tempore ostendit. Nam ‘deus’ quidem, quod erat semper, statim nominat: In principio fecit deus caelum et terram, ac deinceps, quamdiu faciebat quorum dominus futurus erat, ‘deus’ solummodo ponit: Et dixit deus et fecit deus et uidit deus, et nusquam adhuc ‘dominus’. At ubi uniuersa perfecit ipsumque uel maxime hominem qui, proprie dominus, et intellecturus erat dominum? et iam cognominaturus, tunc etiam ‘dominus’ nomen adiunxit: Et accepit deus

dominus hominem quem finxit; et praecepit deus dominus Adae. Exinde dominus qui retro deus tantum, ex quo habuit cuius esset. Nam deus sibi erat, rebus autem tunc deus cum et dominus. [6] Igitur in quantum putabit ideo materiam semper fuisse quia dominus semper esset, in tantum constabit nihil fuisse, quia constat dominum non semper fuisse. [7] Adiciam et ego propter non intellegentes quorum Hermogenes extrema linea est, et quidem ex penit<a sci>entia ipsius retorquebo aduersus illum. Cum enim neget materiam natam aut factam, sic quoque inuenio domini nomen deo non competisse in materiam, qua libera fuerit necesse est quae originem non habendo non habuit <aucto>rem, quod erat nemini debens ideoque nemini seruiens. Itaque ex quo deus potestatem suam exercuit in eam faciendo ex materia, ex illo materia dominum deum passa demonstrat hoc illum tamdiu non fuisse quamdiu fuit hoc.

IV. [1] Hinc denique incipiam de materia retractare, quod eam deus sibi comparet proinde non natam, proinde non factam, proinde aeternam, sine initio sine fine proposita<m>. Quis enim alius dei census quam aeternitas? Quis alius aeternitatis status quam semper fuisse et futurum esse ex praerogatiua nullius initii et nullius finis? [2] Hoc si dei est proprium, solius dei erit, cuius est proprium, *scilicet* quia et si alii adscribatur, iam non erit dei proprium sed commune cum eo cui et adscribitur. [3] Nam etsi sunt qui dicuntur dii siue in caelo siue in terra nomine, ceterum nobis unus deus pater ex quo omnia; quo magis apud nos solius dei esse debeat quod dei proprium est et, ut dixi, iam non proprium esset, quia alterius esset. Quod si deus est, unicum sit necesse est, ut unius sit. [4] Aut quid erit unicum et singulare nisi cui nihil adaequabitur? quid principale nisi quod super omnia, nisi quod ante omnia et ex quo omnia? Haec deus solus habendo est et solus habendo unus est. Si et alius habuerit, tot iam erunt dii quot habuerint quae dei sunt. Ita Hermogenes duos deos infert: materiam parem deo infert. [5] Deum autem unum esse oportet, quia quod summum sit deus est; summum autem non erit nisi quod unicum fuerit; unicum autem esse non poterit cui aliquid adaequabitur; adaequabitur autem deo materia cum aeterna censetur.

V. [1] ‘Sed deus deus est et materia materia est.’ Quasi diuersitas nominum comparationi resistat, si status idem uindicetur! Sit et natura diuersa, sit et forma non eadem, dummodo ipsius status una sit ratio. Innatus deus; an non et innata et materia? Semper deus; an non semper et materia? Ambo sine initio,

ambo sine fine, ambo etiam auctores uniuersitatis, tam qui fecit quam de qua fecit. Neque enim potest non et materia auctrix omnium deputari, de qua uniuersitas consistit. [2] Quomodo respondebit? Non statim materiam comparari deo si quid dei habeat, quia non totum habendo non concurrat in plenitudinem comparationis? Quid <d>eo reliquit amplius, ut non totum dei materiae dedisse uideatur? ‘Vel qua’, inquit, ‘et sic habente materia salua sit deo et auctoritas et substantia, qua solus et primus auctor est et dominus omnium censeatur.’ [3] Veritas autem sic unum deum exigit, defendendo ut solius sit quicquid ipsius est. Ita enim ipsius erit, si fuerit solius, et ex hoc alius deus non possit admitti, dum nemini licet habere de deo aliquid. [4] ‘Ergo’, inquis, ‘nec nos habemus dei aliquid.’ Immo habemus et habebimus, sed ab ipso, non a nobis. Nam et dii erimus, si meruerimus illi esse de quibus praedicauit Ego dixi, uos dii estis et Stetit deus in ecclesia deorum, sed ex gratia ipsius, non ex nostra proprietate, quia ipse est solus qui deos faciat. [5] Materia<e> autem proprium facit quod cum deo habet; aut si a deo accepit quod est dei, ordinem dico aeternitatis, potest et credi et habere illam cum deo aliquid et deum illam non esse. Quale est autem cum confitetur illam aliquid cum deo habere et uult solius dei esse quod materiam non negat habere?

VI. [1] Dicit saluum deo esse, ut et solus sit et primus et omnium auctor et omnium dominus et nemini comparandus, *quae mox* materiae quoque adscribit. Ille quidem deus. Contestabitur deus et iurauit nonnunquam per semetipsum quod alius non sit qualis ipse, sed mendacem eum faciet Hermogenes. Erit enim et materia qualis deus, infecta, innata, initium non habens nec finem. Dicet deus: Ego primus. Et quomodo primus cuius materia coaetanea est? Inter coaetaneos autem et contemporales ordo non est. Aut et materia prima est? Extendi, inquit, caelum solus. Atquin non solus, cum ea enim extendit de qua et extendit. [2] Cum proponit saluo dei statu fuisse materiam, uide ne irrideatur a nobis proinde saluo statu materiae fuisse deum? communi tamen statu amborum. Saluum ergo erit et materiae, ut et ipsa fuerit, sed cum deo, quia et deus solus, sed cum illa. Et ipsa prima cum deo, quia et deus primus cum illa, sed et ipsa incomparabilis cum deo, quia et deus incomparabilis cum illa, et auctrix cum deo et domina cum deo; sic aliquid et non totum materiae habere. [3] Ita illi nihil reliquit Hermogenes quod non et materiae contulisset, ut non materia deo sed deus potius materiae comparetur. Atque adeo cum ea <quae> propria dei uindicamus, semper fuisse sine initio,

sine fine et primum fuisse et solum et omnium auctorem, materiae quoque competa<n>t, quaero quid diuersum et alienum a deo ac per hoc priuatum materia possederit per quod deo non compararetur. In qua omnia dei propria recensentur, satis praeiudicant de reliqua comparatione.

VII. [1] Si minorem et inferiorem materiam deo et idcirco diuersam ab eo et idcirco incomparabilem illi contendit, ut maiori, ut superiori, praescribo non capere ullam diminutionem et humiliationem quod sit aeternum et innatum, quia hoc et deum faciat tantum quantus est, nullo minorem neque subiectiorem, immo omnibus maiorem et sublimiorem. Sicut enim cetera quae nascuntur aut finiunt et idcirco aeterna non sunt, semel opposita fini quae et initio, admittunt ea quae deus non capit, diminutionem dico interim et subiectionem, quia nata et facta sunt, ita et deus ideo ea non capit, quia nec natus omnino nec factus est. Et materiae autem status talis est. [2] Igitur ex duobus aeternis ut innatis, ut infectis, deo atque materia, ob eandem rationem communis status ex aequo habentibus id quod neque diminui nec subici admittit, id est aeternitatem, neutrum dicimus altero esse minorem siue maiorem, neutrum altero humiliorem siue superiorem, sed stare ambo ex pari magna, ex pari sublimia, ex pari solidae et perfectae felicitatis quae censetur aeternitas. [3] Neque enim proximi erimus opinionibus nationum quae, si quando coguntur deum confiteri, tamen et alios infra illum uolunt. Diuinitas autem gradum non habet, utpote unica; quae si et in materia erit, ut proinde innata et infecta et aeterna, aderi[n]t utrobique, quia minor se nusquam poterit esse. [4] Quomodo ergo discernere audebit Hermogenes atque ita subicere deo materiam, aeternam aeterno, innatam innato, auctricem auctori, dicere audentem: ‘et ego prima, et ego ante omnia, et ego a qua omnia; pares fuimus, simul fuimus, ambo sine initio sine fine, ambo sine auctore sine deo. Quis me deo subicit contemporali coetaneo? Si quia deus dicitur, habeo et ego meum nomen. Aut ego sum deus et ille materia, quia ambo sumus quod alter est nostrum?’ Putas itaque materiam deo non comparasse quam scilicet subiciat illi?

VIII. [1] Atquin etiam praeponit illam deo et deum potius subicit materiae, cum uult eum de materia cuncta fecisse. Si enim ex illa usus est ad opera mundi, iam et materia superior inuenitur, quae illi copiam operandi subministrat, et deus subiectus materiae uidetur, cuius substantiae eguit. Nemo enim non eget eo de cuius utitur; nemo non subicitur ei de cuius eget ut

possit uti: sic et nemo de alieno utendo non minor est eo de cuius utitur, et nemo qui praestat de suo uti non in hoc superior est eo cui praestat uti. Itaque materia ipsa quidem deo non eguit sed *egenti* se deo praestitit diuitem et locupletem et liberalem minori, opinor, et inualido et minus idoneo de nihilo facere quae uelit. [2] Grande re uera beneficium deo contulit, ut haberet hodie per quae deus cognosceretur et omnipotens uocaretur, nisi quod iam non omnipotens, si non et hoc potens: ex nihilo omnia proferre. [3] Sane et sibi praestitit aliquid materia, ut et ipsa cum deo possit agnosci, coequalis deo, immo et adiutrix, nisi quod solus eam Hermogenes cognouit et haereticorum patriarchae philosophi; prophetis enim et apostolis usque adhuc latuit, puto et Christo.

IX. [1] Non potest dicere deum ut dominum materia usum ad opera mundi, *dominus* enim non potuit esse substantiae coequalis. [2] Sed precario forsitan usus est, et ideo precario, non dominio, ut, cum ea mala[non] esset, de mala tamen sustinuerit uti, scilicet ex necessitate mediocritatis suae qua non ualebat ex nihilo uti, non ex potestate, quam si[bi] habuisset omnino ut deus in materiam quam malam norat, ante eam in bono conuertisset ut dominus et bonus, ut ita de bono, non de malo uteretur. Sed quia bonus quidem, *dominus* autem non, ideo qualem habuit tali[a] usus necessitatem suam ostendit cedentem condicioni materiae quam, si dominus fuisset, emendasset. [3] Sic enim Hermogeni respondendum est, cum ex dominio defendit deum materia usum et de re non sua, scilicet non facta ab ipso. Iam ergo malum ab ipso qui est mali, si non auctor, quia non effector, certe permissor, quia dominator. [4] Si uero materia non et ipsius, qua malum dei non erit, de alieno ergo usus aut precario usus est, qua egens eius, aut et iniuria, qua praeualens eius. His enim tribus modis aliena sumuntur, iure beneficio impetu, id est dominio precario ui. Dominio non suppetente eligat Hermogenes qui<d> deo congruat, precario an ui de materia cuncta fecisse. [5] Non ergo melius censuisset deus nihil omnino faciendum quam precario aut ui faciendum et quidem de malo? Nonne etiam si materia optima fuisset, <ae>que indecorum sibi existimasset de alieno, licet bono, *facere*? Satis itaque gloriae suae causa molitus est mundum, ut debitorem se alienae substantiae ostenderet <et> quidem non bonae!

X. [1] ‘Ergo’, inquis, ‘ex nihilo faceret, ut mala quoque arbitrio eius imputarentur?’ Magna, bona fide, caecitas haereticorum pro huiusmodi

argumentatione, cum ideo aut alium deum bonum et optimum uolunt credi quia mali auctorem existiment creatorem *aut* materiam cum creatore proponunt, ut <m>al[i]um a materia, non a creatore deducant, quando nullus omnino deus liberetur ista quaestione, ut non auctor mali uideri proinde possit quisquis ille est qui malum, etsi non ipse fecit, tamen a quocumque et undeunde passus est fieri. [2] Audiat igitur et Hermogenes, dum alibi de mali ratione distinguimus, interim se quoque nihil egisse hac sua iniectione. Ecce enim, etsi non auctor, sed assentator mali inuenitur deus qui malum materiae tanto sustinuit de bono ante mundi constitutionem quam ut bonus et mali aemulus emendasse debuerat. [3] Aut enim potuit emendare sed noluit aut uoluit quidem uero non potuit infirmus deus. Si potuit et noluit, malus et ipse, quia malo fauit, et sic iam habetur eius quod, licet non instituerit, qui<a> tamen, si noluisset illud esse, non esset, ipse iam fecit esse quod noluit non esse. Quo quid est turpius? Si id uoluit esse quod ipse noluit fecisse, aduersum semetipsum egit, cum et uoluit esse quod noluit fecisse et noluit fecisse quod uoluit esse. Quasi bonum uoluit esse et quasi malum noluit fecisse; quod non faciendo malum iudicauit, id sustinendo bonum pronuntiauit. Malum pro bono sustinendo et non potius eradicando assertor eius inuentus est, male, si per uoluntatem, turpiter, si per necessitatem. Aut famulus erit mali deus aut amicus, cum materiae malo conuersatus, nedum etiam de malo eius operatus.

XI. [1] Et tamen unde nobis persuadet Hermogenes malam esse materiam? Non enim poterit non malum dicere cui malum adscribit. Nam definimus diminutionem et subiectionem capere non posse quod si<t> aeternum, ut alii coaeterno inferius deputetur. Ita et nunc nec malum dicimus competere illi, quia nec ex hoc subici possit, quod nullo modo potest subici, quia aeternum est. Sed cum alias summum bonum constet esse quod sit aeternum ut deus, per quod solus est deus, dum aeternus est, et ita bonus, dum deus, quomodo materiae inherit malum, quam ut aeternam summum bonum credi necesse est? [2] Aut si quod aeternum est poterit et mali capax esse, poterit hoc et in deum credi et sine causa gestiuit malum a deo transferre, si competit et aeterno competendo materiae. [3] Iam uero si quod aeternum est malum potest credi, inuincibile et insuperabile erit malum ut aeternum, et tum nos frustra laboramus de auferendo malo ex nobis ipsis, tum et deus hoc frustra mandat et praecipit, immo et iudicium frustra constituit deus, iniustitia utique puniturus. Quod si contra <erit> mali finis, cum praeses eius diabolus abierit in ignem

quem praepparauit illi deus et angelis eius, prius in puteum abyssi relegatus, cum reuelatio filiorum dei redemerit conditionem a malo utique uanitati subiectam, cum restituta innocentia et integritate conditionis pecora condixerint bestiis et paruuli de serpentibus luserint, cum pater filio posuerit inimicos sub pedes, utique operarios mali — itaque si finis malo competit, necesse est competierit initium <et> erit materia habens initium habendo et finem mali; quae enim malo deputantur, secundum mali statum <materiae> computantur.

XII. [1] Age nunc malam ac pessimam credamus esse materiam, utique natura, sicut deum bonum et optimum credimus, proinde natura. Porro naturam certam et fixam haberi oportebit, tam in malo perseuerantem apud materiam quam et in bono apud deum, inconuertibilem et indemutabilem scilicet, qu<i>a, si demutabitur natura in materia de malo in bonum, demutari poterit et in deo de bono [non] in malum. [2] Hoc loco dicet aliquis: ‘Ergo de lapidibus filii Abrahae non suscitabuntur et genimina uiperarum non facie<n>t paenitentiae fructum et filii irae non fient filii pacis, si natura mutabilis non erit?’ Temere ad ista exempla respicies, o homo. Non enim competunt ad causam materiae, quae innata est, ea quae nata sunt, lapides et uiperae et homines; horum enim natura habendo institutionem habere poterit et cessationem. [3] Materiam uero tene semel aeternam determinatam ut infectam, ut innatam et ideo indemutabilis et incorruptibilis naturae credendam, ex ipsius etiam sententia Hermogenis quam opponit, cum deum negat ex semetipso facere potuisse, quia non demutetur quod sit aeternum, amissurum scilicet quod fuerat, dum fit ex demutatione quod non erat, si non esset aeternum; dominum uero aeternum aliud esse non posse quam quod est semper. [4] Hac et ego definitione merito illum reperiui. Materiam aequè reprehendo, cum ex illa mala, pessima etiam, bona atque optima a deo fiunt: Et uidit deus quia bona, et benedixit ea deus, utique quasi optima, non certe quasi mala ac pessima. Demutationem igitur admisit materia, et si ita est, statum aeternitatis amisit; mortua est denique sua forma. Sed aeternitas amitti non potest, quia nisi amitti non possit, aeternitas non est. Ergo nec demutationem potuit admississe, quia si aeternitas est, demutari nullo modo potest.

XIII. [1] Et quaeretur, quomodo ex ea bona facta sint, quae ex demutatione nullo modo facta sunt. Unde in mala ac pessima boni atque optimi semen?

Certe nec bona arbor fructus malos edit, quia nec deus nisi bonus, nec mala arbor bonos, quia nec materia est <nisi> pessima. [2] Aut si dabimus illi aliquid etiam boni germinis, iam non erit uniformis naturae, id est malae in totum, sed *iam* tum duplex, id est malae et bonae naturae, et quaeretur iterum an in <eadem> bono et malo potuerit conuenire, luci et tenebris, dulci et amaro. [3] Aut si potuit utriusque diuersitas, boni et mali, concurrisset et duplex natura fuisse materiae, amborum ferax fructuum, iam nec bona ipsa deo deputabuntur, ut nec mala illi inputentur, sed utraque species de materiae proprietate sumpta ad materiam pertinebit. Quo pacto neque gratiam bonorum deo debebimus nec inuidiam malorum, quia nihil de suo operatus ingenio; per quod probabitur manifeste materiae deseruisse.

XIV. [1] Nam et si dicatur licet ex occasione materiae, suo tamen arbitrio bona protulisse quasi nactus bonum materiae — quamquam et hoc turpe sit —, certe cum ex eadem etiam mala profert, uel haec utique non de suo arbitrio proferendo seruit materiae aliud non habens facere quam ex malo proferre, inuitus utique, qua bonus, ex necessitate, ut inuitus, et ex seruitute, ut ex necessitate. [2] Quid ergo dignius, ex necessitate eum condidisse mala an ex uoluntate? Siquidem ex necessitate condidit, si ex materia, ex uoluntate, si ex nihilo. Iam enim sine causa laboras, ne malorum auctor constituatur deus, quia et si de materia fecit, ipsi deputabuntur qui fecit proinde quatenus fecit. Plane sic interest unde fecerit ac si de nihilo fecisset nec interest unde fecerit, ut inde fecerit unde eum magis decuit; magis autem eum decuit ex uoluntate fecisse quam ex necessitate, id est ex nihilo potius quam ex materia. Dignius est deum etiam malorum auctorem liberum credere quam seruum; quaecumque potestas ei quam pusillitas competit. [3] Sic et, si[c] concedimus materiam quidem nihil boni habuisse, dominum uero, si quid boni edidit, sua uirtute edidisse, aliae aequae oborientur quaestiones. Primo, si bonum in materia omnino non fuit, non ex materia bonum factum, quod materia scilicet non habuit; dehinc, si non ex materia, iam ergo ex deo factum; si nec ex deo, iam ergo ex nihilo factum, hoc enim superest secundum Hermogenis dispositionem.

XV. [1] Porro si bonum neque ex materia factum est, quia non erat in illa, ut in mala, neque ex deo, quia nihil potuit ex deo fieri, sicut definit Hermogenes, inuenitur bonum iam ex nihilo factum ut ex nullo factum, ut neque ex materia neque ex deo. Et si bonum ex nihilo, cur non et malum? Immo cur non omnia

ex nihilo, si aliquid ex nihilo? Nisi si insufficiens fuit diuina uirtus omnibus producendis, quae aliquid protulerit ex nihilo. [2] Aut si ex materia mala bonum processit, quia neque ex nihilo neque ex deo, sequetur ut ex conuersione processerit materiae contra *denegatam* aeterni conuersionem. Ita unde bonum constitit, iam negabit Hermogenes inde illud constare potuisse; necesse est autem ex aliquo eorum processerit, ex quibus negauit procedere potuisse. [3] Ceterum si ideo malum non ex nihilo, ne dei fiat de cuius arbitrio uidebitur factum sed ex materia, ut ipsius sit de cuius substantia erit factum, et hic, ut dixi, auctor mali habebitur deus qui, cum eadem uirtute et uoluntate debuisset omnia bona ex materia protulisse aut tantum bona, non omnia tamen bona protulit *sed* etiam mala, utique aut uolens esse mala, si poterat efficere *ne* esse<n>t, aut non ualens efficere omnia bona, si uoluit et non fecit, dum nihil intersit per infirmitatem dominus auctor mali extiterit an per uoluntatem. Aut quae fuit ratio ut, cum bona fecisset quasi bonus, etiam mala protulisset quasi non bonus, cum non congruentia sibi solummodo edidit? Quid necesse erat suo opere prolato etiam materiae negotium curare proinde et malum proferendo, solus ut cognosceretur bonus de bono, materia autem ne cognosceretur mala de malo? Plus bonum floruisset sine mali afflatu. [4] Nam et Hermogenes expugnat quorundam argumentationes dicentium mala necessaria fuisse ad inlumptionem bonorum ex contrariis intellegendorum. [5] Ergo aut nec propterea locus mali proferendi fuit aut si qua alia ratio exegit illud induci, cur non et ex nihilo potuerit induci ipsa ratione excusatura dominum, ne mali auctor existimaretur, quae nunc, <cum> de materia operatur [cum], mala excusat? Si excusat, adeo ubique et undique illuc compellitur quaestio quo nolunt qui ipsam mali rationem non examinando nec dinoscendo, quomodo illud aut deo adtribuunt aut a deo separent, pluribus et indignioribus destructionibus *deum* obiciunt.

XVI. [1] Igitur in praestruccione huius articuli et alibi forsitan retractandi equidem definitio aut deo adscribendum et bonum et malum, quae ex materia fecit, aut materiae ipsi, ex qua fecit, aut utrumque utrique, qui<a> ambo sibi obligantur, qui fecit et de qua fecit, aut alterum alteri; tertius enim praeter materiam et *deum* non est. [2] Porro si *dei* erit utramque, uidebitur deus etiam mali auctor; deus autem, ut bonus, auctor mali non erit. Si materiae utrumque, uidebitur materia etiam boni matrix; mala autem in totum materia boni non erit matrix. Si utriusque erit utrumque, in hoc quoque comparabitur deo

materia et pares erunt ambo, ex aequo mali ac boni adfines; aequari autem deo materia non debet, ne duos deos efficiat. Si alterum alterius, utique *dei* bonum et materiae malum, neque malum deo neque materiae bonum adscribetur; et bona autem et mala deus de materia faciendo cum ea facit. [3] Haec si ita sunt, nescio qua possit euadere sententia Hermogenes qui *deum*, quoquo modo de materia malum condidit, siue uoluntate siue necessitate siue ratione, non putet mali auctorem. Porro si mali auctor est ipse qui fecit, plane socia materia per substantiae suggestum, excusas iam causam materiae introducendae. Nihilominus enim et per materiam deus auctor mali ostenditur, si ideo materia praesumpta est, ne deus mali auctor uideretur. Exclusa itaque materia, dum excluditur causa eius, superest uti *deum* omnia ex nihilo fecisse constet. [4] Videbimus an et mala, cum apparuerit, quae mala, et an mala interim *ea* quae putas. Dignius enim de suo arbitrio produxit haec quoque producendo de nihilo, quam de praeiudicio alieno, si de materia produxisset. Libertas, non necessitas, deo competit. Malo uoluerit mala a semetipso condidisse quam non potuerit non condidisse.

XVII. [1] Vnici dei status hanc regulam uindicat, non aliter unici nisi quia solius, non aliter solius nisi quia nihil cum illo. Sic et primus erit, quia omnia post illum; sic omnia post illum, quia omnia ab illo; sic ab illo, quia ex nihilo, ut illi quoque scripturae ratio constet: Quis cognouit sensum domini? aut quis illi consiliarius fuit? aut quem consultatus est? aut uiam intellegentiae et scientiae quis demonstrauit illi? quis tradidit et retribuetur ei? Nemo utique, quia nulla uis, nulla materia, nulla natura substantiae alterius aderat illi. [2] Porro si de aliqua operatus est, necesse est ab ea ipsa acceperit et consilium et tractatum dispositionis, ut uiam intellegentiae et scientiae. Pro qualitate enim rei operari habuit et secundum ingenium materiae, non secundum suum arbitrium, adeo ut et mala pro natura non sua sed substantiae fecerit.

XVIII. [1] Si necessaria est deo materia ad opera mundi, ut Hermogenes existimauit, habuit deus materiam longe digniorem et idoneiorem, non apud philosophos aestimandam sed apud prophetas intellegendam, sophiam suam scilicet. Haec denique sola cognouit sensum domini. Quis enim scit quae sunt dei et quae in ipso nisi spiritus qui in ipso? Sophia autem spiritus: haec illi consiliarius fuit, uia intellegentiae et scientiae ipsa est; ex hac fecit faciendo per illam et faciendo cum illa. Cum pararet caelum, inquit, aderam illi, et cum fortia faciebat super uentos quae sursum nubila, et quomodo firmos ponebat

fontes eius quae sub caelo est, ego eram compingens cum ipso. Ego eram, ad quem gaudebat; cotidie autem oblectabar in persona eius, quando oblectabatur, cum perfecisset orbem, et inoblectabatur in filiis hominum. Quis non hanc potius omnium fontem et originem commendet, materiam uere materialium, non *fini* subditam, non statu diuersam, non motu inquietam, non habitu informem, sed insitam et propriam et compositam et decoram, quali *deus* potuit eguisse sui magis quam alieni *<e>gen[i]s*? Denique ut necessariam sensit ad opera mundi, statim eam condit et generat in semetipso. Dominus, inquit, condidit me initium uiarum suarum in opera sua: ante saecula fundauit me, priusquam faceret terram, priusquam montes collocarentur; ante omnes autem colles generauit me, prior autem abyssu genita sum. [2] Agnoscat ergo Hermogenes idcirco etiam sophiam dei natam et conditam praedicari, ne quid innatum et inconditum praeter solum deum crederemus. Si enim intra dominum quod ex ipso et in ipso fuit sine initio non fuit, sophia scilicet ipsius, exinde nata et condita ex quo in sensu dei ad opera mundi disponenda coepit agitari, multo magis non capit sine initio quicquam fuisse quod extra dominum fuerit. [3] Si uero sophia eadem dei sermo est [sensu sophia et], sine quo factum est nihil, sicut et dispositum sine sophia, quale est ut filio dei, sermone unigenito et primogenito, aliquid fuerit praeter patrem antiquius et hoc modo utique generosius, nedum quod innatum *<nato>* fortius et quod infectum facto ualidius, quia quod, ut esset, nullius eguit auctoris, multo sublimius erit eo quod, ut esset, aliquem habuit auctorem? Proinde si malum quidem innatum est, *natus autem* sermo dei — eructauit enim inquit sermonem optimum — non scio an a bono malum possit adduci, ualidius ab infirmo, ut innatum a nato. 4. Ita et hoc nomine materiam deo praeponit Hermogenes, praeponendo eam filio — filius enim sermo et deus sermo et Ego et pater unum sumus —, nisi quod sustinebit aequo animo filius eam praeponi sibi quae patri adaequatur.

XIX. [1] Sed et ad originale instrumentum Moysi *<e>i* prouocabo unde et diuersa pars suspensiones suas ingratas fulcire conatur, ne scilicet non inde instrui uideretur unde oportet. Itaque occasiones sibi sumpsit quorundam uerborum, ut haereticis fere mos est simplicia quaeque torquere. Nam et ipsum principium in quo deus fecit et caelum et terram aliquid uoluit fuisse quasi substantium et corpulentum quod in materiam interpretari possit. [2] Nos autem unicuique uocabulo proprietatem suam uindicamus, principium

initium esse et competisse ita poni rebus incipientibus fieri; nihil enim quod fieri habet sine initio esse, quin initium sit illi ipsum dum incipit fieri; ita principium siue initium inceptionis esse uerbum, non alicuius substantiae nomen. [3] Iam nunc si principalia dei opera caelum et terra sunt, quae ante omnia deus fecit suorum esse proprie principium, quae priora sunt facta, merito[que] sic *praefatur* scriptura[m]: In principio fecit deus caelum et terram, quemadmodum dixisset: ‘In fine[m] fecit deus caelum et terram’, si post uniuersa fecisset. Aut si principium aqua substantia est, erit et finis aliqua materia. [4] Plane licebit etiam substantiarum aliquid principium esse alii rei quae ex ipso sit futura, ut argilla principium testae, ut semen principium herbae, sed cum ita utimur uocabulo principii, quasi originis, non quasi ordinis nomine, adicimus et mentionem ipsius rei specialiter quam uolumus principium alterius rei. De cetero si sic ponamus uerbi gratia: ‘In principio fecit figulus peluim uel urnam’, iam non materiam significabit principium, non enim argillam nominaui principium, sed ordinem operis, quia figulus ante cetera primum peluim et urnam fecit exinde factururus et cetera; ad ordinationem operum principii uocabulum pertinebit, non ad originem substantiarum. [5] Possum et aliter principium interpretari, non ab re tamen; nam et in Graeco principii uocabulum, quod est arch[i]e, non tantum ordinatum sed et potestatum capit principatum, unde et archontes dicunt principes et magistratus. Ergo secundum hanc quoque significationem principium pro principatu et potestate sumetur; in principatu enim et in potestate deus fecit caelum et terram.

XX. [1] Sed ut nihil aliud significet Graeca uox quam principium et principium nihil aliud capiat quam initium, habemus etiam illam initium agnoscere quae dicit: Dominus condidit me in opera sua. Si enim per sophiam dei omnia facta sunt, et caelum ergo et terram deus faciens in principio, id est initio, in sophia sua fecit. [2] Denique si principium materiam significaret, non ita scriptura instruxisset: In principio deus fecit sed ‘Ex principio’; non enim in materia sed ex materia fecisset. De sophia autem potuit dici: In principio. In sophia enim primo fecit in qua cogitando et disponendo iam fecerat, quoniam, et si ex materia factururus fuisset, ante in sophia cogitando et disponendo iam fecerat, quoniam [et si] erat initium uiarum, quia cogitatio et dispositio prima sophiae sit operatio de cogitatu uiam operibus instituens. [3] Hanc et inde auctoritatem scripturae mihi uindico, quod et deum qui fecit et ea quae fecit

ostendens unde fecerit non proinde testatur. Nam cum in omni operatione tria sint principalia, qui facit et quod fit et ex quo fit, tria nomina sunt edenda in legitima operis enarratione, persona factoris, species facti, forma materiae. Si materia non edetur, ubi et opera et operae operator eduntur, apparet ex nihilo eum operatum; proinde enim ederetur ex quo, si ex aliquo fuisset operatus. [4] Denique euangelium ut supplementum instrumenti ueteris adhibebo, in quo uel eo magis debuerat ostendi deus ex aliqua materia uniuersa fecisse, quo illic etiam per quem omnia fecerit reuelatur. In principio erat sermo — in quo principio scilicet deus fecit caelum et terram — et sermo erat apud deum et deus erat sermo. Omnia per illum facta sunt et sine illo factum est nihil. Cum igitur et hic manifestetur et factor, id est deus, et facta, id est omnia, et per quem, id est sermo, nonne et unde omnia facta essent a deo per sermonem exegisset ordo profiteri, si ex aliquo facta essent? Ita quod non fuit, non potuit scriptura profiteri et non profitendo satis probauit non fuisse, quia profiteretur, si fuisset.

XXI. [1] ‘Ergo’, inquis, ‘si tu ideo praeiudicas ex nihilo facta omnia quia non sit manifeste relatum de materia praecedenti factum quid, uide ne diuersa pars ideo contendat ex materia omnia facta, quia proinde non aperte significatum sit ex nihilo quid factum.’ [2] Plane retorqueri quaedam facile possunt, non statim et ex aequo admitti, ubi diuersitas causae est. Dico enim, etsi non aperte scriptura pronuntiauit ex nihilo facta omnia, sicut nec ex materia, non tantem fuisse necessitatem aperte significandi de nihilo facta omnia quanta esset, si ex materia facta fuissent, quoniam quod fit ex nihilo, eo ipso dum non ostenditur ex aliquo factum, manifestatur ex nihilo factum et non periclitatur ne ex aliquo factum existimetur, quando non demonstretur ex quo sit factum. [3] Quod autem ex aliquo fit, nisi hoc ipsum aperte declaratur ex aliquo factum illud, dum ex quo factum sit ostenditur, periclitabitur primo uideri ex nihilo factum, quia non editur ex quo sit factum, dehinc, etsi ea sit condicione ut non possit <non factum> uideri ex aliquo, proinde periclitabitur ex alio longe factum uideri quam ex quo factum est, dum non proponitur unde sit factum. [4] Ita si ex nihilo deus cuncta fecisse potuit, <potuit> scriptura non adiecisse illum ex nihilo fecisse; ex materia eum fecisse omni modo debuit edixisse, <si sci>licet ex materia fecisset, quia illud in totu<m> habebat intellegi, et si non significaretur, at istud in dubio, nisi significaretur.

XXII. [1] Atque adeo spiritus sanctus hanc scripturae suae rationem

constituit ut, cum quid ex aliquo[quo] fit, et quod fit et unde fit referat. Fructificet, inquit, terra herbam foeni seminantem semen secundum genus et secundum similitudinem et lignum fructuosum faciens fructum, cuius semen in ipso in similitudinem. Et factum est sic. Et produxit terra herbam foeni seminantem semen secundum genus et lignum fructuosum faciens fructum, cuius semen in ipso in similitudinem. Et rursus: Et dixit deus: Producant aquae repentia animarum uiuarum et uolatilia uolantia super terram per firmamentum caeli. Et factum est sic. Et fecit deus cetos magnos et omnem animam animalium repentium, quae prodixerunt aquae secundum genus ipsorum. Item post haec: Et dixit deus: Producat terra animam uiuam secundum genus, quadrupedia et repentia et bestias terrae secundum genus ipsorum. [2] Si ergo ex iam factis rebus alias res deus proferens ostendit per prophetam et dicit, quid unde protulerit — quamquam possimus <unde>unde illas prolatas aestimare, dum ne ex nihilo; iam enim facta erant quaedam ex quibus prolatae uideri possent — , si tantam curam instructionis nostrae insumpsit spiritus sanctus, ut sciremus quid unde processerit, nonne proinde nos et de caelo et de terra compotes reddidisset significando unde ea esset operatus, si de aliqua materia origo constaret illorum, ne tanto magis ex nihilo ea uideretur operatus quanto nihil adhuc erat factum ex quo operatus uideretur? Itaque sicut ea quae de aliquo prolata sunt ostendit unde prolata sint, ita qu<a>e non ostendit unde prolata sint ex nihilo prolata confirmat. [3] Igitur in principio deus fecit caelum et terram. Adoro scripturae plenitudinem qua mihi et factorem manifestat et facta. In euangelio uero amplius et ministrum atque arbitrum factoris inuenio sermonem. An autem de aliqua subiacenti materia facta sint omnia, nusquam adhuc legi: scriptum esse doceat Hermogenis officina; si non est scriptum, timeat uae illud adicientibus aut detrahentibus destinatum.

XXIII. [1] Sed ex sequentibus argumentatur, quia scriptum sit: Terra autem erat inuisibilis et incomposita. Nam et terrae nomen redigit <in> materiam, quia terra sit quae facta est ex illa, et erat in hoc dirigit, quasi quae semper retro fuerit, innata et infecta, inuisibilis autem et ‘rudis’, quia informem et confusam et inconditam uult fuisse materiam. [2] Has quidem opiniones eius singillatim reuincam sed interim uolo sic ei respondere: Putemus his articulis materiam demonstrari; numquid tamen, quia erat ante omnia, et tale aliquid esse ex ea factum scriptura significat? Atquin nihil tale significat. Fuerit licet

materia quantum sibi licet uel potius Hermogeni: potuit et fuisse et tamen nihil deus ex illa fecisse, uel quia non decebat deum alicuius eguisse, certe quia nec ostenditur quicquam ex materia fecisse. ‘Sine causa ergo esset’, inquis. Non plane adeo sine causa. Nam etsi mundus non est factus ex illa, sed haeresis facta est et quidem hoc impudentior, quod non ex materia facta est haeresis sed materiam ipsam potius haeresis fecit.

XXIV. [1] Reuertor nunc ad singulos articulos per quos putauit significatam esse materiam et primo de nominibus expostulabo. Horum enim alterum legimus, quod est terrae, alterum non inuenimus, quod est materiae. Quaero ergo, cum materiae nominatio non extet in scriptura, quomodo ei etiam terrena appellatio adcommo- detur in alio iam genere substantiae nota, quo magis materiae quoque nominatio extitisse debuerat consecuta etiam terrae appellationem, ut scirem terram commune cum materia esse nomen, ne illud ei soli substantiae uindicarem cuius et proprium, in qua magis notum est, uel ne illud in quamcumque aliam speciem, nec utique omni materia<e>, communicare possem, si uellem. Cum enim non extat proprium uocabulum eius rei cui commune uocabulum adscribitur, quanto non comparet cui adscribatur, cuicumque alii poterit adscribi. Ita Hermogenes, et si materiam ostenderet nominatam, deberet eandem probare terram quoque cognominatam, ut ita utrumque illi uocabulum uindicaret.

XXV. [1] Vult igitur duas proponi terras in ista scriptura, unam quam in principio deus fecit, aliam materiam ex qua fecit, de qua dictum sit: Terra autem erat inuisibilis et rudis. Utique si quaeram ex duabus quae cui nomen terrae adcommo- dare debeat, dicetur hanc quae facta sit ex illa ex qua facta est uocabulum deriuasse, quia ueri similis sit ab origine sobolem potius quam originem a sobole uocitari. Hoc si ita est, alia nobis obuoluitur quaestio, an competat terram hanc quam deus fecit ex illa ex qua fecit cognomentum deriuasse. [2] Audio enim apud Hermogenem ceterosque materiarios haereticos terram quidem illam informem et inuisibilem et rudem fuisse, hanc uero nostram proinde et formam et conspectum et cultum a deo consecutam, aliud ergo factam quam erat ea ex qua facta est. Porro aliud facta non potuit cum ea de nomine sociari a cuius condicione descuerat. Si nomen proprium materiae illius fuit terra, haec quae non est materia, aliud scilicet facta, terrae quoque non capit nomen alienum et statu suo extraneum. [3] ‘Sed materia facta, id est haec terra, habuit cum sua origine consortium nominis, sicut et generis.’ Non

adeo. Nam et testam, licet ex argilla confectam, iam non argillam uocabo sed testam, et electrum, licet ex auro et argento foederatum, nec argentum tamen nec aurum appellabo sed electum. A cuius habitu quid diuertit, pariter et a uocatu eius recedit appellationis sicut et condicionis proprietate. Quam autem transierit de statu terrae illius, id est materiae, ista terra uel eo palam est quod haec apud *Genesis* testimonium boni accipit: Et uidit deus quia bonum, illa autem apud Hermogenem in originem et causam malorum deputatur. [4] Postremo si ideo haec terra quia et illa, cur non et materia haec quoque quia et illa? Immo iam et caelum et omnia, si ex materia constant, et terrae et materiae uocari debuerunt. [5] Satis ista de terrae nomine in quo[d] materiam intellegi uoluit; quod nomen unius elementi omnes sciunt natura primum, dehinc scriptura docente, nisi si et Sileno illi apud Midam regem adseueranti de alio orbe credendum est auctore Theopompo; sed et deos multos idem refert.

XXVI. [1] Nobis autem unus deus et una est terra quam in principio deus fecit. Cuius ordinem incipiens scriptura decurrere primo factam eam edicit, dehinc qualitatem ipsius edisserit, sicut et caelum primo factum professa: In principio deus fecit caelum, dehinc dispositionem eius superducit: Et separauit inter aquam quae erat infra firmamentum et quae erat super firmamentum, et uocauit deus firmamentum caelum, ipsum quod in primordio fecerat. Proinde et de homine: Et fecit deus hominem, ad imaginem dei fecit illum, dehinc qualiter fecerit reddit: Et finxit deus hominem de limo terrae et adflauit in faciem eius flatum uitae et factus est homo in animam uiuam. Et utique sic decet narrationem inire: primo praefari, postea proseguere, <ante> nominare, deinde describere. Alioquin uanum, si eius rei cuius nullam praemiserau mentionem, id est materiae, ne ipsum quidem nomen, subito formam et habitum promulgauit, ante enarrat qualis esset antequam an esset ostendit, figuram deformat[i], nomen abscondit. [2] At quanto credibilius secundum nos eius rei dispositionem scriptura subiunxit cuius institutionem simulque nominationem praemisit! Quam denique integer sensus est: In principio deus fecit caelum et terram, terra autem erat inuisibilis et rudis, quam deus scilicet fecit, de qua scriptura cum maxime edixerat! Nam et autem ipsum uelut fibula coniunctivae particulae ad connexum narrationi adpositum est: Terra autem; hoc enim uerbo reuertitur ad eam de qua supra dixerat et alligat sensum. Adeo aufer hinc autem et soluta compago est, ut tunc possit de alia terra dictum

uideri: Terra erat inuisibilis et rudis.

XXVII. [1] Sed tu *supercilia* capitis nutu digiti adcommodato altius tollens et quasi retro iactans ‘erat’ inquis, quasi semper fuerit, scilicet innata et infecta et idcirco materia credenda. [2] At ego sine ullo lenocinio pronuntiationis simpliciter respondebo de omni re posse dici ‘erat’, etiam de ea quae facta, quae nata sit, quae aliquando non fuerit et quae materia non sit. Omne enim quod habet esse, <unde>unde habet, siue per initium siue sine initio, hoc ipso quod est etiam ‘erat’ dicitur. Cui competit prima uerbi positio in definitionem, eiusdem etiam declinatio uerbi decurret in relationem; ‘est’ definitionis caput, ‘erat’ relationis facit. [3] Haec sunt argutiae et subtilitates haereticorum simplicitatem communium uerborum torquentes in quaestionem: magna[m] scilicet quaestio est, si erat terra, quae facta est! Sane discutiendum an ei competat inuisibilem et rudem fuisse quae facta est an ei ex qua facta est, ut eiusdem sit ‘erat’ cuius et quod erat.

XXVIII. [1] Atquin non tantum probabimus istum habitum huic terrae competisse, sed et alii non competisse. Nam si nuda sic materia deo subiacebat nullo scilicet elemento obstruente, siquidem nondum quicquam erat praeter ipsam et deum, utique inuisibilis esse non poterat, quia etsi tenebras uolet in substantia fuisse materiae — cui articulo respondere debemus suo ordine — , etiam homini tenebrae uisibiles sunt — hoc enim ipsum quod sunt tenebrae uide[n]tur — , nedum deo. Et utique si inuisibilis esset, nullo modo cognosceretur qualitas eius. Unde ergo compertus est Hermogenes informem et confusam et inquietam illam fuisse quae ut inuisibilis latebat? Aut si hoc a deo reuelatum est, probare debet. [2] Sic et an rudis dici potuerit expostulo. Certe enim rude illud est quod imperfectum est. Certe imperfectum non potest esse nisi quod factum est; quod enim minus factum est, imperfectum est. ‘Certe’, inquis. Ergo materia, quae facta non erat in totum, imperfecta esse non potuit; quae imperfecta non fuit, etiam rudis non fuit. Initium non habens, quia facta non fuit, caruit et rudimento; initii enim accidens est rudimentum. Terra uero, quae facta est, meruit et rudis dici; statim enim ut facta est, habuit imperfectae locum ante perfectionem.

XXIX. [1] Siquidem omnia opera sua deus ordine consummauit incultis primo elementis depalans quodam modo mundum, dehinc exornatis uelut dedicans. Nam et lumen non statim splendore solis impleuit et tenebras non statim solacio lunae temperauit et caelum non statim sideribus stellisque

signauit et ma[te]ria non statim beluis frequentauit et ipsam terram non statim uaria fecunditate dotaui sed primo esse ei contulit, dehinc non in uacuum esse suppleuit. Sic enim et Esaias non in uacuum, ait, fecit illam sed inhabitari. [2] Postea ergo quam facta est, futura etiam perfecta, interim erat inuisibilis et rudis, rudis quidem hoc quoque ipso quod inuisibilis, ut *nec uisui* perfecta, simul[et] et ut de reliquo nondum instructa, inuisibilis uero, ut adhuc aquis tamquam *munimento* genitalis humoris obducta, qua forma etiam adfinis eius caro nostra producitur. Nam et Dauid ita canit: Domini est terra et plenitudo eius, orbis terrae, et omnes qui habitant in illa; ipse super maria fundauit *eam* et super flumina praeparauit *eam*. Segregatis enim aquis in *cauationem* sinu<u>m emicantior facta est arida quae antehac aquis tegebatur. Exinde itaque et uisibilis efficitur dicente deo: Congregetur aqua in congregatione una et uideatur arida. ‘Videatur’, inquit, non ‘fi<a>t’, iam enim facta erat sed inuisibilis usque tunc uideri sustinebat; ‘arida’ autem, quod erat futura ex diuortio humoris, tamen terra: et uocauit deus aridam terram, non materiam. [3] Sic et perfectionem postea consecuta desinit rudis haberi, cum pronuntiat deus: Fructificet terra herbam foeni seminantem semen secundum genus et secundum similitudinem, et lignum fructuosum faciens fructum, cuius semen in ipso in similitudinem, item: Producat terra animam uiuam secundum genus, et quadrupedia et repentia et bestias terrae secundum genus. [4] Impleuit igitur ordinem suum scriptura diuina, quam enim praedixerat inuisibilem et rudem, ei et uisionem reddidit et perfectionem. Non alia autem materia erat inuisibilis et rudis; ergo materia erit postea uisibilis et perfecta. Volo itaque uidere materiam, uisibilis enim facta est; uolo et perfectam *eam* recognoscere, ut ex illa etiam foeni herbam et ex illa decerpam lignum fructu<osu>m et ex illa animalia usui meo famulentur. Sed materia quidem nusquam, terra uero haec, id est coram. Hanc uideo, hanc perfruor ex quo inuisibilis et rudis esse desiit.

[5] De qua manifestissime Esaias: Haec dicit dominus qui fecit caelum, iste deus qui demonstraui terram et fecit illam. Certe eandem demonstraui quam et fecit. Quomodo demonstraui? Utique dicendo: Videatur arida. Quare uideri iubet nisi quia retro non uidebatur, ut sic quoque *eam* non in uacuum fecisset faciendo uisibilem et ita habilem? [6] Et sic per omnia probatur nobis hanc, quam incolimus, eandem et factam esse a deo et ostensam, nec aliam fuisse rudem et inuisibilem quam quae et facta et ostensa est. Atque ita Terra autem erat inuisibilis et rudis ad *eam* pertinet quam deus cum caelo separauit.

XXX. [1] Sic et sequentia coniecturam Hermogenis instruere uidebuntur, Et tenebrae super abyssum et spiritus dei super aquas ferebatur, quasi et hae confusae substantiae massalis illius molis argumenta portendant. Atquin singillatim definiens tenebras abyssum spiritum dei aquas nihil confusum nec in confusione incertum aestimari facit tam diuisa relatio certorum et distinctorum elementorum. Hoc quidem amplius, cum situs proprios eis adscribit, tenebras super abyssum, spiritum super aquas, negauit confusionem substantiarum quarum demonstrando dispositionem demonstrauit etiam distinctionem. [2] Vanissimum denique ut materia, quae informis inducitur, de tot formarum uocabulis informis adseueretur non edito quid sit illud corpus confusionis, quod unicum utique credendum est, si informe est. [3] Uniforme etenim quod informe est, informe autem quod ex uarietate confusum est: unam habeat necesse est speciem quod non habet speciem, dum ex multis unam habet speciem. Ceterum aut habebat in se species istas materia de quarum uocabulis intellegenda[s] esse<τ>, tenebras dico et abyssum et spiritum et aquas, aut non habebat; si *autem* habebat, quomodo inducitur non habens formas? si non habebat, <unde> agnoscitur?

XXXI. [1] Sed et illud utique captabitur, de caelo solo et de terra ista scripturam significasse, quod ea[m] in principio deus fecerit, de speciebus autem supra dictis nihil tale, et ideo eas quae factae non significantur ad infectam materiam pertinere. Respondebimus huic quoque scrupulo. [2] Scriptura diuina satis dissereret, si summas ipsas rerum a deo factas commendasset caelum et terram, habentes utique suggestus suos proprios qui in ipsis summis intellegi possent. [3] Suggestus autem caeli et terrae primo tunc fuerunt tenebrae et abyssus et spiritus et aquae. Nam terrae quidem suberat abyssus et tenebrae; si enim abyssus infra terram, tenebrae autem super abyssum, sine dubio et tenebrae et abyssus infra terram. Caelo uero spiritus et aquae subiacebant; nam si aquae super terram, qua[1]e eam texerant, spiritus autem super aquas, pariter et spiritus et aquae super terram; quae uero super terram, ea utique infra caelum. Et sicut terra abyssus et tenebris, ita et caelum spiritui et aquis incubabat et complectebatur. [4] Et ita nouum non est ut id solum quod continet nominetur, qua summale, in isto autem intellegatur et quod continetur, qua portionale. Ecce, si dicam: ‘ciuitas extruxit theatrum et circum, scena autem erat talis et talis, et statuae super euripum, et obeliscus super omnia ferebatur’, quia non et has species edixerim factas a ciuitate, non

erunt ab ea cum circo et theatro? An ideo non adieci factas has quoque species, quae inerant eis quae facta praedixeram, et inesse quibus inerant intellegi poterant? Sed uacet hoc exemplum ut humanum; aliud de auctoritate scripturae ipsius arripiam. Fecit, inquit, deus hominem de terra et adflauit in faciem eius flatum uitae et factus est homo in animam uiuam. Faciem quidem eius hic nominat, sed nec ipsam factam a deo dixit, cutem uero et ossa et carnem et oculos et sudorem et sanguinem postea loquitur, quae nec tunc facta a deo significauit. Quid respondebit Hermogenes? Numquid et membra hominis ad materiam pertinebunt, quia non nominatim facta referuntur? An et haec in hominis factitatione censetur? [5] Proinde membra erunt caeli et terrae abyssus et tenebrae, spiritus et aquae. In corporibus *enim* membra sunt facta, in corporibus et membra sunt nominata. Nullum elementum non membrum est eius elementi quo continetur; omnia autem elementa caelo aut terra continentur.

XXXII. [1] Haec responderim pro scriptura praesenti, quatenus hic solum corporum factitationem commendare uidetur caeli et terrae. Sciit esse qui ultro in corporibus et membra cognoscerent et ideo compendio usa est, prouidit tamen et hebetes et insidiosos qui dissimulato tacito intellectu ipsius quoque membris uerbum factitationis significatorum exigerent. Itaque et propter istos singulas species factas docet aliis in locis. [2] Habes Sophiam prior autem abyssu genita sum dicentem, ut credas abyssum quoque genitam, id est factam, quia et filios facimus, licet generemus. Nihil interest facta an nata sit abyssus, dum initium detur illi, quod non daretur, si materiae *subiecta* esset. De tenebris uero ipse dominus per Esaïam: Ego qui struxi lucem et feci tenebras. De spiritu aeque Amos: Qui solidat tonitruum et condit spiritum et adnuntiat in homines Christum suum, eum spiritum conditum ostendens qui in terras conditas deputabatur, qui super aquas ferebatur, librator et adflator et animator uniuersitatis, non ut quidam putant ipsum deum significari spiritum, quia deus spiritus - neque enim aquae dominum sustinere sufficerent — , sed eum spiritum dicit de quo etiam uenti constiterunt, ut ait per Esaïam: Quia spiritus a me exiuit et flatum omne ego feci. Item de aquis eadem Sophia: Et quomodo firmos ponebat fontes quae sub caelo, ego eram modulans cum ipso. [3] Cum ergo et eas species probamus a deo factas, etsi in Genesi tantummodo nomina tur sine factitationis mentione, respondebitur fortasse ex diuerso plane factas eas sed ex materia, ut stilus quidem Moysei, Et

tenebrae super abyssum et spiritus dei super aquas ferebatur, materiam sonet, ceterae uero scripturae quae ex materia factae sunt species in disperso demonstrent. [4] Ergo sicut terra de terra, ita et abyssus ex abyssu et tenebrae ex tenebris et spiritus et aquae ex spiritu et aquis constiterunt. Et sicut supra diximus, non potuit informis fuisse materia, <si> species habebat, ut et aliae ex ea sint confectae; nisi quod non aliae sed ipsae ex semetipsis, siquidem non capit diuers[it]as fuisse quae iisdem nominibus eduntur, quo[d] iam et operatio diuina otiosa uideri possit, si quae erant fecit, cum generosiora esse<n>t quae non erant facta quam si fierent. [5] Igitur ut concludam, aut materiam tunc significauit Moyses scribens: Et tenebrae super abyssum et spiritus dei super aquas ferebatur — at cum hae species alibi postea demonstrantur factae a deo, debuerunt aequae demonstrari ex materia quam Moyses praemiserat factae — aut si species istas et non materiam significauit Moyses, ubi materia demonstrata sit quaero.

XXXIII. [1] Sed dum illam Hermogenes inter colores suos inuenit — inter scripturas enim dei inuenire non potuerit — satis est quod omnia et facta a deo constat et ex materia facta non constat; quae etiam si fuisset, ipsam quoque a deo factam credidissemus, quia nihil innatum praeter deum praescribentes obtineremus. In hunc usque articulum locus est retractatui, donec ad scripturas prouocata deficiat exhibitio materiae. Expedita summa est: nihil inuenio factum nisi ex nihilo, quia quod factum inuenio non fuisse cognosco. Etiam si quid ex aliquo factum est, ex facto habet censem, ut ex terra herba et fructus et pecudes et figuratio hominis ipsius, ut ex aquis natatiles et uolatiles animae. Huiusmodi origines rerum ex his prolatarum potero materias appellare sed factas a deo et ipsas.

XXXIV. [1] Ceterum omne ex nihilo constitisse illa postremo diuina dispositio suadebit quae omnia *in nihilum* redactura est. [2] Siquidem et caelum conuoluetur ut liber, immo nusquam fiet cum ipsa terra, cum qua primordio factum est. Caelum et terra praeteribunt, inquit, caelum primum et terra prima abierunt, et locus non est inuentus illis, quia scilicet quod et finit locum amittit. Sic et Dauid: Opera manuum tuarum caeli et ipsi peribunt. Nam et si mutabit illos uelut opertorium et mutabuntur, sed et mutari perire est pristino statui que<m>, dum mutantur, amittunt. Et stellae quidem de caelo ruent, sicut fici arbor cum ualido commota uento acerba sua amittit, montes uero tamquam cera liquescent a conspectu domini, cum surrexerit scilicet

confringere terram. Sed et paludes, inquit, arefaciam et quaerent aquam nec inuenient; etiam mare hactenus. [3] Quae omnia et si aliter putauerit [spiritaliter] interpretanda, non tamen poterit auferre ueritatem ita futurorum quomodo scripta sunt. Si quae enim figurae sunt, ex rebus consistentibus fiant necesse est, non ex uacantibus, quia nihil potest ad similitudinem de suo praestare nisi sit ipsum quod tali similitudinem praestet. [4] Reuertor igitur ad causam definientem omnia ex nihilo edita in nihilum peruentura. Ex aeterno enim, id est ex materia, nihil deus interibile fecisset nec ex maioribus minora condidisset, cui magis congruat ex minoribus maiora producere, id est ex interibili aeternum, quod et carni nostrae pollicetur. [5] Cuius uirtutis et potestatis suae hunc iam arrabonem uoluit in nobis collocasse, ut credamus etiam illum uniuersitatem ex nihilo uelut emortuam, quae scilicet non erat, in hoc, ut esset, suscitasse.

XXXV. [1] De cetero uero statu[m] materiae etsi non est retractandum — prius enim erat ut eam esse constaret — , tamen ac si constiterit persequendus est ordo, quo magis eam non esse constet cuius nec reliquus statu<s> consistat, simul ut contrarietates suas agnoscat Hermogenes. [2] ‘Prima’, inquit, ‘facie uidetur nobis incorporalis esse materia, exquisita autem ratione recta inuenitur neque corporalis neque incorporalis.’ Quae est ista ratio recta quae nihil recti renuntiat, *id* est nihil certi? Nisi fallor enim, omnis res aut corporalis <aut incorporalis> sit necesse est — ut concedam interim esse aliquid incorporale, de substantiis dumtaxat, cum ipsa substantia corpus sit rei cuiusque — ; certe post corporale et incorporale nihil tertium. [3] Age nunc sit et tertium, quod illa recta ratio Hermogeniana compererit quae neque corporalem neque incorporalem materiam facit: ubi est? quale est? quid uocatur? quid describitur? quid intellegitur? Tantum hoc ratio renuntiauit, nec corporalem materiam nec incorporalem.

XXXVI. [1] Sed ecce contrarium subicit — aut alia fortasse ratio ei occurrit — ex parte corporalem renuntians materiam et ex parte incorporalem. Iam ergo ne neutrum sit, utrumque materia censenda est? Erit enim corporalis et incorporalis aduersus renuntiationem *rectae* rationis illius plane rationem non reddentis sententiae suae, sicut nec alia reddit. [2] Corporale[m] enim materiae uult esse de quo corpor<a> edantur, incorporale uero inconditum motum eius. ‘Si enim’, ait, ‘corpus tantummodo esse<t>, nihil ei incorporale appareret, id est motus; si uero in totum incorporalis

fuisse, nullum corpus ex ea fieret.’ [3] Quanto haec rector ratio! Nis[s] i quod, si t<am > rectas lineas duci<s >, Hermogenes, quam ratiocinans, pictor te bardior non est. Qui<s> enim tibi concedit motum in secundam partem substantiae deputare[t], cum substantia res non sit, quia nec corporalis, sed accidens, si forte, substantiae et corpori, ut actus et pulsus, ut lapsus et casus, ita et motus? [4] Nam si ue<l> a semetipso quid mouetur, [f]actus eius est motus, certe pars substantiae non est, sicut tu motum substantiam facis <faciendo partem> materiae incorporealem. Omnia denique mouentur aut [ut] a semetipsis, ut animalia, aut ab aliis, ut inanimalia; tamen nec hominem nec lapidem et corporalem et incorporealem dicemus, quia et corpus habeat et motum, sed unam omnibus formam solius corporalitatis, quae substantiae res est. Si qua incorpora<lia> eis adsunt, aut actus aut passiones aut officia aut libidines eorum, non portiones deputamus. [5] Quo ergo facit portionem materiae in motum disponere, qui non ad substantiam pertinet sed ad substantiae habitum? Quid enim, si immobilem placuisset tibi inducere materiam, numquid immobilitas secunda pars formae uideretur? Sic itaque nec motus. Sed <d>e motu et alibi licebit.

XXXVII. [1] Nunc enim uideo te ad illam rursus rationem reuerti quae tibi nihil certi renuntiare consuevit. Nam sicut nec corporalem nec incorporealem infers materiam, ita nec bonam nec malam adlegas [s]et proinde superargumenta<n>s ‘Si enim’, inquis, ‘esset bona, quae semper hoc fuerat, non desideraret compositionem dei; si esset natura mala, non accepisset translationem in melius nec quicquam compositionis suae adplicuisset illi deus tali natura; in uacuum enim laborasset.’ [2] Verba haec tua sunt quorum te et alibi meminisse oportuerat, ne quid his contrarium inferres. Sed quoniam de mali et boni ambiguitate super materiam in praeteritis aliquid retractauimus, nunc ad praesentem et solam propositionem et argumentationem tuam respondebo. Nec dicam et hic te certum aliquid debuisse pronuntiasse, aut bona<m> aut mala<m> aut tertium aliquid, sed nec hic quod tibi libuit pronuntiasse custodisse. [3] Rescindis enim quod pronuntiasti nec bonam nec malam, quia, cum dicis: ‘Si esset bona, non desideraret componi a deo,’ mala<m> portendis et cum adponis: ‘Si esse[n]t mala natura, non admitteret in melius translationem,’ bonam subostendis. Atque ita et boni et mali adfinem constituisti [ei] quam nec bonam nec malam pronuntiasti. [4] Ut autem et argumentationem qua putasti te propositionem tuam confirmaturum retundam,

oppono etiam illud: ‘Si bona fuisset materia semper, quare non desiderasset in melius reformari? Quod bonum, non desiderat aut non optat aut non capit profectum, ut fiat de bono melius? Aeque si mala natura fuisset, quare non potuerit a deo conuerti ut a potentiore, ut ab eo qui lapidum quoque naturam conuertere ualeat in filios Abrahæ?’ [5] Nempe ergo non tantum comparas dominum materiae, sed et subicis, a quo natura[m] materiae deuinci et edomari <in> melius <non> potuisset. Sed et quam hic non uis natura[m] malam, <malam> alibi te confessum negabis.

XXXVIII. [1] De situ materiae id tracto quod et de modo, *ut* peruersitatem tuam traducam. Subiacentem facis deo materiam et utique locum <adsignas> illi qui sit *infra* deum. In loco ergo materia; si in loco, ergo intra locum; si intra locum, ergo determinatur a loco intra quem est; si determinatur, habet lineam extremam quam, quantum proprie pictor, agnoscis finem esse omni rei cuius linea extrema est. Non ergo erit infinita materia quae, dum in loco [quo] est, a loco determinatur et, dum determinatur ab illo, extrema eum linea patitur. [2] At tu infinitam facis dicens: ‘Infinita est autem eo quod semper est’. [3] Et si qui discipulorum tuorum uoluerit argumentari, quasi infinitam? aeuo, non modo corporis intellegi uelis, atquin corporaliter infinitam, ut corporaliter immensam et incircumscriptam, sequentia ostendunt. ‘Vnde,’ inquis, ‘nec tota fabricatur sed partes eius.’ Adeo corpore infinita, non tempore est et obduceris corpore <e>am infinitam faciens, cum locum *ei* adscribens intra locum et extremam loci lineam includis. [4] Sed tamen cur non totam eam formauerit deus non scio, nisi qua <a>ut inualidus aut inuidus. Itaque [ut] dimidium eius quae non tota formata sit quaero, <ut> qualis tota fuerit agnoscam. Debuerat enim deus ut exemplarium antiquitatis ad gloriam operis palam fecisse.

XXXIX. [1] Sit nunc definitiua, sicut rectius tibi uidetur, per demutationes suas et translationes, *sit* et comprehensibilis, ‘ut quae fabricatur,’ inquis, ‘a deo,’ quia et conuertibilis et demutabilis et dispartibilis — — ‘Demutationes enim eius,’ inquis, ‘dispartibilem eam ostendunt’ — : et hic a lineis tuis excidisti quibus circa personam dei usus es praescribe<n>s deum illam non ex semetipso fecisse, quia in partes uenire non posset qui sit[a] aeternus et manens in aeuum ac per hoc immutabilis et indiuisibilis. Si et materia eadem aeternitate censetur, neque initium habens neque finem, eadem ratione non poterit pati dispartitionem et demutationem, qua nec deus; in aeternitatis consortio posita participet cum illo necesse est et uires et leges et condiciones

aeternitatis. [2] Aequae cum dicis: ‘Partes autem eius omnia simul ex omnibus habent, ut ex partibus totum dinoscatur,’ utique eas partes intellegi uis quae ex illa prolatae sunt, quae hodie uidentur a nobis. Quomodo ergo omnia ex omnibus habent, utique ex pristinis, quando qu<a>e hodie uidentur aliter habeant quam pristina fuerunt?

XL. [1] Dicis in melius reformatam materiam, utique <de> deterioribus, et uis meliora deteriorum exemplarium ferre? Confusa res erat, nunc uero composita est, et uis ex compositis incomposita praebere? [2] Nulla res speculum est rei alterius, id est non coaequalis. Nemo se apud tonsorem pro homine mulum inspexit; nisi si qui putat in hac extructione mundi disposita<e> iam et compta<e> informem et incultam materiam respondere. Quid hodie informe in mundo, quid retro speciatum in materia, [a]ut speculum sit mundus materiae? Cum ornamentis nomine sit penes Graecos mundus, quomodo inornata<e> materiae imaginem praefert, ut dicas totum eius ex partibus cognosci? [3] Certe ex illo toto erit etiam hoc quod non uenit in deformationem (et supra edidisti non totam eam fabricatam). Igitur uel hoc rude et confusum et incompositum non [in] potest in expolitis et distinctis et compositis recognosci, quae nec partes materiae appellari conuenit, cum a forma eius ex mutatione diuisa recesserunt.

XLI. [1] Reuertor ad motum, ut ubique te lubricum ostendam. ‘Inconditus et [in]confusus et turbulentus fuit materiae motus’; sic enim et ollae undique ebullientis similitudinem opponis. Et quomodo alibi alius a te adfirmatur? Cum enim uis materiam nec bonam nec malam inducere, ‘Igitur,’ inquis, ‘subiacens materia aequalis momenti habens motum neque ad bonum neque ad malum plurimum uergit.’ Si aequalis momenti, iam non turbulentus nec caccabacius, sed compositus et temperatus, scilicet qui inter bonum et malum suo arbitrio agitatus, in neutram tamen partem pronus et praeceps, mediam, quod aiunt, <a>gina<m> ten<ens> exin<de> librato impetu ferebatur. Haec inquires non est, haec turbulent<i>a et passiuitas non est, sed moderatio et modestia et iustitia motationis neutram <in> partem inclinantis. Plane si huc et illuc aut in alterum magis proclinarer, tunc inconcinnitatis et inaequalitatis et turbulentiae denotari mereretur. [2] Porro si neque ad bonum neque ad malum pronior erat motus, utique inter bonum et malum agebatur, ut ex hoc quoque materia<m> determinabilem appare<a>t cuius motus [nec mala] nec malo nec bono pronus, eo quod in neutrum uergebat, inter utrumque ab

utroque *pendebat* et hoc nomine ab utroque determinabatur. [3] Sed et bonum et malum in loco facis, cum dicis motum materiae in neutrum eorum fuisse propensum. Materia enim, quae in loco erat, neque *huc* neque *illuc* deurgens in loca non deurgebat in quibus erat bonum et malum. Dans autem locum bono et malo corporalia ea facis faciendo localia, quia quae locum habent prius est ut corporalia sint — denique incorporalia proprium locum non haberent nisi in corpore, cum corpori accedunt — , <ad> bonum autem et malum non deurgens materia ut *ad* corporalia aut localia non deurgebat. Bonum ergo et malum erras *si* substantias esse uis; substantias enim facis quibus loca adsignas, loca autem adsignas, cum materiae motum ab utraque regione suspendis.

XLII. [1] Dispersisti omnia, ne de proximo quam contraria sibi sint relucerent, at ego colligam singula et conferam. Inconditum adseueras motum materiae eamque adicis sectari informitatem, dehinc alibi, desiderare componi a deo. Desiderat formationem quae sectatur informitatem? Aut sectatur informitatem quae desiderat formationem? [2] Non uis uideri deum aequari materiae et subicis habere illa<m> cum deo commun<ion>em. ‘Impossibile enim,’ inquis, ‘non habentem illam commune aliquid cum deo ornari eam ab ipso.’ Atquin si commune aliquid habebat cum deo, non desiderabat exornari ab ipso, pars scilicet dei per communionem, aut et deus poterat ornari a materia habendo cum illa aliquid et ipse commune; etiam in hoc necessitati subici<s> *deum*, si fuit aliquid in materia propter quod eam formare<t>. [3] Commune autem inter illos facis, quod a semetipsis moue<a>ntur et semper moueantur. Quid minus materiae quam deo adscribis? Totum consortium diuinitatis hoc erit, libertas et aeternitas motus. ‘Sed deus composite, materia incomposite mouentur.’ Tamen diuinum proinde, motu proinde libero et aeterno. Atquin plus materiae das, cui licuit sic moueri quomodo deo non licuit.

XLIII. [1] De motu et illud notauerim. Nam secundum ollae similitudinem ‘Sic erat’, inquis, ‘materiae motus antequam disponderetur, concretus inquietus inadprehensibilis prae nimietate certaminis,’ dehinc subicis: ‘Stetit autem in dei compositionem et [in]adprehensibilem habuit inconditum motum prae tarditate inconditi motus’. Supra certamen motui adscribis, hic tarditatem. [2] Nam de natura materiae quotiens cadas, accipe. Supra dicis: ‘Si autem esset materia natura mala, non accepisset translationem in melius nec *deus* aliquid

compositionis adcommoddasset illi; in uacuum enim laborasset.’ Finisti igitur duas sententias, nec materiam natura malam nec naturam eius a deo potuisse conuerti, horum immemor postea inferens: ‘At ubi accepit compositionem a deo et ornata est, cessauit a natura’. Si in bonum reformata est, utique de malo reformata est, et si per compositionem dei cessauit a natura mali, <a> natura cessauit. Ergo et mala fuit natura ante compositionem et desinere potuit a natura post reformationem.

XLIV. [1] Sed et qualiter operatum facias deum sequitur ut ostendam. Plane a philosophis recedis (se<d> tamen et a prophetis). Stoici enim uolunt deum sic per materiam decucurrisse quomodo mel per fauos, at tu ‘Non’, inquis, ‘pertransiens illam facit mundum, sed solummodo apparens et adpropinquans ei, sicut facit quid decor solummodo apparens et magnes lapis solummodo adpropinquans’. [2] Quid simile deus fabricans mundum et decor uulnerans animum aut magnes adtrahens ferrum? Nam et si apparuit deus materiae, sed non uulnerauit illam, quod decor animum; et si adpropinquauit, sed non cohaesit illi, quod magnes ferro. [3] Puta nunc exempla *tua* competere: certe si apparendo et adpropinquando materiae fecit ex illa deus mundum, utique ex quo apparuit fecit et ex quo adpropinquauit. Ergo quando non fecerat retro, nec apparuerat illi nec adpropinquauerat. Et cui credibile est deum non apparuisse materiae uel qua consubstantiali suae per aeternitatem? Ab ea longe fuisse quem credimus ubique esse et ubique apparere, cui etiam inanimalia et incorporalia laudes canunt apud Danielelem? Quantus hic locus in quo deus a materia tantum distabat ut neque apparere<t> neque adpropinquare<t> ante mundi molitionem? Credo, peregrinatus est ad illam de longinquo, cum primum ei uoluit apparere et adpropinquare.

XLV. [1] At enim prophetae et apostoli non ita tradunt mundum a deo factum apparente solummodo et adpropinquante materiae, quia nec materiam ullam nominauerunt, sed primo sophiam conditam, initi[ar]um uiarum in opera[m] ipsius, dehinc et sermonem prolatum per quem omnia facta sunt et sine quo factum est nihil; denique sermone eius caeli confirmati sunt et spiritu ipsius uniuersae uirtutes eorum. Hic est dei dextra et manus ambae per quas operatus est atque molitus est — opera enim manuum tuarum, inquit, caeli — , per quas et mensus est caelum et palmo terram. [2] *Noli* ita deo adulari, ut uelis illum solo uisu et solo accessu tot ac tantas substantias protulisse et non propriis uiribus instituisse. Sic enim et Hieremias commendat: Deus

faciens terram in ualentia sua, parans orbem in intellegentia sua, et suo sensu extendit caelos. Haec sunt uires eius quibus enixus totum hoc condidit. Maior est gloria eius, si laborauit; denique septima die requieuit ab operibus, utrumque suo more. Aut si app<a>re<n>s so/ummodo et adpropinquans fecit hunc mundum, numquid, cum facere[t] desiit, rursus apparere et adpropinquare cessauit? Atquin magis apparere coepit et ubique conueniri deus ex quo factus est mundus. [3] Vides ergo quemadmodum operatione dei uniuersa consistunt ualentia facientis terram, intellegentia parantis orbem et sensu extendentis caelum, non apparentis solummodo nec adpropinquantis sed adhibentis tantos animi sui nisus, sophiam ualentiam sensum sermonem spiritum uirtutem, quae illi non erant necessaria, si apparendo tantummodo et adpropinquando profectus fuisset. Haec autem sunt inuisibilia eius quae secundum apostolum ab institutione mundi factis eius conspiciuntur, non materiae nescio quae sed sensualia ipsius; quis enim cognouit sensum domini, de quo exclamat: <O> profundum diuitiarum et sophiae, ut <in>inuentibilia iudicia eius et <in>inuestigabiles uiae eius! Quid haec magis sapiunt quam: ut ex nihilo omnia facta sunt! Quae nec inueniri nec inuestigari nisi soli deo possent, alioquin inuestigabilia <et inuentibilia>, si ex materia sunt inuestigata et [non] inuenta. [4] Igitur in quantum constit[u]it materiam nullam fuisse, ex hoc etiam, quod nec talem competat fuisse qualis inducitur, in tantum proba[re]tur omnia a deo ex nihilo facta; nisi quod Hermogenes eundem statum describendo materiae quo[d] est ipse, inconditum confusum turbulentum, ancipitis et praecipitis et feruidi motus, documentum artis suae dum ostendit, ipse <se> pinxit.

Adversus Valentinianus (Against the Valentinians)

CAP. I. [1] Valentiniani, frequentissimum plane collegium inter haereticos, quia plurimum ex apostatis veritatis et ad fabulas facile est et disciplina non terretur, nihil magis curant quam occultare quod praedicant, si tamen praedicant qui occultant. custodiae officium conscientiae officium est. confusio praedicatur dum religio adserveratur. nam et illa Eleusinia, haeresis et ipsa Atticae superstitionis, quod tacent, pudor est. [2] idcirco et aditum prius cruciant diutius initiant quam consignant, cum epoptas ante quinquennium instituunt ut opinionem suspensio cognitionis aedificent atque ita tantam maiestatem exhibere videantur quantam praestruxerunt cupiditatem. sequitur silentii officium; [3] attente custoditur quod tarde invenitur, ceterum tota in adytis divinitas, tota suspira epoptarum, totum signaculum linguae: simulacrum membri virilis revelatur. sed naturae venerandum nomen allegorica dispositio praetendeus, patrocinio coactae figurae sacrilegium obscurat et convicium falsis simulacris excusat. proinde quos nunc destinamus haereticos sanctis nominibus et titulis et argumentis verae religionis vanissima atque turpissima figmenta configurantes — facili caritate ex divinae copiae occasione quia de multis multa succedere est — Eleusinia Valentiniana fecerunt lenocinia, sancta silentio magno, sola taciturnitate caelestia. [4] si bona fide quaeras, concreto vultu, suspenso supercilio “altum est” aiunt. si subtiliter temptes, per ambiguitates bilingues communem fidem adfirmat. si scire te subostendas, negant quicquid agnoscunt. si comminus certes astuta simplicitate suam caedem dispergunt. ne discipulis quidem propriis ante commitunt quam suos fecerint. habent artificium quo prius persuadeant quam edocent. veritas autem docendo persuadet non suadendo docet.

CAP II. [1] Ideoque simplices notamur apud illos, ut hoc tantum non etiam sapientes, quasi statim deficere cogatur a simplicitate sapientia, domino utramque ingente, “estote prudentes ut serpentes et simplices ut columbae.” aut si nos propterea insipientes quia simplices, num ergo et illi propterea non simplices quia sapientes? nocentissimi autem qui non simplices sicut stultissimi qui non sapientes. [2] et tamen malim meam partem meliori sumi vitio, si forte. praestat minus sapere quam peius, errare quam fallere. porro facies dei spectatur in simplicitate quaerendi ut docet ipsa Sophia, non quidem Valentini, sed Salomonis. deinde infantes testimonium Christi sanguine

litaverunt; pueros vocem qui crucem clamant? nec pueri nec infantes, id est simplices non erant; [3] repuerascere nos et apostolus iubet secundum deum, ut malitia infantes per simplicitatem ita demum sapientes sensibus; simul dedit sapientiae ordinem de simplicitate manandi. [4] in summa: Christum columba demonstrare solita est, serpens vero temptare; illa et a primordio divinae pacis praeco, ille a primordio divinae imaginis praedo. ita facilius simplicitas sola deum et agnoscere poterit et ostendere, prudentia sola concuterepotius et prodere.

CAP. III. [1] abscondat itaque se serpens quantum potest, totamque prudentiam in latebrarum ambagibus torqueat, alte habitet, in casca detrudat, per amfractus seriem suam evolvat; tortuose procedat nec semel totus, lucifuga bestia; nostrae 10 columbae etiam domus simplex in editis semper et apertis et ad lucem. amat figura spiritus sancti orientem Christi figuram. [2] Nihil veritas erubescit nisi solummodo abscondi, quia nec pudebit ullum aures ei dedere, eum deum recognoscere quem iam illi natura commisit, quem cotidie in operi- 15 bus omnibus sentit, hoc solum minus notum quod unicum non putavit, quod in numero nominavit, quod in aliis adoravit. [3] alioquin a turba eorum et aliam frequentiam suadere, adomestico principatu ad incognitum transmove, a manifesto ad occultum retorquere de limine fidem offendere est. iam si et in totam fabulam initietur nonne tale aliquid recordabitur se in infamia inter somni difficultates a nutricula audisse, Lamiae turre et pectines Solis. [4] sed qui ex alia conscientia venerit fidei, si inveniat tot nomina Aeonum, tot conjugia, tot genimina, tot exitus, tot eventus felicitates infelicitates dispersae atque concisae divinitatis, dubitabitne ibidem pronuntiare has esse fabulas et genealogias indeterminatas quas apostoli spiritus, his iam tunc pullulantibus seminibus haereticis, damnare praevenit? [5] merito itaque non simplices, merito tantummodo prudentes, qui talia neque facile producant neque exerte defendunt sed nec omnes quos edocent, perdocent. utique astute, ut pudenda, ceterum inhumane, si honesta. tamen simplices nos omnia scimus. denique hunc primum cuneum congressionis armavimus detectorem et designatorem totius conscientiae illorum primamque hanc victoriam auspicamur quia quod tanto impendio absconditur, etiam solummodo demonstrare destruere est.

CAP. IV.[1] novimus inquam optime originem quoque ipsorum et scimus cur Valentinianos appellemus, licet non esse videantur, abscesseruat enim a

conditore sed minime origo deletur et si forte mutetur: testatio est ipsa mutatio. speraverat episcopatum Valentinus quia et ingenio poterat et eloquio, sed alium ex martyrii praerogativa loca potitum indignatus, de ecclesia authenticae regulae abruptit. ut solent animi pro prioratu exciti praesumptione ultionis accendi, [2] ad expugnandum conversus veritatem et cuiusdam veteris opinionis semitam nactus Colorbaso viam delineavit. eam postmodum Ptolomaeus intravit, nominibus et numeris Aeonum distinctis in personales substantias, sed extra deum determinatas, quas Valentinus in ipsa summa divinitatis (ut sensus et affectus, motus) incluserat. deduxit et Heracleon inde tramites quosdam et Secundus et magus Marcus. [3] multum circa imagines legis Theotimus operatus est. ita nusquam iam Valentinus et tamen Valentiniani qui per Valentinum. soius ad hodiernum Antiochiae Axionicus memoriam Valentini integra custodia regularum eius consolatur. alioquin tantum se huic haeresi suadere permissum est quantum lupae feminae formam cotidie supparare solemne est. [4] quidni, cum spiritale illud semen suum sic in unoquoque recenseant? si ali- quid novi adstruxerint revelationem statim appellant praesumptionem et charisma ingenium, nec unitatem sed diversitatem. ideoque prospicimus, seposita alla solemni dissimulatione sua, plerosque dividi quibusdam articulis. etiam bona fide dicturos “hoc ita non est” et “hoc aliter accipio” et “hoc non agnosco.” varietate enim innovatur regularum facies; habet etiam colores ignorantiarum. CAP V. [1] mihi autem cum archetypis erat limes principalium magistrorum, non cum affectatis ducibus passivorum discipulorum. nec undique dicemur ipsi nobis finxisse materias quas tot iam viri sanctitate et praestantia insignes, nec solum nos- tra antecessores sed ipsorum haeresiarcharum contemporales, instructissimis voluminibus et prodiderunt et retulerunt Iustinus, philosophus et martyr; ut Miltiades, ecclesiarum sophista; ut Irenaeus, omnium doctrinarum curiosissimus explorator; ut Proculus noster, virginis senectae et Christianae eloquentiae dignitas, quos in omasi opere fidei quemadmodum in isto optaverim adsequi; [2] aut si in totum haereses non sunt, ut qui eas pellunt finxisse credantur, mentietur apostolus praedicator illarum. porro si sunt, non aliae erunt quam quae retractantur. nemo tam otiosus fertur, stilo ut materias habens fingat.

CAP. VI. [1] igitur hoc libello quo demonstrationem solum praemittentes illius arcani, ne quem ex nominibus tam peregrinis et coac- tis et compactis et

ambiguus caligo suffundat, quomodo iis usuri sumus, prius demandabo: quorundam enim de Graeco interpretatio non occurrit ad expeditam proinde nominis formae; quorundam nec de sexu genera conveniunt; quorundam usitatio in Graeco notitia est. [2] itaque plurimum Graeca ponemus; significantiae per paginarum limites aderunt, nec Latinis quidem deerunt Graeca sed in lineis desuper notabuntur ut signum hoc sit personalium nominum propter ambiguitates eorum quae cum alia significatione communicant. quamquam distulerim congestionem, solam interim professus narrationem, sicubi tamen indignitas meruerit suggillari non erit delibatione transpunctatoria expugnatio. congressionis lusionem deputa, lector, ante pugnam; ostendam sed non imprimam vulnera. [3] si et ridebitur alicubi, materiis ipsis satisfiet. multa sic digna sunt revinci ne gravitate adornentur. vanitati proprie festivitas cedit. congruit et veritate ridere quia laetans, de aemulis suis ludere quia secura est. curandum plane ne risus eius rideatur si fuerit indignus. ceterum ubicumque dignus risus, officium est. denique hocmodo incipiam.

CAP. VII. [1] primus omnium Ennius poeta Romanus “caenacula maxima caeli” simpliciter pronuntiavit elati situs nomine vel quia Iovem illic epulantem legerat apud Homerum. sed haeretici quantas supernitates supernitatum et quantas sublimitates sublimitatum in habitaculum dei sui cuiusque suspenderint extulerint expanderint, mirum est. [2] etiam creatori nostro Enniana caenacula in aedicularum disposita sint forma, aliis atque aliis pergulis superstructis et unicuique deo per totidem scalas distributis, quot haereses fuerint. meritorium factus est mundus. [3] Insulam Feliculam credas tanta tabulata caelorum nescio ubi. illic etiam Valentinianorum deus adsummas tegulas habitat. hunc substantialiter quidem aiōwna te&leion appellant; personaliter vero propatoria et proarx&n etiam Bython — quod in sublimibus habitanti minime congruebat. innatum immensum infinitum invisibilem aeternumque definiunt, quasi statim probent esse si talem definiant qualem scimus esse debere. sic et ante omnia fuisse dicatur. [4] sed ut sit expostulo nec aliud magis in huiusmodi denoto quam quod post omnia inveniuntur qui ante omnia fuisse dicuntur, et quidem non sua. sit itaque Bythos iste infinitis retro aevis in maxima et altissima quiete, in otio plurimo placidae et — ut ita dixerim — stupentis divinitatis, qualem iussit Epicurus. [5] et tamen quem solum volunt, dant ei secundam in ipso et cum ipso personam,

Ennonian, quam et Charin et Sigen insuper nominant. et forte accedunt in illa commendatissima quiete movere eum de proferendo tandem initio rerum a semetipso. hoc vice seminis in Sige sua velunt in genitabilibus vulvae locis collocat. suscipit illa statim et praegnans efficitur et parit (utique silentio) Sige. et quem parit? Nus est simillimum Patri et parem per omnia. [6] denique solus hic capere sufficit immensam illam et incomprehensibilem magnitudinem Patris. ita et ipse Pater dicitur et initium omnium et proprie Monogenes; atquin non proprie siquidem non solus agnoscitur. nam cum illo processit et femina cui Veritas nomen. Monogenes quia prior genitus quanto congruentius Protogenes vocaretur. ergo Bythos et Sige, Nus et Veritas prima quadriga defenditur Valentinianae factionis, matrix et origo cunctorum. namque ibidem Nus simul accepit prolationis suae officium, emittit et ipse ex semetipso Sermonem et Vitam — [7] quae si retro non erat, utique nec in Bytho; et quale est ut in deo vita non fuerit! sed et haec suboles, ad initium universitatis et formati Pleromatis totius emissa, facit fructum: Hominem et Ecclesiam procreat. [8] habes ogdoadem, tetradem duplicem ex coniugationibus masculorum et feminarum, cellas ut ita dixerim primordialium Aeonum, fraterna conubia Valentinianorum, deorum, census omnis sanctitatis et maiestatis haereticae, nescio criminum an numinum turbam, certe fontem reliquae fecunditatis.

CAP. VIII. [1] ecce enim secunda tetras, Sermo et Vita, Homo et Ecclesia, quod in Patris gloria fruticasset huic numero gestientes et ipsi tale quid Patri de suo offerre, alios ebulliunt fetus-proinde coniugales per copulam utriusque naturae: hac et Sermo et Vita decuriam Aeonum simul fundunt; illac Homo et Ecclesia duos amplius aequiperando parentibus, quia et ipso duo cum illis decem tot efficiunt quot ipsi procreaverunt. [2] reddo nunc nomina quos decuriam dixi: Bythios et Mixis, Ageratos et Henosis, Autophyes et Hedone, Acinetos et Syncrasis, Monogenes et Macaria. contra duodenarius numerus hi erunt: Paracletus et Pistis, Patricos et Elpis, Metricos et Agape, Aeinus et Synesis, Ecclesiasticus et Macariotes, Theletus et Sophia. cogor hic, quid ista nomina desiderent, proferre de pari exemplo: [3] in scholis Karthaginensibus fuit quidam frigidissimus rhetor Latinus, Phosphorus nomine. cum virum fortem peroraret “venio (inquit) ad vos, optimi cives, de proelio cum Victoria mea, cum Felicitate vestra, Amplius Gloriosus Fortunatus Maximus Triumphalis.” et scholastici statim familiae Phosphori feu~ acclamant. [4]

audisti Fortunatam et Hedonen et Acinetum et Theletum; acclama familiae Ptolomaei feu~. hoc erit Pleroma illud arcanum, divinitatis tricenariae plenitudo. videamus quae sint istorum privilegia numerorum — quaternarii et octonarii et duodenarii. [5] interim in tricenario fecunditas tota deficit; castrata est vis et potestas et libido genitalis Aeonum — quasi non et numerorum tanta adhuc coagula superessent et nulla alia de paedagogio nomina. quare enim non et quinquaginta et centum procreantur? quare non et Sterceiae et Syntrophii nominantur?

CAP. IX. [1] sed et hoc exceptio personarum est quod solus ille Nus ex omnibus immensi Patris fruitur notione gaudens et exultans, illis utique maerentibus. plane Nus et quantum in ipso fuit et voluerat et temptaverat ceteris quoque communicare quae norat, quantus et quam incomprehensibilis Pater. sed inter- cessit mater Sige, illa scilicet quae et ipsis haereticis suis tacere praescribit, etsi de Patris nutu aiunt factum volentis omnes in desiderium sui accendi. [2] itaque dum macerantur intra semetipsos, dum tacita cupidine cognoscendi Patrem uruntur, paene scelus factum est. namque ex illis duodecim Aeonibus quos Homo et Ecclesia ediderant novissima natu Aeon — viderit soloecismus, Sophia nomen est — incontinentia sui sine coniugis Theleti societate prorumpit in patrem inquirere et genus contrahit vitii quod exorsum quidem fuerat in illis aliis, qui circa Nun, in hunc autem, id est in Sophiam, derivarat, ut solent vitia in corpore alibi connata in aliud membrum perniciem suam efflare. [3] sed enim sub praetexto dilectionis in Patrem aemulatio superabat in Nun solum de Patre gaudentem. ut vero impossibilia contendens Sophia frustra erat et vincitur difficultate et extenditur affectione; modico abfuit prae vi dulcendinis et laboris devorari et in reliquam substantiam dissolvi. nec alias quam pereundo cessasset nisi bono fato in Horon incur- sasset (quaedam et huic vis est: fundamentum, universitatis illius extrinsecus custos) quem et Crucem appellant et Lytrotem et Carpisten. [4] ita Sophia periculo exempta et tarde persuasa de inclinata investigatione Patris, conquievit et totam Enthymesin (animationem) cum passione quae insuper accederat exposuit. CAP X. [1] sed quidam exitum Sophia et restitutionem aliter somniaver- unt: post inritos conatus et spei deiectionem deformatam eam; (pallore, credo, et macie et incuria. proprie utique patrem non minus denegatum dolebat quam amissum.) dehinc in illo maerore ex semetipsa sola nulla opera coniugii concepit et procreat feminam. miraris hoc? et gallina

sortita est de suo parere, sed et vultures feminas tantum aiunt. [2] et tamen sine masculo mater et metuere postremo ne finis quoque insisteret, haerere de ratione casus, curare de occultatione. remedia nusquam: ubi enim iam tragoediae atque comoediae a quibus forma mutaretur exponendi quod citra pudorem natum? dum in malis res est, suscipit convertit ad patrem, sed incassum enisa et vires deserebant, in preces succedit. tota enim propinquitas pro ea supplicat, vel maxime Nus. (quid? in causa mali tanti?) nullus tamen Sophiae exitus vacuit: [3] omnes aerumnae eius operantur, siquidem et illa tunc conflictatio in materiae originem pervenit. ignorantia, pavor, maeror substantiae fiunt. ibi demum pater motus aliquando quem supra diximus Horon per Monogenem Nun in haec promit in imagine sua femina-marem, quia et de patris sexu ita variant. adiciunt autem Horon etiam Metagogeia (circumductorem) vocari et Horotheten. [4] huius praedicant opera et repressam ab illicitis et purgatam a malis et dienceps confirmatam Sophiam et coniugio restitutam, et ipsam quidem in Pleromatis censu remansisse, Enthymesin vero eius et illam appendicem passionem ab Horo relegatam et crucifixam et extra eum factam — [5] malum, quod aiunt, foras. spiritalem tamen substantiam illam ut naturalem quendam impetum Aeonis sed informem et inspeciatam, quatenus nihil adprehendisset, ideoque fructum infirmum et feminam pronuntiatam. [1] igitur post Enthymesin extorrem et matrem eius Sophiam coniugi reducem ille iterum Monogenes ille Nus, otiosus plane de Patris cura atque prospectu, solidandis rebus et Pleromati muniendo iamque figendo ne qua eiusmodi rursus concussio incuteret, novam excludit copulationem, Christum et Spiritum Sanctum, turpissimam putem duorum masculorum — [2] aut femina erit Spiritus Sanctus et vulneratur a femina masculus. munus enim his datur unum: procurare concinnationem Aeonum et ab eius officii societate duae scholae protinus, duae cathedrae, inauguratio quaedam dividendae doctrinae Valentini. Christi erat inducere Aeonas naturam coniugiorum — vides quam rem plane — et Innati coniectationem et idoneos efficere generandi in se agnitionem Patris, quod capere eum non sit neque comprehendere non visu denique non auditu compotiri eius nisi per Monogenem. [3] et tamen tolerabo quod ita discunt patrem nosse — ne nos et illud! magis denotabo doctrinae perversitatem quod docebantur incomprehensibile quidem Patris causam esse perpetuitatis ipsorum, comprehensibile vero eius generationis illorum et formationis esse rationem.

hac enim dispositione illud, opinor, insinuat expedit deum non apprehendi siquidem inapprehensibile eius perpetuitatis est causa. (4) apprehensibile autem non perpetuitatis, sed nativitatis et formationis, egentium perpetuitatis. [4] filium autem constituunt apprehensibile patris; quomodo tamen apprehendatur tum prolatus Christus edocuit. Spiritus vero Sancti propria ut de doctrinae studio omnes peraequati gratiarum actionem proseguere nosset et veram inducerentur quietem.

CAP. XII. [1] itaque omnes et forma et scientia peraequantur facti omnes quod unusquisque; nemo aliud quia alteri omnes. refunduntur in Nun omnes in Homines, in Theletos, aequae feminae in Sigas, in Zoas, in Ecclesias, in Fortunatas, ut Ovidius Metamorphoses suas delevisset si hodie maiorem cognovisset. [2] exinde refecti sunt et constabiliti sunt et in requiem ex veritate compositi magno cum gaudii fructu hymnis Patrem concinunt. diffundebatur et ipse laetitia et utique bene cantantibus filiis, nepotibus. quidni diffunderetur omni iocunditate, Pleromate liberato. quis nauclerus non etiam cum dedecore laetatur? videmus cotidie nauticorum lascivias gaudiorum. [3] itaque ut nautae ad symbolam semper exultant, tale aliquid et Aeones; unum iam omnes etiam forma nedum sententia, convenientibus ipsis quoque novis fratribus et magistris Christo et Spirito Sancto, quod optimum atque pulcherrimum unusquisque florebat conferunt in medium. vane, opinor; si enim unum erant omnes ex supra dicta peraequatione, vacabat symbolae ratio quae ferme ex varietatis gratia constat. [4] unum omnes bonum conferebant quod omnes erant; de modo forsitan fuerit ratio aut de forma ipsius iam peraequationis. igitur ex aere collatio, quod aiunt, in honorem et gloriam Patris pulcherrimum Pleromatis sidus fructumque perfectum compingunt Iesum. eum cognominant Soterem et Christum et Sermonem de patris et Omnia iam ut ex omnium defloratione constructum: Graculum Aesopi, Pandoram Hesiodi, Acci Patinam, Nestoris Cocetum, Miscellaneam Ptolomaei. [5] quam proprius fuit de aliquibus Osciae scurris Pancapipannirapiam vocari a tam otiosis auctoribus nominum. ut autem tantum sigillarium extrinsecus quoque inornasset, satellites ei angelos proferunt par genus; si inter se, potest fieri, si vero Soteri consubstantivos-ambigue enim positura inveni — quae erit eminentia eius inter satellites coaequales?

CAP. XIII. [1] continet hic igitur ordo primam professionem pariter et nascentium et nubentium et generantium Aeonum, Sophiae ex desiderio Patris

periculosissimum casum. Hori oportunissimum auxilium, Enthymeseos et coniunctae Passionis expiatum, Christi et Spiritu Sancti paedagogatum, Aeonum tutelarem reformatum, Soteris pavoninum ornatum, Angelorum comparaticum antistatum. [2] quod superest, inquis, vos valete et plaudite. immo quod superest, inquam, vos erudite et proicite. ceterum haec intra coetum Pleromatis decucurisse dicuntur prima tragoediae scaena, alia autem trans siparium coturnatio est — extra Pleroma dico. et tamen hic exitus sub sinu Patris intra ambitum Hori custodis; qualis extra iam inlibero ubi deus non est?

CAP. XIV.^[1] namque Enthymesis sive iam Achamoth, quod abhinc scripta hoc solo ininterpretabili nomine, ut cum vitio individuae passionis explosa est in loca luminis aliena, quod Pleromatis res est, in vacuum atque inane illud Epicuri, miserabilis etiam de loco est. certe nec forma nec facies ulla, defectiva scilicet et abortiva genitura. dum ita rerum habet, flectitur a superioribus Christus, deducitur per Horon aborsum ut illud informet de suis viribus solius substantiae, non etiam scientiae, forma. [2] et tamen cum aliquo peculio relinquitur, id erat odor incorruptibilitatis quo compos se casus sui potiorum desiderio suppararetur. hac misericordia functus non sine Spiritus Sancti societate recurrit Christus in Pleroma. usus est rerum ex liberalitatibus quoque nomina accedere: Enthymesis de actu fuit, Achamoth unde adhuc quaeritur, Sophia de matre manat, Spiritus Sanctus ex angelo. [3] accipit Christi a quo derelictam se statim senserat desiderium. itaque prosiluit et ipsa lumen eius inquirere. quem si omnino non noverat ut invisibiliter operatum quomodo lumen eius ignotum cum ipso requirebat? tamen temptavit et fortasse adprehendisset si non idem Horos qui matri eius tam prospere venerat nunc tam importune filiae occurrisset ut etiam inclamaverit in eam “Iao” — quasi “porro quirites” aut “fidem Caesaris.” [4] inde invenitur “Iao” in scripturis. ita depulsa quominus pergeret nec habens supervolare Crucem, id est Horon, quia nullum Catulli Laureolum fuerit exercitata, ut destituta ut passioni illi suae intricata multiplici atque perplexae, omni genere eius coepit adfligi: maerore quod non perpetrasset inceptum, metu ne sicut luce ita et vita orbaretur, tum ignorantia. nec ut mater eius, illa enim Aeon, at haec pro conditione deterius insurgente adhuc et alio fluctu, conversionis scilicet in Christum a quo vivificata fuerat et in hanc ipsam conversionem temperata.

CAP. XV. ^[1] age nunc discant Pythagorici, agnoscant Stoici, Plato ipse,

unde materiam quam innatam volunt et originem et substantiam traxerit in omnem hanc struem mundi, quod nec Mercurius ille Trismegistus, magister omnium physicorum, recogitavit. [2] audisti conversionem genus aliud passionis. ex hac omnis anima huius mundi dicitur constitisse, etiam ipsius Demiurgi, id est dei nostri. audisti maerorem et timorem; ex his initiata sunt cetera; nam ex lacrimis eius universa aquarum natura manavit. [3] hinc aestimandum quem exitum duxerit, quantis lacrimarum generibus inundaverit. habuit et salsas, habuit et amaras et dulces et calidas et frigidas guttas et bituminosas et ferruginantes et sulphurantes, utique et venenatas ut et Nonacris inde sudaverit quae Alexandrum occidit, et Lyncestarum inde defluerit quae ebrios efficit, et Salmacis inde se solverit quae masculos molles. [4] caelestes imbres pipiavit Achamoth et nos in cisternis etiam alienos luctus et lacrimas servare curamus, proinde ex consternatione et pavore corporalia elementa ducta sunt. et tamen in tanta circumstantia solitudinis, in tanto circumspectu destitutionis ridebat interdum qua conspecti Christi recordans. eodem gaudii risu lumen effulsit. [5] cuius hoc providentiae beneficium! quae illam ridere cogebat idcirco ne semper nos in tenebris moraremur. nec obstupescas quin laetitia eius tam splendidum elementum radiaverit mundo cum maestitia quoque eius tam necessarium instrumentum defuerit saeculo. o risum illuminatorem! o fletum rigatorem! et tamen poterat remedio iam agere cum illius loci horrore-omnem enim obscuritatem eius discussisset quotiens ridere voluisset — vel ne cogeretur desertores suos supplicare.

CAP. XVI. [1] convertitur enim ad preces et ipsa more materno, sed Christus quem iam pigebat extra Pleroma proficisci vicarium praeficit. Paracletum Soterem (hic erit Iesus largito et Patre universorum Aeonum summam potestatem subiciendis eis omnibus uti in ipso secundum Apostolum omnia conderentur) ad eam emittit cum officio atque comitatu coaetaneorum angelorum; credas et cum duodecim fascibus. [2] ibidem adventu pompatico eius concussa Achamoth protinus velamentum sibi obduxit ex officio primo venerationis et verecundiae. dehinc contemplatur eum fructiferumque suggestum; quibus inde conceperat viribus occurrit illi ku&rie xai=re. hic opinor susceptam ille confirmat atque conformat agnitione iam et ab omnibus iniuriis passionis expumicat non eadem neglegentia in exterminium discre- tis quae acciderat in casibus matris. [3] sed enim exercitata vitia et usu viriosa

confudit atque ita massaliter solidata defixit seorsum in materiae incorporalem paraturam commutans ex incorporali passione, indita habilitate atque natura qua pervenire mox posset in aemulas aequiperantias corpulentiarum ut duplex substantiarum conditio ordinaretur: de vitiis pessima, de conversione passionalis. haec erat materia quae nos commisit cum Hermogene ceterisque qui deum ex materia, non ex nihilo, operatum cuncta praesumunt.

CAP. XVII. ^[1] abhinc Achamoth expedita tandem de malis omnibus ecce iam proficit et in opera maiora frugescit. prae gaudio enim tanti ex infelicitate successus concalefacta simulque contemplatione ipsa angelicorum luminum, ut ita dixerim, subfermentata — pudet sed aliter exprimere non est — quodammodo subsuriit intra et ipsa in illos et conceptu statim intumuit spiritali ad imaginem ipsam quam vi laetantis ex laetitia prurientis intentionis imbiberat et sibi intimarat. ^[2] peperit denique et facta est exinde trinitas generum ex trinitate causarum: unum materiale quod ex passione, aliud animale quod ex conversione, tertium spiritale quod ex imaginatione.

CAP. XVIII. ^[1] hac auctoritate — trium scilicet liberorum — agendis rebus exercitior facta, formare singula genera constituit. sed spiritale quidem non ita potuit attingere ut et ipsa spiritalis; fere enim paria et consubstantiva in alterutrum valere societas naturae negavit. ^[2] eo animo se unum ad animale convertit prolatis Soteris disciplinis. et primum — quod cum magno horrore blasphemiae et pronuntiandum et legendum est et audiendum — deum fingit hunc nostrum et omnium praeter haereticorum, Patrem et Demiurgem et Regem universorum quae post illum, ab illo enim — si tamen ab illo, et non ab ipsa potius Achamoth a qua occulto, nihil sentiens eius et velut sigillario extrinsecus ductu, in omnem operationem movebatur. ^[3] denique ex hac personarum in operibus ambiguitate nomen illi Metropatoris miscuerunt distinctis appellationibus ceteris secundum status et situs operum: ut animalium quidem substantiarum quas ad dextram commendant Patrem nuncupant, materialium vero quas ad laevam delegant Demiurgem nominent, Regem autem communiter in universitatem.

CAP. XIX. ^[1] sed nec nominum proprietas competit proprietati operum de quibus nomina cum deberet illa haec omnia vocitari a qua res agebantur — nisi quod iam nec ab illa! cum enim dicant Achamoth in honorem Aeonum imagines commentatam, rursus hoc in Soterem auctorem detorquent qui per illam sit operatus, ut ipsam quidem imaginem Patris invisibilis et incogniti

daret, incognitam licet et invisibilem Demiurgo. eundem autem Demiurgum Nun filium effingeret. Archangeli vero, Demiurgi opus, reliquos Aeonas experimerent. [2] cum imagines audio tantas trium, quaero, non vis nunc ut imagines rideam perversissimi pictoris illorum: feminam Achamoth imaginem Patris, et ignarum matris Demiurgum — multo magis Patris — imaginem Nu non ignorantis Patrem, et angelos famulos simulacra dominorum? hoc est mulum de asino pingere et Ptolomaeum describere de Valentino.

CAP. XX. [1] igitur Demiurgus extra Pleromatis limites constitutus in ignominiosa aeterni exilii vastitate novam provinciam condit, hunc mundum, repurgata confusione et distincta diversitate duplici substantiae illius detrusae, animalium et materialium. ex incorporalibus corpora aedificat gravia levia sublimantia et vergentia caelestia atque terrena. tum ipsam caelorum septemPLICem scaenam solio desuper suo finit; [2] unde et Sabbatum dictum est ab hebdomade sedis suae et Ogdoada mater Acha-moth ab argumento ogdoadis primigenitalis. caelos autem noerouj deputant et interdum angelos eos faciunt sicut et ipsum Demiurgum, sicut et Paradisum Archangelum quartum quoniam et hunc supra caelum tertium pangunt, ex cuius virtute sumpserit Adam deversatus illic inter nubeculas et arbusculas. [3] satis meminerat Ptolomaeus puerilium dicibulorum, in mari poma nasci et in arbore pisces; sic et in caelestibus nuceta praesumpsit. operatur Demiurgus ignorans et ideo fortasse non scit arbores in sola terra institui oportere. plane mater sciebat; quidni suggerebat quae et effectum suum ministrabat? sed tantum fastigium filio extruens per ea opera quae illum et patrem et deum et regem ante Valentinianorum ingenia testantur, cur sibi quoque ipsa noluit esse nota, postea quaeram.

CAP. XXI. [1] interim tenendum Sophiam cognominari et Terram et Matrem et (quod magis rideas) etiam Spiritum Sanctum quasi marem Terram. ita omnem illi honorem contulerunt feminae, puto et barbam-ne dixerim cetera. alioquin Demiurgus adeo rerum non erat com pos — de animalis scilicet census invaliditudine spiritalia accedere — ut se solum ratus contionaretur “ego deus et absque me non est.” [2] certe tamen non fuisse se retro sciebat. ergo et factum intellegebat et factitorem facti esse quemcumque. quomodo ergo solus sibi videbatur etsi non certus, saltim suspectus de aliquo factitore?

CAP. XXII.[1] tolerabilior infamia est apud illos in diabolum vel quia origo sordidior capit. ex nequitia enim maeroris illius deputatur ex qua angelorum et

daemonum et omnium spiritalium malitiarum genituras notant. [2] et tamen diabolus quoque opus Demiurgi adfirmant et Munditenentem appellant et superiorum magis gnarum defendunt ut spiritalem natura quam Demiurgum et animalem. meretur ab illis praelationem cui omnes haere-ses procurantur.

CAP. XXIII.[1] singularium autem potestatum arces his finibus collocant: in summis summitatibus praesidet tricenarius Pleroma Horo signante lineam extremam; inferius illum metatur medietatem Achamoth filium calcans; subest enim Demiurgus in hebdomade sua; [2] magis diabolus in isto nobiscum convenit mundo coelemen- tato et concorporificato, ut supra editum est, ex Sophiae utilissimis casibus, qua nec aerem haberet, reciprocandi spiritus spatium, teneram omnium corporum vestem, colorum omnium iudicem, organum temporum, si non et istum Sophiae maestitia colasset — sicut animalia metus, sicut conversio eius ipsum Demiurgum. [3] his omnibus elementis atque corporibus ignis inflabellatus est. cuius originaiem Sophiae passionem quia nondum ediderunt ego argumentabor motiunculis eius excussam; credas enim illam in tantis vexationibus etiam febricitasse. CAP XXIV. [1] cum talia de deo vel de diis, qualia de homine figmenta? molitus enim mundum Demiurgus ad hominem manus confert et substantiam ei capit non ex ista, inquirunt, arida quam nos unicam novimus terram — quasi non, etsi arida postmodum, adhuc tamen tunc aquis ante segregatis superstitute limo, siccaverit — sed ex invisibili corpore materiae illius scilicet philosophicae de fluxili et fusili eius, quod unde fuerit audeo aestimare quia nusquam est: [2] si enim fusili et fluxile liquoris est qualitas, liquor autem omnis de Sophiae fletibus fluxit, sequitur ut limum ex pituitis et gramis Sophiae constitisse credamus quae lacrimarum proinde sunt faeces, sicut aquarum quod desidet limus est. figulat ita hominem Demiurgas et de afflatu suo animat. sic erit et choicus et animalis ad imaginem et similitudinem factus quadruplex res: ut imago quidem choicus deputetur — materialis scilicet etsi non ex materia Demiurgus; similitudo autem animalis — hoc enim et Demiurgus. [3] habes duos. interim carnalem superficiem postea aiunt choico supertextam et hanc esse pelliceam tunicam ob-noxiam sensui.

CAP. XXV. [1] inerat autem in Achamoth ex substantia Sophiae matris peculium quoddam seminis spiritalis sicut et ipsa; Achamoth in filio Demiurgo sequestraverat ne hoc quidem gnaro. (accipe industriam clandestinae providentiae huius.) [2] ad hoc enim et deposuerat et occultaverat

ut, cum Demiurgus animam mox de suo afflatu in Adam communicaret, pariter et semen illud spiritale quasi per canalem animae derivaretur in choicum atque ita feturatum in corpore materiali velut in utero et adultum illic idoneum inveniretur suscipiendo quandoque sermoni perfecto. [3] itaque cum Demiurgus traducem animae suae committit in Adam, latuit homo spiritalis flatui eius insertus et pariter corpori inductus quia non magis semen noverat matris Demiurgus quam ipsam. hoc semen Ecclesiam dicunt, Ecclesiae supernae speculum et Hominis, censum proinde eum ab Achamoth deputantes quemadmodum animalem a Demiurgo, choicum substantis a)rxh~j, carnem materia. habes novum id est quadruplum Geryontem.

CAP. XXVI. [1] sic et exitum singulis dividunt: materiali quidem, id est carnali, quem et sinistrum vocant, indubitatum interitum; animali vero quem et dextrum appellant dubitatum eventum utpote inter materialem spiritalemque nutanti et illac debito qua plurimum adnuerit. ceterum spiritalem emitti in animalis comparisonem ut erudiri cum eo et exerceri in conversationibus possit. [2] indiguissse enim animalem etiam sensibilibus disciplinarum. in hoc et paraturam mundi prospectam, in hoc et Sotem in mundo repraesentatum, in salutem scilicet animalis. alia adhuc compositione monstruosum volunt illum prosicias earum substantiarum induisse quarum summam saluti esset redactus: ut spiritalem quidem susceperit ab Achamoth, animalem vero quem mox a Demiurgo induit Christum, ceterum corporalem ex animali substantia sed miro et inenarrabili rationis ingenio constructam administrationis causa interim tulisse quo congressui et conspectui et contactui et defunctui ingratiss subiaceret. materiale autem nihil in illo fuisse utpote salutis alienum — quasi aliis fuerit neces- sarius quam egentibus salutem. et totum hoc ut carnis nostrae habitum alienando a Christo a spe etiam salutis excipiant.

CAP. XXVI. [1] nunc reddo de Christo in quem tanta licentia Iesum inserunt quidem quanta spiritale semen animali cum inflatu infulciunt, fartilia nescio quae commenti et Hominum et deorum suorum: esse etiam Demiurgo suum Christum filium naturalem denique animalem, prolatum ab ipso, promulgatum prophetis, in praepositionum quaestionibus positum, id est per virginem non ex virgine editum quia delatus in virginem transmeatoria potius quam generatorio more processerit per ipsam non ex ipsa, non matrem eam sed viam passus. [2] super hunc itaque Christum devolasse tunc in baptismatis

sacramento Iesum per effigiem columbae. fuisse autem et in Christo etiam ex Achamoth spiritalis seminis condimentum ne marceresceret scilicet reliqua farsura. nam in figuram principalis tetradis quattuor eum substantiis stipant: spiritali Achamothiana, animali Demiurgina, corporali inenarrativa, et illa Sotericiana, id est columbina. et Soter quidem permansit in Christo impassibilis inlaesibilis inapprehensibilis. denique cum ad prehensiones venit, discessit ab illo in cognitione Pilati; [3] proinde nec matris semen admisit iniurias aequae insubditivum et ne ipsi quidem Demiurgo compertum. patitur vero animalis et carneus Christus in delineationem superioris Christi qui Achamoth formando substantivali non agnitionali forma Cruci, ed est Horo, fuerat innixus. ita omnia in imagines surgent, plane et ipsi imaginarii Christiani.

CAP. XXVIII. [1] interea Demiurgus omnium adhuc nescius etsi aliquid et ipse per prophetas contionabitur ne huius quidem operis sui intellegens — dividunt enim et prophetiale patrocinium in Achamoth, semen, in Demiurgum — ubi adventum Soteris accepit propere et ovanter accurrit cum omnibus suis viribus — centurio de evangelio — et de omnibus inluminatus ab illo etiam suam discit quod successurus sit in locum matris. [2] ita exinde securus dispensationem mundi huius vel maxime ecclesiae protegendae nomine quanto tempore oportuit insequitur.

CAP. XXIX. [1] colligam nunc ex disperso ad concludendum quae de totius generis humani dispositione iusserunt. triformem naturam primordio professi et tamen inunitam in Adam, inde iam dividunt per singulares generum proprietates nacti occasionem distinctionis huiusmodi ex posteritate ipsius Adae moralibus quoque differentiis tripertita. [2] Cain et Abel, Seth fontes quodammodo generis humani in totidem derivant argumenta naturae atque sententiae: choicum, saluti degeneratum, ad Cain redigunt; animale, mediae spei deliberatum, ad Abel componunt; spiritale, certae saluti praeiudicatum, in Seth recondunt. sic et animas ipsas duplici proprietate discernunt, bonas et malas secundum choicum statum ex Cain et animalem ex Abel. [3] spiritalem enim ex Seth de obvenientia superducunt iam non naturam sed indulgentiam ut quos Achamoth de superioribus in animas bonas depluat, id est animali censui inscriptas. choicum enim genus, id est malas animas, numquam capere salutaria; immutabilem enim et irreformabilem naturae pronuntiaverunt. id ergo granum seminis spiritalis modicum et parvulum iactu sed eruditum huius

fides augetur atque provehitur, ut supra diximus, animaeque hoc ipso ita ceteris praeverterant ut Demiurgus tunc ignorans magni eas fecerit. [4] ex earum ergo laterculo et in reges et in sacerdotes allegere consueverat; quae nunc quoque si plenam atque perfectam notitiam apprehenderint istarum neniarum naturificatae iam spiritalis condicionis germanitate certam obtinebunt salutem immo omnimodo debitam.

CAP. XXX. [1] ideoque neo operationes necessarias sibi existimant neo ulla disciplinae mania observant martyrii quoque eludentes necessitatem qua volant interpretatione. hanc enim regulam ani- mali semini praestitutam ut salutem quam non de privilegio status possidemus de suffragio actus elaboremus. nobis enim inscriptura huius seminis qui imperfectae scientiae sumus qua non norimus Theletum et utique abortui deputatur (quod mater illorum!). [2] sed nobis quidem — vae si excesserimus in aliquod disciplinae iugum, si obtorpuerimus in operibus sanctitatis atque iustitiae, si confitendum alibi nescio ubi et non sub potestatibus istius saeculi apud tribunalia praesidium optaverimus. [3] illi vero et de passivitate vitae et diligentia delictorum generositatem suam vindicent blandiente suis Achamoth quoniam et ipsa delinquendo proficit. nam et honorandorum coniugiorum supernorum gratia edicatur apud illos meditandum atque celebrandum semper sacramentum “comiti,” id est feminae, adhaerendi. alioquin degenerem nec legitimum veritatis qui deversatus in mundo non amaverit feminam nec se ei iunxerit. et quid facient spadones quos videmus apudillos?

CAP. XXXI. [1] superest de consummatione et dispensatione mercedis: ubi Achamoth totani massam seminis sui presserit dein colligere in horreum coeperit, vel cum ad molas delatum et defarinatum in consparsione salutari absconderit donec totum confrequentetur, tunc consummatio urgebit. igitur imprimis ipsa Achamoth de regione medietatis de tabulato secundo in summumtransferetur restituta Pleromati. statim excinit compacticius ille Soter — Sponsus scilicet; ambo coniugium novum fient — hic erit in scripturis sponsus et sponsalis Pleroma. [2] credas enim ubi de loco in locum transmigratur leges quoque Iulias intervenire. sicut et scaenem et Demiurgus tunc de hebdomade caelesti in superiora mutabit in vacuum iam caenaculum matris sciens iam nec videns illam. nam si ita erat, semper ignorare maluisset.

CAP. XXXII. [1] humana vero gens in hoc exitus ibit: choicae et materialis notae totum in interitum quia omnis caro foenum. et anima mortalis apud illos

nisi quae salutem fide invenerit. iustorum animae, id est nostrae, ad Demiurgum in medietatis receptacula transmittentur — agimus gratias, contenti erimus cum deo nostro deputaci qua census animalis. nihil in Pleromacis palatium admittitur nisi spiritale examen Valentini. [2] illic itaque primo despoliantur homines ipsi, id est interiores; despoliare est autem deponere animas quibus induti videbantur, easque Demiurgo suo reddent quas ab eo averterant. ipsi autem spiritus in totum fient intellectuales neque detentui neque conspectui obnoxii, atque ita invisibiliter in Pleroma recipiuntur. furtim si ita est. [3] quid deinde? angelis distribuentur satellitibus Soteris. in filios putas? non. sed in adparatores? ni istud quidem. sed in imagines? utinam vel hoc. in quid ergo si non pudet dicere? in sponsas! tunc illi sabinas raptas inter se de matrimoniis ludent. haec erat spiritualium merces, hoc prae- mium credendi. [4] fabulae tales utiles ut Marcus aut Gaius in hac carne barbatus et in hac anima severus maritus pater avus proavus — certe quod sufficit masculus — in nyphone Pleromatis ab angelo. . . tacendo iam dixi; et forsitan parias aliquem novissimum Aeonem. his nuptiis recte deducendis pro face et flammeo tunc credo ille ignis arcanus erumpet et universam substantiam depopulatus ipse quoque decineratis omnibus in nihilum finietur et nulla iam fabula. [5] sed ne ego temerarius qui tantum sacramentum etiam inludendo prodiderim. verendum mihi est ne Achamothe quae se nec filio agnitam voluit insaniet, ne Theletus irascatur, ne Fortunata acerbetur. et tamen homo sum Demiurgi; illuc habeo devertere ubi post excessum omnino non obnubitur, ubi superindui potius quam despoliari, ubi etsi despolior sexui meo, deutor angelis non angelus non angela; nemo mihi quicquam faciet quem nec tunc masculum inveniet.

CAP. XXXIII. [1] producam denique velut epicitharisma post fabulam tantam etiam illa quae, ne ordini obstreperent et lectoris intentionem interiectione dispargerent, hunc malui in locum distulisse aliter atque aliter commendata ab emendatioribus Ptolomaei. exstiterunt enim de schola ipsius discipuli supermagistrum qui duplex coniugium Bytho suo adfingerent, Cogitationem et Voluntatem. [2] una enim sans non erat Cogitatio qua nihil producere potuisset. ex duabus facillime prolatum secundum coniugium Monogenem et Veritatem, ad imaginem quidem Cogitationis feminam Veritatem, ad imaginem Voluntatis marem Monogenem. Voluntatis enim vis, ut quae effectum praestat Cogitationi, viritatis obtinet censum.

CAP. XXXIV. [1] pudiciores alii honorem divinitatis recordati ut etiam unius coniugis dedecus ab eo avellerent maluerunt nullum Bytho sexum deputare et fortasse hoc dominum non hic deus neutro genere pronuntiant. [2] alii contra magis et masculum et feminam dicunt ne apud solos Lunenses Hermaphroditum existimet annalium commentator Fenestella.

CAP. XXXV. [1] sunt qui nec principatum Bytho defendunt sed postumatum, ogdoadem ante omnia praemittentes ex tetrade quidem et ipsum sed et aliis nominibus derivatam. primo enim constituunt Proarchen, secondo Anennoeton, tertio Arrheton, quarto Aoraton. [2] ex Proarche itaque processisse primo et quinto loco Archen, ex Anennoeto secondo et sexto loco Acatalepton, ex Arrheto tertio et septimo loco Anonomaston, ex Invisibili quarto et ottavo loco Agenneton. hoc quae ratio disponat ut singula binis locis et quidem tam intercisis nascantur malo ignorare quam discere. quid enim recti habent quae tam perverse proferuntur?

CAP. XXXVI. [1] quanto meliores qui totum hoc taedium de medio amoliti nullum Aeonem voluerunt alium ex alio per gradus revera Gemonios structam, sed mappa quod aiunt missa semel octoiugum istam ex Propatore et Ennoea eius excusam. ex ipso denique rerum motu nomina gerunt: [2] cum (inquiunt) cogitavit proferre, hoc Pater dictus est; cum protulit quia vero protulit, hic Veritas appellata est. cum semetipsum voluit probare, hoc Homo pronuntiatus est. quos autem praecogitavit cum protulit, tane Ecclesia nuncupata est. sonuit Homo Sermonem, et hic est primogenitus filius; et Sermoni accessit Vita, et ogdoas prima conclusa est. sed hoc taedium ominopusillum.

CAP. XXXVII. [1] accipe alia ingenia circulatoria insignioris apud eos magistri qui et pontificali sua auctoritate in hunc modum censuit: “est (inquit) ante omnia Proarche inexcogitabile et inenarrabile innominabile quod ego nomino Monoteta. cum hac erit alia virtus quam et ipsam appello Honoteta. [2] Monotes et Henotes, id est Solitas et Unitas, cum unum essent protulerunt non proferentes initium omnium intellectuale innascibile invisibile quod Sermo Monada vocavit. huic adest consubstantiva virtus quam appellat Unionem. hae igitur virtutes, Solitas, Unitas Singularitas, Unio, ceteras prolaciones Aeonum propagarunt.” o differentia, mutetur Unio et Unitas et Singularitas et Solitas quaqua designaveris — unum est.

CAP. XXXVIII. [1] humanior iam Secundus ut brevior, ogdoadem in duas

tetradas dividens, in dexteram et sinistram, in lumen et tenebras, tantum quod desultricem et defectricem illam virtutem non vult ab aliquo deducete Aeonum sed a fructibus de substantiavenientibus.

CAP. XXXIX. ^[1] de ipso iam domino Iesu quanta diversitas scinditur: hi ex omnium Aeonum flosculis eum construunt: illi ex solis decem constitisse contendunt quos Sermo et Vita protulerunt. inde et in ipsum Sermonis et Vitae concurrerint tituli. isti ex duodecim potius ex Hominis et Ecclesiae fetu ideoque Filium Hominis avite pronuntiatum. alii a Christo et Spiritu Sancto constabiliendae conversitati provisus confictum et inde paternae appellationis heredem. ^[2] sunt qui Filium Hominis non aliunde conceperint dicendum quam quia ipsum Patrem pro magno nominis sacramento Hominem appellasse se praesumpserit, ut quid amplius speres de diis dei fide cui nunc adaequaris. talia ingenia superfruticant apud illos ex materni seminis redundantia. atque ita insolescentes doctrinae Valentinianorum in silvas iam exoleverunt Gnosticorum.

EXPLICIT LIBER TERTULLIANI ADVERSUS VALENTINIANOS

Ad Scapulam (To Scapula, Proconsul of Africa)

CAP. I. 1. Nos quidem neque expauescimus, neque pertimescimus ea quae ab ignorantibus patimur, cum ad hanc sectam, utique suscepta condicione eius pacti, uenerimus, ut etiam animas nostras exauctorati in has pugnas accedamus, ea quae Deus repromittit consequi optantes, et ea quae diuersae uitae comminatur pati timentes. 2. Denique cum omni saeuitia uestra concertamus, etiam ultro erumpentes, magisque damnati quam absoluti gaudemus. Itaque hunc libellum non nobis timentes misimus, sed uobis et omnibus inimicis nostris, nedum amicis. 3. Ita enim disciplina iubemur diligere inimicos quoque et orare pro iis qui nos persequuntur, ut haec sit perfecta et propria bonitas nostra, non communis. Amicos enim diligere omnium est, inimicos autem solorum Christianorum. 4. Qui ergo dolemus de ignorantia uestra, et misere mur erroris humani, et futura prospicimus, et signa eorum cottidie intentari uidemus, necesse est uel hoc modo erumpere ad proponenda uobis ea quae palam non uultis audire.

CAP. II. 1. Nos unum Deum colimus, quem omnes naturaliter nostis, ad cuius fulgura et tonitrua contremiscitis, ad cuius beneficia gaudetis. Ceteros et ipsi putatis deos esse, quos nos daemonas scimus. 2. Tamen humani iuris et naturalis potestatis est unicuique quod putauerit colere; nec alii obest aut prodest alterius religio. Sed nec religionis est cogere religionem, quae sponte suscipi debeat, non ui, cum et hostiae ab animo libenti expostulentur. Ita etsi nos compuleritis ad sacrificandum, nihil praestabitis diis uestris: ab inuitis enim sacrificia non desiderabunt, nisi si contentiosi sunt; contensiosus autem Deus non est. 3. Denique qui est uerus, omnia sua ex aequo et profanis et suis praestat. Ideoque et iudicium constituit aeternum de gratis et ingratis. Tamen nos, quos sacrilegos existimatis, nec in furto unquam deprehendistis, nedum in sacrilegio. 4. Omnes autem qui templa despoliant, et per deos iurant, et eosdem colunt, et Christiani non sunt, et sacrilegi tamen deprehenduntur. Longum est si retexamus, quibus aliis modis et derideantur et contemnantur omnes dii ab ipsis cultoribus suis. 5. Sic et circa maiestatem imperatoris infamamur; tamen nunquam Albiniani, nec Nigriani, uel Cassiani inueniri potuerunt Christiani, sed idem ipsi qui per genios eorum in pridie usque iurauerant, qui pro salute eorum hostias et fecerant et uouerant, qui Christianos saepe damnauerant, hostes eorum sunt reperti. 6. Christianus

nullius est hostis, nedum imperatoris, quem sciens a Deo suo constitui, necesse est ut et ipsum diligat et reuereatur et honoret et saluum uelit, cum toto Romano imperio, quousque saeculum stabit: tamdiu enim stabit. 7. Colimus ergo et imperatorem sic quomodo et nobis licet et ipsi expedit, ut hominem a Deo secundum; et quicquid est a Deo consecutum est, solo tamen Deo minorem. Hoc et ipse uolet. Sic enim omnibus maior est, dum solo Deo minor est. Sic et ipsis diis maior est, dum et ipsi in potestate eius sunt. 8. Itaque et sacrificamus pro salute imperatoris, sed Deo nostro et ipsius, sed quomodo praecepit Deus, pura prece. Non enim eget Deus, conditor uniuersitatis, odoris aut sanguinis alicuius. Haec enim daemoniorum pabula sunt. 9. Daemonas autem non tantum respuimus, uerum et reuincimus, et cottidie traducimus, et de hominibus expellimus, sicut plurimis notum est. Ita nos magis oramus pro salute imperatoris, ab eo eam postulantes qui praestare potest. 10. Et utique ex disciplina patientiae diuinae agere nos, satis manifestum esse uobis potest, cum tanta hominum multitudo, pars paene maior ciuitatis cuiusque, in silentio et modestia agimus, singuli forte noti magis quam omnes, nec aliunde noscibiles quam de emendatione uitiorum pristinorum. Absit enim ut indigne feramus ea nos pati quae optamus, aut ultionem a nobis aliquam machinemur, quam a Deo exspectamus.

CAP. III. 1. Tamen, sicut supra diximus, doleamus necesse est, quod nulla ciuitas impune latura sit sanguinis nostri effusio nem; sicut et sub Hilariano praeside, cum de areis sepultura rum nostrarum acclamassent: 'Areae non sint!' Areae ipsorum non fuerunt: messes enim suas non egerunt. 2. Ceterum et imbres anni praeteriti quid commemorauerint genus humanum apparuit, cataclysmum scilicet et retro fuisse propter incredulitates et iniquitates hominum; et ignes qui super moenia Carthaginis proxime pependerunt per noctem, quid minati sint, sciunt qui uiderunt; et pristina tonitrua quid sonuerint, sciunt qui obduruerunt. 3. Omnia haec signa sunt imminētis irae Dei, quam necesse est, quoquo modo possumus, ut et nuntiemus et praedicemus, et deprecemur interim localem esse. Vniuersalem enim et supremam suo tempore sentient, qui exempla eius aliter interpretantur. Nam et sol ille in conuentu Vticensi extincto paene lumine adeo portentum fuit, ut non potuerit ex ordinario deliquio hoc pati, positus in suo hypsomate et domicilio. Habetis astrologos. 4. Possumus aequae et exitus quorundam praesidum tibi proponere, qui in fine uitae suae recordati sunt deliquisse, quod

uexassent Christianos. Vigellius Saturninus, qui primus hic gladium in nos egit, lumina amisit. Claudius Lucius Herminianus in Cappodocia, cum indigne ferens uxorem suam ad hanc sectam transisse, Christianos crudeliter tractasset, solusque in praetorio suo uastatus peste, conuiuis uermibus ebullisset: 'Nemo sciat, aiebat, ne gaudeant Christiani aut sperent Christianae.' Postea cognito errore suo, quod tormentis quosdam a proposito suo excidere fecisset, paene Christianus decessit. Caecilius Capella in illo exitu Byzantino: 'Christiani gaudete!' exclamauit. 5. Sed qui sibi uidentur impune tulisse, uenient in diem diuini iudicii. Tibi quoque optamus admonitionem solam fuisse, quod, cum Adrumeticum Mauilum idem Caecilius ad bestias damnasset, statim haec uexatio subsecuta est, nunc ex eadem causa interpellatio sanguinis. Sed memento de cetero.

CAP. IV. 1. Non te terremus, qui nec timemus; sed uelim, ut omnes saluos facere possimus, monendo mh qeomaxein. Potes et officio iurisdictionis tuae fungi et humanitatis meminisse, uel quia et uos sub gladio estis. 2. Quid enim amplius tibi mandatur quam nocentes confessos damnare, negantes autem ad tormenta reuocare? Videtis ergo quomodo ipsi uos contra mandata faciatis, ut confessos negare cogatis. Adeo confitemini innocentes esse nos, quos dannare statim ex confessione non uultis. Si autem contenditis ad elidendos nos, iam ergo innocentiam expugnatis. 3. Quanti autem praesides, et constantiores et crudeliores, dissimulauerunt ab huiusmodi causis ! ut Cincius Seuerus, qui Thysdri ipse dedit remedium, quomodo responderent Christiani ut dimitti possent; ut Vespronius Candidus, qui Christianum quasi tumultuosum ciuibus suis satisfacere dimisit; ut Asper, qui modice uexatum hominem et statim deiectum, nec sacrificium compulit facere, ante professus inter aduocatos et adessores, dolere se incidisse primum in hanc causam. Pudens etiam missum ad se Christianum, in elogio concussionis eius intellecta, dimisit, scisso eodem elogio, sine accusatore negans se auditurum hominem secundum mandatum. 4. Haec omnia tibi et de officio suggeri possunt, et ab eisdem aduocatis, qui et ipsi beneficia habent Christianorum, licet acclament, quae uolunt. 5. Nam et cuiusdam notarius, cum a daemone praecipitaretur, liberatus est; et quorundam propinquus et puerulus; et quanti honesti uiri (de uulgaribus enim non dicimus) aut a daemoniis aut ualetudinibus remediati sunt ! Ipse etiam Seuerus, pater Antonini, Christianorum memor fuit. Nam et Proculum Christianum qui Torpacion cognominabatur, Euhodiae procuratorem, qui eum

per oleum aliquando curauerat, requisivit et in palatio suo habuit usque ad mortem eius; quem et Antoninus optime nouerat, lacte Christiano educatus. 6. Sed et clarissimas feminas et clarissimos uiros Seuerus, sciens huius sectae esse, non modo non laesit, uerum et testimonio exornauit, et populo furenti in nos palam restitit. Marcus quoque Aurelias in Germanica expeditione Christianorum militum orationibus ad Deum factis imbres in siti illa impetrauit. Quando non geniculationibus et ieiunationibus nostris etiam siccitates sunt depulsae? Tunc et populus acclamans Deo deorum, qui solus potens. In Iouis nomine Deo nostro testimonium reddidit. 7. Praeter haec depositum non abnegamus, matrimonium nullius adulteramus, pupillos pie tractamus, indigentibus refrigeramus, nulli malum pro malo reddimus. Viderint, qui sectam mentiuntur, quos et ipsi recusamus. Quis denique de nobis allo nomine queritur? Quod aliud negotium patitur Christianus, nisi suae sectae, quam incestam, quam crudelem tanto tempore nemo probauit? 8. Pro tanta innocentia, pro tanta probitate, pro iustitia, pro pudicitia, pro fide, pro ueritate, pro Deo uiuo, cremamur; quod nec sacrilegi, nec hostes publici, uerum nec tot maiestatis rei pati solent. Nam et nunc a praeside Legionis, et a praeside Mauritaniae uexatur hoc nomen, sed gladio tenus, sicut et a primordio mandatum est animaduerti in huiusmodi. Sed maiora certamina maiora sequuntur praemia.

CAP. V. 1. Crudelitas uestra gloria est nostra. Vide tantum ne hoc ipso, quod talia sustinemus, ad hoc solum uideamur erumpere, ut hoc ipsum probemus, nos haec non timere, sed ultro uocare. Arrius Antoninus in Asia cum persequeretur 5 instanter, omnes illius ciuitatis Christiani ante tribunalia eius se manu facta obtulerunt. Tum ille, paucis duci iussis, reliquis ait: JW dei=loi, ei0 qe/lete a)pognh&skein, krhmnouj h@ bro&xouj e!xete. 2. Hoc si placuerit et hic fieri, quid facies de tantis milibus hominum, tot uiris ac feminis, omnis sexus, omnis aetatis, omnis dignitatis, offerentibus se tibi? Quantis ignibus, quantis gladiis opus erit ! Quid ipse Carthago passura est, decimata a te, cum propinquos, cum contubernales suos illic unusquisque cognouerit, cum uiderit illic fortasse et tui ordinis uiros et matronas, et principales quasque personal, et amicorum tuorum uel propinquos uel amicos? 3. Parce ergo tibi, si non nobis. Parce Carthagini, si non tibi. Parce prouinciae, quae uisa intentione tua obnoxia facta est concussionibus et militum et inimicorum suorum cuiusque. 4. Magistrum neminem habemus, nisi solum

Deum. Hic ante te est, nec abscondi potest, sed cui nihil facere possis. Ceterum quos putas tibi magistros, homines sunt et ipsi morituri quandoque. Nec tamen deficiet haec secta, quam tunc magis aedificari scias, cum caedi uidetur. Quisque enim tantam tolerantiam spectans, ut aliquo scrupulo percussus et inquirere accenditur, quid sit in causa, et ubi cognouerit ueritatem et ipse statim sequitur.

TERTVLLIANI AD SCAPVLAM EXPLICIT

De Spectaculis (On the Games)

I

[1] Qui status fidei, quae ratio veritatis, quod praescriptum disciplinae inter cetera saecularium errorum etiam spectaculorum voluptates adimat, dei servi, cognoscite, qui cum maxime ad deum acceditis, recognoscite, qui iam accessisse vos testificati et confessi estis, ne aut ignorando aut dissimulando quis peccet. [2] tanta est enim voluptatum vis, ut et ignorantiam protelet in occasionem et conscientiam corrumpat in dissimulationem. [3] ad utrumque adhuc forsitan alicui opiniones ethnicorum blandiantur, qui in ista causa adversus nos ita argumentari consuerunt: nihil obstrepere religioni in animo et in conscientia tanta solacia extrinsecus oculorum vel aurium nec vero deum offendi oblectatione hominis, qua salvo erga deum metu et honore suo in tempore et suo in loco frui scelus non sit. [4] atquin hoc cum maxime paramus demonstrare, quemadmodum ista non competant verae religioni et vero obsequio erga verum deum. [5] sunt qui existimant Christianos, expeditum morti genus, ad hanc obstinationem abdicatione voluptatum erudiri, quo facilius vitam contemnant amputatis quasi retinaculis eius nec desiderent, quam iam supervacuum sibi fecerint, ut hoc consilio potius et humano prospectu, non divino praescripto definitum existimetur. [6] pigebat scilicet etiam perseverantes tantis in voluptatibus propter dominum mori. quamquam, etsi ita esset, tam apto consilio tantae obstinatio disciplinae debebat obsequium.

II

[1] Iam vero nemo est, qui non hoc quoque praetendat: omnia a deo instituta et homini attributa, sicut praedicamus, et utique bona omnia, ut boni auctoris; inter haec deputari universa ista, ex quibus spectacula instruuntur, equum verbi gratia et leonem et vires corporis et vocis suavitates; igitur neque alienum videri posse neque inimicum deo quod de conditione constet ipsius, neque cultoribus dei deputandum, quod ei non sit inimicum, quia nec alienum. [2] plane et ipsae extructiones locorum, quod saxa, quod caementa, quod marmora, quod columnae dei res sunt, qui ea ad instrumentum terrae dedit; sed et ipsi actus sub caelo dei transiguntur.

Quam sapiens argumentatrix sibi videtur ignorantia humana, praesertim, cum aliquid eiusmodi de gaudiis et de fructibus saeculi metuit amittere. [3] plures denique invenias, quos magis periculum voluptatis quam vitae avocet ab hac secta. nam mortem etiam stultus ut debitam non extimescit, voluptatem etiam sapiens ut datam non contemnit, cum alia non sit et stulto et sapienti vitae gratia nisi voluptas. [4] nemo negat, quia nemo ignorat, quod ultro natura suggerit, deum esse universitatis conditorem eamque universitatem tam bonam quam homini mancipatam. [5] sed quia non penitus deum norunt nisi naturali iure, non etiam familiari, de longinquo, non de proximo, necesse est ignorent, qualiter administrari aut iubeat aut prohibeat quae instituit, simul quae vis sit aemula ex adverso adulterandis usibus divinae conditionis, quia neque voluntatem neque adversarium noveris eius quem minus noveris. [6] non ergo hoc solum respiciendum est, a quo omnia sint instituta, sed a quo conversa. ita enim apparebit, cui usui sint instituta, si appareat, cui non. [7] multum interest inter corruptelam et integritatem, quia multum est inter institutorem et interpolatorem.

Ceterum omnes species malorum, quae etiam ethnici ut indubitata et prohibent et defendunt, ex operibus dei constant. [8] vides homicidium ferro veneno magicis devinctionibus perfici: tam ferrum dei res est quam herbae, quam angeli. numquid tamen in hominis necem auctor ista providit? atquin omnem homicidii speciem uno et principali praecepto interimit: “non occides.” [9] proinde aurum aes argentum ebur lignum et quaecumque fabricandis idolis materia captatur quis in saeculo posuit nisi saeculi auctor deus? numquid tamen, ut haec adversus ipsum adorentur? atquin summa offensa penes illum idololatria. quid non dei est quod deum offendit? sed cum offendit, dei esse desiit, et cum desiit, offendit. [10] ipse homo, omnium flagitiorum auctor, non tantum opus dei, verum etiam imago est; et tamen et corpore et spiritu desciiit a suo institutore. neque enim oculos ad concupiscentiam sumpsimus et linguam ad maliloquium et aures ad exceptaculum maliloquii et gulam ad gulae crimen et ventrem ad gulae societatem et genitalia ad excessus impudicitiae et manus ad vim et gressus ad vagam vitam, aut spiritus ideo insitus corpori, ut insidiarum, ut fraudium, ut iniquitatum cogitatorium fieret. non opinor. [11] nam si omnem malignitatem et si tantum malitiam excogitatam dens exactor innocentiae odit, indubitate quaecumque condidit non in exitum operum constat condidisse quae damnat,

licet eadem opera per ea quae condidit administrentur, quando haec sit tota ratio damnationis: perversa administratio conditionis a conditis.

[12] nos igitur, qui domino cognito etiam aemulum eius inspeximus, qui institutore comperto et interpolatorem una deprehendimus, nec mirari neque dubitare oportet: cum ipsum hominem, opus et imaginem dei, totius universitatis possessorem, illa vis interpolatoris et aemulatoris angeli ab initio de integritate deiecerit, universam substantiam eius pariter cum ipso integritati institutam pariter cum ipso in perversitatem demutavit adversus institutorem, ut, quam doluerat homini concessam, non sibi, in ea ipsa et hominem reum deo faceret et suam dominationem collocaret.

III

[1] hac conscientia instructi adversus opinionem ethnicorum convertamur magis ad nostrorum detractatus. quorundam enim fides aut simplicior aut scrupulosior ad hanc abdicationem spectaculorum de scripturis auctoritatem exposcit et se in incertum constituit, quod non significanter neque nominatim denuntietur servis dei abstinencia eiusmodi. [2] plane nusquam invenimus, quemadmodum aperte positum est: “non occides, non idolum coles, non adulterium, non fraudem admittes”, ita exerte definitum: non ibis in circum, non in theatrum, agonem, munus non spectabis. [3] sed invenimus ad hanc quoque speciem pertinere illam primam vocem David: “felix vir”, inquit, “qui non abiit in concilium impiorum et in via peccatorum non stetit nec in cathedra pestium sedit.” [4] nam etsi iustum illum videtur praedicasse, quod in concilio et in consessu Iudaeorum de necando domino consultantium non communicavit, late tamen semper scriptura divina dividitur, ubicumque secundum praesentis rei sensum etiam disciplina munitur, ut hic quoque non sit aliena vox a spectaculorum interdictione. [5] si enim pauculos tunc Iudaeos impiorum concilium vocavit, quanto magis tantum conventum ethnici populi? minus impii ethnici, minus peccatores, minus hostes Christi quam tunc Iudaei? [6] quid, quod et cetera congruunt: nam apud spectacula et in cathedra sedetur et in via statur; vias enim et cardines vocant balteorum per ambitum et discrimina popularium per proclivum; cathedra quoque nominatur ipse in anfractu ad consessum situs. [7] itaque e contrario “infelix qui in quodcumque concilium impiorum abierit et in quacumque via peccatorum steterit et in quacumque cathedra pestium sederit.” generaliter dictum intellegamus, cum

quid aliter, etiam specialiter interpretari capit. nam et specialiter quaedam pronuntiata generaliter sapiunt. [8] cum deus Israhelitas admonet disciplinae vel obiurgat, utique ad omnes habet; cum Aegypto et Aethiopiae exitium comminatur, utique in omnem gentem peccatricem praeiudicat. sic omnis gens peccatrix Aegyptus et Aethiopia a specie ad genus, quemadmodum etiam omne spectaculum concilium impiorum a genere ad speciem.

IV

[1] ne quis argutari nos putet, ad principalem auctoritatem convertar ipsius signaculi nostri. cum aquam ingressi Christianam fidem in legis suae verba profitemur, renuntiassse nos diabolo et pompae et angelis eius ore nostro contestamur. [2] quid erit summum atque praecipuum, in quo diabolus et pompae et angeli eius censeantur, quam idololatria? ex qua omnis immundus et nequam spiritus ut ita dixerim, + quia nec diutius de hoc. [3] igitur si ex idololatria universam spectaculorum paraturam constare constiterit, indubitate praeiudicatum erit etiam ad spectacula pertinere renuntiationis nostrae testimonium in lavacro, quae diabolo et pompae et angelis eius sint mancipata, scilicet per idololatriam. [4] commemorabimus origines singulorum, quibus in cunabulis in saeculo adoleverint exinde titulos, quibus nominibus nuncupentur, exinde apparatus, quibus superstitionibus instruantur, tum loca, quibus praesidibus dicentur, tum artes, quibus auctoribus deputentur. si quid ex his non ad idolum pertinuerit, id neque ad idololatriam neque ad nostram eierationem pertinebit.

V

[1] de originibus quidem ut secretioribus et ignotis penes plures nostrorum altius nec aliunde investigandum fuit quam de instrumentis ethncialium litterarum. [2] extant auctores multi, qui super ista re commentarios ediderunt. ab his ludorum origo sic traditur: Lydos ex Asia transvenas in Etruria consedissee Timaeus refert duce Tyrreno, qui fratri suo cesserat regni contentione. igitur in Etruria inter ceteros ritus superstitionum suarum spectacula quoque religionis nomine instituunt. inde Romani arcessitos artifices mutuantur, itemque enuntiationem, ut ludii a Lydis vocarentur. [3] sed etsi Varro ludios a ludo id est a lusu interpretatur, sicut et Lupercos ludios appellabant, quod ludendo discurrant, tamen eum lusum iuvenum et diebus

festis et templis et religionibus reputat. [4] nihil iam de caussa vocabuli, cum rei caussa idololatria sit. nam et cum promiscue ludi Liberalia vocarentur, honorem Liberi patris manifeste sonabant. Libero enim a rusticis primo fiebant ob beneficium quod ei adscribunt demonstrata gratia vini. [5] exinde ludi Consualia dicti, qui initio Neptunum honorabant. eundem enim et Consum vocant. dehinc Ecurria ab equis Marti Romulus dixit; quamquam et Consualia Romulo defendunt, quod ea Conso dicaverit deo, ut volunt, consilii, eius scilicet, quo tunc Sabinarum virginum rapinam militibus suis in matrimonia excogitavit. [6] probum plane consilium et nunc quoque inter ipsos Romanos iustum et licitum, ne dixerim penes deum. facit enim et hoc ad originis maculam, ne bonum existimes quod initium a malo accepit, ab impudentia a violentia ab odio, a fratricida institutore, a filio Martis. [7] et nunc ara Conso illi in circo demersa est ad primas metas sub terra cum inscriptione eiusmodi: CONSUS CONSIPIO MARS DUELLO LARES +COILLO +POTENTES. sacrificant apud eam nonis Iuliis sacerdotes publici, XII. Kalend. Septembres flamen Quirinalis et virgines. [8] dehinc idem Romulus Iovi Feretrio ludos instituit in Tarpeio, quos Tarpeios dictos et Capitolinos Piso tradit; post hunc Numa Pompilius Marti et Robigini fecit (nam et robiginis deam finxerunt); dehinc Tullus Hostilius dehinc Ancus Marcius et ceteri. qui quos quem per ordinem et quibus idolis ludos instituerint, positum est apud Suetonium Tranquillum vel a quibus Tranquillus accepit. sed haec satis erunt ad originis de idololatria reatum.

VI

[1] accedit ad testimonium antiquitatis subsecuta posteritas formam originis de titulis huius quoque temporis praeferens, per quos signatum est, cui idolo et cui superstitioni utriusque generis ludi notarentur. [2] Megalenses enim et Apollinares, item Cereales et Neptunales et Latiare et Florales in commune celebrantur, reliqui ludorum de natalibus et sollemnibus regum et publicis prosperitatibus et municipalibus festis superstitionis causas habent. [3] inter quos etiam privatorum memoriis legatariae editiones parentant, id quoque secundum institutionis antiquitatem. nam et a primordio bifariam ludi censebantur, sacri et funebres id est deis nationum et mortuis. [4] sed de idololatria nihil differt apud nos, sub quo nomine et titulo, dum ad eosdem spiritus perveniat, quibus renuntiamus. licebit mortuis, licebit deis suis

faciant, perinde mortuis suis ut diis faciunt; una condicio partis utriusque est, una idololatria, una renuntiatio nostra adversus idololatriam.

VII

[1] communis igitur origo ludorum utriusque generis, communes et tituli, ut de communibus causis. perinde apparatus communes habeant necesse est de reatu generali idololatriae conditricis suae. [2] sed circensium paulo pompator suggestus, quibus proprie hoc nomen: pompa praecedens, quorum sit in semetipsa probans de simulacrorum serie, de imaginum agmine, de curribus, de tensis, de armamaxis, de sedibus, de coronis, de exuviis. [3] quanta praeterea sacra, quanta sacrificia praecedant, intercedant, succedant, quot collegia, quot sacerdotia, quot officia moveantur, sciunt homines illius urbis, in qua daemoniorum conventus consedit. [4] ea si minore cura per provincias pro minoribus viribus administrantur, tamen omnes ubique circenses illuc deputandi, unde et petuntur, inde inquinantur, unde sumuntur. nam et rivulus tenuis ex suo fonte et surculus modicus ex sua fronde qualitatem originis continet. [5] viderit ambitio sive frugalitas eius, quod deum offendit qualiscumque pompa circi: etsi pauca simulacra circumferat, in uno idololatria est; etsi unam tensam trahat, Iovis tamen plaustrum est; quaevis idololatria sordide instructa vel modice locuples et splendida est censu criminis sui.

VIII

[1] ut et de locis secundum propositum exequar, circus Soli principaliter consecratur. cuius aedes in medio spatio et effigies de fastigio aedis emicat, quod non putaverunt sub tecto consecrandum quem in aperto habent. [2] qui spectaculum primum a Circa Soli patri suo, ut volunt, editum affirmant, ab ea et circi appellationem argumentantur. plane venefica eis utique negotium gessit hoc nomine, quorum sacerdos erat, daemoniis et angelis scilicet. quot igitur in habitu loci illius idololatrias recognoscis? [3] singula ornamenta circi singula templa sunt. ova honori Castorum adscribunt qui illos ovo editos credendo de cygno Iove non erubescunt. delphines Neptuno vomunt, columnae Sessias a sementationibus, Messias a messibus, Tutulinas a tutela fructuum sustinent; [4] ante eas tres arae trinis deis parent, Magnis Potentibus Valentibus. eosdem Samothracas existimant. [5] obelisci enormitas, ut Hermateles affirmat, Soli prostituta. scriptura eius unde eius et census: de

Aegyptio superstitio est. frugebat daemonum concilium sine sua Matre Magna; ea itaque illic praesidet euripo. [6] Consus, ut diximus, apud metas sub terra delitescit Murcias. eas quoque idolum fecit: Murciam enim deam amoris volunt, cui in illa parte aedem voverunt. [7] animadvertite, Christiane, quot nomina immunda possederint circum. aliena est tibi regio, quam tot diaboli spiritus occupaverunt.

de locis quidem locus est retractandi ad praeveniendam quorundam interrogationem. [8] quid enim, inquis, si alio in tempore circum adiero, periclitabor de inquinamento? nulla est praescriptio de locis. nam non sola ista conciliabula spectaculorum, sed etiam templa ipsa sine periculo disciplinae adire servus dei potest urgente causa simplici dumtaxat, quae non pertineat ad proprium eius loci negotium vel officium. [9] ceterum et plateae et forum et balneae et stabula et ipsae domus nostrae sine idolis omnino non sunt: totum saeculum satanas et angeli eius repleverunt. [10] non tamen quod in saeculo sumus, a deo excidimus, sed si quid de saeculi criminibus attigerimus. proinde si Capitolium, si Serapeum sacrificator vel adorator intravero, a deo excidam, quemadmodum circum vel theatrum spectator. loca nos non contaminant per se, sed quae in locis fiunt, a quibus et ipsa loca contaminari altercati sumus: de contaminatis contaminamur. [11] propterea autem commemoramus, quibus eiusmodi loca dicentur ut eorum demonstramus esse quae in iis locis fiunt, quibus ipsa loca dicantur.

IX

[1] nunc de artificio quo circenses exhibentur. res equestris retro simplex: de dorso agebatur, et utique communis usus reus non erat. sed cum ad ludos coactus est, transiit a dei munere ad daemoniorum officia. [2] itaque Castori et Polluci deputatur haec species, quibus equos a Mercurio distributos Stesichorus docet. sed et Neptunus equestris est, quem Graeci HIPPION appellant. [3] de iugo vero Iovi, quadrigas Soli, bigas Lunae sanxerunt. sed et primus Erichthonius currus et quattuor ausus iungere equos rapidusque rotis insistere victor.

Erichthonius, Minervae et Vulcani filius, et quidem de caduca in terram libidine, portentum est daemonicum, immo diabolus ipse, non coluber. [4] si vero Trochilus Argivus auctor est currus, primae Iunoni id opus suum dedicavit. si Romae Romulus quadrigam primus ostendit, puto et ipse inter

idola conscriptus est, si idem est Quirinus. [5] talibus auctoribus quadrigae productae merito et aurigas coloribus idololatriae vestierunt. namque initio duo soli fuerunt, albus et russeus. albus hiemi ob nives candidas, russeus aestati ob solis ruborem voti erant. sed postea tam voluptate quam superstitione provecta russeum alii Marti, alii album Zephyris consecraverunt, prasinum vero Terrae matri vel verno, venetum Caelo et Mari vel autumnno. [6] cum autem omnis species idololatriae damnata sit a deo, utique etiam illa damnatur, quae elementis mundialibus profanatur.

X

[1] transeamus ad scaenicas res, quarum et originem communem et titulos pares secundum ipsam ab initio ludorum appellationem et administrationem coniunctam cum re equestri iam ostendimus. [2] apparatus etiam ex ea parte consortes, qua ad scaenam a templis et aris et illa infelicitate turis et sanguinis inter tibias et tubas itur duobus inquinatissimis arbitris funerum et sacrorum, dissignatore et haruspice. [3] ita cum de originibus ludorum ad circenses transiimus, inde nunc ad scaenicos ludos dirigemus a loci vitio. theatrum proprie sacrarium Veneris est. hoc denique modo id genus operis in saeculo evasis. [4] nam saepe censores nascentia cum maxime theatra destruebant moribus consulentes, quorum scilicet periculum ingens de lascivia providebant, ut iam hinc ethnicis in testimonium cedat sententia ipsorum nobiscum faciens et nobis in exaggerationem disciplinae etiam humana praerogativa. [5] itaque Pompeius Magnus solo theatro suo minor cum illam arcem omnium turpitudinum extruxisset, veritus quandoque memoriae suae censoriam animadversionem Veneris aedem superposuit et ad dedicationem edicto populum vocans non theatrum, sed Veneris templum nuncupavit, cui subiecimus, inquit, gradus spectaculorum. [6] ita damnatum et damnandum opus templi titulo praetexuit et disciplinam superstitione delusit. sed Veneri et Libero convenit. duo ista daemonia conspirata et coniurata inter se sunt ebrietatis et libidinis. [7] itaque theatrum Veneris Liberi quoque domus est. nam et alios ludos scaenicos Liberalia proprie vocabant, praeterquam Libero devotos, quae sunt Dionysia penes Graecos, etiam a Libero institutos. [8] et est plane in artibus quoque scaenicis Liberi et Veneris patrocinium. quae privata et propria sunt scaenae, de gestu et corporis flexu mollitiam Veneri et Libero immolant, illi per sexum, illi per luxum dissolutis. [9] quae vero voce et modis

et organis et litteris transiguntur, Apollines et Musas et Minervas et Mercurios mancipes habent.

Oderis, Christiane, quorum auctores non potes non odisse.

[10] iam nunc volumus suggerere de artibus et de his, quorum auctores in nominibus exsecramur. scimus nihil esse nomina mortuorum, sicut nec ipsa simulacra eorum; sed non ignoramus, qui sub istis nominibus et institutis simulacris operentur et gaudeant et divinitatem mentiantur, nequam spiritus scilicet, daemones. [11] videmus igitur etiam artes eorum honoribus dicatas esse, qui nomina incolunt auctorum earum, nec ab idololatria vacare, quarum institutores etiam propterea dei habentur. [12] immo quod ad artes pertinet, altius praescripsisse debemus, daemones ab initio prospicientes sibi inter cetera idololatriae etiam spectaculorum inquinamenta, quibus hominem a domino avocarent et suo honori obligarent, eiusmodi quoque artium ingenia inspirasse. [13] neque enim ab aliis procuratum fuisset quod ad illos perventurum esset nec per alios tunc homines edidissent quam per ipsos, in quorum nominibus et imaginibus et historiis fallaciam consecrationis sibi negotium acturae constituerunt. ut ordo peragatur, ineamus etiam agonum retractatum.

XI

[1] origo istis de ludorum propinquitate est. inde et ipsi sacri vel funebres instituti aut deis nationum aut mortuis fiunt. perinde tituli: Olympia Iovi, quae sunt Romae Capitolina, item Herculi Nemea, Neptuno Isthmia, ceteri mortuorum varii agones. [2] quid ergo mirum, si vel apparatus agonum idololatria conspurcat de coronis profanis, de sacerdotalibus praesidibus, de collegiariis ministris, de ipso postremo boum sanguine? [3] ut de loco suppleam et de loco communi, pro collegio artium Musicarum et Minervalium et Apollinarium, etiam Martialium, per duellum, per tubam in stadio circum aemulantur, quod utique templum est et ipsum eius idoli, cuius sollemnitates agit. [4] sed et gymnicas artes Castorum et Herculum et Mercuriorum disciplinae prodiderunt.

XII

[1] superest illius insignissimi spectaculi ac receptissimi recognitio. munus dictum est ab officio, quoniam officium etiam muneris nomen est. officium

autem mortuis hoc spectaculo facere se veteres arbitrabantur, posteaquam illud humaniore atrocitate temperaverunt. [2] nam olim, quoniam animas defunctorum humano sanguine propitiari creditum erat, captivos vel mali status servos mercati in exequiis immolabant. [3] postea placuit impietatem voluptate adumbrare. itaque quos paraverant, armis quibus tunc et qualiter poterant eruditos, tantum ut occidi discerent, mox edicto die inferiarum apud tumulos erogabant. ita mortem homicidiis consolabantur. [4] haec muneri origo. sed panlatim provecti ad tantam gratiam, ad quantam et crudelitatem, quia ferarum voluptati satis non fiebat nisi et feris humana corpora dissiparentur. quod ergo mortuis litabatur, utique parentationi deputabatur; quae species proinde idololatria est, quoniam et idololatria parentationis est species: tam haec quam illa mortuis ministrat. [5] in mortuorum autem idolis daemonia consistunt.

ut et titulos considerem, licet transierit hoc genus editionis ab honoribus mortuorum ad honores viventium, quaesturas dico et magistratus et flaminia et sacerdotia, cum tamen nominis dignitas idololatriae crimine teneatur, necesse est quicquid dignitatis nomine administratur communicet etiam maculas eius, a qua habet causas. [6] idem de apparatus interpretabimur in ipsorum honorum suggestu deputandis, quod purpurae, quod fasces, quod vittae, quod coronae, quod denique contiones et edicta et pultes pridianae sine pompa diaboli, sine invitatione daemonum non sunt. [7] quid ergo de horrendo loco perorem, quem nec periuria sustinent? pluribus enim et asperioribus nominibus amphitheatrum consecratur quam Capitolium: omnium daemonum templum est. tot illic immundi spiritus considunt, quot homines capit. ut et de artibus concludam, Martem et Dianam utriusque ludi praesides novimus.

XIII

[1] satis, opinor, implevimus ordinem, quot et quibus modis spectacula idololatriam committant, de originibus, de titulis, de apparatus, de locis, de artificiis, quo certi simus nulla ex parte competere nobis ea, qui bis idolis renuntiamus. [2] non quod idolum sit aliquid, ut apostolus ait, sed quoniam quae faciunt daemones faciunt consistentibus scilicet in consecrationibus idolorum, sive mortuorum sive, ut putant, deorum. [3] propterea igitur, quoniam utraque species idolorum condicionis unius est, dum mortui et dei unum sunt, utraque idololatria abstinemus. [4] nec minus templa quam

monumenta despuimus, neutram aram novimus, neutram effigiem adoramus, non sacrificamus, non parentamus. sed neque de sacrificio et parentato edimus, quia non possumus cenam dei edere et cenam daemoniorum. [5] si ergo gulam et ventrem ab inquinamentis liberamus, quanto magis augustiora nostra, et aures et oculos, ab idolothytis et necrothytis voluptatibus abstinemus, quae non intestinis transiguntur, sed in ipso spiritu et anima digeruntur, quorum munditia magis ad deum pertinet quam intestinorum.

XIV

[1] nunc interposito nomine idololatriae, quod solum subiectum sufficere debet ad abdicationem spectaculorum, alia iam ratione tractemus ex abundanti, propter eos maxime qui sibi blandiuntur quod non nominatim abstinentia ista praescripta sit. [2] quasi parum etiam de spectaculis pronuntietur, cum concupiscentiae saeculi damnantur. nam sicut pecuniae vel dignitatis vel gulae vel libidinis vel gloriae, ita et voluptatis concupiscentia est; species autem voluptatis etiam spectacula. [3] opinor, generaliter nominatae concupiscentiae continent in se et voluptates, aequae generaliter intellectae voluptates specialiter et in spectacula disseruntur.

XV

[1] ceterum rettulimus supra de locorum condicione, quod non per semetipsa nos inquinant, sed per ea quae illic geruntur, per quae, simul inquinamentum combiberunt, tunc etiam in alteros respuunt. viderit ergo, ut diximus, principalis titulus, idololatria; reliquas ipsarum rerum qualitates contrarias dei omnes feramus. [2] deus praecepit spiritum sanctum, utpote pro naturae suae bono tenerum et delicatum, tranquillitate et lenitate et quiete et pace tractare, non furore, non bile, non ira, non dolore inquietare. [3] huic quomodo cum spectaculis poterit convenire? omne enim spectaculum sine concussione spiritus non est. ubi enim voluptas, ibi et studium, per quod scilicet voluptas sapit; ubi studium, ibi et aemulatio, per quam studium sapit. [4] porro et ubi aemulatio, ibi et furor et bilis et ira et dolor et cetera ex his, quae cum his non competunt disciplinae. [5] nam et si qui modeste et probe spectaculis fruitur pro dignitatis vel aetatis vel etiam naturae suae condicione, non tamen immobilis animi est et sine tacita spiritus passione. [6] nemo ad voluptatem venit sine affectu, nemo affectum sine casibus suis patitur. ipsi casus incitamenta sunt

affectus. ceterum si cessat affectus, nulla est voluptas, et est reus iam ille vanitatis eo conveniens, ubi nihil consequitur. [7] puto autem etiam vanitas extranea est nobis. quid quod et ipse se iudicat inter eos positus, quorum se similem nolens utique detestatorem confitetur? [8] nobis satis non est, si ipsi nihil tale facimus, nisi et talia factitantibus non conferamur. “si furem” inquit “videbas, concurrebas cum eo.” utinam ne in saeculo quidem simul cum illis moraremur! sed tamen in saecularibus separamur, quia saeculum dei est, saecularia autem diaboli.

XVI

[1] cum ergo furor interdicitur nobis, ab omni spectaculo auferimur, etiam a circo, ubi proprie furor praesidet. aspice populum ad id spectaculum iam cum furore venientem, iam tumultuosum, iam caecum, iam de sponsionibus concitatum. [2] tardus est illi praetor, semper oculi in urna eius cum sortibus volutantur. dehinc ad signum anxii pendent, unius dementiae una vox est. [3] cognosce dementia de vanitate: “misit”, dicunt et nuntiant invicem quod simul ab omnibus visum est. teneo testimonium caecitatis: non vident missum quid sit; mappam putant, sed est diaboli ab alto praecipitati figura. [4] ex eo itaque itur in furias et animos et discordias et quicquid non licet sacerdotibus pacis. inde maledicta, convicia sine iustitia odii, etiam suffragia sine merito amoris. [5] quid enim suum consecuturi sunt, qui illic agunt, qui sui non sunt? nisi forte hoc solum, per quod sui non sunt: de aliena infelicitate contristantur, de aliena felicitate laetantur. quicquid optant, quicquid abominantur, extraneum ab iis est; ita et amor apud illos otiosus et odium iniustum. [6] an forsitan sine causa amare liceat quam sine causa odisse? deus certe etiam cum causa prohibet odisse, qui inimicos diligere iubet; deus etiam cum causa maledicere non sinit, qui maledicentes benedici praecipit. [7] sed circo quid amarius, ubi ne principibus quidem aut civibus suis parcunt? si quid horum, quibus circus furit, alicubi competit sanctis, etiam in circo licebit, si vero nusquam, ideo nec in circo.

XVII

[1] similiter impudicitiam omnem amoliri iubemur. hoc igitur modo etiam a theatro separamur, quod est privatum consistorium impudicitiae, ubi nihil probatur quam quod alibi non probatur. [2] ita summa gratia eius de spurcitia

plurimum concinnata est, quam Atellanus gesticulatur, quam mimus etiam per muliebres repraesentat, sensum sexus et pudoris exterminans, ut facilius domi quam scaenae erubescant, quam denique pantomimus a pueritia patitur ex corpore, ut artifex esse possit. [3] ipsa etiam prostibula, publicae libidinis hostiae, in scaena proferuntur, plus miserae in praesentia feminarum, quibus solis latebant, perque omnis aetatis, omnis dignitatis ora transducuntur; locus, stipes, elogium, etiam quibus opus non est, praedicatur, etiam (taceo de reliquis) quae in tenebris et in speluncis suis delitescere decebat, ne diem contaminarent. [4] erubescat senatus, erubescant ordines omnes! ipsae illae pudoris sui interemprices de gestibus suis ad lucem et populum expavescentes semel anno erubescunt.

[5] quodsi nobis omnis impudicitia exsecranda est, cur liceat audire quod loqui non licet, cum etiam scurrilitatem et omne vanum verbum indicatum a deo sciamus? cur aequae liceat videre quae facere flagitium est? cur quae ore prolata communicant hominem, ea per aures et oculos admissa non videantur hominem communicare, cum spiritui appareant aures et oculi nec possit mundus praestari cuius apparitores inquinantur? [6] habes igitur et theatri interdictionem de interdictione impudicitiae. si et doctrinam saecularis litteraturae ut stultitiae apud deum deputatam aspernamur, satis praescribitur nobis et de illis speciebus spectaculorum, quae saeculari litteratura lusoriam vel agonisticam scaenam dispungunt. [7] quodsi sunt tragoediae et comoediae scelerum et libidinum auctrices cruentae et lascivae, impiae et prodigae, nullius rei aut atrocis aut vilis commemoratio melior est: quod in facto reicitur, etiam in dicto non est recipiendum.

XVIII

[1] quodsi stadium contendas in scripturis nominari, sane obtinebis. sed quae in stadio geruntur, indigna conspectu tuo non negabis, pugnos et calces et colaphos et omnem petulantiam manus et quaecumque humani oris, id est divinae imaginis, depugnationem. [2] non probabis usquam vanos cursus et iaculatus et saltus vaniores, nusquam tibi vires aut iniuriosae aut vanae placebunt, sed nec cura facticii corporis, ut plasticam dei supergressa, et propter Graeciae otium altiles homines oderis. [3] et palaestrica diaboli negotium est: primos homines diabolus elisit. ipse gestus colubrina vis est, tenax ad occupandum, tortuosa ad obligandum, liquida ad elabendum. nullus

tibi coronarum usus est; quid de coronis voluptates aucuparis?

IXX

[1] exspectabimus nunc ut et amphitheatri repudium de scripturis petamus? si saevitiam, si impietatem, si feritatem permissam nobis contendere possumus, eamus in amphitheatrum. si tales sumus quales dicimur, delectemur sanguine humano. [2] “bonum est, cum puniuntur nocentes.” quis hoc nisi nocens negabit? et tamen innocentes de supplicio alterius laetari non oportet, cum magis competat innocenti dolere, quod homo, par eius, tam nocens factus est, ut tam crudeliter impendatur. [3] quis autem mihi sponsor est, nocentes semper vel ad bestias vel ad quodcumque supplicium decerni, ut non innocentiae quoque inferatur aut ultione iudicantis aut infirmitate defensionis aut instantia quaestionis? quam melius ergo est nescire cum mali puniuntur, ne sciam et cum boni pereunt, si tamen bonum sapiunt. [4] certe quidem gladiatores innocentes in ludum veneunt, ut publicae voluptatis hostiae fiant. etiam qui damnantur in ludum, quale est ut de leviori delicto in homicidas emendatione proficiant?

[5] sed haec ethnicis respondi. ceterum absit ut de istius spectacula aversione diutius discat Christianus. quamquam nemo haec omnia plenius exprimere potest nisi qui adhuc spectat. malo non implere quam meminisse.

XX

[1] quam vana igitur, immo desperata argumentatio eorum, qui sine dubio tergiversatione amittendae voluptatis optendunt nullam eius abstinenciae mentionem specialiter vel localiter in scripturis determinari, quae directo prohibeat eiusmodi conventibus inseri servum dei. [2] novam proxime defensionem suaviludii cuiusdam audiui. sol, inquit, immo ipse etiam deus de caelo spectat nec contaminatur. sane, sol et in cloacam radios suos defert nec inquinatur. [3] utinam autem deus nulla flagitia hominum spectaret, ut omnes iudicium evaderemus. sed spectat et latrocinia, spectat et falsa et adulteria et fraudes et idololatrias et spectacula ipsa. et idcirco ergo nos non spectabimus, ne videamur ab illo, qui spectat omnia. [4] comparas, homo, reum et iudicem, reum, qui, quia videtur, reus est, iudicem, qui, quia videt, iudex est. [5] numquid ergo et extra limites circi furori studemus et extra cardines theatri impudicitiae intendimus et insolentiae extra stadium et immisericordiae extra

amphitheatrum, quoniam deus etiam extra cameras et gradus et apulias oculos habet? erramus: nusquam et numquam excusatur quod deus damnat, nusquam et numquam licet quod semper et ubique non licet. [6] haec est veritatis integritas et, quae ei debetur, disciplinae plenitudo et aequalitas timoris et fides obsequii, non inmutare sententiam nec variare iudicium. non potest aliud esse, quod vere quidem est bonum seu malum. omnia autem penes veritatem dei fixa sunt.

XXI

[1] ethnici, quos penes nulla est veritatis plenitudo, quia nec doctor veritatis deus, malum et bonum pro arbitrio et libidine interpretantur: alibi bonum quod alibi malum, et alibi malum quod alibi bonum. [2] sic ergo evenit, ut, qui in publico vix necessitate vesicae tunicam levet, idem in circo aliter non exuat, nisi totum pudorem in faciem omnium intentet, ut et qui filiae virginis ab omni spurco verbo aures tuetur, ipse eam in theatrum ad illas voces gesticulationesque deducat, [3] et qui in plateis litem manu agentem aut compescit aut detestatur, idem in stadio gravioribus pugnis suffragium ferat, et qui ad cadaver hominis communi lege defuncti exhorret, idem in amphitheatro derosa et dissipata et in suo sanguine squalentia corpora patientissimis oculis desuper incumbat, [4] immo qui propter homicidae poenam probandam ad spectaculum veniat, idem gladiatorem ad homicidium flagellis et virgis compellat invitum, et qui insigniori cuique homicidae leonem poscit, idem gladiatori atroci petat rudem et pilleum praemium conferat, illum vero confectum etiam oris spectaculo repetat, libentius recognoscens de proximo quem voluit occidere de longinquo, tanto durior, si non voluit.

XXII

[1] quid mirum? inaequata ista hominum miscentium et commutantium statum boni et mali per inconstantiam sensus et iudicii varietatem. [2] etenim ipsi auctores et administratores spectaculorum quadrigarios scaenicos xysticos arenarios illos amatissimos, quibus viri animas, feminae autem illis etiam corpora sua substernunt, propter quos se in ea committunt quae reprehendunt, ex eadem arte, qua magnificiunt, deponunt et deminuunt, immo manifeste damnant ignominia et capitis minutione, arcentes curia rostris senatu equite ceterisque honoribus omnibus simul et ornamentis quibusdam. [3] quanta

perversitas! amant quos multant, depretiant quos probant, artem magnificant, artificem notant. [4] quale iudicium est, ut ob ea quis offuscetur, per quae promeretur? immo quanta confessio est malae rei! cuius auctores, cum acceptissimi sint, sine nota non sunt.

XXIII

[1] cum igitur humana recordatio etiam obstrepente gratia voluptatis damnandos eos censeat ademtis bonis dignitatum in quendam scopulum famositatis, quanto magis divina iustitia in eiusmodi artifices animadvertit? [2] an deo placebit auriga ille tot animarum inquietator, tot furiarum minister +tot statuum+, ut sacerdos coronatus vel coloratus ut leno, quem curru rapiendum diabolus adversus Elian exornavit? [3] placebit et ille, qui voltus suos novacula mutat, infidelis erga faciem suam, quam non contentus Saturno et Isidi et Libero proximam facere insuper contumeliis alaparum sic obicit, tamquam de praecepto domini ludat? [4] docet scilicet et diabolus verberandam maxillam patienter offerre. sic et tragoedos cothurnis extulit, quia “nemo potest adicere cubitum unum ad staturam suam”: mendacem facere vult Christum. [5] iam vero ipsum opus personarum quaero an deo placeat, qui omnem similitudinem vetat fieri, quanto magis imaginis suae? non amat falsum auctor veritatis; adulterium est apud illum omne quod fingitur. [6] proinde vocem sexus aetates mentientem, amores iras gemitus lacrimas asseverantem non probabit: omnem enim hypocrisin damnat. ceterum cum in lege praescribit maledictum esse qui muliebribus vestietur, quid de pantomimo iudicabit, qui etiam muliebribus curatur? [7] sane et ille artifex pugnorum impunitus ibit? tales enim cicatrices caestuum et callos pugnorum et aurium fungos a deo cum plasmaretur accepit; ideo illi oculos deus commodavit, ut vapulando deficient. [8] taceo de illo, qui hominem leoni prae se opponit, ne parum sit homicida quam qui eundem postmodum iugulat.

XXIV

[1] quot adhuc modis perorabimus, nihil ex his quae spectaculis deputantur placitum deo esse aut congruens servo dei quod deo placitum non sit? [2] si omnia propter diabolum instituta et ex diaboli rebus instructa monstravimus (nihil enim non diaboli est quicquid dei non est vel deo displicet), hoc erit pompa diaboli, adversus quem in signaculo fidei eieramus. [3] quod autem

eieramus, neque facto neque dicto neque visu neque prospectu participare debemus. ceterum nonne eieramus et rescindimus signaculum rescindendo testationem eius? numquid ergo superest, ut ab ipsis ethnicis responsum flagitemus? illi nobis iam renuntient, an liceat Christianis spectaculo uti. atquin hinc vel maxime intelligunt factum Christianum, de repudio spectaculorum. [4] itaque negat manifeste qui per quod agnoscitur tollit. quid autem spei superest in eiusmodi homine? nemo in castra hostium transit nisi proiectis armis suis, nisi destitutis signis et sacramentis principis sui, nisi pactus simul perire.

XXV

[1] an ille recogitabit eo tempore de deo positus illic ubi nihil est de deo? pacem, opinor, habebit in animo contendens pro auriga, pudicitiam ediscet attonitus in mimos. [2] immo in omni spectaculo nullum magis scandalum occurret quam ille ipse mulierum et virorum accuratior cultus. ipsa consensio, ipsa in favoribus aut conspiratio aut dissensio inter se de commercio scintillas libidinum conflagellant. [3] nemo denique in spectaculo ineundo prius cogitat nisi videri et videre. sed tragoedo vociferante exclamationes ille alicuius prophetae retractabit et inter effeminati tibicinis modos psalmum secum comminiscetur, et cum athletae agent, ille dicturus est repercutiendum non esse. [4] poterit ergo et de misericordia moneri defixus in morsus ursorum et spongias retiariorum. avertat deus a suis tantam voluptatis exitiosae cupiditatem! [5] quale est enim de ecclesia dei in diaboli ecclesiam tendere, de caelo, quod aiunt, in caenum? illas manus quas ad deum extuleris postmodum laudando histrionem fatigare? ex ore, quo Amen in Sanctum protuleris, gladiatori testimonium reddere, EIS AINÔNAS AP' AINÔNOS alii omnino dicere nisi deo et Christo?

XXVI

[1] Cur ergo non eiusmodi etiam daemoniis penetrabiles fiant? Nam et exemplum accidit domino teste eius mulieris, quae theatrum adiit, et inde cum daemonio rediit. [2] itaque in exorcismo cum oneraretur immundus spiritus, quod ausus esset fidelem aggredi, constanter: "et iustissime quidem" inquit "feci: in meo eam inveni." [3] constat et alii linteum in somnis ostensum eius diei nocte, qua tragoedum audierat, cum exprobratione nominato tragoedo nec

ultra quintum diem eam mulierem in saeculo fuisse. [4] quot utique et alia documenta cesserunt de his qui cum diabolo apud spectacula communicando a domino exciderunt. “nemo enim potest duobus dominis servire.” “quid luci cum tenebris? quid vitae et morti?”

XXVII

[1] odisse debemus istos conventus et coetus ethnicorum, vel quod illic nomen dei blasphematur, illic in nos quotidiani leones expostulantur, inde persecutiones decernuntur, inde temptationes emittuntur. [2] quid facies in illo suffragiorum impiorum aestuario reprehensus? non quasi aliquid illic pati possis ab hominibus (nemo te cognoscit Christianum), sed recogita, quid de te fiat in caelo. [3] dubitas illo enim momento, quo diabolus in ecclesia furit, omnes angelos prospicere de caelo et singulos denotare, quis blasphemiam dixerit, quis audierit quis linguam, quis aures diabolo adversus deum ministraverit? [4] non ergo fugies sedilia hostium Christi, illam cathedram pestilentiarum ipsumque aerem qui desuper incubat scelestis vocibus conspurcatum? sint dulcia licebit et grata et simplicia, etiam honesta quaedam. nemo venenum temperat felle et elleboro, sed conditis pulmentis et bene saporatis, et plurimum dulcibus id mali inicit. ita et diabolus letale quod conficit rebus dei gratissimis et acceptissimis imbuat. [5] omnia illic seu fortia seu honesta seu sonora seu canora seu subtilia perinde habe ac stillicidia mellis de lucunculo venenato nec tanti gulam facias voluptatis quanti periculum per suavitatem.

XXVIII

[1] saginentur eiusmodi dulcibus convivae sui: et loca et tempora et invitator ipsorum est. nostrae coenae, nostrae nuptiae nondum sunt. non possumus cum illis discumbere, quia nec illi nobiscum: vicibus disposita res est. nunc illi laetantur, nos conflictamur. [2] “Saeculum” inquit “gaudebit, vos tristes eritis.” lugeamus ergo, dum ethnici gaudent, ut, cum lugere coeperint, gaudeamus, ne pariter nunc gaudentes tunc quoque pariter lugeamus. [3] delicatus es, Christiane, si et in saeculo voluptatem concupiscis, immo nimium stultus, si hoc existimas voluptatem. [4] philosophi quidam hoc nomen quieti et tranquillitati dederunt, in ea gaudent, in ea avocantur, in ea etiam glorianur. tu mihi metas et scaenam et pulverem et harenam suspiras? [5] dicas velim: non

possumus vivere sine voluptate, qui mori cum voluptate debemus? nam quod est aliud votum nostrum quam quod et apostoli, exire de saeculo et recipi apud dominum? Hic voluptas, ubi et votum.

XXIX

[1] iam nunc si putas delectamentis exigere spatium hoc, cur tam ingratus es, ut tot et tales voluptates a deo contributas tibi satis non habeas neque recognoscas? quid enim iucundius quam dei patris et domini reconciliatio, quam veritatis revelatio, quam errorum recognitio, quam tantorum retro criminum venia? [2] quae maior voluptas quam fastidium ipsius voluptatis, quam saeculi totius contemptus, quam vera libertas, quam conscientia integra, quam vita sufficiens, quam mortis timor nullus, [3] quod calcas deos nationum, quod daemonia expellis, quod medicinas facis, quod revelationes petis, quod deo vivis? haec voluptates, haec spectacula Christianorum sancta perpetua gratuita; in his tibi circenses ludos interpretare, cursus saeculi intueri, tempora labentia, spatia peracta dinumera, metas consummationis exspecta, societates ecclesiarum defende, ad signum dei suscitare, ad tubam angeli erigere, ad martyrii palmas gloriari. [4] si scaenicae doctrinae delectant, satis nobis litterarum est, satis versuum est, satis sententiarum, satis etiam canticorum, satis vocum, nec fabulae, sed veritates, nec strophae, sed simplicitates. [5] vis et pugilatus et luctatus? praesto sunt, non parva et multa. aspice impudicitiam deiectam a castitate, perfidiam caesam a fide, saevitiam a misericordia contusam, petulantiam a modestia adumbratam, et tales sunt apud nos agones, in quibus ipsi coronamur. vis autem et sanguinis aliquid? Habes Christi.

XXX

[1] quale autem spectaculum in proximo est adventus domini iam indubitati, iam superbi, iam triumphantis! quae illa exultatio angelorum, quae gloria resurgentium sanctorum! quale regnum exinde iustorum! qualis civitas nova Hierusalem! [2] at enim supersunt alia spectacula, ille ultimus et perpetuus iudicii dies, ille nationibus insperatus, ille derisus, cum tanta saeculi vetustas et tot eius nativitates uno igni haurientur. [3] quae tunc spectaculi latitudo! quid admirer? quid rideam? ubi gaudeam, ubi exultem, tot spectans reges, qui in caelum recepti nuntiabantur, cum Iove ipso et ipsis suis testibus in imis tenebris congemescentes? item praesides persecutores dominici nominis

saevioribus quam ipsi flammis saevierunt insultantes contra Christianos liquescentes? [4] quos praeterea? sapientes illos philosophos coram discipulis suis una conflagrantibus erubescences, quibus nihil ad deum pertinere suadebant, quibus animas aut nullas aut non in pristina corpora redituras affirmabant? etiam poetas non ad Rhadamanthi nec ad Minonis, sed ad inopinati Christi tribunal palpitantes? [5] tunc magis tragoedi audiendi, magis scilicet vocales in sua propria calamitate; tunc histriones cognoscendi, solutiores multo per ignem; tunc spectandus auriga in flammea rota totus ruber; tunc xystici contemplandi, non in gymnasiis, sed in igne iaculati, nisi quod ne tunc quidem illos velim visos, ut qui malim ad eos potius conspectum insatiabilem conferre, qui in dominum desaevierunt. [6] hic est ille, dicam, fabri aut quaestuariae filius, sabbati destructor, Samarites et daemonium habens; hic est quem a Iuda redemistis, hic est ille harundine et colaphis diverberatus, sputamentis dedecoratus, felle et aceto potatus; hic est, quem clam discentes subripuerunt, ut surrexisse dicatur, vel hortulanus detraxit, ne lactucae suae frequentia commeantium adlaederentur. [7] ut talia spectes, ut talibus exultes, quis tibi praetor aut consul aut quaestor aut sacerdos de sua liberalitate praestabit? et tamen haec iam quodammodo habemus per fidem spiritu imaginante repraesentata. ceterum qualia illa sunt, quae nec oculus vidit nec auris audivit nec in cor hominis ascenderunt? credo, circo et utraque cavea et omni stadio gratiora.

De Idololatria (On Idolatry)

I. [1] Principale crimen generis humani, summus saeculi reatus, tota causa iudicii idololatria. Nam etsi suam speciem tenet unumquodque delictum, etsi suo quodque nomine iudicio destinatur, in idololatriae tamen crimine expungitur. Omitte titulos, opera recognosce. Idololatres idem homicida est. Quaeris quem occiderit? Si quid ad elogii ambitionem facit, non extraneum nec inimicum, sed ipsum se. Quibus insidiis? Erroris sui. Quo telo? Offensa dei. Quot plagis? Quotquot idololatriis. [2] Qui negat idololatren perisse, is negabit idololatren homicidium fecisse. Perinde adulterium et stuprum in eodem recognoscas; nam qui falsis deis seruit, sine dubio adulter est ueritatis, quia omne falsum adulterium est. Sic et stupro mergitur. Quis enim immundis spiritibus cooperator non conspurcatus et constupratus incedit? Atque adeo scripturae sanctae stupri uocabulo utuntur in idololatriae exprobratione. [3] Fraudis condicio ea est, opinor, si quis alienum rapiat aut alii debitum deneget, et utique erga hominem admissa fraus maximi criminis nomen est. At enim idololatria fraudem deo facit honores illi suos denegans et conferens aliis, ut fraudi etiam contumeliam coniungat. Quodsi tam fraus quam stuprum atque adulterium mortem afferunt, iam in his aequae idololatria de homicidii reatu non liberatur. [4] Post talia crimina, tam exitiosa, tam deuoratoria salutis cetera quoque aliquem ad modum et seorsum perinde disposita in idololatria condicionem suam repraesentant. In illa et concupiscentiae saeculi. Quae enim idololatriae sollemnitas sine ambitione cultus et ornatus? In illa lasciuiiae et ebrietatis, cum plurimum uictus et uentris et libidinis causa frequententur. In illa iniustitia. Quid enim iniustius ea quae iustitiae patrem nescit? In illa etiam uanitas, cum tota eius ratio uana sit. In illa mendacium, cum tota substantia eius mendax sit. [5] Ita fit, ut omnia in idololatria et in omnibus idololatria deprehendatur. Sed et alias, cum uniuersa delicta aduersus deum sapiant, nihil autem, quod aduersus deum sapiat, non daemoniis et immundis spiritibus deputetur quibus idola mancipantur, sine dubio idololatriam admittit quicunque delinquit. Id enim facit quod ad idolorum mancipes pertinet.

II. [1] Sed uniuersa nomina criminum discedant in operum suorum proprietates, remaneat idololatria in eo quod ipsa est. Sufficit sibi tam inimicum deo nomen, tam locuples substantia criminis, quae tot ramos ponigit, tot uenas diffundit, ut de hoc cum maxime materia suscepta sit, quot

modis nobis praecauenda sit idololatriae latitudo, quoniam multifariam seruos dei nec tantum ignorata, sed etiam dissimulata subuertit. [2] Plerique idololatrian simpliciter existimant his solis modis interpretandam, si quis aut incendat aut imolet aut polluceat aut sacris aliquibus aut sacerdotiis obligetur, quemadmodum si quis existimet adulterium in osculis et in amplexibus et in ipsa carnis congressione censendum aut homicidium in sola sanguinis profusione et in animae ereptione reputandum. [3] At enim, dominus quam extensius ista disponat, certi sumus, cum adulterium etiam in concupiscentia designat, si oculum quis impegerit libidinose et animam commouerit impudice, cum homicidium etiam in uerbo maledicti uel conuicii iudicat et in omni impetu irae et in neglegentia caritatis in fratrem. [4] Sicut Iohannes docet homicidam esse qui oderit fratrem. Alioquin in modico consisteret et diaboli ingenium de malitia et dei dominium de disciplina, qua nos aduersus diaboli latitudines munit, si in his tantum delictis iudicemur, quae etiam nationes decreuerunt uindicanda. [5] Quomodo abundabit iustitia nostra super scribas et pharisaeos, ut dominus praescripsit, nisi abundantiam aduersariae eius id est iniustitiae perspexerimus? Quod si caput iniustitiae idololatria est, prius est, uti aduersus abundantiam idololatriae praemuniamur, dum illam non solum in manifestis recognoscimus.

III. [1] Idolum aliquamdiu retro non erat. Priusquam huius monstri artifices ebullissent, sola templa et uacuae aedes erant, sicut in hodiernum quibusdam locis uetustatis uestigia permanent. Tamen idololatria agebatur, non in isto nomine, sed in isto opere. Nam et hodie extra templum et sine idolo agi potest. [2] At ubi artifices statuarum et imaginum et omnis generis simulacrorum diabolus saeculo intulit, rude illud negotium humanae calamitatis et nomen de idolis consecutum est et profectum. Exinde iam caput facta est idololatriae ars omnis quae idolum quoquomodo edit. Neque enim interest, an plastes effingat, an caelator exculpat, an phrygio detexat, quia nec de materia refert, an gypso, an coloribus, an lapide, an aere, an argento, an filo formetur idolum. [3] Quando enim et sine idolo idololatria fiat, utique, cum adest idolum, nihil interest, quale sit, qua de materia, qua de effigie, ne qui putet id solum idolum habendum, quod humana effigie sit consecratum. [4] Ad hoc necessaria est uocabuli interpretatio. *Ei!doj* Graece formam sonat; ab eo per diminutionem *ei!dwlon* deductum; aeque apud nos forma formulam fecit. Igitur omnis forma uel formula idolum se dici exposcit. Inde idololatria omnis

circa omne idolum famulatus et seruitus. Inde et omnis idoli artifex eiusdem et unius est criminis, nisi parum idololatriam populus admisit, quia simulacrum uituli et non hominis sibi consecrauit.

IV. [1] Idolum tam fieri quam coli deus prohibet. Quanto praecedat, ut fiat quod coli possit, tanto prius est, ne fiat, si coli non licet. Propter hanc causam, ad eradicandam scilicet materiam idololatriae, lex diuina proclamat, ne feceris idolum, et coniungens, neque similitudinem eorum quae in caelo sunt et quae in terra et quae in mari, toto mundo eiusmodi artibus interdixit seruis dei. [2] Antecesserat Enoch praedicens omnia elementa, omnem mundi censum, quae caelo, quae mari, quae terra continentur, in idololatriam uersuros daemones et spiritus desertorum angelorum, ut pro deo aduersus deum consecrarentur. Omnia igitur colit humanus error praeter ipsum omnium conditorem. Eorum imagines idola imaginum consecratio idololatria. Quicquid idololatria committit, in artificem quemcumque et cuiuscumque idoli deputetur necesse est. Denique idem Enoch simul et cultores idoli et fabricatores in comminatione praedamnat. [3] Et rursus: iuro uobis peccatores, quod in diem sanguinis perditionis tristitia parata est. Qui seruitis lapidibus et qui imagines facitis aureas et argenteas et ligneas et lapideas et fictiles et seruitis phantasmatibus et daemoniis et spiritibus infernis et omnibus erroribus non secundum scientiam, nullum ab iis inuenietis auxilium. [4] Esaias uero, testes, ait, uos estis, si est deus absque me. Et non erant tunc qui fingunt et exculpant, omnes uani, qui faciunt libita sibi, quae illis non proderunt. Et deinceps tota illa pronuntiatio quam artifices, quam cultores detestatur. Cuius clausula est: cognoscite, quod cinis sit cor illorum et terra, et nemo animam suam liberare possit. + Vbi aequae Dauid et factores. Tales fiant, inquit, qui faciunt ea. [5] Et quod ego, modicae memoriae homo, ultra quid suggeram? Quid recolam de scripturis? Quasi aut non sufficiat uox spiritus sancti aut ultra deliberandum sit, an maledixerit atque damnauerit dominus ipsos prius artifices eorum, quorum cultores maledicit et damnat?

V. [1] Plane impensius respondebo ad excusationes huiusmodi artificum, quos numquam in domum dei admitti oportet si quis eam disciplinam norit. Iam illa obici solita uox, non habeo aliud quo uiuam, districtius reperi potest: uiuere ergo habes? quid tibi cum deo est, si tuis legibus uiuis? Tum quod et de scripturis audent argumentari, dixisse apostolum: ut quisque fuerit inuentus, ita perseueret, possumus igitur omnes in peccatis perseuerare ex ista

interpretatione. [2] Nec enim quisquam nostrum non peccator inuentus est, cum Christus non alia ex causa descenderit quam peccatorum liberandorum. Item eundem praecepisse dicunt secundum suum exemplum, uti manibus suis unusquisque operetur ad uictum. Si hoc praeceptum ab omnibus manibus defenditur, credo et fures balneares manibus suis uiuere et ipsos latrones manibus agere quo uiuant, item falsarios utique non pedibus, sed manibus operari malas litteras, histriones uero non manibus solis, sed totis membris uictum elaborare. [3] Pateat igitur ecclesia omnibus, qui manibus et suo opere tolerant, si nulla exceptio est aritum quas dei disciplina non recipit. Sed ait quidam aduersus similitudinis interdictae propositionem: cur ergo Moses in eremo simulacrum serpentis ex aere fecit? Seorsum figurae, quae dispositioni alicui arcanae praestuebantur, non ad erogationem legis, sed ad exemplarium causae suae. Alioquin si haec ut aduersarii legis interpretemur, numquid et nos, quod et Marcionitae, inconstantiam adscribimus omnipotenti, quem illi hoc modo destruunt ut mutabilem, dum alibi uetat, alibi mandat? [4] Si quis autem dissimulat illam effigiem aerei serpentis suuspensi in modum figuram designasse dominicae crucis a serpentibus id est ab angelis diaboli liberaturae nos, dum per semetipsam diabolum id est serpentem interfectum suspendit, siue quae alia figurae istius expositio dignioribus reuelata est, dummodo apostolus affirmet omnia tunc figurate populo accidisse. Bene, quod idem deus et lege uetuit similitudinem fieri et extraordinario praecepto serpentis similitudinem indixit. Si eundem deum obseruas, habes legem eius, ne feceris similitudinem. Si et praeceptum factae postea similitudinis respicis, et tu imitare Moysen, ne facias aduersus legem simulacrum aliquod, nisi et tibi deus iusserit.

VI. [1] Si nulla lex dei prohibuisset idola fieri a nobis, nulla uox spiritus sancti fabricatoribus idolorum non minus quam cultoribus comminaretur, de ipso sacramento nostro interpretaremur nobis aduersas esse fidei eiusmodi artes. [2] Quomodo enim renuntiauius diabolo et angelis eius, si eos facimus? Quod repudium diximus iis, non dico cum quibus, sed de quibus uiuimus? Quam discordiam suscepimus in eos, quibus exhibitionis nostrae gratia obligati sumus? Potes lingua negasse quod manu confiteris? Verbo destruere quod facto struis? Vnum deum praedicare qui tantos efficis? Verum deum praedicare qui falsos facis? Facio, ait quidam, sed non colo: quasi ob aliquam causam colere non audeat, nisi ob quam et facere non debeat, scilicet ob dei

offensam utrobique. [3] Immo tu colis, qui facis, ut coli possint. Colis autem non spiritu uilissimi nidoris alicuius, sed tuo proprio nec anima pecudis impensa, sed anima tua. Illis ingenium tuum immolas, illis sudorem tuum libas, illis prudentiam tuam accendis. Plus es illis quam sacerdos, cum per te habeant sacerdotem; diligentia tua numen illorum est. Negas te quod facis colere? Sed illi non negant, quibus hanc saginationem et auratiorem et maiorem hostiam caedis, salutem tuam tota die.

VII. [1] Ad hanc partem zelus fidei perorabit ingemens: Christianum ab idolis in ecclesiam uenire, de aduersaria officina in domum dei uenire, attollere ad deum patrem manus matres idolorum, his manibus adorare, quae foris aduersus deum adorantur, eas manus admouere corpori domini, quae daemoniis corpora conferunt? [2] Nec hoc sufficit. Parum sit, si ab aliis manibus accipiant quod contaminent, sed etiam ipsae tradunt aliis quod contaminauerunt. [3] Adleguntur in ordinem ecclesiasticum artifices idolorum. Pro scelus! Semel Iudaei Christo manus intulerunt, isti quotidie corpus eius laccessunt. O manus praecidendae! Viderint iam, an per similitudinem dictum sit: si te manus tua scandalizat, amputa eam. Quae magis amputandae, quam in quibus domini corpus scandalizatur?

VIII. [1] Sunt et aliae conplurium artium species, quae, etsi non contingunt idolorum fabricationem, tamen ea, sine quibus idola, nil possunt, eodem crimine expediunt. Nec enim differt, an extruas uel exornes, si templum, si aram, si aediculam eius instruxeris, si bratteam expresseris aut insignia aut etiam domum fabricaueris. Maior est eiusmodi opera, quae non effigiem confert, sed auctoritatem. [2] Si ita necessitas exhibitionis extenditur, habent et alias species, quae sine exorbitatione disciplinae id est sine idoli confectura opem uictus praestent. Scit albarius tector et tecta sarcire et tectoria inducere et cisternam liare et cymatia distendere et multa alia ornamenta praeter simulacra parietibus incrispare. Scit et pictor et marmorarius et aerarius et quicumque caelator latitudines suas et utique multo faciliores. [3] Nam qui signum describit, quanto facilius abacum linit? Qui de tilia Martem exculpit, quanto citius armarium compingit? Nulla ars non alterius artis aut mater aut propinqua est. Nihil alterius uacat. Tot sunt artium uenae, quot hominum concupiscentiae. Sed de mercedibus et manus pretiis interest. Perinde interest et de labore. Minor merces frequentiore actu repensatur. [4] Quot parietes signa desiderant? Quot templa et aedes idolis aedificantur? Domus uero et praetoria

et balnea et insulae quantae? Soccus et baxa quotidie deauratur, Mercurius et Serapis non quotidie. Sufficiat ad quaestum artificiorum. Frequentior est omni superstitione luxuria et ambitio. Lances et scyphos facilius ambitio quam superstitione desiderabit. [5] Coronas quoque magis luxuria quam sollemnitas erogat. Cum igitur ad haec artificiorum genera cohortemur, quae idolum quidem et quae idolo competunt non adtingant, sint autem et hominibus communia saepe quae et idolis, hoc quoque cauere debemus, ne quid scientibus nobis ab aliquibus de manibus nostris in rem idolorum postuletur. Quod si concesserimus et non remediis iam usitatis egerimus, non puto nos a contagio idololatriae uacare, quorum manus non ignorantium in officio uel in honore et usu daemoniorum deprehenduntur.

IX. [1] Animaduertimus inter artes etiam professiones quasdam obnoxias idololatriae. De astrologis ne loquendum quidem est. Sed quoniam quidam istis diebus prouocauit defendens sibi perseuerantiam professionis istius, paucis utar. Non allego, quod idola honoret, quorum nomina caelo inscripsit, quibus omnem dei potestatem addixit, quod propterea homines non putant deum requirendum praesumentes stellarum nos immutabili arbitrio agi: unum propono, angelos esse illos desertores dei, amatores feminarum, proditores etiam huius curiositatis, propterea quoque damnatos a deo. [2] O diuina sententia usque ad terram pertinax, cui etiam ignorantes testimonium reddunt ! Expelluntur mathematici, sicut angeli eorum, Vrbs et Italia interdicitur mathematicis, sicut caelum angelis eorum. Eadem poena est exilii discipulis et magistris. [3] Sed magi [et astrologi] ab oriente uenerunt. Scimus magiae et astrologiae inter se societatem. Primi igitur stellarum interpretes natum Christum annuntiauerunt, primi munerauerunt. Hoc nomine Christum, opinor, sibi obligauerunt. Quid tum? Ideo nunc et mathematicis patrociniabitur illorum magorum religio? De Christo scilicet est mathesis hodie, stellas Christi, non Saturni et Martis et cuiusque ex eodem ordine mortuorum obseruat et praedicat. [4] At enim scientia ista usque ad euangelium fuit concessa, ut Christo edito nemo exinde natiuitatem alicuius de caelo interpretetur. Nam et tus illud et myrram et aurum ideo infanti tunc domino obtulerunt quasi clausulam sacificationis et gloriae saecularis, quam Christus erat adempturus. [5] Quod igitur isdem magis somnium sine dubio ex dei uoluntate suggessit, ut irent in sua, sed alia, non qua uenerant, uia, id est, ne pristina secta sua incederent, non, ne illos Herodes persecueretur, qui nec persecutus est, etiam

ignorans alia uia digressos, quoniam et qua uenerant ignorabat, adeo uiam sectam et disciplinam intellegere debemus. [6] Itaque magis praeceptum, ut exinde aliter incederent. Sic et alia illa species magiae, quae miraculis operatur, etiam aduersus Moysen aemulata patientia dei traxit ad euangelium usque. Nam exinde et Simon Magus iamiam fidelis, quoniam aliquid adhuc de circulatoria secta cogitaret, ut scilicet inter miracula professionis suae etiam spiritum sanctum per manuum inpositionem enundinaret, maledictus ab apostolis de fide eiectus est: alter magus, qui cum Sergio Paulo, quoniam isdem aduersabatur apostolis, luminum amissione multatus est. [7] Hoc et astrologi retulissent, credo, si qui in apostolos incidisset. Attamen cum magia punitur, cuius est species astrologia, utique et species in genere damnatur. Post euangelium nusquam inuenias aut sophistas aut Chaldaeos aut incantatores aut coniectores aut magos, nisi plane punitos. Vbi sapiens, ubi litterator, ubi conquisitor huius aeu? Nonne infatuauit deus sapientiam huius saeculi? [8] Nihil scis, mathematice, si nesciebas te futurum Christianum. Si sciebas, hoc quoque scire debueras, nihil tibi futurum cum ista professione. Ipsa te de periculo suo instrueret, quae aliorum climacterica praecanit. Non est tibi pars neque sors in ista ratione. Non potest regna caelorum sperare cuius digitus aut radius abutitur caelo.

X. [1] Quaerendum autem est etiam de ludimagistris, sed et ceteris professoribus litterarum. Immo non dubitandum affines illos esse multimodae idololatriae. Primum quibus necesse est deos nationum praedicare, nomina, genealogias, fabulas, ornamenta honorifica quaeque eorum enuntiare, tum sollemnia festaque eorundem obseruare, ut quibus uestigalia sua supputent. [2] Quis ludimagister sine tabula VII idolorum Quinquatria tamen frequentabit? Ipsam primam noui discipuli stipem Mineruae et honori et nomini consecrat, ut, etsi non profanatus alicui idolo uerbotenius de idolothyto esse dicatur, pro idololatra uitetur. Quid? Minus est inquinamenti? Eoque praestat quaestus et nominibus et honoribus idolo nuncupatus? [3] Quam Minerualia Mineruae, quam Saturnalia Saturni, quae etiam seruiculis sub tempore Saturnalium celebrari necesse est. Etiam strenuae captandae et septimontium, et Brumae et carae cognationis honoraria exigenda omnia, Florae scholae coronandae; flaminicae et aediles sacrificant creati; schola honoratur feriis. [4] Idem fit idoli natali; omnis diaboli pompa frequentatur. Quis haec competere Christiano existimabit, nisi qui putabit conuenire etiam non magistro? Scimus dici posse:

si docere litteras dei seruis non licet, etiam nec discere licebit, et, quomodo quis institueretur ad prudentiam interim humanam uel ad quemcumque sensum uel actum, cum instrumentum sit ad omnem uitam litteratura? Quomodo repudiamus saecularia studia, sine quibus diuina non possunt? [5] Videamus igitur necessitatem litteratoriae eruditionis, respiciamus ex parte eam admitti [non] posse, ex parte uitari. Fideles magis discere quam docere litteras capit; diuersa est enim ratio discendi et docendi. Si fidelis litteras doceat, insertas idolorum praedicationes sine dubio, dum docet, commendat, dum tradit, affirmat, dum commemorat, testimonium dicit. [6] Deos ipsos hoc nomine obsignat, cum lex prohibeat, ut diximus, deos pronuntiari et nomen hoc in uano conlocari. Hinc prima diabolo fides aedificatur ab initiis eruditionis. Quaere, an idololatriam committat qui de idolis catechizat. At cum fidelis haec discit, si iam sapit, quid sit, neque recipit neque admittit, multo magis, si dudum sapit. Aut ubi coeperit sapere, prius sapiat oportet quod prius didicit, id est de deo et fide. Proinde illa respuet nec recipiet et erit tam tutus, quam qui sciens uenenum ab ignaro accipit nec bibit. [7] Huic necessitas ad excusationem deputatur, quia aliter discere non potest. Tanto autem facilius est litteras non docere quam non discere, quanto et reliqua scholarum de publicis ac propriis sollemnitatibus inquinamenta facilius discipulis fidelis non adibit quam magister non frequentabit.

XI. [1] + De generationibus si cetera delictorum recogitemus, inprimis cupiditatem radicem omnium malorum, qua quidam inretiti circa fidem naufragium sunt passi, cum bis et idololatria ab eodem apostolo dicta sit cupiditas, tum mendacium cupiditatis ministrum — taceo de periurio, quando ne iurare quidem liceat — negotiatio seruo dei apta est? Ceterum si cupiditas abscedat, quae est causa adquirendi? Cessante causa adquirendi non erit necessitas negotiandi. [2] Sit nunc aliqua iustitia quaestus secura de cupiditatis et mendacii obseruatione, in crimen offendere idololatriae eam opinor, quae ad ipsam idolorum animam et spiritum, pertinet, quae omne daemonium saginat. Sane non illa principalis idololatria? Viderint, si eadem merces, tura dico et cetera peregrinitatis ad sacrificium idolorum etiam hominibus ad pigmenta medicinalia, nobis quoque insuper ad solacia sepulturae usui sunt. Certe cum pompae, cum sacerdotia, cum sacrificia idolorum de periculis, de damnis, de incommodis, de cogitationibus, de discursibus negotiationibusne instruuntur, quid aliud quam procurator idolorum demonstraris? Nemo

contendat posse hoc modo omnibus negotiationibus controuersiam fieri. [3] Grauiora delicta quaeque pro magnitudine periculi diligentiam extendunt obseruationis, ut non ab his tantum abscedamus, sed et ab iis per quae fiunt. Licet enim ab aliis fiat, non interest, si per me. [4] In nullo necessarius esse debeat alii, cum facit quod mihi non licet. Ex hoc, quod uetor facere, intellegere debeat curandum mihi esse, ne fiat per me. Denique in alia causa non leuioris reatus praeiudicium istud obseruo. Nam quod mihi de stupro interdictum sit, aliis ad eam rem nihil aut operae aut conscientiae exhibeo. [5] Nam quod ipsam carnem meam a lupanaribus segregauimus, agnosco me neque lenocinium neque id genus lucrum alterius causa exercere posse. Sic et homicidii interdictio ostendit mihi lanistam quoque ab ecclesia arceri: nec per se non faciet quod faciendum alio subministrat. Ecce magis proximum praeiudicium. [6] Si publicarum uictimarum redemptor ad fidem accedat, permittes ei in eo negotio permanere? Aut si iam fidelis id agere suscepit, retinendum in ecclesia putabis? Non opinor, nisi si quis et de turario dissimulabit. Scilicet ad alios peruenit procuratio sanguinis, ad alios odorum. Si, antequam idola in saeculo essent, his mercibus adhuc informis idololatria transigebatur, si et nunc fere sine idolo opus idololatriae incendiis odorum perpetratur, ecquid maioris operae et erga daemones turarius? [7] Nam facilius sine idolo idololatria, quam sine turarii merce. Ipsius fidei conscientiam perrogerimus. Quo ore Christianus turarius, si per templa transibit, quo ore fumantes aras despuet et exsufflabit, quibus ipse prospexit? Qua constantia exorcizabit alumnos suos, quibus domum suam cellarium praestat? Ille quidem si excluserit daemones, non sibi placeat de fide. Neque enim inimicum exclusit. [8] Facile debuit de eo impetrare, quem cotidie pascit. Nulla igitur ars, nulla professio, nulla negotiatio, quae quid aut instruendis aut formandis idolis administrat, carere poterit titulo idololatriae; nisi si aliud omnino interpretemur idololatriam, quam famulatum idolorum colendorum.

XII. [1] Male nobis de necessitatibus humanae exhibitionis supplaudimus, si post fidem obsignatam dicimus: non habeo quo uiuam. Iam hic enim plenius illi abruptae propositioni respondebo. Sero dicitur. Ante enim fuit deliberandum ex similitudine prouidentissimi aedificis illius, qui prius sumptus operis cum uiribus suis supputat, ne, ubi coeperit, defectus postea erubescat. [2] Sed et nunc habes dicta domini et exempla adimentia tibi omnem causationem. Quid enim dicis? Egebo. Sed felices egenos dominus appellat.

Victum non habebō: sed nolite, inquit, cogitare de uictu. Et uestitus habemus exemplum lilia. Substantia milti opus erat: atquin omnia uendenda sunt et egentibus diuidenda. Sed filiis et posteritati prouidendum: nemo aratro manum imponens et retro spectans aptus est operi. Sed condicionalis eram: nemo duobus dominis seruire potest. Si uis domini discipulus esse, crucem tuam tollas et dominum sequaris necesse est id est angustias et cruciatus tuos uel corpus solum, quod in modum crucis est. [3] Parentes, coniuges, liberi propter deum relinquendi erunt. De artibus et negotiationibus et de professionibus etiam liberorum et parentum causa dubitas? Iam tunc demonstratum est nobis et pignera et artificia et negotia propter dominum derelinquenda, cum Iacob et Iohannes uocati a domino et patrem nauemque derelinquunt, cum Matthaeus de teloneo suscitatur, cum etiam sepelire patrem tardum fuit fidei. [4] Nemo eorum, quos dominus allegit, non habeo, dixit, quo uiuam. Fides famem non timet. Scit etiam famem non minus sibi contemnendam propter deum quam omne mortis genus. Didicit non respicere uitam, quanto magis uictum? Quotusquisque haec adimpleuit? Sed quae penes homines difficilia, penes deum facilia. [5] Sic tamen nobis de mansuetudine et clementia dei blandiamur, ut non usque ad idololatriae affinitates necessitatibus largiamur, sed omnem afflatum eius uice pestis etiam de longinquo deuitemus, non in his tantum quae praemisimus, sed in uniuersa serie humanae superstitionis, siue deis suis siue defunctis siue regibus mancipatae, ut ad eosdem spiritus immundos pertinentis, modo per sacrificia et sacerdotia, modo per spectacula et hoc genus, modo per festos dies.

XIII. [1] Sed de sacrificiis et sacerdotiis quid loquar? De spectaculis autem et uoluptatibus eiusmodi suum iam uolumen impleuimus. Hoc loco retractari oportet de festis diebus et aliis extraordinariis sollempnitatibus, quas interdum lasciuiiae, interdum timiditati nostrae subscribimus aduersus fidem disciplinamque communicantes nationibus in idolicis rebus. [2] De hoc quidem primo consistam, an cum ipsis quoque nationibus communicare in huiusmodi seruus dei debeat siue habitu siue uictu uel quo alio genere laetitiae earum. Gaudere cum gaudentibus et lugere cum lugentibus de fratribus dictum est ab apostolo ad unanimitatem cohortante. [3] Ceterum ad haec nihil communionis est lumini et tenebris, uitae et morti, aut scindimus quod est scriptum: saeculum gaudebit, uos uero lugebitis. Si cum saeculo gaudemus, uerendum est, ne cum saeculo et lugeamus. [4] Saeculo autem gaudente lugeamus et

saeculo postea lugente gaudebimus. Sic et Eleazar apud inferos in sinu Abrahae refrigerium consecutus, contra diues in tormento ignis constitutus alternas malorum et bonorum uices aemula retributione compensant. Sunt quidam dies munerum, quae apud alios honoris titulum, apud alios mercedis debitum expungunt. [5] Nunc ergo, inquis, recipiam meum uel rependam alienum. Si hunc morem sibi homines de superstitione consecrauerunt, tu extraneus ab omni eorum uanitate quid participas idolothyta sollemnia, quasi tibi quoque praescriptum sit de die, quominus id, quod homini debes uel tibi ab homine debetur, citra diei obseruationem luas uel recipias. [6] Da formam, in qua uelis agi tecum. Cur enim et lateas, cum ignorantia alterius tuam conscientiam contamines? Si non ignoraris quod sis Christianus, temptaris et contra conscientiam alterius agis tamquam non Christianus: sin uero et dissimulaueris, temptatus addictus es. Certe siue hac siue illac, reus es confusionis in deo. Qui autem confusus super me fuerit penes homines, et ego confundar super illo, inquit, penes patrem meum, qui est in caelis.

XIV. [1] Sed enim plerique iam induxerunt animo ignoscendum esse, si quando, quae ethnici, faciunt, ne nomen blasphemetur. Porro blasphemia, quae nobis omni modo deuitanda est, haec opinor est, si qui nostrum ad iustam blasphemiam ethnicum deducat aut fraude aut iniuria aut contumelia aliaue materia dignae querelae, in qua nomen merito percutitur, ut merito irascatur et dominus. [2] Ceterum si de omni blasphemia dictum est, uestra causa nomen meum blasphematur, perimus uniuersi, cum totus circus scelestis suffragiis nullo merito nomen lacessit. Desinamus, et non blasphemabitur. Immo blasphemetur, dum sumus in obseruatione, non in exorbitatione disciplinae, dum probamur, non dum reprobamur. [3] O blasphemiam martyrii adfinem, quae tunc me testatur Christianum, cum propterea me detestatur ! Benedictio est nominis maledictio custoditae disciplinae. Si hominibus, inquit, uellem placere, seruus Christi non essem. Sed idem alibi iubet, omnibus placere curemus. Quemadmodum ego, inquit, omnibus per omnia placeo. [4] Nimirum Saturnalia et Kalendas Ianuarias celebrans hominibus placebat? An modestia et patientia? An grauitate, an humanitate, an integritate? Proinde cum dicit, omnibus omnia factus sum, ut omnes lucrifaciam: numquid idololatriis idololatres ? Numquid ethnicis ethnicus? Numquid saecularibus saecularis? [5] Sed etsi non prohibet nos conuersari cum idololatriis et adulteris et ceteris criminosis dicens, ceterum de mundo exiretis, non utique eas

habenas conuersationis inmittit, ut, quoniam necesse est et conuiuere nos et commisceri cum peccatoribus, idem et compeccare possimus. Vbi est commercium uitae, quod apostolus concedit, ibi * * peccare, quod nemo permittit. Licet conuiuere cum ethnicis, commori non licet. Conuiuiamus cum omnibus; conlaetemur ex communione naturae, non superstitionis. Pares anima sumus, non disciplina, compossessores mundi, non erroris. [6] Quod si nobis nullum ius est communionis in huiusmodi cum extraneis, quanto scelestius est haec inter fratres frequentare. Quis hoc sustinere aut defendere potest? Iudaeis dies suos festos exprobrat spiritus sanctus. Sabbata, inquit, uestra et numenias et ceremonias odit anima mea. Nobis, quibus sabbata extranea sunt et numeniae et feriae a deo aliquando dilectae, Saturnalia et Ianuariae et Brumae et Matronales frequentantur, munera commeant et strenae, consonant lusus, conuiuia constrepunt. [7] O melior fides nationum in suam sectam, quae nullam sollemnitatem Christianorum sibi uindicat ! Non dominicum diem, non pentecosten, etiamsi nossent, nobiscum communicassent; timerent enim, ne Christiani uiderentur. Nos ne ethnici pronuntiemur, non ueremur. Si quid et carni indulgendum est, habes, non dicam tuos dies tantum, sed et plures. Nam ethnicis semel annuus dies quisque festus est, tibi octauo quoque die. Excerpe singulas sollemnitates nationum et in ordinem exsere: pentecosten implere non poterunt.

XV. [1] Sed luceant, inquit, opera uestra. At nunc lucent tabernae et ianuae nostrae. Plures iam inuenias ethnicorum fores sine lucernis et laureis, quam Christianorum. De ista quoque specie quid uidetur? Si idoli honor est, sine dubio idoli honor idololatria est. Si hominis causa est, recogitemus omnem idololatriam in hominis causam esse. [2] Recogitemus omnem idololatriam in homines esse culturam, cum ipsos deos nationum homines retro fuisse etiam apud suos constet. Itaque nihil interest, superioris an huius saeculi uiris superstitio ista praestetur. Idololatria non propter personas, quae opponuntur, sed propter officia ista damnata est, quae ad daemonas pertinent. [3] Reddenda sunt Caesari quae sunt Caesaris. Bene quod apposuit: et quae sunt dei deo. Quae ergo sunt Caesaris? Scilicet de quibus tunc consultatio mouebatur, praestandusne esset census Caesari an non. Ideo et monetam ostendi sibi dominus postulauit et de imagine, cuius esset, requisiiuit, et cum audisset Caesaris, reddite, ait, quae sunt Caesaris Caesari, et quae sunt dei deo, id est imaginem Caesaris Caesari, quae in nummo est, et imaginem dei deo, quae in

homine est, ut Caesari quidem pecuniam reddas, deo temetipsum. [4] Alioquin quid erit dei, si omnia Caesaris? Ergo, inquis, honor dei est lucernae pro foribus et laurus in postibus? Non utique quod dei honor est, sed quod eius, qui pro deo eiusmodi officiis honoratur, quantum in manifesto est, salua operatione, quae est in occulto, ad daemona perueniens. [5] Certi enim esse debemus, si quos latet per ignorantiam litteraturae saecularis, etiam ostioram deos apud Romanos, Cardeam a cardinibus appellatam et Forculum a foribus et Limentinum a limine et ipsum Ianum a ianua: et utique scimus, licet nomina inania atque conficta sint, cum tamen in superstitionem deducuntur, rapere ad se daemona et omnem spiritum immundum per consecrationis obligamentum. [6] Alioquin daemona nullum habent nomen singillatim, sed ibi nomen inueniunt, ubi et pignus. Etiam apud Graecos Apollinem Thyraeum et Antelios daemonas ostiorum praesides legimus. Haec igitur ab initio praeuidens spiritus sanctus etiam ostia in superstitionem uentura praececinuit per antiquissimum propheten Enoch. Nam et alia ostia in balneis adorari uidemus. [7] Si autem sunt qui in ostiis adorentur, ad eos et lucernae et laureae pertinebunt. Idolo feceris, quicquid ostio feceris. Hoc in loco ex auctoritate quoque dei contestor, quia nec tutum est subtrahere, quodcumque uni fuerit ostensum utique omnium causa. Scio fratrem per uisionem eadem nocte castigatum grauiter, quod ianuam eius subito adnuntiatis gaudiis publicis serui coronassent. [8] Et tamen non ipse coronauerat aut praeceperat; nam ante processerat et regressus reprehenderat factum. Adeo apud deum in huiusmodi etiam disciplina familiae nostrae aestimamur. Igitur quod attineat ad honores regum uel imperatorum, satis praescriptum habemus, in omni obsequio esse nos oportere secundum apostoli praeceptum subditos magistratibus et principibus et potestatibus, sed intra limites disciplinae, quousque ab idololatria separamur. [9] Propterea enim et illud exemplum trium fratrum praecucurrit, qui alias obsequentes erga regem Nabuchodonosor honorem imaginis eius constantissime respuerunt probantes idololatriam esse, quicquid ultra humani honoris modum ad instar diuinae sublimitatis extollitur. [10] Sic et Daniel cetera Dario subnixus tamdiu fuit in officio, quamdiu a periculo disciplinae uacaret. Nam ne id subiret, non magis leones regios timuit, quam illi regios ignes. Accendant igitur quotidie lucernas, quibus lux nulla est, affigant postibus lauros postmodum arsuras, quibus ignes imminet; illis competunt et testimonia tenebrarum et auspicia poenarum. [11] Tu lumen es

mundi et arbor uirens semper. Si templis renuntiasti, ne feceris templum ianuam tuam. Minus dixi: si lupanaribus renuntiasti, ne indueris domui tuae faciem noui lupanaris.

XVI. [1] Circa officia uero priuatarum et communium sollemnitatum, ut togae purae, ut sponsalium, ut nuptialium, ut nominalium, nullum outem periculum obseruari de flatu idololatriae, quae interuenit. [2] Causae enim sunt considerandae, quibus praestatur officium. Eas mundas esse opinor per semetipsas, quia neque uestitus uirilis neque anulus aut coniunctio maritalis de alicuius idoli honore descendit. Nullum denique cultum a deo maledictum inuenio, nisi muliebrem in uiro. Maledictus enim, inquit, omnis qui muliebribus induitur. Togauero etiam appellatione uirilis est. [3] Nuptias quoque celebrari non magis deus prohibet quam nomen imponi. Sed his accommodantur sacrificia. Sim uocatus nec adsacrificii sit titulus officii, et operae meae expunctio quantum sibi licet. [4] Vtinam quidem nec uidere possimus quae facere nobis nefas est. Sed quoniam ita malus circumdedit saeculum idololatria, licebit adesse in quibusdam, quae nos homini, non idolo, officiosos habent. Plane ad sacerdotium et sacrificium uocatus non ibo (proprium enim idoli officium est), sed neque consilio neque sumptu aliaue opera in eiusmodi fungar. [5] Si propter sacrificium uocatus adsistam, ero particeps idololatriae: si me alia causa coniungit sacrificanti, ero tantum spectator sacrificii.

XVII. [1] Ceterum quid facient serui uel liberti fideles, item officiales sacrificantibus dominis uel patronis uel praesidibus suis adhaerentes? Sed si merum quis sacrificanti tradiderit, immo si uerbo quoque aliquo sacrificio necessario adiuuerit, minister habebitur idololatriae. Huius regulae memores etiam magistratibus et potestatibus officium possumus reddere secundum patriarchas et ceteros maiores, qui regibus idololatriis usque ad finem idololatriae apparuerunt. [2] Hinc proxime disputatio oborta est, an seruus dei alicuius dignitatis aut potestatis administrationem capiat, si ab omni specie idololatriae intactum se aut gratia aliqua aut astutia etiam praestare possit, secundum quod et Ioseph et Daniel mundi ab idololatria et dignitatem et potestatem administrauerunt in ornamento et purpura praefecturae totius Aegypti siue Babyloniae. [3] Cedamus itaque succedere alicui posse, ut in quoquo honore in solo honoris nomine incedat neque sacrificet neque sacrificiis auctoritatem suam accommodet, non hostias locet, non curas

templorum deleet, non uectigalia eorum procuret, non spectacula edat de suo aut de publico aut edendis praesit, nihil sollemne pronuntiet uel edicat, ne iuret quidem; iam uero quae sunt potestatis, neque iudicet de capite alicuius uel pudore — feras enim de pecunia — neque damnet neque praedamnet, neminem uinciat, neminem recludat aut torqueat, si haec credibile est fieri posse.

XVIII. [1] Iam uero de solo suggestu et apparatu honoris retractandum. Proprius habitus uniuscuiusque est tam ad usum quotidianum quam ad honorem et dignitatem. Igitur purpura illa et aurum ceruicis ornamentum eodem more apud Aegyptios et Babylonios insignia erant dignitatis, quo more nunc praetextae uel trabeae uel palmatae et coronae aureae sacerdotum prouincialium, sed non eadem condicione. [2] Tantum enim honoris nomine conferebantur iis, qui familiaritatem regum merebantur. Vnde et purpurati regum uocabantur a purpura, sicut apud nos a toga candida candidati, sed non ut suggestus ille sacerdotiis quoque aut aliquibus idolorum officiis adstringeretur. Nam si ita esset, utique tantae sanctitatis et constantiae uiri statim habitus inquinatos recusassent, statimque apparuisset Daniele idolis non deseruisse nec Belem nec draconem colere, quod multo postea apparuit. [3] Simplex igitur purpura illa nec iam dignitatis erat, sed ingenuitatis apud barbaros insigne. Quemadmodum enim et Ioseph, qui seruus fuerat, et Daniel, qui per captiuitatem statum uerterat, ciuitatem Babyloniam et Aegyptiam sunt consecuti per habitum barbaricae ingenuitatis, sic penes nos quoque fideles, si necesse fuerit, poterit et pueris praetexta concedi et puellis stola, natiuitatis insignia, nec potestatis, generis, non honoris, ordinis, non superstitionis. Ceterum purpura uel cetera insignia dignitatum et potestatum insertae dignitati et potestatibus idololatriae ab initio dicata habent profanationis suae maculam, cum praeterea ipsis etiam idolis induantur praetextae et trabeae et laticlaui, fasces quoque et uirgae praeferantur, et merito. Nam daemonia magistratus sunt saeculi huius; unius collegii insignia fasces et purpuras gestant. [4] Quid ergo proficies, si suggestu quidem utaris, opera eius uero non administres? Nemo in inmundis mundus uideri potest. Tunicam si induas inquinatam per se, poterit forsitan illa non inquinari per te, sed tu per illam mundus esse non poteris. Iam nunc qui de Ioseph et Daniel argumentaris, scito, non semper comparanda esse uetera et noua, rudia et polita, coepta et explicita, seruilia et liberalia. [5] Nam illi etiam condicione serui erant: tu uero

nullius seruus, in quantum solius Christi, qui te etiam captiuitate saeculi liberauit, ex forma dominica agere debebis. Ille dominus in humilitate et ignobilitate incessit domicilio incertus: nam filius, inquit, hominis non habet ubi caput collocet; uestitu incultus, neque enim dixisset, ecce qui teneris uestiuntur, in domibus regum sunt; uultu denique et aspectu inglorius, sicut et Esaias pronuntiauerat. [6] Si potestatis ius quoque nullum ne in suos quidem exercuit, quibus sordido ministerio functus est, si regem denique fieri conscius sui regni refugit, plenissime dedit formam suis derigendo omni fastigio et suggestu quam dignitatis quam potestatis. [7] Quis enim magis iis usus fuisset, quam dei filius? Quales et quanti eum fasces producerent, qualis purpura de umeris eius floreret, quale aurum de capite radiaret, nisi gloriam saeculi alienam et sibi et suis iudicasset? Igitur quam noluit, reiecit, quam reiecit, damnauit, quam damnauit, in pompa diaboli deputauit. Non enim damnasset, nisi non sua: alterius autem esse non possunt, nisi diaboli, quae dei non sunt. [8] Tu si diaboli pompam eierasti, quicquid ex ea attigeris, id scias esse idololatriam. Vel hoc te commonefaciat omnes huius saeculi potestates et dignitates non solum alienas, uerum et inimicas dei esse, quod per illas aduersus dei seruos supplicia consulta sunt, per illas et poenae ad impios paratae ignorantur. 9. Sed et natiuitas et substantia tua molestae tibi sunt aduersus idololatriam. Ad euitandum remedia deesse non possunt, cum et, si defuerint, supersit unicum illud, quo felicior factus non in terris magistratus, sed in caelis.

XIX. [1] Possit in isto capitulo etiam de militia definitum uideri, quae inter dignitatem et potestatem est. At nunc de isto quaeritur, an fidelis ad militiam conuerti possit et an militia ad fidem admitti, etiam caligata uel inferior quaeque, cui non sit necessitas immolationum uel capitalium iudiciorum. [2] Non conuenit sacramento diuino et humano, signo Christi et signo diaboli, castris lucis et castris tenebrarum; non potest una anima duobus deberi, deo et Caesari. Et uirgam portauit Moyses, fibulam et Aaron, cingitur loro et Iohannes, agmen agit et Iesus Naue, bellauit et populus, si placet ludere. [3] Quomodo autem bellabit, immo quomodo etiam in pace militabit sine gladio, quem dominus abstulit? Nam etsi adierant milites ad Iohannem et formam obseruationis acceperant, si etiam centurio crediderat, omnem postea militem dominus in Petro exarmando discinxit. Nullus habitus licitus est apud nos illicito actui adscriptus.

XX. [1] Sed enim cum conuersatio diuinæ disciplinae non factis tantum, uerum etiam uerbis periclitetur (nam sicut scriptum est, ecce homo et facta eius, ita, ex ore tuo iustificaberis), meminisse debemus etiam in uerbis quoque idololatriæ incursum præcauendum aut de consuetudinis uitio aut timiditatis. [2] Deos nationum nominari lex prohibet non utique: nomina eorum pronuntiemus, quæ nobis ut dicamus conuersatio extorquet. Nam id plerumque dicendum est: in templo Aesculapii illum habes, et, in uico Isidis habito, et sacerdos Iouis factus est, et multa alia in hunc modum, quando et hominibus hoc genus nomina inducuntur. Neque enim Saturnum honoro, si ita uocauero eum suo nomine; tam non honoro, quam Marcum, si uocauero Marcum. [3] Sed ait: nomen aliorum deorum ne commemoremini neque audiatur de tuo ore. Hoc praecepit, ne deos uocemus illos. Nam et in prima parte legis, non sumes, inquit, nomen domini dei tui in uano id est idolo. Cecidit igitur in idololatriam qui idolum nomine dei honorauerit. [4] Quodsi deos dicendum erit, adiciendum est aliquid quo appareat, quia non ego illos deos dico. Nam et scriptura deos nominat, sed adicit suos uel nationum; sicut Dauid, cum deos nominasset, ubi ait, dei autem nationum daemonia. Sed hoc mihi ad sequentia magis praestructum est. [5] Ceterum consuetudinis uitium est Mehercule dicere, Medius Fidius, accedente ignorantia quorundam, qui ignorant iusiurandum esse per Herculem. Porro quid erit deieratio per eos quos eierasti quam praeuaricatio fidei cum idololatria? Quis enim, per quos deierat, non honorat?

XXI. [1] Timiditatis est autem, cum te alius per deos suos obligat iuratione uel aliqua testificatione et tu, ne intellegaris, quiescis. Nam aequè quiescendo confirmas maiestatem eorum, cuius causa uideberis obligatus. [2] Quid refert, deos nationum dicendo deos an audiendo confirmes? Iures per idola, an ab alio adiuratus acquiescas? Cur non agnoscamus uersutias satanae, qui, quod ore nostro perficere non potest, id agit, ut suorum ore perficiat per aures inferens nobis idololatriam? Certe quisquis ille est, aut amica aut inimica congressione adstringit. [3] Si inimica, iam ad pugnam uocaris et scis tibi dimicandum esse: si amica, quanto securius in dominum transferes sponsionem tuam, ut dissoluas obligationem eius, per quem te malus honori idolorum id est idololatriæ quaerebat annectere. [4] Omnis patientia eiusmodi idololatria. Honoras eos, quibus impositis obsequium praestitisti. Scio quendam, cui dominus ignoscat, cum illi in publico per litem dictum esset:

Iupiter tibi sit iratus, respondisse: immo tibi. Quid aliter fecisset ethnicus, qui Iouem deum credidit? Etiam si non per eundem retorsisset maledictum nec per ullum Iouis similem, confirmauerat Iouem deum, per quem se maledictum indigne tulisse demonstrauerat remaledicens. [5] Ad quid enim indigneris per eum, quem scis nihil esse? Iam si insanis, iam esse confirmas, et erit idololatria professio timoris tui: quanto magis, cum per ipsum remaledicis, eodem Iouis honorem facis, quo et ille, qui te prouocauit? Fidelis autem in eiusmodi ridere debet, non insanire, immo, secundum praeceptum, ne per deum quidem remaledicere, sed plane benedicere per deum, ut et idola destruas et deum praedices et adimpleas disciplinam.

XXII. [1] Aequè benedici per deos nationum Christo initiatus non sustinebit, ut non semper reiciat immundam benedictionem et eam sibi in deum conuertens emundet. Benedici per deos nationum maledici est per deum. [2] Si cui dederò eleemosynam uel aliquid praestitero beneficii, et ille mihi deos suos uel coloniae genium propitios imprecetur, iam oblatio mea uel operatio idolorum honor erit, per quae benedictionis gratiam compensat. [3] Cur autem non sciat me dei causa fecisse, ut et deus potius glorificetur et daemonia non honorentur in eo quod propter deum feci? Si deus uidet, quoniam propter ipsum feci, pariter uidet, quoniam propter ipsum fecisse me nolui ostendere, et praeceptum eius idolothytum quodammodo feci. [4] Multi dicunt, nemo se debet promulgare; puto autem nec negare. Negat enim, quicumque dissimulat in quacumque causa pro ethnico habitus, et utique omnis negatio idololatria est, sicut omnis idololatria negatio siue in factis siue in uerbis.

XXIII. [1] Sed est quaedam eiusmodi species in facto et in uerbo bis acuta et infesta utrimque, licet tibi blandiatur, quasi uacet in utroque, dum factum non uidetur, quia dictum non tenetur. Pecuniam de ethnicis mutuantes sub pignoribus fiduciati iurati cauent et se negant; se scire uolunt scilicet tempus persecutionis et locus tribunalis et persona praesidis. [2] Praescribit Christus non esse iurandum. Scripsi, inquit, sed nihil dixi: lingua, non littera occidit. Hic ego naturam et conscientiam aduoco: naturam, quia nihil potest manus scribere, etiam si lingua in dictando cessat immobilis et quieta, quod non anima dictauerit; quamquam et ipsi linguae anima dictauerit aut a se conceptum aut ab alio traditum. [3] Iam, ne dicatur, alius dictauit; hic conscientiam appello, an quod alius dictauit anima suscipiat et siue comitante siue residente lingua ad manum transmittat. Et bene, quod in animo et

conscientia delinqui dominus dixit. Si, inquit, concupiscentia uel malitia in cor hominis ascenderit, pro facto teneris. [4] Cauisti igitur, quod in cor tuum plane ascendit, quod neque ignorasse te contendere potes neque noluisse. [5] Nam cum caueres, scisti, cum scires, utique uoluisti; et est tam facto quam cogitatu. Nec potes leuiore crimine maius excludere, ut dicas falsum plane effici cauendo quod non facis. Tamen non negaui, quia non iuraui. Quin immo, etsi nihil tale fecisses, sic tamen dicereris deierare, fecisse si consenseris. Non ualet tacita uox in stilo et mutus in litteris sonus. [6] At enim Zacharias temporali uocis oratione multatus cum animo conlocutus linguam inritam transit, cum manibus suis a corde dictat et nomen filii sine ore pronuntiat: loquitur in stilo, auditur in cera manus omni sono clarior, littera omni ore uocalior. Quaere, an dixerit qui dixisse compertus est. [7] Dominum oremus, ne qua nos eiusmodi contractus necessitas circumsistat et, si ita euenerit, det fratribus operandi copiam uel nobis abrumpendae omnis necessitatis constantiam, ne illae litterae negatrices uicariae oris nostri in die iudicii aduersus nos proferantur signatae signis non iam aduocatorum, sed angelorum.

XXIV. [1] Inter hos scopulos et sinus, inter haec uada et freta idololatriae uelificata spiritu dei fides nauigat, tuta si cauta, segura si attonita. Ceterum inenatabile excussis profundum est, inextricabile inpactis naufragium est, inrespirabile deuoratis hypobrychium in idololatria. Quicumque fluctus eius offocant, omnis uertex eius ad inferos desorbet. [2] Nemo dicat: quis tam tuto praecauebit? Exeundum de saeculo erit. Quasi non tanti sit exire, quam idololatren in saeculo stare. Nihil esse facilius potest, quam cautio idololatriae, si timor eius in capite sit. Quaecumque necessitas minor est periculo tanto comparata. [3] Propterea spiritus sanctus consultantibus tunc apostolis uinculum et iugum nobis relaxauit, ut idololatriae deuitandae uacemus. Haec erit lex nostra, quo expedita hoc plenius administranda, propria Christianorum, per quam ab ethnicis agnoscimur et examinamur, haec accedentibus ad fidem proponenda et ingredientibus in fidem inculcanda est, ut accedentes deliberent, obseruantes perseuerent, non obseruantes renuntient sibi. [4] Viderimus enim si secundum arcae typum et coruus et miluus et lupus et canis et serpens in ecclesia erit. Certe idololatres in arcae typo non habetur. Nullum animal in idololatren figuratum est. Quod in arca non fuit, in ecclesia non sit.

De cultu Feminarum, lib. I & II (On Women's Dress)

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LIBER I

I. [1] Si tanta in terris moraretur fides quanta merces eius expectatur in caelis, nulla omnino uestrum, sorores dilectissimae, ex quo Deum uiuum cognouisset et de sua, id est de feminae condicione, didicisset, laetiozem habitum, ne dicam gloriosiozem, appetisset, ut non magis in sordibus ageret et squalorem potius affectaret, ipsam se circumferens Euam lugentem et paenitentem, quo plenius id quod de Eua trahit — ignominiam dico primi delicti et inuidiam perditionis humanae — omni satisfactionis habitu expiaret.

In doloribus et anxietatibus paris, mulier, et ad uirum tuum conuersio tua et ille dominatur tui: et Euam te esse nescis? [2] Viuit sententia Dei super sexum istum in hoc saeculo: uiuat et reatus necesse est. Tu es diaboli ianua; tu es arboris illius resignatrix; tu es diuinae legis prima desertrix; tu es quae eum suasisti, quem diabolus aggredi non ualuit; tu imaginem Dei, hominem, tam facile elisisti; propter tuum meritum, id est mortem, etiam filius Dei mori habuit: et adornari tibi in mente est super pelliceas tuas tunicas?

[3] Age nunc, si ab initio rerum et Milesii oues tonderent, et Seres arbores nerent, et Tyrii tingerent, et Phryges insuerent, et Babylonii intexerent, et margarita canderent et ceraunia corusarent, si ipsum quoque auram iam de terra cum cupiditate prodisset, si iam et speculo tantum mentiri liceret, et haec Eua concupiit, de paradiso expulsa, iam mortua, opinor. Ergo nec nunc appetere debet aut nosse, si cupit reuiuiscere, quae nec habuerat nec nouerat quando uiuebat. Ideo omnia ista damnatae et mortuae mulieris impedimenta sunt, quasi ad pompam funeris constituta.

II. [1] Nam et illi qui ea constituerunt damnati in poenam mortis deputantur, illi scilicet angeli qui ad filias hominum de caelo ruerunt, ut haec quoque ignominia feminae accedat. Nam et cum materias quasdam bene occultas et artes plerasque non bene reuelatas saeculo multo magis imperito prodidissent, si quidem et metallorum opera nudauerant et herbarum ingenia traduxerant et incantationum uires prouulgauerant et omnem curiositatem usque ad stellarum interpretationem designauerant, proprie et quasi peculiariter feminis instrumentum istud muliebris gloriae contulerunt: lumina lapillorum quibus monilia uariantur, et circulos ex auro quibus brachia artantur, et medicamina ex fuco quibus lanae colorantur, et illum ipsum nigrum puluerem quo oculorum exordia producuntur.

[2] Haec qualia sunt, interim iam ex doctorum suorum qualitate et condicione pronuntiari potest, quod nihil ad integritatem peccatores, nihil ad castitatem adamatore, nihil ad timorem Dei desertores spiritus aut monstrare potuerunt aut praestare. Si doctrinae dicendae sunt, mali magistri male docuerint necesse est; si mercedes pro libidine, nullius rei turpis merces decora est.

Quid autem tanti fuit ista monstrare sicut conferre? [3] Vtrum ne mulieres sine materiis splendoris et sine ingeniis decoris placere non possent hominibus, quae adhuc incultae et incompositae et, ut ita dixerim, crude ac rudes angelos mouerant? An ne sordidi et per gratuitum usum contumeliosi amatores uiderentur, si nihil feminis in connubium allectis contulissent? Sed haec non capit aestimare. Nihil plus desiderare poterant quae angelos possidebant; magno scilicet nupserant.

[4] Enimuero, qui utique interdum cogitabant unde cecidissent et, post libidinum uaporata momenta, caelum suspirabant, illud ipsum bonum feminaram naturalis decoris ut causam mali sic remunerauerunt, ne eis profuisset felicitas sua, sed ut deuectae de simplicitate et sinceritate, una cum ipsis in offensam Dei peruenirent. Certi erant omnem et gloriam et ambitionem et affectionem per carnem placendi Deo displicere. Hi sunt nempe angeli quos iudicaturi sumus; hi sunt angeli quibus in lauacro renuntiamus; haec sunt utique per quae ab homine iudicari meruerunt. [5] Quid ergo facient apud iudices suos res eorum? Quod est commercium damnaturis cum damnandis? Opinor, quod Christo et Beliae. Qua constantia tribunal illud ascendemus decreturi aduersus eos quorum munera appetimus? Nam et uobis eadem tunc substantia angelica repromissa, idem sexus qui et uiris, eandem iudicandi dignationem pollicetur. Nisi ergo hic iam praeiudicauerimus res eorum praedamnando quas in illis tunc damnaturi sumus, illi potius nos iudicabunt atque damnabunt.

III. [1] Scio scripturam Enoch, quae hunc ordinem angelis dedit, non recipi a quibusdam quia nec in armarium Iudaicum admittitur. Opinor, non putauerant illam, ante cataclysmum editam, post eum casum orbis omnium rerum abolitorem saluam esse potuisse. Si ista ratio est, recordentur pronepotem ipsius Enoch fuisse superstitem cataclysmi, Noë, qui utique domestico nomine et hereditaria traditione audierat et meminerat de proauis sui penes Deum gratia et de omnibus praedicatis eius, cum Enoch filio suo Mathusalae nihil

aliud mandauerit quam ut notitiam eorum posteris suis traderet. Igitur sine dubio potuit Noe in praedicationis delegatione<m> successisse, uel quia et alias non tacuisset tam de Dei conseruatoris sui dispositione quam de ipsa domus suae gloria.

[2] Hoc si non tam expedite haberet, illud quoque assertionem scripturae illius tueretur: proinde potuit abolefactam eam uiolentia cataclysmi in spiritu rursus reformare, quemadmodum et Hierosolymis Babylonia expugnatione deletis omne instrumentum Iudaicae litteraturae per Esdram constat restauratum. [3] Sed cum Enoch eadem scriptura etiam de domino praedicarit, a nobis quidem nihil omnino reiciendum est quod pertineat ad nos. Et legimus omnem scripturam aedificationi habilem diuinitus inspirari. A Iudaeis postea <potest> iam uideri propterea reiectam sicut et cetera fere quae Christum sonant. Nec utique mirum hoc, si scripturas aliquas non receperunt de eo locutas quem et ipsum coram loquentem non erant recepturi. Eo accedit quod Enoch apud Iudam apostolum testimonium possidet.

IV. [1] Nulla nunc muliebri pompae nota inusta sit praedamnationis de exitu auctorum; nihil angelis illis imputetur praeter repudium caeli et matrimonium carnis: rerum ipsarum qualitates examinemus, ut consilia quoque concupiscentiae earum deprehendamus.

Habitus feminae duplicem speciem circumfert, cultum et ornatum. [2] Cultum dicimus quem mundum muliebrem uocant, ornatum quem immundum muliebrem conuenit dici. Ille in auro et argento et gemmis et uestibus deputatur, iste in cura capilli et cutis et earum partium corporis quae oculos trahunt. Alteri ambitionis crimen intendimus, alteri prostitutionis, ut iam hinc prospicias, Dei ancilla, quid ex his disciplinae tuae conueniat, quae de diuersis institutis censearis, scilicet humilitatis et castitatis.

V. [1] Aurum et argentum, principes materiae cultus saecularis, id sint necesse est unde sunt, terra scilicet plane gloriosior, quoniam in maledictorum metallorum feralibus officinis poenali opere deplorata nomen terrae in igni reliquit atque exinde de tormentis in ornamenta, de suppliciis in delicias, de ignominiis in honores metalli refuga mutatur. 2. Sed et ferri et aeris et aliarum uilissimarum materiarum par condicio est et terreni generis et metallici operis, quo nihilo generosior iudicari possit auri et argenti substantia penes naturam.

Quod si de qualitate usus gloria est auro et argento, atquin magis ferro et aeri quorum ita disposita utensilitas ut et proprias operas plures et

necessariores exhibeant rebus humanis et nihilominus auri et argenti de suo uicem accommodent iustioribus causis. Nam et anuli ferro fiunt; quaedam esui et potui uascula ex aere adhuc seruat memoria antiquitatis. Viderit, si etiam ad spurca instrumentis auri et argenti demens copia deseruit. 3. Certe nec ager auri opere paratur, nec nauis argenti uigore eontexitur. Nullus bidens aurum demergit in terram, nullus clauus argentum intimat tabulis. Taceo totius uitae necessitates ferro et aeri innixas, cum illae ipsae diuites materiae et de metallis refodiendae et in quocumque usu producendae sine ferri et aeris operario uigore non possint. 4. Iam igitur aestimarxdum est unde obueneat tanta dignitas auro et argento, cum et consanguineis quantum ad genus et potioribus quantum ad utensilitatem materiis praeferantur.

VI. [1] Sed et lapillos istos qui cum auro superbiam iungunt, quid aliud interpreter quam lapillos et calculos eiusdem terrae minutalia? Nec tamen aut fundamentis demandandis aut parietibus moliendis aut fastigiis sustinendis aut tectis densandis necessaria; solum hunc mulierum stuporem aedificare nouerunt, quia tarde teruntur ut niteant, et subdole substruuntur ut floreant, et anxie forantur ut pendeant, et auro lenocinium mutuum praestant.

[2] Sed si quid de mari Britannico aut Indico ambitio piscatur, conchae genus est, non dico conchylio aut ostreo, sed nec peloride gratius de sapore. Ad hoc enim conchas nouerim maris poma. Quodsi concha illa aliquid intrinsecus pustulat, uitium magis eius debet esse quam gloria. Et licet margaritum uocetur, non aliud tamen intellegendum quam conchae illius aliqua dura et rotunda uerruca.

Aiunt et de frontibus draconum gemmas erui, sicut et in piscium cerebris lapidositas quaedam est. 3. Hoc quoque deerat christianae ut de serpente cultior fiat. Sic calcabit diaboli caput, dum de capite eius ceruicibus suis aut ipsi capiti ornamentum struit!

VII. [1] Haec omnia de raritate et peregrinitate sola gloriam possident. Denique intra terminos suos patrios non tanti habentur. Semper abundantia contumeliosa in semetipsam est. Apud barbaros quosdam, quia uernaculum est aurum et copiosum, auro uinctos in ergastulis habent et diuitiis malos onerant, tanto locupletiores quanto nocentiores. Aliquando re uera inuentum est quomodo et aurum non ametur.

[2] Gemmarum quoque nobilitatem uidimus Romae de fastidio Parthorum et Medorum ceterorumque gentilium suorum coram matronis erubescens; nisi

quod nec ad ostensionem fere habentur: latent in cingulis smaragdi et cylindros uaginae suae solus gladius sub sinu nouit et in peronibus uniones emergere de luto cupiunt. Denique tam gemmatum habent quod gemmatum esse non debet si non comparet, aut ideo comparet ut neglectum quoque ostendatur.

VIII. [1] Proinde et uestium de coloribus honorem serui etiam eorum terunt. Sed et parietes Tyriis et hyacinthinis et illis regiis uelis quae uos operose resoluta transfiguratis pro pictura abutuntur. Vilior est apud illos purpura quam rubrica. [2] Quis enim est uestium honor iustus de adulterio colorum iniustorum? Non placet Deo quod non ipse produxit; nisi si non potuit purpureas et aerinas oues nasci iubere. Si potuit, ergo iam noluit; quod Deus noluit utique non licet fingi. Non ergo natura optima sunt ista quae a Deo non sunt, auctore naturae. Sic a diabolo esse intelleguntur, ab interpolatore naturae. [3] Alterius enim esse non possunt, si Dei non sunt, quia aemuli sint necesse est quae Dei non sunt. Alius autem praeter diabolum et angelos eius aemulus Dei non est. — Ceterum materiae ex Deo sunt. — Non statim et huiusmodi fructus latent in omnibus. Quaeritur et unde sint eonchae et qua dispositione decurrant et ubi spem suam collocent. [4] Nam et omnes istae profanae spectaculorum saecularium uoluptates, sicut de ipsis suum uolumen edidimus, ipsa etiam idololatria ex rebus Dei constat. [5] Non tamen ideo circi furoribus aut arenae atrocitatibus aut scenae turpitudinibus christianum affici oportet, quia Deus et equum et pantheram et uocem homini dedit; nec ideo idololatriam impune faciat christianus quia Dei conditio est et tus et merum et ignis qui uescitur et animalia quae uictimae fiunt, cum et ipsa materia quae adoratur Dei sit. [6] Sic ergo et circa actum materiarum, census a Deo descendens propterea excusatus, Deo extraneum ut reum scilicet gloriae saeculum.

IX. [1] Nam ut quaeque rerum per singulas quasque terras et unamquamque regionem maris a Deo distributa sunt, inuicem sibi peregrina, apud externos mutuo rara, apud suos iure si utique uel negleguntur uel <non> appetuntur, quia non tantus est in illis gloriae feruor inter domesticos frigidae. Sed enim ex possessionum distributione quam Deus ut uoluit ordinauit, raritas et peregrinitas apud extraneos semper gratiam inueniens de simplici causa non habendi quae Deus alibi collocauit concupiscentiam concitat habendi.

[2] Ex hac uitium aliud extenditur, immoderate habendi, quod, etsi forte

habendum sit, modus tamen debetur: haec erit ambitio. Vnde et nomen eius interpretandum est quod concupiscentia apud animum ambiente nascatur ad gloriae uotum, grande scilicet uotum quod, ut diximus, non natura nec ueritas sed uitiosa animi passio, concupiscentia, commendauit. Et alta uitia ambitionis et gloriae. Sic et pretia rebus inflammauit ut se quoque accenderet.

[3] Nam tanto maior fit concupiscentia quanto magno fecit quod concupiit.

De breuissimis loculis patrimonium grande profertur; uno lino decies sestertium inseritur; saltus et insulas tenera ceruix circumfert; graciles aurium cutes kalendarium expendunt et sinistra per singulos digitos de saccis singulis ludit. Hae sunt uires ambitionis tantarum usurarum substantiam uno et muliebri corpusculo baiulari.

LIBER II

I. [1] Ancillae Dei uiui, conseruae et sorores meae, quo iure deputor uobiscum, postremissimus omnium quidem, eo iure conseruiti et fraternitatis audeo ad uos uerba ista facere, non utique affectationi sed affectioni procurans in causa uestrae salutis.

Ea salus, nec feminarum modo sed etiam uirorum, in exhibitione praecipue pudicitiae statuta est. Nam cum omnes templum Dei simus, inlato in nos et consecrato Spiritu Sancto, eius templi aeditua et antistes pudicitia est quae nihil immundum nec profanum inferri sinat, ne Deus ille qui inhabitat inquinatam sedem offensus derelinquat.

[2] Sed modo nos non de pudicitia cui indicendae et exigendae sufficiunt instantia ubique diuina praecepta, uerum de pertinentibus ad eam, id est qualiter uos incedere oporteat. Pleraeque enim — quod ipsum mihi utique reprehendendo in omnibus reprehendere Deus permittat — aut ignorantes simpliciter aut dissimulantes audaciter ita ingrediuntur quasi pudicitia in sola carnis integritate et stupri auersione consistat nec quicquam extrinsecus opus sit, de cultus dico et ornatus dispositione. Sed enim perseuerant in pristinis studiis formae et nitoris, eandem superficiem sui circumferentes quam feminae nationum a quibus abest conscientia uerae pudicitiae, quia nihil uerum in his quae Deum nesciunt praesidem et magistrum ueritatis. [3] Nam et si qua in gentilibus pudicitia credi potest, usque adeo eam imperfectam et inconditam constat <ut>, licet in animo aliquatenus tenax sui agat, in habitus tamen licentia sese dissoluat, propter ueritatem gentilium solacium appetendo cuius rei deuitat effectum. Quota denique est quae nec placere quidem extraneis concupiscat, quae non uelit idcirco se expingere ut neget appetitum, quamquam et hoc gentili pudicitiae familiare sit non delinquere, attamen uelle, uel etiam nolle, attamen non denegare? Quid mirum? Peruersa sunt omnia quae a Deo non sunt. [4] Viderint igitur quae, totum bonum non obtinendo, facile et quod obtinent malo permiscent. Vos ab illis, ut in ceteris, incessu quoque diuertere necessarium est, quoniam perfectae esse debetis sicut pater uester qui in caelis est.

II. [1] Perfectae autem id est christianae pudicitiae appetitionem sui non tantum non appetendam sed etiam execrandam uobis sciatis. Primo quod non de integra conscientia uenit studium placendi per decorem quem naturaliter

inuitatorem libidinis scimus. Quid igitur excitas in te malum istud? Quid inuitas cuius te profiteris extraneam? Tum quod temptationibus uiam aperire non debemus, quae nonnumquam quod Deus a suis abigat instando perficiunt, certe uel spiritum scandalo permouent. [2] Debemus quidem ita sancte et tota fidei substantia incedere ut confisae et securae simus de conscientia nostra, optantes perseuerare id in nobis, non tamen praesumentes. Nam qui praesumit minus iam ueretur; qui minus ueretur minus praecauet; qui minus praecauet plus periclitatur. Timor fundamentum salutis est, praesumptio impedimentum timoris. [3] Vtilius ergo si speremus nos posse delinquere quam si praesumamus non posse. Sperando enim timebimus, timendo cauebimus, cauendo salui erimus. Contra si praesumamus neque timendo neque cauendo difficile salui erimus. Qui securus agit, non, et sollicitus, non possidet tutam et firmam securitatem. At qui sollicitus est, is uere poterit esse securus.

Et de suis quidem seruis Deus pro misericordia sua curet et iam praesumere illis de bono suo feliciter liceat. [4] Quid autem alteri periculo sumus? Quid alteri concupiscentiam importamus? Quam si dominus ampliando legem a facto stupri non discernit in poena, nescio an impune habeat qui alicui fuerit causa perditionis. Perit emm ille simul ut tuam formam concupierit et admisit iam in animo quod concupiit, et facta es tu gladius illi ut etsi a culpa uaces ab inuidia non liberaberis. Vt, cum in alicuius agro latrocinium gestum est, crimen quidem dominum non constringit; dum rus tamen eius ignominia notatur, ipse quoque infamia aspergitur.

[5] Expingamus nos ut alteri pereant! Vbi est ergo: «Diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum»? «Nolite uestra curare sed alterius»? Nulla enuntiatio Spiritus Sancti ad praesentem tantum materiam et non ad omnem utilitatis occasionem dirigi et suscipi potest. Cum igitur et nostra et aliorum causa uersetur in studio periculosissimi decoris, iam non tantum confictae et elaboratae pulchritudinis suggestum recusandum a uobis sciatis, sed etiam naturalis speciositatis obliterandum dissimulatione et incuria ut proinde oculorum incursibus molestum.

[6] Nam etsi accusandus decor norx est ut felicitas corporis, ut diuinae plasticae accessio, ut animae aliqua uestis bona, timendus est tamen uel propter iniuriam et uiolentiam sectatorum: quam etiam pater fidei Abraham in uxoris suae specie pertimuit et sororem mentitus Saram salutem contumelia redemit.

III. [1] Nunc non sit timenda dignitas formae ut nec possidentibus grauis, nec appetentibus exitiosa, nec coniunctis periculosa; non exposita temptationibus, non circumdata scandalis existimetur. Sufficit quod angelis Dei non est necessaria. Nam ubi pudicitia, ibi uacua pulchritudo, quia proprie usus et fructus pulchritudinis corporis luxuria, nisi si quis aliam messem decori corporis arbitratur. Illae sibi formositatem et datam extendant et non datam conquirant quae quod ab illa flagitatur sibi quoque praestare se putant, cum alteri praestant.

[2] Dicet aliquis: «Quid ergo? Non, et exclusa luxuria et admissa castitate, laude formae sola frui et de bono corporis gloriari licet?» Viderit quem iuuat de carne gloriari. Nobis autem nullum gloriae studium est, quia gloria exaltationis ingenium est. Porro exaltatio non congruit professoribus humilitatis ex praeceptis Dei. Deinde, si omnis gloria uana et stuporata, quanto magis quae in carne, nobis dumtaxat! Nam etsi gloriandum est, in spiritus bono, non in carnis, placere uelle debemus quia spiritualium sectatores sumus. [3] In quibus operamur, in illis et gaudeamus; de his gloriam carparamus de quibus salutem speramus. Plane gloriabitur christianus in carne, sed cum propter Christum lacerata durauerit ut spiritus in ea coronetur, non ut oculos et suspiria adulescentium post se trahat.

Ita quod ex omni parte in uobis uacat, merito et non habentes fastidiatis et habentes neglegatis. Sancta femina sit naturaliter speciosa, non adeo sit occasionem. Certe si fuerit, non ignorare sed etiam impedire se debet.

IV. [1] Quasi gentilibus dicam, gentili et communi omnium praecepto alloquens uos: solis maritis uestris placere debetis. In tantum autem placebitis eis in quantum alteris placere non curaueritis. Securae estote, benedictae, uxor nulla deformis est marito suo; satis placuit cum electa est seu moribus seu forma commendata. Ne quae uestrum putent si temperauerint a compositione sui, odium et auersionem maritorum prosecuturam. [2] Omnis maritus castitatis exactor est; formam uero fidelis non expectat quia non isdem bonis quae gentiles bona putant capimur; infidelis contra etiam suspectam habet, uel propter illam sceleratam in nos opinionem gentilium. Cui ergo pulchritudinem tuam nutrias? Si fideli, non exigit; si gentili, non credit. Quid gestias aut suspecto aut non desideranti placere?

V. [1] Haec utique non ad crudam in totum et ferinam habitudinem insinuandam uobis suggeruntur, nec de bono squaloris et paedoris suademus,

sed de modo et cardine et iustitia corporis excolendi. Non supergrediendum ultra quam quod simplices et sufficientes munditiae concupiscunt, ultra quam Deo placere.

[2] In illum enim delinquant quae cutem medicaminibus urgent, genas rubore maculant, oculos fuligine porrigunt. Displicet nimirum illis plastica Dei; in ipsis redarguunt et reprehendunt artificem omnium. Reprehendunt enim cum emendant, cum adiciunt, utique ab aduersario artifice sumentes additamenta ista, [3] id est a diabolo. Nam quis corpus mutare monstraret nisi qui et spiritum hominis malitia transfigurauit? Ille indubitate huiusmodi ingenia concinnauit ut in nobis quodam modo manus Deo inferret. [4] Quod nascitur opus Dei est. Ergo quod infingitur diaboli negotium est. Diuino operi Satanae ingenia superducere quam scelestum est! Serui nostri ab inimicis nostris nihil mutantur; milites ab hoste imperatoris sui nihil concupiscunt. De aduersario enim eius in cuius manu sis aliquid usui postulare transgressio est. Christianus a malo illo adiuuabitur? Nescio an hoc nomen ei perseueret. Erit enim eius de cuius doctrinis instrui concupiscit. [5] Quantum autem a uestris disciplinis et professionibus aliena sunt, quam indigna nomini christiano faciem fictam gestare quibus simplicitas omnis indicitur, effigie mentiri quibus lingua non licet, appetere quod datum non sit quibus alieni abstinentia traditur, adulterium in specie exercere quibus studium pudicitiae est! Credite, benedictae, quomodo praecepta Dei custodietis, liniamenta eius in uobis non custodientes?

VI. [1] Video quasdam et capillum croco uertere. Pudet eas etiam nationis suae quod non Germaniae atque Galliae sint procreatae. Ita patriam capillo transferunt. Male ac pessime sibi auspicantur flammeo capite et decorum putant quod inquinant. [2] Atqui et detrimentum crinibus medicaminum uis inurit et cerebro perniciem etiam cuiuslibet sinceri humoris assiduitas reseruatur, tum solis animando simul et siccando capillo exoptabilis ardor. Quis decor cum iniuria? Quae cum immunditiis pulchritudo? Crocum capiti suo mulier christiana ingeret ut in aram? Quodcumque enim immundo spiritui excremari solet, id nisi probis et necessariis et salubribus usibus adhibeatur, ad quod Dei creatura prospecta est, sacrificium uideri potest. Sed enim dominus ait: [3] «Quis uestrum potest capillum atrum ex albo facere aut album ex atro?» Hae quae reuincunt Deum: «Ecce, inquit, pro albo uel atro flauum facimus, gratiae faciliorem». Quamuis et atrum ex albo conantur facere quas paenituit

ad senectam usque uixisse. Pro temeritas! Erubescit aetas exoptata uotis: furtum conficitur. Adulescentia in qua delinquimus suspiratur; occasio grauitatis interpolatur. Absit a sapientiae filiabus stultitia tanta. Senectus cum plus occultari studuerit, plus detegetur.

[4] Haec est aeternitas uestra de capitis iuuentute! Hanc incorruptibilitatem habemus superinduere ad domum domini quam acacia pollicetur! Bene properatis ad dominum! Bene festinatis excedere de isto iniquissimo saeculo quibus ad finem appropinquare deforme est!

VII. [1] Quid enim tanta ornandi capitis operositas ad salutem subministrat? Quid crinibus uestris quiescere non licet, modo substrictis, modo relaxatis, modo suscitatis, modo elisis? Aliae gestiunt in cincinnos coercere, aliae ut uagi et uolucres elabantur, non bona simplicitate. Affigitis praeterea nescio quas enormitates sutilium atque textilium capillamentorum, nunc in galeri modum quasi uaginam capitis et operculum uerticis, nunc in ceruicum retro suggestum. [2] Mirum quod non contra domini praecepta contenditur! Ad mensuram neminem sibi adicere posse pronuntiatum est. Vos sane adicitis ad pondus, collyridas quasdam uel scutorum umbilicos ceruicibus adstruendo. Si non pudet enormitatis, pudeat inquinamenti, ne exuuias alieni capitis forsitan immundi, forsitan nocentis et gehennae destinati sancto et christiano capiti supparetis. Immo, omnem hanc ornatus seruitutem a libero capite propellite. Frustra laboratis ornatae uideri, frustra peritissimos quosque structores capillaturae adhibetis: Deus uos uelari iubet, credo ne quarumdam capita uideantur.

[3] Atque utinam miserrimus ego in illo die christianae exultationis uel inter calcanea uestra caput eleuem! Videbo an cum cerussa et purpurisso et croco et in illo ambitu capitis resurgatis, an taliter expictas angeli in nubila subleuent obuiam Christo [in aere]. Si nunc bona et Dei sunt, tunc quoque ocurrent resurgentibus corporibus et sua loca agnoscent. Sed non potest resurgere nisi caro et spiritus solus ac purus. Damnata sunt igitur quae in carne et spiritu non resurgunt, quia Dei non sunt. Damnatis hodie abstinete; hodie uos Deus tales uideat quales tunc uidebit.

VIII. [1] Videlicet nunc ut uir et sexu aemulus feminas a suis depello. An et nobis quaedam respectu obediendae grauitatis propter metum debitum Deo detrahuntur? [2] Siquidem et uiris propter feminas et feminis propter uiros uitio naturae ingenua est placendi uoluntas, propriasque praestigias formae et hic

sexus sibi agnoscit: barbam acius cadere, interuellere, circumradere, capillum disponere etiam colorare, canitiem primam quamque subducere, totius corporis lanuginem pigmento quoque muliebri dstringere, cetera pulueris cuiusdam aspritudine leuigare, tum speculum omni occasione consulere, anxie inspicere, cum tamen, cognito Deo, adempta placendi uoluntate, per luxuriae uacationem omnia illa ut otiosa ut hostilia pudicitiae recusantur. [3] Nam ubi Deus, ibi pudicitia, ibi grauitas, adiutrix et socia eius. Quo ergo pacto pudicitiam sine instrumento suo, id est sine grauitate, tractabimus? Quomodo autem grauitatem administrandae pudicitiae adhibebimus, nisi et in facie et in cultu et in totius hominis contemplatione seueritas circumferatur?

IX. [1] Quamobrem erga uestitum quoque et reliqua compositionis uestrae impedimenta proinde uobis curanda est amputatio et decussio redundantioris nitoris. Nam quid prodest faciem quidem frugi et expeditam et simplicitate condignam diuinae disciplinae exhibere, cetera uero corporis laciniosis pomparum et deliciarum ineptiis occupare? [2] Hae pompae quam de proximo curent luxuriae negotium et obstrepant pudicitiae disciplinis dinoscere in facili est, quod gratiam decoris cultus societate prostuant, adeo si desint irritam et ingratam reddunt, uelut exarmatam et naufragam; contra si forma defecit, adminiculum nitoris quasi de suo gratiam supplet. [3] Aetates denique requietas iam et in portum modestiae subductas splendor et dignitas cultus auocant et seueritatem appetitionibus inquietant compensantibus scilicet habitus irritamenta pro frigore aetatis. [4] Ergo, benedictae, primo quidem ut lenones et prostitute uestitus et cultus ne in uos admiseritis; tum si quas uel diuitiarum suarum uel natalium uel retro dignitatum ratio compellit ita pompaticas progredi, ut sapientiam consecutae, temperare saltem ab huiusmodi curate, ne totis habenis licentiam usurpetis praetextu necessitatis. [5] Quomodo etenim humilitatem quam christiani profitemur implere poteritis non repastinantes diuitiarum uestrarum uel elegantiarum usum quae tantum ad gloriam faciunt? Gloria autem exaltare, non humiliare consuevit.

[6] «Non enim, quaesitis, utemur nostris? Quis autem prohibet uti?» Secundum apostolum tamen qui nos uti monet mundo isto quasi non abutamur. «Praeterit enim, inquit, habitus huius mundi». «Et qui emunt, inquit, sic agant quasi non possidentes». Cur ita? Quoniam praemiserau dicexis: «tempus in collecto est». Si ergo uxores quoque ipsas sic habendas

demonstrat tanquam non habeantur, propter angustias temporum, quid de uanis his instrumentis earum? [7] Non enim et ita multi faciunt et se spadonatu obsignant, propter regnum Dei tam fortem et utique permissam uoluntatem sponte ponentes? Quidam ipsam Dei creaturam sibi interdicut, abstinentes uino et animalibus esculentis quorum fructus nulli periculo aut sollicitudini adiacent, sed humilitatem animae suae in uictus quoque castigatione Deo immolant. Satis igitur et uos usae estis diuitiis atque deliciis, satis dotum uestrarum fructus decidistis ante notitiam salutarium disciplinarum.

[8] Nos sumus in quos decucurrerunt fines saeculorum; nos destinati a Deo ante mundum in extimationem temporum, tanquam castigando et castrando, ut ita dixerim, saeculo erudimur a domino. Nos sumus circumcisio omnium, et spiritalis et carnalis. Nam et spiritu et carne saecularia circumcidimus.

X. [1] Nimirum enim Deus monstrauit sucis herbarum et concharum salius incoquere lanas: exciderat illi, cum uniuersa nasci iuberet, purpureas et coccineas oues mandare! Deus et ipsarum uestium officinas commentus quae, leues et exiles, solo pretio graues essent. Deus et auri tanta opera produxit complectendis et distinguendis lapillis scrupulosa. Deus auribus uulnera intulit et tanti habuit uexationem operis sui et cruciatus infantiae innocentis tunc primum dolentis ut ex illis ad ferrum nati corporis cicatricibus grana nescio quae penderent quae plane Parthi per omnia quaeque sua bullarum uice inserunt. [2] Quamquam et aurum ipsum cuius uos gloria occupat cuidam genti ad uincula seruire referunt gentilium litterae. Adeo non ueritate bona sunt sed raritate. Per angelos autem peccatores demonstrata sunt, qui et ipsas materias prodiderunt, et operositas cum raritate commissa pretiositatem et ex ea libidinem possidendae pretiositatis feminarum excitauit. [3] Quod si idem angeli qui et materias eiusmodi et illecebras detexerunt, auri dico et lapidum illustrium, et operas eorum tradiderunt, etiam ipsum calliblepharum uellerumque tinturas inter cetera docuerunt damnati a Deo sunt, ut Enoch refert, quomodo placebimus Deo gaudentes rebus illorum qui iram et animaduersionem Dei propterea prouocauerunt?

[4] Nunc Deus ista prospexerit, Deus permiserit; nullam de conchylio uestem Esaias increpet, nullas lunulas reprobet, nullum botronatum retundat: tamen non ut gentiles ita nos quoque nobis adulemur, institutorem Deum solummodo existimantes, non etiam despectorem institutorum suorum. [5] Quanto enim melius et cautius egerimus, si praesumamus omnia quidem a

Deo prouisa tunc et in saeculo posita uti nunc essent in quibus disciplina seruorum eius probaretur, uti per licentiam utendi continentiae experientia procederet. Nonne sapientes patres familiae de industria quaedam seruis suis offerunt atque permittunt ut experiantur an et qualiter permissis utantur, si probe, si modeste? [6] Quanto autem laudabilior qui abstinerit in totum, qui timuerit etiam indulgentiam domini. Sic igitur et apostolus: «Omnia, inquit, licent, sed non omnia expediunt». Quanto facilius illicita timebit qui licita uerebitur.

XI. [1] Quae autem uobis causa exstructius prodeundi cum remotae sitis ab his quae talium indigent? Nam nec templa circuitis, nec spectacula postulatis nec festos dies gentilium nostis. Propter istos enim conuentus et mutuum uidere ac uideri omnes pompae in publicum proferuntur aut ut luxuria negotietur aut gloria insolecat. Vobis autem nulla procedendi causa non tetrica: [2] aut imbecillus aliquis ex fratribus uisitur, aut sacrificium offertur, aut Dei sermo administratur. Quiduis horum grauitatis et sanctitatis negotium et si cui opus non sit habitu extraordinario et composito et soluto. Ac si necessitas amicitiarum officiorumque gentilium uos uocat, cur non uestris armis indutae proceditis, tanto magis quanto ad extraneas fidei ut sit inter diaboli ancillas et Dei discrimen, ut exemplo sitis illis, ut aedificentur in uobis, ut, quomodo ait apostolus, magnificetur Deus in corpore uestro. Magnificatur autem in corpore per pudicitiam utique et per habitum pudicitiae competentem.

[3] Sed enim a quibusdam dicitur: «Ne blasphemetur nomen in nobis si quid de pristino habitu et cultu detrahamus». Non auferamus ergo nobis et uitia pristina; simus et moribus isdem si et superficie eadem: et tunc uere non blasphemabunt nationes. Grandis blasphemia si qua dicatur: «Ex quo facta est christiana, pauperius incedit»! Timebis pauperior uideri ex quo locupletior facta es et sordidior ex quo mundior? Secundum gentilium an secundum Dei placitum incedere christianos oportet?

XII. [1] Optemus tantummodo ne iustae blasphemationis causa simus. Quanto autem magis blasphemabile est si quae sacerdotes pudicitiae dicimini impudicarum ritu procedatis cultae et expictae. Aut quid minus habent infelicissimae illae publicarum libidinum uictimae? Quas, si quae leges a matronis et matronalibus decoramentis coercerant, iam certe saeculi improbitas cotidie insurgens honestissimis quibusque feminis usque ad

errorem dinoscendi coaequauit. [2] Quamquam lenocinia formae nunquam non prostituto corpori coniuncta et debita etiam scripturae suggerunt. Illa ciuitas ualida quae super montes septem et plurimas aquas praesidet, cum prostitutae appellationem a domino meruisset, quali habitu appellationi suae comparata est? Sedet certe in purpura et coccino et auro et lapide pretioso. Quam maledicta sunt sine quibus non potuit maledicta et prostituta describi. [3] Tamar illa, quia se expinxerat et ornauerat, idcirco Iudae suspicioni uisa est quaestui sedere adeoque sub uelamento latebat, habitus qualitate quaestuariam mentiente, ut quaestuariam et uoluit et compellauit et pactus est. Vnde addiscimus aduersus congressus etiam et suspensiones impudicas prouidendum omni modo esse. Quid enim castae mentis integritas in alterius suspitione maculatur? Quid speratur in me quod auersor? Cur non mores meos habitus pronuntiat, ne spiritus per aures ab impudentia uulneretur? Liceat uideri pudicam, certe impudicam si licet.

XIII. [1] Aliqua fors dicit: «Non est mihi necessarium hominibus probari. Nec enim humanum testimonium requiro. Deus conspexor est cordis.» Scimus omnes, cum tamen quid idem per apostolum dixerit recordemur: «Probum uestrum coram hominibus appareat». Ad quid, nisi ut malitia ad uos accessum omnino non habeat et ut malis et exemplo et testimonio sitis? Aut quid est: «Luceant opera uestra»? Aut quid nos dominus lumen terrae uocauit? Quid ciuitati super montem constitutae comparauit si non relucemus in tenebris et extamus inter demersos? [2] Si lucernam tuam sub modio abstruseris, in tenebris relictam a multis incurseris necesse est. Haec sunt quae nos luminaria mundi faciunt, bona scilicet nostra. Bonum autem, dumtaxat uerum et plenum, non amat tenebras sed gaudet uideri et ipsa denotatione sui exultat.

[3] Pudicitiae christianae satis non est esse uerum et uideri. Tanta enim debet esse plenitudo eius ut emanet ab animo in habitum et eructet a conscientia in superficiem ut et foris inspiciat quasi supellectilem suam, ut conueniat fidei continendae in perpetuum. Discutiendae sunt enim deliciae quarum mollitia et fluxu fidei uirtus effeminari potest. [4] Ceterum, nescio an manus spatulio circumdari solita in duritia catenae stupescere sustineat; nescio an crus de periscelio laetatum in neruum se patiat artari; timeo ceruicem ne margaritarum et smaragdorum laqueis occupata locum spathae non det.

[5] Quare, benedictae, meditemur duriora et non sentiemus; relinquamus

laetiora et non, desiderabimus; stemus expeditae ad omnem uim, nihil habentes quod relinquere timeamus. Retinacula ista sunt spei nostrae. Proiciamus ornamenta terrena, si caelestia optamus. [6] Ne dilexeritis aurum in quo prima delicta populi Israel denotantur.

Odisse debetis quod Iudaeos perdidit, quod derelinquentes Deum adorauerunt. Iam tunc aurum ignis est esca. Ceterum tempora christianorum semper et nunc uel maxime non auro sed ferro transiguntur: stolae martyriorum praeparantur, angeli baiuli sustinentur. [7] Prodite uos iam medicamentis et ornamentis exstructae prophetarum et apostolorum, sumentes de simplicitate eandorem, de pudicitia ruborem, depictae oculos uerecundia et os taciturnitate, inserentes in aures sermonem Dei, adnectentes ceruicibus iugum Christi. Caput maritis subicite et satis ornatae eritis; manus lanis occupate, pedes domi figite et plus quam in auro placebitis. Vestite nos serico probitatis, byssino sanctitatis, purpura pudicitiae. Taliter pigmentatae Deum habebitis amatorem.

Adversus Marcionem (Against Marcion)

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LIBER I.

1. [1] Si quid retro gestum est nobis adversus Marcionem, iam hinc viderit. Novam rem aggredimur ex vetere. Primum opusculum quasi properatum pleniore postea compositione rescideram. Hanc quoque nondum exemplariis suffectam fraude tunc fratris, dehinc apostatati, amisi, qui forte descripserat quaedam mendosissime et exhibuit frequentiae. [2] Emendationis necessitas facta est. Innovationis eius occasio aliquid adicere persuasit. Ita stilus iste nunc de secundo tertius et de tertio iam hinc primus hunc opusculi sui exitum necessario praefatur, ne quem varietas eius in disperso reperta confundat. [3] Pontus, qui dicitur Euxinus, natura negatur, nomine illuditur. Ceterum hospitalem Pontum nec de situ aestimes; ita ab humanioribus fretis nostris quasi quodam barbariae suae pudore secessit. Gentes ferocissimae inhabitant; si tamen habitatur in plaustro. Sedes incerta, vita cruda, libido promiscua et plurimum nuda, etiam cum abscondunt, suspensis de iugo pharetris indicibus, ne temere qui intercedat. Ita nec armis suis erubescunt. Parentum cadavera cum pecudibus caesa convivio convorant. Qui non ita decesserint ut escatiles fuerint, maledicta mors est. Nec feminae sexu mitigantur secundum pudorem; ubera excludunt, pensum securibus faciunt, malunt militare quam nubere. Durtia de caelo quoque. Dies nunquam patens, sol nunquam libens, unus a'r nebula, totus annus hibernum, omne quod flaverit aquilo est. Liquores ignibus redeunt, amnes glacie negantur, montes pruina exaggerantur. Omnia torpent, omnia rigent; nihil illic nisi feritas calet, illa scilicet quae fabulas scenis dedit de sacrificiis Taurorum et amoribus Colchorum et crucibus Caucasorum. [4] Sed nihil tam barbarum ac triste apud Pontum quam quod illic Marcion natus est, Scythia tetrior, Hamaxobio instabilior, Massageta inhumanior, Amazona audacior, nubilo obscurior, hieme frigidior, gelu fragilior, Istro fallacior, Caucaso abruptior. Quidni? penes quem verus Prometheus deus omnipotens blasphemiis lancinatur. [5] Iam et bestiis illius barbariei importunior Marcion. Quis enim tam castrator carnis castor quam qui nuptias abstulit? Quis tam comesor mus Ponticus quam qui evangelia corrosit? Nae tu, Euxine, probabilior feram philosophis edidisti quam Christianis. Nam ille canicola Diogenes hominem invenire cupiebat lucernam meridie circumferens, Marcion deum quem invenerat extincto lumine fidei suae amisit. [6] Non negabunt discipuli eius primam illius fidem nobiscum fuisse, ipsius litteris

testibus, ut hinc iam destinari possit haereticus qui deserto quod prius fuerat id postea sibi elegerit quod retro non erat. In tantum enim haeresis deputabitur quod postea inducitur, in quantum veritas habebitur quod retro et a primordio traditum est. [7] Sed alius libellus hunc gradum sustinebit adversus haereticos, etiam sine retractatu doctrinarum revincendos, quod hoc sint de praescriptione novitatis. Nunc quatenus admittenda congressio est, interdum ne compendium praescriptionis ubique advocatum diffidentiae deputetur, regulam adversarii prius praetexam, ne cui lateat in qua principalis quaestio dimicatura est.

2. [1] Duos Ponticus deos affert, tanquam duas Symplegadas naufragii sui: quem negare non potuit creatorem, id est nostrum, et quem probare non poterit, id est suum : passus infelix huius praesumptionis instinctum de simplici capitulo dominicae pronuntiationis in homines non in deos disponentis exempla illa bonae et malae arboris, quod neque bona malos neque mala bonos proferat fructus, id est neque mens vel fides bona malas edat operas neque mala bonas. [2] Languens enim (quod et nunc multi, et maxime haeretici), circa mali quaestionem, unde malum, et obtusis sensibus ipsa enormitate curiositatis, inveniens creatorem pronuntiantem, Ego sum qui condo mala, quanto ipsum praesumpserat mali auctorem et ex aliis argumentis, quae ita persuadent perverso cuique, tanto in creatorem interpretatus malam arborem malos fructus condentem, scilicet mala, alium deum praesumpsit esse debere in partem bonae arboris bonos fructus. [3] Et ita in Christo quasi aliam inveniens dispositionem solius et purae benignitatis, ut diversae a creatore, facile novam et hospitam argumentatus est divinitatem in Christo suo revelatam, modicoque exinde fermento totam fidei massam haeretico acore desipuit. Habuit et Cerdonem quendam, informatorem scandali huius, quo facilius duos deos caeci perspexisse se existimaverunt. Unum enim non integre viderant. Lippientibus etiam singularis lucerna numerosa est. Alterum igitur deum, quem confiteri cogeatur, de malo infamando destruxit, alterum, quem commentari connitebatur, de bono praestruendo construxit. Has naturas quibus disposuerit articulis per ipsas responsiones nostras ostendemus.

3. [1] Principalis itaque et exinde tota congressio de numero, an duos deos liceat induci, si forte, poetica et pictoria licentia, et tertia iam, haeretica. Sed veritas Christiana dstrictae pronuntiavit, Deus si non unus est, non est, quia dignius credimus non esse quodcunque non ita fuerit ut esse debebit. [2] Deum

autem ut scias unum esse debere, quaere quid sit deus, et non aliter invenies. Quantum humana conditio de deo definire potest, id definitio quod et omnium conscientia agnoscet, deum summum esse magnum, in aeternitate constitutum, innatum, infectum, sine initio, sine fine. Hunc enim statum aeternitati censendum, quae summum magnum deum efficiat, dum hoc est in deo ipsa, atque ita et cetera, ut sit deus summum magnum et forma et ratione et vi et potestate. [3] Cum de isto conveniat apud omnes (nemo enim negabit deum summum magnum quid esse, nisi qui potuerit deum imum modicum quid e contrario pronuntiare, ut deum neget auferendo quod dei est), quae erit iam condicio ipsius summi magni? [4] Nempe ut nihil illi adaequetur, id est ut non sit aliud summum magnum, quia, si fuerit, adaequabitur, et si adaequabitur non erit iam summum magnum, eversa condicione et, ut ita dixerim, lege quae summo magno nihil sinit adaequari. [5] Ergo unicum sit necesse est quod fuerit summum magnum, par non habendo, ne non sit summum magnum. Ergo non aliter erit quam per quod habet esse, id est unicum omnino. Proinde deus cum summum magnum sit, recte veritas nostra pronuntiavit, Deus si non unus est, non est. Non quasi dubitemus esse deum, dicendo, Si non unus, non est, sed quia quem confidimus esse, id eum definiamus esse quod si non est, deus non est, summum scilicet magnum. Porro summum magnum unicum sit necesse est. Ergo et deus unicus erit: non aliter deus, nisi summum magnum, nec aliter summum magnum, nisi parem non habens, nec aliter parem non habens, nisi unicus fuerit. [6] Certe quemcunque alium deum induxeris, non alia poteris eum forma tueri deum quam ut et illi proprium divinitatis adscripseris, sicut aeternum, ita et summum magnum. Duo ergo summa magna quomodo consistent, cum hoc sit summum magnum, par non habere, par autem non habere uni competat, in duobus esse nullo modo possit?

4. [1] Sed argumentabitur quilibet posse et duo summa magna consistere, distincta atque disiuncta in suis finibus, et utique advocabit exemplum regna terrarum tanta numero et tamen summa magna in suis quibusque regionibus, et putabit ubique humana divinis conferenda. Iam ergo si huic argumentationi locus dabitur, quid prohibet, non dico et tertium et quartum deum inducere, verum tot iam numero quot et gentium reges? [2] De deo agitur, cuius hoc principaliter proprium est, nullius exempli capere comparisonem. Hoc natura ipsa, si non aliquis Esaias, vel ipse per Esaiam deus, contionabitur, Cui me

similabit? Divinis forsitan comparabuntur humana, deo non ita. [3] Aliud enim deus, aliud quae dei. Denique qui exemplo uteris regis quasi summi magni, vide ne iam non possis eo uti. Rex enim etsi summum magnum. est in suo solio usque ad deum, tamen infra deum, comparatus autem ad deum excidet iam de summo magno, translato in deum. Hoc si ita, quomodo uteris eius rei exemplo ad dei comparisonem quae, dum ad comparisonem accedit, amittitur? [4] Quid nunc, si nec inter reges plurifarum videri potest summum magnum, sed unicum et singulare, apud eum scilicet qui rex regum ob summam magnitudinem et subiectionem ceterorum graduum quasi culmen dominationis excipitur? [5] Sed etiam alterius formae reges, qui singulares in unione imperii praesunt, si minutalibus, ut ita dixerim, regnis undique conferantur in examinationem, qua constet quis eorum praecellat in substantiis et viribus regni, in unum necesse est summa magnitudinis eliquetur, omnibus gradatim per comparisonis exitum de magnitudinis summa expressis et exclusis. [6] Adeo etsi in disperso multifarum videtur summum magnum, suis viribus et sua natura et suo statu unicum est. Proinde cum duo dii conferuntur, ut duo reges et duo summa magna, in alterum concedat necesse est unio summi magni ex sententia comparisonis, quia summum ex victoria sua constat, superato aemulo alio magno, non tamen summo, atque ex defectione aemuli solitudinem quandam de singularitate praestantiae suae possidens unicum est. Ineluctabilis iste complexus in hoc sententiam constringit, aut negandum deum esse summum magnum, quod nemo patietur sapiens, aut nulli alii communicandum.

5. [1] Aut quae ratio duo summa magna composuit? Primo enim exigam, cur non plura, si duo, quando locupletiores oporteret credi substantiam divinitatis, si competeret ei numerus. Honestior et liberalior Valentinus, qui simul ausus est duos concipere, Bython et Sigen, tum usque ad xxx aeonum fetus, tanquam Aeneiae scrofae, examen divinitatis effudit. [2] Quaecunque ratio plura summa magna non patitur admitti, eadem nec duo, ut ipsa plura post unum. Post unum enim numerus. Quae potuit duo admittere, eadem potuit et plura. Post duo enim multitudo, unione iam excessa. Denique apud nos vis rationis istius ipso termino plures deos credi non sinit, quod nec duos illa regula unum deum sistens, qua deum id esse oporteat cui nihil adaequetur, ut summo magno, unicum autem sit cui nihil adaequetur. [3] Iam nunc duo summa magna, duo paria, cui operae pretio, cui emolumento deputarentur?

Quid interfuit numeri, cum duo paria non different uno? Una enim res est quae eadem in duobus est. Etiam si plura essent paria, tantundem omnia unum fuissent, nullo inter se differendo, qua paria. [4] Porro si neutrum ex duobus altero distat, iam ut ambo summa magna, qua dei ambo, neutrum plus altero praestat, nullam rationem numeri sui ostendunt, praestantiam non habentes. Numerus autem divinitatis summa ratione constare deberet, vel quoniam et cultura eius in anceps deduceretur. Ecce enim duos intuens deos tam pares quam duo summa magna, quid facerem? [5] Si ambos colerem, vererem ne abundantia officii superstitio potius quam religio existimaretur, quia duos tam pares et in altero ambos possem in uno demereri, hoc ipsum testimonio praestans parilitati et unitati eorum, dum alterum in altero venerarer, dum in uno mihi duo sunt. Si alterum colerem, aequae recogitarem ne suffundere viderem numeri vanitatem sine differentia supervacui, hoc est ut tutius censerem neutrum colendum quam alteram cum scrupulo colendum aut ambos vane.

6. [1] Sic adhuc videmur disputare quasi Marcion duos pares constituat. Nam dum defendimus deum summum magnum unicum credi oportere, excludentes ab eo parilitatem, tanquam de duobus paribus de his retractavimus: nihilominus tamen docendo pares esse non posse secundum summi magni formam, satis confirmavimus duos esse non posse, alioquin certi Marcionem dispares deos constituere, alterum iudicem, ferum, bellipotentem, alterum mitem, placidum et tantummodo bonum atque optimum. [2] Dispiciamus aequae et hanc partem, an diversitas saltem duos capiat, si parilitas capere non potuit. Porro et hic eadem regula summi magni patrociniabitur nobis, utpote quae totum statum vindicet divinitatis. Conveniens enim et quodammodo iniecta manu detinens adversarii sensum non negantis creatorem deum iustissime praescribo illi diversitati locum non esse inter eos quos ex aequo deos confessus non potest facere diversos, non quia non et homines licet sub eadem appellatione diversissimos esse, sed quia deus non erit dicendus, quia nec credendus, nisi summum magnum. [3] Cum ergo summum magnum cogatur agnoscere quem deum non negat, non potest admitti ut summo magno aliquam adscribat diminutionem, qua subiciatur alii summo magno. Desinit enim, si subiciatur. Non est autem dei desinere de statu suo, id est de summo magno. Nam et in illo deo potius periclitari poterit summum magnum, si depretiari capit in creatore. [4] Ita cum duo dii

pronuntiantur duo summa magna, necesse est neutrum altero aut maius sit aut minus, neutrum altero aut sublimius aut deiectius. Nega deum quem dicis deteriorem; nega summum magnum quem credis minorem. Deum vero confessus utrumque duo summa magna confessus es. Nihil alteri adimes aut alteri adscribes. Agnoscens divinitatem negasti diversitatem.

7. [1] Temptabis ad haec de nomine dei concutere retractatum ut passivo et in alios quoque permissio, quia scriptum sit, Deus deorum stetit in ecclesia deorum, in medio autem deos diiudicabit, et, Ego dixi, vos dii estis: nec tamen idcirco eis competat possessio summi magni quia dei cognominentur; ita nec creatori. [2] Respondebo et stulto, qui nec hoc recogitaverit, ne tantundem et in deum Marcionis possit retorqueri, ut et illum deum dictum, nec ideo tamen summum magnum probatum, sicut nec angeli aut homines creatoris. Si communio nominum condicionibus praeiudicat, quanti nequam servi regum nominibus insultant, Alexandri et Darii et Olofernae? Nec tamen ideo regibus id quod sunt detrahetur. Nam et ipsa idola gentium dei vulgo, sed deus nemo ea re qua deus dicitur. [3] Ita ego non nomini dei nec sono nec notae nominis huius summum magnum in creatore defendo, sed ipsi substantiae cui nomen hoc contigit: hanc inveniens solam innatam, infectam, solam aeternam et universitatis conditricem, non nomini, sed statui, nec appellationi, sed condicioni eius summum magnum et adscribo et vindico. [4] Et ideo, quia deus iam vocari obtinuit substantia cui adscribo, nomini me adscribere putas, quia necesse est per nomen ostendam cui adscribam substantiae, scilicet qua constat qui deus dicitur, et summum magnum ex substantia, non ex nomine, deputatur. Denique hoc et Marcion suo deo vindicans, secundum statum, non secundum vocabulum vindicat. [5] Id ergo summum magnum, quod deo adscribimus ex substantiae lege, non ex nominis sorte, contendimus ex pari esse debere in duobus qui ea substantia constant qua deus dicitur, quia in quantum dii vocantur, id est summamagna, substantiae scilicet merito innatae et aeternae ac per hoc magnae et summae, in tantum non possit summum magnum minus et deterius alio summo magno haberi. [6] Si summi magni felicitas et sublimitas et integritas stabit in deo Marcionis, stabit aequae et in nostro: si non et in nostro, aequae nec in Marcionis. Ergo nec paria erunt duo summa magna, quia prohibet disposita iam regula summi magni comparisonem non sustinentis: nec disparia, quia et alia summi magni regula occurrit, diminutionem non admittens. [7] Haesisti, Marcion, in medio Ponti tui

aestu. Utrunque te fluctus involvunt veritatis. Nec pares nec dispaes deos sistere potes. Duo enim non sunt; quod pertineat proprie ad numeri retractatum. Quamquam tota materia de duobus deis dimicetur, his interim lineis eam clausimus, intra quas de singularibus iam proprietatibus congregiemur.

8. [1] Primo, supercilio stuporem suum aedificant Marcionitae, quod novum deum proferant, quasi nos veteris dei pudeat. Inflantur et pueri novis calceis, sed a vetere paedagogo calceati mox vanam gloriam vapulabunt. Novum igitur audiens deum in vetere mundo et in vetere aevo et sub veteri deo ignotum, inauditum, quem tantis retro saeculis neminem, et ipsa ignorantia antiquum, quidam Iesus Christus, et ille in veteribus nominibus novus, revelaverit, nec alius antehac, gratias ago huic gloriae eorum, maximo adiutorio eius hinc iam haeresim probaturus, novae scilicet divinitatis professionem. [2] Haec erit novitas quae etiam ethnicis deos peperit novo semper ac novo titulo consecrationis cuiusque. Quis deus novus nisi falsus? Ne Saturnum quidem tanta hodie antiquitas deum probabit, quia et illum novitas aliquando produxerit, cum primum consecravit. At enim viva et germana divinitas nec de novitate nec de vetustate, sed de sua veritate censetur. [3] Non habet tempus aeternitas. Omne enim tempus ipsa est. Quod facit, pati non potest. Caret aetate quod non licet nasci. Deus si est vetus, non erit; si est novus, non fuit. Novitas initium testificatur, vetustas finem comminatur. Deus autem tam alienus ab initio et fine est quam a tempore, arbitro et metatore initii et finis.

9. [1] Scio quidem quo sensu novum deum iactitent, agnitione utique. Sed et ipsam novitatis cognitionem percutientem rudes animas ipsamque naturalem novitatis gratiositatem volui repercutere, et hinc iam de ignoto deo provocare. Utique enim quem agnitione a novum opponunt, ignotum ante agnitionem demonstrant. [2] Age igitur, ad lineas rursum et in gradum. Persuade deum ignotum esse potuisse. Invenio plane ignotis deis aras prostitutas, sed Attica idololatria est. Item incertis diis, sed superstitio Romana est. Porro incerti dei minus noti, ut minus certi, et proinde ignoti, qua minus certi. Quem titulum incidemus ex duobus deo Marcionis? Utrumque, opinor, et nunc incerto et retro ignoto. Sicut enim ignotum eum fecit deus notus creator, ita et incertum deus certus. [3] Sed non evagabor, uti dicam, Deus si ignotus fuit latuitque, illum regio latebrarum obumbravit, nova utique et ipsa et ignota, et similiter

nunc quoque incerta, certe immensa aliqua et maior indubitate eo quem abscondit; [4] sed breviter proponam et plenissime exsequar, praescribens deum ignorari nec potuisse nomine magnitudinis nec debuisse nomine benignitatis, praesertim in utroque praelatiorem nostro creatore. Sed quoniam animadverto in quibusdam ad formam creatoris provocari oportere omnis dei novi et retro ignoti probationem, hoc ipsum ratione fieri a nobis prius commendare debebo, quo constantius utar rationis editae patrocinio. [5] Ante omnia quidem quale est ut qui deum agnoscis creatorem, et priorem de notitia confiteris, non eisdem modis et aliuin scias tibi examinandum quibus iam in alio didicisti deum nosse? Omnis res anterior posteriori normam praeministravit. [6] Duo nunc dei proponuntur, ignotus et notus. De noto vacat quaestio. Esse eum constat, quia notus non fuisset nisi esset. De ignoto instat altercatio. Potest enim et non esse, quia si esset, notus fuisset. Quod ergo quaeritur quamdiu ignoratur, incertum est quamdiu quaeritur, et potest non esse quamdiu in incerto est. Habes deum certum qua notum, et incertum qua ignotum. [7] Si ita est, ecquid tibi videtur iusta ratione defendi, ut ad normam et formam et regulam certorum probentur incerta? Ceterum si ad hanc causam et ipsam adhuc incertam etiam argumenta de incertis adhibeantur, series implicabitur quaestionum ex ipsorum quoque argumentorum aequae incertorum retractatu periclitantium de fide per incertum, et ibitur in illas iam indeterminabiles quaestiones, quas apostolus non amat. [8] Sin de certis et indubitatis et absolutis regulae partibus incertis et dubiis et inexpeditis praeiudicabunt — plane in quibus diversitas status invenitur, fortassean non provocentur incerta ad formam certorum, ut liberata a reliqua comparationis provocatione per diversitatem status principalis — [9] cum vero duo dei proponuntur, communis est illis status principalis. Quod enim deus est, ambo sunt, innati, infecti, aeterni. Hic erit status principalis. Cetera viderit Marcion si in diversitate disposuit. Posteriora enim sunt in retractatu, immo nec admittentur, si de principali statu constet. [10] Porro constat, quia dei ambo: et ita de quorum statu constat communem esse, cum sub eo ad probationem devocantur, si incerta sunt, ad eorum certorum formam provocanda erunt cum quibus de communione status principalis censentur, ut proinde et de probatione communicent. Hinc itaque constantissime dirigam deum non esse qui sit hodie incertus quia retro ignotus, quando quem constat esse, ex hoc ipso constat quod nunquam fuerit ignotus, ideo nec incertus.

10. [1] Siquidem a primordio rerum conditor earum cum ipsis pariter compertus est, ipsis ad hoc prolatis ut deus cognosceretur. Nec enim si aliquanto posterior Moyses primus videtur in templo litterarum suarum deum mundi dedicasse, idcirco a Pentateucho natales agnitionis supputabuntur, cum totus Moysi stilus notitiam creatoris non instituat sed a primordio enarret, a paradiso et Adam non ab Aegypto et Moyse recensendam. [2] Denique maior popularitas generis humani, ne nominis quidem Moysi compotes, nedum instrumenti, deum Moysi tamen norunt; etiam tantam idololatria dominationem obumbrante seorsum tamen illum quasi proprio nomine deum perhibent et deum deorum, et, Si deus dederit, et, Quod deo placet, et, Deo commendo. Vide an noverint quem omnia posse testantur. Nec hoc ullis Moysi libris debent. [3] Ante anima quam prophetia. Animae enim a primordio conscientia dei dos est; eadem nec alia et in Aegyptiis et in Syris et in Ponticis. Iudaeorum enim deum dicunt animae deum. Noli, barbаре haeretice, priorem Abraham constituere quam mundum. Etsi unius familiae deus fuisset creator, tamen posterior tuo non erat, etiam Ponticis ante eum notus. [4] Accipe igitur ab antecessore formam, a certo incertus, a cognito incognitus. Nunquam deus latebit, nunquam deus deerit. Semper intellegitur, semper audietur, etiam videbitur, quomodo volet. Habet deus testimonia, totum hoc quod sumus et in quo sumus. Sic probatur et deus et unus, dum non ignoratur, alio adhuc probari laborante.

11. [1] Et merito, inquiunt. Quis enim non tam suis notus est quam extraneis? Nemo. Teneo et hanc vocem. Quale est enim ut ali- quid extraneum deo sit, cui nihil extraneum esset, si quis esset? quia dei hoc est, omnia illius esse et omnia ad illum pertinere, vel ne statim audiret a nobis, Quid ergo illi cum extraneis? Quod plenius suo loco audiet. [2] At nunc satis est nullum probari cuius nihil probatur. Sicut enim creator ex hoc et deus et indubitatus deus, quia omnia ipsius et nihil extraneum illi, ita et alius idcirco non deus quia omnia non eius ideoque et extranea. [3] Denique si universitas creatoris est, iam nec locum video dei alterius. Plena et occupata sunt omnia suo auctore. Si vacat aliquid spatii alicuius divinitati in creaturis, plane falsae vacabit. Patet mendacio veritas. Tanta vis idolorum cur non recipiat alicubi deum Marcionis? [4] Igitur et hoc ex forma creatoris expostulo, deum ex operibus cognosci debuisse alicuius proprii sui mundi et hominis et saeculi, quando etiam error orbis propterea deos praesumpserit quos homines

interdum confitetur, quoniam aliquid ab unoquoque prospectum videtur utilitatibus et commodis vitae. [5] Ita et hoc ex forma dei creditum est divinum esse, instituere vel demonstrare quid aptum et necessarium sit rebus humanis. Adeo inde auctoritas accommodata falsae divinitati unde praecesserat verae. Unam saltem cicerculam deus Marcionis propriam protulisse debuerat, ut novus aliqui Triptolemus praedicaretur. [6] Aut exhibe rationem deo dignam, cur nihil condiderit, si est; quia condidisset, si fuisset, illo scilicet praeiudicio quo et nostrum deum non alias manifestum est esse quam quia totum condidit hoc. Semel enim praescriptio stabit non posse illos et deum confiteri creatorem, et eum quem volunt aequae deum credi non ad eius formam probare quem et ipsi et omnes deum, [7] ut, quando hoc ipso nemo creatorem deum dubitet quia totum hoc condidit, hoc ipso nemo debeat credere deum et illum qui nihil condidit, nisi ratio forte proferatur. Duplex ista videatur necesse est, ut aut noluerit condere quid aut non potuerit. Tertium cessat. Sed non potuisse indignum deo est. [8] Noluisse an dignum, volo inquirere. Dic mihi, Marcion, voluit deus tuus cognosci se quocunque in tempore, an non? alio proposito et descendit et praedicavit et passus resurrexit quam uti cognosceretur? Et sine dubio, si cognitus est, voluit. Nihil enim circa eum fieret nisi voluisset. Quid ergo tantopere notitiam sui procuravit ut in dedecore carnis exhiberetur, et quidem maiore, si falsae? Nam hoc turpius, si et mentitus est substantiam corporis, qui et maledictum in se creatoris admisit ligno suspensus. [9] Quanto honestius per aliqua propriae molitionis indicia cognitionem sui praestruisset, maxime adversus eum cognosci habens apud quem ex operibus ab initio cognitus non erat! Nam et quale est ut creator quidem ignorans esse alium super se deum, ut volunt Marcionitae, qui solum se etiam iurans asseverabat, tantis operibus notitiam sui armaverit, quam potuerat non ita curasse secundum singularitatis suae praesumptionem, ille autem. sublimior sciens inferiorem deum tam instructum nullam sibi prospexerit agnoscendo paraturam? quando etiam insigniora et superbiora opera debuisset condidisse, ut et deus ex operibus cognosceretur secundum creatorem, et ex honestioribus potior et generosior creator.

12. [1] Ceterum et si esse eum possemus confiteri, sine causa esse eum deberemus argumentari. Sine causa enim esset qui rem non haberet, quia res omnis causa est, ut sit aliquis cuius res sit. Porro in quantum nihil oportet esse sine causa, id est sine re, quia si sine causa sit proinde est atque si non sit non

habens rei causam rem ipsam, in tantum deum dignius credam non esse quam esse sine causa. Sine causa est enim qui rem non habendo non habet causam. Deus autem sine causa, id est sine re, esse non debet. [2] Ita quotiens ostendo eum sine causa esse, tanquam sit, hoc constituo non esse illum, quia si fuisset omnino sine causa non fuisset. Sic et ipsam fidem dico illum sine causa ab homine captare, aliter solito deum credere ex operum auctoritate formatum, quia nihil tale prospexit per quod homo deum didicit. [3] Nam etsi credunt plerique in illum, non statim ratione credunt, non habentes dei pignus, opera eius deo digna. Itaque hoc nomine cessationis et defectionis operum et impudentiae et malignitatis affinis est: impudentiae, qua fidem non debitam sibi captat, cui praestruendae nihil prospexit; malignitatis, qua plures incredulitatis reos fecit nihil fidei procurando.

13. [1] Cum deum hoc gradu expellimus, cui nulla conditio tam propria et deo digna quam creatoris testimonium praesignaverit, narem contrahentes impudentissimi Marcionitae convertuntur ad destructionem operum creatoris. [2] Nimirum, inquiunt, grande opus et dignum deo mundus. Numquid ergo creator minime deus? Plane deus. Ergo nec mundus deo indignus; nihil etenim deus indignum se fecit, etsi mundum homini non sibi fecit, etsi omne opus inferius est suo artifice. [3] Et tamen, si quale quid fecisse indignum est deo, quanto indignius deo est nihil eum omnino fecisse, vel indignum, quo posset etiam digniorum auctor sperari? Ut ergo aliquid et de isto huius mundi indigno loquar, cui et apud Graecos ornamenti et cultus, non sordium, nomen est, indignas videlicet substantias ipsi illi sapientiae professores, de quorum ingeniis omnis haeresis animatur, deos pronuntiaverunt, ut Thales aquam, ut Heraclitus ignem, ut Anaximenes aerem, ut Anaximander universa caelestia, ut Strato caelum et terram, ut Zeno aerem et aetherem, ut Plato sidera, quae genus deorum igneum appellat, cum de mundo, considerando scilicet et magnitudinem et vim et potestatem et honorem et decorem, opem, fidem, legem singulorum elementorum, quae omnibus gignendis, alendis, conficiendis reficiendisque conspirant, ut plerique physicorum formidaverint initium ac finem mundo constare, ne substantiae eius, tantae scilicet, minus dei haberentur, quas colunt et Persarum magi et Aegyptiorum bierophantae et Indorum gymnosophistae. [4] Ipsa quoque vulgaris superstitio communis idololatriae, cum in simulacris de nominibus et fabulis veterum mortuorum pudet, ad interpretationem naturalium refugit, et dedecus suum ingenio

obumbrat, figurans Iovem in substantiam fervidam et Iunonem eius in aeream, secundum sonum Graecorum vocabulorum, item Vestam in ignem, et Camenas in aquas, et Magnam Matrem in terram seminalia demessam, lacertis aratam, lavacris rigatam. [5] Sic et Osiris quod semper sepelitur et in uvido quaeritur et cum gaudio invenitur, reciprocarum frugum et vividorum elementorum et recidivi anni fidem argumentantur, sicut aridae et ardentis naturae sacramenta leones Mithrae philosophantur. Et superiores quidem situ aut statu substantias sufficit facilius deos habitas quam deo indignas. Ad humilia deficiam? Unus, opinor, de sepibus flosculus, non dico de pratis, una cuiuslibet maris conchula, non dico de rubro, una tetraonis pennula, taceo de pavo, sordidum artificem pronuntiabit tibi creatorem?

14. [1] At cum et animalia irrides minutiora quae maximus artifex de industria ingeniis aut viribus ampliavit, sic magnitudinem in mediocritate probari docens quemadmodum virtutem in infirmitate secundum apostolum, imitare, si potes, apes aedificia, formicae stabula, araneae retia, bombycis stamina, sustine, si potes, illas ipsas lectuli et tegetis tuae bestias, cantharidis venena, muscae spicula, culicis et tubam et lanceam. [2] Qualia erunt maiora, cum tam modicis aut iuvaris aut laederis, ut nec in modicis despicias creatorem? Postremo te tibi circumfer, intus ac foris considera hominem: placebit tibi vel hoc opus dei nostri, quod tuus dominus, ille deus melior, adamavit, propter quem in haec paupertina elementa de tertio caelo descendere laboravit, cuius causa in hac cellula creatoris etiam crucifixus est. [3] Sed ille quidem usque nunc nec aquam reprobavit creatoris qua suos abluit, nec oleum quo suos unguat, nec mellis et lactis societatem qua suos infantat, nec panem quo ipsum corpus suum repraesentat, etiam in sacramentis propriis egens mendicitatibus creatoris. At tu super magistrum discipulus, et servus super dominum, sublimius illo sapis, destruens quae ille desiderat. [4] Volo inspicere si ex fide saltem, ut non et ipse quae destruis appetas. Adversaris caelo, et libertatem caeli in habitationibus captas. Despicias terram plane inimicae iam tuae carnis matricem, et omnes medullas eius victui extorques. Reprobas et mare, sed usque ad copias eius, quas sanctiorem cibum deputas. Rosam tibi si obtulero, non fastidies creatorem. [5] Hypocrita, ut apocarteresi probes te Marcionitam, id est repudiatorem creatoris (nam haec apud vos pro martyrio affectari debuisset, si vobis mundus displiceret), in quamcunque materiam resolveris, substantia creatoris uteris. Quanta obstinatio duritiae

tuae! Depretias in quibus et vivis et moreris.

15. [1] Post haec, vel ante haec, cum dixeris esse et illi conditionem suam et suum mundum et suum caelum, de caelo quidem illo tertio videbimus si et ad apostolum vestrum discutiendum pervenerimus, interim, quaecunque substantia est, cum suo utique deo apparuisse debuerat. At nunc quale est ut dominus anno xv Tiberii Caesaris revelatus sit, substantia vero anno xv iam Severi imperatoris nulla omnino comperta sit? Quae frivolis creatoris praecellens utique latere desisset, non latente iam domino suo et auctore. [2] Et ideo si ipsa non potuit manifestari in hoc mundo, quomodo dominus paruit eius in hoc mundo? Si dominum cepit hic mundus, cur substantiam capere non potuit, nisi domino fortasse maiorem? Iam nunc de loco quaestio est, pertinens et ad mundum illum superiorem et ad ipsum deum eius. Ecce enim si et ille habet mundum suum infra se, super creatorem, in loco utique fecit eum cuius spatium vacabat inter pedes suos et caput creatoris. [3] Ergo et deus ipse in loco erat, et mundum in loco faciebat, et erit iam locus ille maior et deo et mundo. Nihil enim non maius est id quod capit eo quod capitur. Et videndum ne qua adhuc illic vacent subsiciva, in quibus et tertius aliqui stipare deus se cum mundo suo possit. Ergo iam incipe deos computare. Erit enim et locus deus, non tantum qua deo maior, sed et qua innatus et infectus ac per hoc aeternus et deo par, in quo semper deus fuerit. [4] Dehinc si et ille mundum ex aliqua materia subiacente molitus est innata et infecta et contemporali deo, quemadmodum de creatore Marcion sentit, redigis et hoc ad maiestatem loci, qui et deum et materiam, duos deos, clusit. Et materia enim deus, secundum formam divinitatis, innata scilicet et infecta et aeterna. Aut si de nihilo molitus est mundum, hoc et de creatore sentire cogetur, cui materiam subicit in substantia mundi. Sed ex materia et ille fecisse debbit, eadem ratione occurrente illi quoque deo quae opponeretur creatori, ut aequae deo. [5] Atque ita tres interim mihi deos numera Marcionis, factorem et locum et materiam. Proinde et creatorem in loco facit utique eadem condicione censendo, et materiam ei subicit utique innatam et infectam et hoc nomine aeternam, ut domino. Amplius et malum materiae deputans, innatum innatae, infectum infectae et aeternum aeternae, quartum iam hic deum fecit. [6] Habes igitur in superioribus tres substantias divinitatis, in inferioribus quatuor. His cum accedunt et sui Christi, alter qui apparuit sub Tiberio, alter qui a creatore promittitur, manifestam iam fraudem Marcion patitur ab eis qui duos illum

deos inferre praesumunt, cum novem assignet, licet nesciens.

16. [1] Non comparante igitur mundo alio, sicut nec deo eius, consequens est ut duas species rerum, visibilia et invisibilia, duobus auctoribus deis dividant, et ita suo deo invisibilia defendant. Quis autem poterit inducere in animum, nisi spiritus haereticus, eius esse invisibilia qui nihil visibile praemiserit, quam eius qui visibilia operatus invisibilium quoque fidem fecerit, cum iustius multo sit aliquibus exemplariis adnuere quam nullis? [2] Videbimus et apostolus cui auctori invisibilia deputet, cum et illum exploraverimus. Nunc enim communibus plurimum sensibus et argumentationibus iustis securitae scripturarum quoque advocacy fidem sternimus, confirmantes diversitatem hanc visibilium et invisibilium adeo creatori deputandam, sicuti tota operatio eius ex diversitatibus constat, ex corporalibus et incorporeis, ex animalibus et inanimalibus, ex vocalibus et mutis, ex mobilibus et stantibus, ex genitalibus et sterilibus, ex aridis et succidis, ex calidis et frigidis. [3] Sic et hominem ipsum diversitas temperavit, tam in corpore quam in sensu. Alia membra fortia, alia infirma; alia honesta, alia inhonesta; alia gemina, alia unica; alia comparia, alia disparia. Proinde et in sensu nunc laetitia, nunc anxietas; nunc amor, nunc odium; nunc ira, nunc lenitas. [4] Quod si ita est, ut aemulae inter se condicionis universitas ista modulata sit, iam igitur et visibilibus invisibilia debentur, non alteri auctori deputanda quam cui et aemula eorum, ipsum creatorem diversum notantia, iubentem quae prohibuit et prohibentem quae iussit, percutientem et sanantem. Cur in hac sola specie uniformem eum capiunt, visibilium solummodo conditorem, quem proinde credendum sit et visibilia et invisibilia condidisse, quemadmodum et vitam et mortem, et mala et pacem? Et utique, si illa invisibilia maiora sunt visibilibus creaturis suo loco magnis, sic quoque congruit eius esse maiora cuius et magna, quia nec magna, nedum maiora, ei competant cuius nec modica comparent.

17. [1] His compressi erumpunt dicere: Sufficit unicuique hoc opus deo nostro, quod hominem liberavit summa et praecipua bonitate sua, et omnibus locustis anteposenda. O deum maiorem, cuius tam magnum opus non potuit inveniri quam in homine dei minoris! Enimvero prius est ut probes eum esse per quae deum probari oportet, per opera, tunc deinde per beneficia. Primo enim quaeritur, an sit, et ita, qualis sit. Alterum de operibus, alterum de beneficiis dinoscetur. [2] Ceterum non quia liberasse dicitur hominem, ideo

esse eum constat, sed si esse constiterit, tunc et liberasse dicetur, ut et an liberaverit constet, quia potuerit et esse et non liberasse. Quomodo ergo quia liberasse dicetur, etiam esse credetur, cum potuerit et esse et non liberasse? [3] Nunc in isto articulo ab ignoti dei quaestione deducto satis constitit tam nihil illum condidisse, quam debuisse condidisse uti cognosceretur ex operibus, quia si fuisset, cognosci debuisset, et utique a primordio rerum; deum enim non decuisse latuisse. Regrediar necesse est ad originem quaestionis dei ignoti, ut ceteros quoque ramulos eius excutiam. [4] Primo enim quaeri oportebit, qui postea se protulerit in notitiam, cur postea, et non a primordio rerum; quibus utique necessario qua deus, et quidem necessarius qua melior, latere non debuit. Non enim potest dici non fuisse aut materiam aut causam cognoscendi deum, cum et homo a primordio esset in saeculo, cui nunc subvenit, et malitia creatoris, adversus quam ut bonus subvenit. Igitur aut ignoravit et causam et materiam suae revelationis necessariae, aut dubitavit, aut non potuit, aut noluit. Omnia haec deo indigna, maxime optimo. Sed et hunc locum alibi implebimus exprobratione serae revelationis, sicut nunc sola demonstratione.

18. [1] Processerit, age, iam in notitiam quando voluit, quando potuit, quando hora fatalis advenit. Fortasse enim anabibazon ei obstabat, aut aliqua maleficae, aut Saturnus quadratus, aut Mars trigonus. Nam et mathematici plurimum Marcionitae, nec hoc erubescerent, de ipsis etiam stellis vivere creatoris. Tractandum et hic de revelationis qualitate, an digne cognitus sit, ut constet an vere, et ita credatur esse quem digne constiterit revelatum. [2] Digna enim deo probabunt deum. Nos definimus deum primo natura cognoscendum, deinde doctrina recognoscendum, natura ex operibus, doctrina ex praedicationibus. Sed cui nulla natura est, naturalia instrumenta non suppetunt. Ergo vel praedicationibus revelationem sui debuerat operari, maxime adversus eum revelandus qui et conditionis et praedicationis operibus tot ac tantis vix tamen hominum fidem impleverat. [3] Quomodo itaque revelatus est? Si per humanam coniecturam, nego deum alias cognosci posse quam per semetipsum, nec tantum ad formam provocans creatoris, vervun et ad condicionem tam divinae magnitudinis quam humanae mediocritatis; ne maior deo homo videri possit, qui eum non ultro volentem cognosci suis viribus quodammodo in publicum agnitionis extraxerit, cum humana mediocritas facilius deos fingere sibi norit secundum totius aevi experimenta

quam verum sectari quem natura iam intellegunt. [4] Alioquin, si sic homo deum commentabitur quomodo Romulus Consum et Tati Cloacinam et Hostilius Pavorem et Metellus Alburnum et qviidam ante hoc tempus Antinuum, hoc aliis licebit? Nos Marcionem nauclerum novimus, non regem nec imperatorem.

19. [1] Immo, inquiunt Marcionitae, deus noster, etsi non ab initio, etsi non per conditionem, sed per semetipsum revelatus est in Christo Iesu. Dabitur et in Christum liber de omni statu eius. Distingui enim materias oportet, quo plenius et ordinatius retractentur. Interim satis erit ad praesentem gradum ita occurrere, ut ostendam Christum Iesum non alterius dei circumlatorem quam creatoris, et quidem paucis. [2] Anno xv Tiberii Christus Iesus de caelo manare dignatus est, spiritus salutaris. Marcionis salutis, qui ita voluit, quoto quidem anno Antonini maioris de Ponto suo exhalaverit aura canicularis non curavi investigare. De quo tamen constat, Antoninianus haereticus est, sub Pio impius. A Tiberio autem usque ad Antoninum anni fere cxv et dimidium anni cum dimidio mensis. Tantundem temporis ponunt inter Christum et Marcionem. [3] Cum igitur sub Antonino primus Marcion hunc deum induxerit, sicut probavimus, statim, qui sapis, plana res est. Praejudicant tempora quod sub Antonino primum processit sub Tiberio non processisse, id est deum Antoniniani imperii Tiberiani non fuisse, atque ita non a Christo revelatum quem constat a Marcione primum praedicatum. [4] Hoc nunc ut probem constare, quod superest ab ipsis adversariis sumam. Separatio legis et evangelii proprium et principale opus est Marcionis, nec poterunt negare discipuli eius quod in summo instrumento habent, quo denique initiantur et indurantur in hanc haeresim. Nam hae sunt Antitheses Marcionis, id est contrariae oppositiones, quae conantur discordiam evangelii cum lege committere, ut ex diversitate sententiarum utriusque instrumenti diversitatem quoque argumententur deorum. [5] Igitur cum ea separatio legis et evangelii ipsa sit quae alium deum evangelii insinuaverit adversus deum legis, apparet ante eam separationem deum in notitia non fuisse qui ab argumento separationis innotuit, atque ita non a Christo revelatum, qui fuit ante separationem, sed a Marcione commentatum, qui instituit separationem adversus evangelii legisque pacem, quam retro illaesam et inconcussam ab apparentia Christi usque ad audaciam Marcionis illa utique ratio servavit quae non alium deum et legis et evangelii tuebatur praeter creatorem, adversus

quem tanto post tempore separatio a Pontico immissa est.

20. [1] Huic expeditissimae probationi defensio quoque a nobis necessaria est adversus obstrepticula diversae partis. Aiunt enim Marcionem non tam innovasse regulam separationis legis et evangelii quam retro adulteratam recurasse. O Christe, patientissime domine, qui tot annis interversionem praedicationis tui sustinuisti, donec scilicet tibi Marcion subveniret! [2] Nam et ipsum Petrum ceterosque, columnas apostolatus, a Paulo reprehensos opponunt quod non recto pede incederent ad evangelii veritatem, ab illo certe Paulo qui adhuc in gratia rudis, trepidans denique ne in vacuum cucurrisset aut curreret, tunc primum cum antecessoribus apostolis conferebat. [3] Igitur si ferventer adhuc, ut neophytus, adversus Iudaismum aliquid in conversatione reprehendendum existimavit, passivum scilicet convictum, postmodum et ipse usu omnibus omnia futurus, ut omnes lucraretur, Iudaeis quasi Iudaeus, et eis qui sub lege tanquam in lege, tu illam solius conversationis, placiturae postea accusatori suo, reprehensionem suspectam vis haberi etiam de praedicationis erga deum praevaricatione. [4] Atquin de praedicationis unitate, quod supra legimus, dexteris iunxerant, et ipsa officii distributione de evangelii societate condixerant: sicut et alibi, Sive ego, inquit, sive illi, sic praedicamus. Sed et si quosdam falsos fratres irrepsisse descripsit, qui vellent Galatas ad aliud evangelium transferre, ipse demonstrat adulterium illud evangelii non ad alterius dei et Christi fidem transferendam, sed ad disciplinam legis conservandam. habuisse intentionem, deprehendens scilicet illos circumcisionem vindicantes et observantes tempora et dies et menses et annos Iudaicarum caeremoniarum, quas iam exclusas agnovisse debuerant, secundum innovatam dispositionem creatoris olim de hoc ipso praedicantis per prophetas suos: ut per Esaiam, Vetera transierunt, inquit, ecce nova quae ego nunc facio; et alibi, Et disponam testamentum, non quale disposui ad patres vestros cum illos eduxissem de terra Aegypti. Sic et per Hieremiam, Renovate vobis novamen novum, et circumcidimini deo vestro, et circumcidimini praeputia cordis vestri. [5] Hanc ergo circumcisionem iam sistens apostolus et hoc novamen illas quoque vetustates caeremoniarum dissuadebat de quibus idem conditor earum quandoque cessaturis profitebatur per Osee, Et avertam omnes iocunditates eius et dies festos eius et neomenias et sabbata et omnes caeremonias eius. Sic enim per Esaiam, Neomenias vestras et sabbata et diem magnum non sustineo, ferias et ieiunium et dies

festos vestros odit anima mea. [6] Quodsi et creator omnia haec iampridem recusaverat, et apostolus ea iam recusanda pronuntiabat, ipsa apostoli sententia consentanea decretis creatoris probat non alium deum ab apostolo praedicatum quam cuius decreta cupiebat iam agnosci, falsos et apostolos et fratres notans in hac causa qui evangelium Christi creatoris transferrent a novitate praenuntiata a creatore ad vetustatem recusatam a creatore.

21. [1] Ceterum si qua novum deum praedicans veteris dei legem cupiebat excludere, quare de deo quidem novo nihil praescribit, sed de vetere lege solummodo, nisi quoniam fide manente in creatorem sola lex eius concessare debebat? Ut et psalmus ille praecinuerat: Disrumpamus vincula a nobis eorum et abiciamus eorum iugum a nobis; ex quo scilicet tumultuatae sunt gentes et populi meditati sunt inania; astiterunt reges terrae et magistratus convenerunt in unum adversus dominum et adversus Christum eius. [2] Et utique, si alius deus praedicaretur a Paulo, nulla disceptatio esset servandae legis necne, non pertinentis scilicet ad dominum novum et aemulum legis. Ipsa enim dei novitas atque diversitas abstulisset non modo quaestionem veteris et alienae legis, verum omnem eius mentionem. Sed hic erat totus status quaestionis, quod, cum idem deus legis in Christo praedicaretur, legi eius derogaretur. [3] Stabat igitur fides semper in creatore et Christo eius, sed conversatio et disciplina nutabat. Nam et alii de idolothyto edendo, alii de mulierum velamento, alii de nuptiis vel repudiis, nonnulli et de spe resurrectionis disceptabant, de deo nemo. Nam si fuisset haec quoque quaestio disceptata, et ipsa apud apostolum inveniretur, vel quanto principalis. [4] Quodsi post apostolorum tempora adulterium veritas passa est circa dei regulam, ergo iam apostolica traditio nihil passa est in tempore suo circa dei regulam, et non alia agnoscenda erit traditio apostolorum quam quae hodie apud ipsorum ecclesias editur. Nullam autem apostolici census ecclesiam invenias quae non in creatore christianizet. Aut si hae erunt a primordio corruptae, quae erunt integrae? nimirum adversariae creatoris? [5] Exhibe ergo aliquam ex tuis apostolici census, et obduxeris. Igitur cum omnibus modis constet alium deum in regula sacramenti istius non fuisse a Christo usque ad Marcionem quam creatorem, satis iam et probatio nostra munita est, qua ostendimus notitiam dei haeretici ex evangelii et legis separatione coepisse, et definitio superior instructa est, non esse credendum deum quem homo de suis sensibus composuerit, nisi plane prophetae, id est non de suis sensibus. [6] Quod si

Marcion poterit dici, debebit etiam probari. Nihil retractare oportebat. Hoc enim cuneo veritatis omnis extruditur haeresis, cum Christus non alterius dei quam creatoris circumlator ostenditur.

22. [1] Sed quomodo funditus evertetur antichristus, nisi ceteris quoque iniectionibus eius elidendis locus detur, relaxata praescriptionum defensione? Accedamus igitur iam hinc ad ipsam dei personam, vel potius umbram et phantasma, secundum Christum ipsius, per idque examinetur per quod creatori praefertur. [2] Et utique erunt regulae certae ad examinandam dei bonitatem. Sed prius est ut inveniam illam et apprehendam, et ita ad regulas perducam. Cum enim circumspicio tempora, nusquam est a primordio materialium et introitu causarum, cum quibus debuerat inveniri, exinde agens quo agi habuit. [3] Erat enim iam mors, et aculeus mortis delictum, et ipsa malitia creatoris, adversus quam subvenire deberet alterius dei bonitas, primae huic regulae divinae bonitatis occurrens, si se naturalem probaret, statim succurrens ut causa coepit. Omnia enim in deo naturalia et ingenita esse debebunt, ut sint aeterna, secundum statum ipsius, ne obvenientia et extranea reputentur, ac per hoc temporalia et aeternitatis aliena. [4] Ita et bonitas perennis et iugis exigitur in deo, quae in thesauris naturalium proprietatum reposita et parata antecederet causas et materias suas, et primam quamque susciperet, non despiceret et destitueret, si antecederat. Denique et hic non minus quaeram, cur non a primordio operata sit bonitas eius, quam de ipso quaesivimus, cur non a primordio sit revelatus. Quidni? qui per bonitatem revelari haberet, si qui fuisset. Non posse quid deo non licet, nedum naturalibus suis fungi; [5] quae si continentur quo minus currant, naturalia non erunt. Et otium enim sui natura non novit. Hinc censetur, si agat; sic nec noluisse videbitur exercere bonitatem interim naturae nomine. [6] Natura enim se non potest nolle, quae se ita dirigit ut si cessaverit non sit. Sed cessavit aliquando in deo Marcionis de opere bonitas. Ergo non fuit naturalis bonitas quae potuit aliquando cessasse, quod naturalibus non licet. Et si non erit naturalis, iam nec aeterna credenda, nec deo par quia non aeterna, dum non naturalis quae denique nullam sui perpetuitatem aut de praeterito constituat aut de futuro repromittat. [7] Nam et a primordio non fuit et in finem sine dubio non erit. Potest enim et non esse quandoque, sicut non fuit aliquando. Igitur cum constet in primordio cessasse bonitatem dei illius (non enim a primordio liberavit hominem), et voluntate potius eam quam infirmitate cessasse, iam

voluntas suppressae bonitatis finis invenietur malignitatis. [8] Quid enim tam malignum quam nolle prodesse cum possis, quam utilitatem cruciare, quam iniuriam sinere? Totum denique creatoris elogium in illum rescribetur qui saevitias eius bonitatis suae mora iuvat. Nam in cuius manu est quid ne fiat, eius iam deputatur cum fit. Homo damnatur in mortem ob unius arbusculae delibationem, et exinde proficiunt delicta cum poenis, et pereunt iam omnes qui paradisi nullum caespitem norunt. [9] Et hoc melior aliqui deus aut nescit aut sustinet. Si ut ex hoc melior inveniretur quanto creator deterior haberetur, satis et in isto consilio malitiosus, qui et illum voluit oneratum, operationibus eius admissis, et saeculum in vexatione detinuit. Quid de tali medico iudicabis qui nutriat morbum mora praesidii et periculum extendat dilatione remedii, quo pretiosius aut famosius curet? [10] Talis et in deum Marcionis dicenda sententia est, mali permissorem, iniuriae fautorem, gratiae lenocinatorem, benignitatis praevaricatorem quam non statim causae suae exhibuit; plane exhibiturus, si natura bonus et non accessione, si ingenio optimus et non disciplina, si ab aevo deus et non a Tiberio, immo, quod verius, a Cerdone et Marcione. Tiberio nunc deus ille praestiterit ut imperio eius divina bonitas in terris dedicaretur.

23. [1] Aliam illi regulam praetendo, sicut naturalia ita rationalia esse debere in deo omnia. Exigo rationem bonitatis, quia nec aliud quid bonum haberi liceat quod non rationaliter bonum sit, nedum ut ipsa bonitas irrationalis deprehendatur. [2] Facilius malum cui rationis aliquid affuerit pro bono habebitur quam ut bonum ratione desertum non pro malo iudicetur. Nego rationalem bonitatem dei Marcionis iam hoc primo quod in salutem processerit hominis alieni. [3] Scio dicturos atquin hanc esse principalem et perfectam bonitatem, cum sine ullo debito familiaritatis in extraneos voluntaria et libera effunditur, secundum quam inimicos quoque nostros et hoc nomine iam extraneos diligere iubeamur. [4] Cum ergo non a primordio hominem respexit, a primordio extraneum, cessando praeiudicavit cum extraneo nihil sibi esse. Ceterum disciplinam diligendi extraneum vel inimicum antecessit praeceptum diligendi proximum tanquam teipsum, quod etsi ex lege creatoris, et tu quoque illud excipere debebis, ut a Christo non destructum, sed potius exstructum. Nam quo magis proximum diligas, diligere iuberis inimicum et extraneum. [5] Exaggeratio est debita bonitatis exactio indebitae. Antecedit autem debita indebitam, ut principalis, ut dignior, ut

ministra et comite sua, id est indebita, prior. Igitur cum prima bonitatis ratio sit in rem suam exhiberi ex iustitia, secunda autem in alienam ex redundantia iustitiae super scribarum et pharisaeorum, quale est secundam ei rationem referri cui deficit prima, non habenti proprium hominem, ac per hoc quoque exiguae? Porro exigua, quae suum non habuit, quomodo in alienum redundavit? [6] Exhibe principalem rationem, et tunc vindica sequentem. Nulla res sine ordine rationalis potest vindicari, tanto abest ut ratio ipsa in aliquo ordinem amittat. Sit nunc et a secundo gradu incipiens ratio bonitatis, in extraneum scilicet, nec secundus illi gradus ratione constabit alio modo destructus. Tunc enim rationalis habebitur vel secunda in extraneum bonitas, si sine iniuria eius operetur cuius est res. Quamcunque bonitatem iustitia prima efficit rationalem. Sicut in principali gradu rationalis erit, cum in rem suam exhibetur, si iusta sit, sic et in extraneum rationalis videri poterit, si non sit iniusta. [7] Ceterum qualis bonitas quae per iniuriam constat, et quidem pro extraneo? Fortasse enim pro domestico aliquatenus rationalis habeatur bonitas iniuriosa. Pro extraneo vero, cui nec proba legitime deberetur, qua ratione tam iniusta rationalis defendetur? Quid enim iniustius, quid iniquius et improbius quam ita alieno benefacere servo ut domino eripiatur, ut alii vindicetur, ut adversus caput domini subornetur, et quideni, quo indignius, in ipsa adhuc domo domini, de ipsius adhuc horreis vivens, sub ipsius adhuc plagis tremens? Talis assertor etiam damnaretur in saeculo, nedum plagiator. [8] Non aliter deus Marcionis irrumpens in alienum mundum, eripiens deo hominem, patri filium, educatori alumnum, domino famulum, ut eum efficiat deo impium, patri irreligiosum, educatori ingratum, domino nequam. Oro te, si rationalis bonitas talem facit, qualem faceret irrationalis? [9] Non putem impudentiorem quam qui in aliena aqua alii deo tingitur, ad alienum caelum alii deo expanditur, in aliena terra alii deo sternitur, super alienum panem alii deo gratiarum actionibus fungitur, de alienis bonis ob alium deum nomine eleemosynae et dilectionis operatur. Quis iste deus tam bonus ut homo ab illo malus fiat, tam propitius ut alium illi deum, et dominum quidem ipsius, faciat iratum?

24. [1] Sed deus sicut aeternus et rationalis, ita opinor et perfectus in omnibus: Eritis enim perfecti, quemadmodum pater vester qui in caelis est. Exhibe perfectam quoque bonitatem eius. Etsi de imperfecta satis constat, quae neque naturalis invenitur neque rationalis, nunc et alio ordine traducetur;

nec iam imperfecta, immo et defecta, exigua et exhausta, minor numero materialium suarum, quae non in omnibus exhibetur. [2] Non enim omnes salvi fiunt, sed pauciores omnibus et Iudaeis et Christianis creatoris. Pluribus vero pereuntibus quomodo perfecta defenditur bonitas ex maiore parte cessatrix, paucis aliqua, pluribus nulla, cedens perditioni, partiaria exitii? Quodsi plures salvi non erunt, erit iam non bonitas sed malitia perfectior. Sicut enim bonitatis operatio est quae facit salvos, ita malignitatis quae non facit salvos. Magis autem non faciens salvos dum paucos facit, perfectior erit in non iuvando quam iuvando. Non poteris et in creatorem referre bonitatis in omnes defectionem. [3] Quem enim iudicem tenes, dispensatorem, si forte, bonitatis ostendis intellegendum, non profusorem, quod deo tuo vindicas. Usque adeo hac sola eum praefers bonitate creatori quam si solam proficitur et totam, nulli deesse debuerat. Sed nolo iam de parte maiore pereuntium imperfectum bonitatis arguere deum Marcionis. Sufficit ipsos quos salvos facit imperfectae salutis inventos imperfectam bonitatem eius ostendere, scilicet anima tenus salvos, carne deperditos, quae apud illum non resurgit. Unde haec dimidiatio salutis nisi ex defectione bonitatis? [4] Quid erat perfectae bonitatis quam totum hominem redigere in salutem, totum damnatum a creatore, totum a deo optimo allectum? Quod sciam, et caro tingitur apud illum et caro de nuptiis tollitur, et caro in confessione nominis desaevitur. Sed etsi carni delicta reputantur, praecedit animae reatus, et culpae principatus animae potius adscribendus, cui caro ministri nomine occurrit. Carens denique anima caro hactenus peccat. Ita et in hoc iniusta bonitas et sic quoque imperfecta, innocentior substantiam relinquens in exitium, obsequio non arbitrio delinquentem; [5] cuius Christus etsi non induit veritatem, ut tuae haeresi visum est, imaginem tamen eius subire dignatus est. Ipso quod mentitus est illam, aliquid ei debuit debuisse. Quid est autem homo aliud quam caro, siquidem nomen hominis materia corporalis, non animalis, ab auctore sortita est? Et fecit hominem deus, inquit, limum de terra, non animam; anima enim de afflatu: Et factus est homo in animam vivam; quis? utique qui de limo: Et posuit deus hominem in paradiso; quod finxit, non quod flavit; qui caro nunc, non qui anima. Itaque si ita est, quo ore contendes perfectum bonitatis titulum, quae non iam a partitione speciali hominis liberandi defecit, sed a proprietate generali? [6] Si plena est gratia et solida misericordia quae soli animae salutaris est, plus praestat haec vita, qua toti et integri sumus. Ceterum ex parte

resurgere multari erit, non liberari. Erat et illud perfectae bonitatis, ut homo liberatus in fidem dei optimi statim eximeretur de domicilio atque dominatu dei saevi. [7] At nunc et febricitas, o Marcionita, et ceteros tribulos et spinas dolor carnis tuae tibi edit, nec fulminibus tantum aut bellis et pestibus aliisque plagis creatoris, sed et scorpiis eius obiectus. In quo te putas liberatum de regno eius, cuius te muscae adhuc calcant? Si de futuro erutus es, cur non et de praesenti, ut perfecte? Alia est nostra condicio apud auctorem, apud iudicem, apud offensum principem generis. Tu tantummodo bonum deum praefers. Non potes autem perfecte bonum ostendere a quo non perfecte liberaris.

25. [1] Quod attinet ad bonitatis quaestionem, his lineis deduximus eam minime deo adaequari, ut neque ingenitam neque rationalem neque perfectam, sed et improbam et iniustam et ipso iam bonitatis nomine indignam, quod scilicet in quantum deo congruat, in tantum deum non esse conveniat qui de tali bonitate etiam praeferatur, nec de tali modo, verum et sola. [2] Iam enim et hoc discuti par est, an deus de sola bonitate censendus sit, negatis ceteris appendicibus, sensibus et affectibus, quos Marcionitae quidem a deo suo abigunt in creatorem, nos vero et agnoscimus in creatore ut deo dignos. Et ex hoc quoque negabimus deum in quo non omnia quae deo digna sint constant. [3] Si aliquem de Epicuri schola deum affectavit Christi nomine titolare, ut quod beatum et incorruptibile sit neque sibi neque alii molestias praestet (hanc enim sententiam ruminans Marcion removet ab illo severitates et iudiciarias vires), aut in totum immobilem et stupentem deum concepisse debuerat (et quid illi cum Christo, molesto et Iudaeis per doctrinam et sibi per crucem?), aut et de ceteris motibus eum agnovisse (et quid illi cum Epicuro, nec sibi nec Christianis necessario?). [4] Ecce enim hoc ipso quod retro quietus, qui nec notitiam sui aliquo interim opere curaverit, post tantum aevi senserit in hominis salutem, utique per voluntatem, nonne concussibilis tunc fuit novae voluntati, ut et ceteris motibus videatur obnoxius? Quae autem voluntas sine concupiscentiae stimulo est? Quis volet quod non concupiscet? Sed et cura accedet voluntati. [5] Quis enim volet quid et concupiscet, et non curabit? Igitur cum et voluit et concupiit in hominis salutem, iam et sibi et aliis negotium fecit, Epicuro nolente, consiliario Marcione. Nam et adversarium sibi constituit ipsum illud adversus quod et voluit et concupiit et curavit, sive delictum sive mortem, inprimis ipsum arbitrum eorum et dominum, hominis

creatorem. [6] Porro nihil sine aemulatione decurret quod sine adversario non erit. Denique volens et concupiscens et curans hominem liberare hoc ipso iam aemulatur et eum a quo liberat, adversus eum scilicet sibi liberaturus, et ea de quibus liberat, in alia liberaturus. Proinde enim aemulationi occurrant necesse est officiales suae in ea quae aemulatur, ira, discordia, odium, dedignatio, indignatio, bilis, nolentia, offensa. [7] Haec omnia si aemulationi adsistunt, aemulatio autem liberando homini procurat, liberatio autem hominis operatio bonitatis est, non poterit ea bonitas sine suis dotibus, id est sine sensibus et affectibus, per quos administratur adversus creatorem, ne sic quoque irrationalis praescribatur, si careat et sensibus et affectibus debitis. Haec multo plenius defendemus in causa creatoris, in qua et exprobrantur.

26. [1] At hic sufficit perversissimum deum ostendi in ipso praeconio solitariae bonitatis, qua nolunt ei adscribere eiusmodi motus animi quos in creatore reprehendunt. Si enim neque aemulatur neque irascitur neque damnat neque vexat, utpote qui nec iudicem praestat, non invenio quomodo illi disciplinarum ratio consistat, et quidem plenior. [2] Quale est enim ut praecepta constituat non executurus, ut delicta prohibeat non vindicaturus, quia non iudicaturus, extraneus scilicet ab omnibus sensibus severitatis et animadversionis? Cur enim prohibet admitti quod non defendit admissum, cum multo rectius non prohibuisset quod defensurus non esset quam ut non defenderet quod prohibuisset? Immo et pennisisse directo debuit, sine causa prohibiturus, ut non defensurus. [3] Nam et nunc tacite permissum est quod sine ultione prohibetur. Et utique non aliud prohibet admitti quam quod non amat fieri. Stupidissimus ergo qui non offenditur facto quod non amat fieri, quando offensa comes sit frustratae voluntatis. Aut si offenditur, debet irasci; si irascitur, debet ulcisci. Nam et ultio fructus est irae, et ira debitum offensae, et offensa, ut dixi, comes frustratae voluntatis. Sed non ulciscitur; ergo nec offenditur. Sed non offenditur, ergo nec laeditur voluntas eius cum fit quod fieri noluit, et fit iam delictum secundum voluntatem eius, quia non fit adversus voluntatem quod non laedit voluntatem. [4] Aut si hoc erit divinae virtutis sive bonitatis, nolle quidem fieri et prohibere fieri, non moveri tamen si fiat, dicimus iam motum esse illum qui noluit, et vane non moveri ad factum qui motus sit ad non faciendum, quando noluit fieri. Nolendo enim prohibuit. Non enim et iudicavit nolendo fieri et idcirco prohibendo? Non faciendum enim iudicavit et prohibendum pronuntiavit. [5] Ergo et ille iam

iudicat. Si indignum est deum iudicare, aut si eatenus dignum est deum iudicare qua tantummodo nolit et prohibeat, non etiam defendat admissum, atquin nihil deo tam indignum quam non exequi quod noluit et prohibuit admitti: primo, quod qualicunque sententiae suae et legi debeat vindictam in auctoritatem et obsequii necessitatem; secundo, quia aemulum sit necesse est quod noluit admitti et nolendo prohibuit; malo autem parcere deum indignius sit quam animadvertere, et quidem deo optimo, qui non alias plene bonus sit, nisi mali aemulus, uti boni amorem odio mali exerceat et boni tutelam expugnatione mali impleat.

27. [1] Sed iudicat plane malum nolendo et damnat prohibendo, dimittit autem non vindicando et absolvit non puniendo. O deum veritatis praevaricatore! sententiae suae circumscriptorem! Timet damnare quod damnat, timet odisse quod non amat, factum sinit quod fieri non sinit, mavult ostendere quid nolit quam probare. Hoc erit bonitas imaginaria, disciplina phantasma et ipsa, transfunctoria praecepta, secunda delicta. [2] Audite, peccatores, quique nondum hoc estis, ut esse possitis! deus melior inventus est, qui nec offenditur nec irascitur nec ulciscitur, cui nullus ignis coquitur in gehenna, cui nullus dentium frendor horret in exterioribus tenebris: bonus tantum est. Denique prohibet delinquere, sed litteris solis. In vobis est, si velitis illi obsequium subsignare, ut honorem deo habuisse videamini; timorem enim non vult. [3] Atque adeo prae se ferunt Marcionitae quod deum suum omnino non timeant. Malus autem, inquiunt, timebitur, bonus autem diligetur. Stulte, quem dominum appellas, negas timendum, cum hoc nomen potestatis sit, et iam timendae? At quomodo diliges, nisi timeas non diligere? Plane nec pater tuus est, in quem competat et amor propter pietatem et timor propter potestatem, nec legitimus dominus, ut diligas propter humanitatem et timeas propter disciplinam. [4] Sic denique plagiarii diliguntur, non etiam timentur. Non enim timebitur nisi iusta et ordinaria dominatio, diligere autem potest etiam adultera; sollicitatione enim constat, non auctoritate, et adulatione, non potestate. Quid denique adulantius quam delicta non exequi? [5] Age itaque, qui deum non times quasi bonum, quid non in omnem libidinem ebullis, summum, quod sciam, fructum vitae omnibus qui deum non timent? Quid non frequentas tam sollemnes voluptates circi furentis et caveae saevientis et scenae lascivientis? Quid non et in persecutionibus statim oblata acerra animam negatione lucaris? Absit, inquis, absit. Ergo iam times

delictum, et timendo probasti illum timeri qui prohibet delictum. Aliud est si eadem dei tui perversitate quem non times observas, qua et ille quod non vindicat prohibet. [6] Multo adhuc vanius cum interrogati, Quid fiet peccatori cuique die illo? respondent abici illum quasi ab oculis. Nonne et hoc iudicio agitur? Iudicatur enim abiciendus, et utique iudicio damnationis; nisi si in salutem abiciatur peccator, ut et hoc deo optimo competat. Et quid erit abici, nisi amittere id quod erat consecuturus si non abiceretur, id est salutem? Ergo salutis in detrimentum abicietur, et hoc decerni non poterit nisi ab irato et offenso et executore delicti, id est iudice.

28. [1] Exitus autem illi abiecto quis? Ab igne, inquiunt, creatoris deprehendetur. Adeone nullum habet elementum vel in hanc causam provisum quo peccatores suos vel sine saevitia releget, ne illos dedat creatori? Quid tunc creator? Credo, sulphuratiorem eis gehennam praeparabit, ut blasphemis suis scilicet; nisi quod deus zelotes fortassean desertoribus adversarii sui parcat. O deum usquequaque perversum, ubique irrationalem, in omnibus vanum, atque ita neminem! [2] cuius non statum, non condicionem, non naturam, non ullum ordinem video consistere, iam nec ipsum fidei eius sacramentum. Cui enim rei baptismus quoque apud eum exigitur? Si remissio delictorum est, quomodo videbitur delicta dimittere qui non videbitur retinere? Quia retineret, si iudicaret. Si absolutio mortis est, quomodo absolveret a morte qui non devinxit ad mortem? Devinxisset enim, si a primordio damnasset. Si regeneratio est hominis, quomodo regenerat qui non generavit? [3] Iteratio enim non competit ei a quo quid nec semel factum est. Si consecutio est spiritus sancti, quomodo spiritum attribuet qui animam non prius contulit? Quia suffectura est quodammodo spiritus anima. Signat igitur hominem nunquam apud se resignatum, lavat hominem nunquam apud se coinquinatum, et in hoc totum salutis sacramentum carnem mergit exsortem salutis. [4] Nec rusticus terram rigabit fructum non relaturam, nisi tam vanus quam deus Marcionis. Proinde cur tantam sive sarcinam sive gloriam infirmissimae aut indignissimae carni imponit sanctitatem? Quid dicam autem de disciplinae vanitate, qua sanctificat substantiam sanctam? Quid aut onerat infirmam aut exornat indignam? Quid non salute remunerat quam onerat vel exornat? Quid fraudat mercedem operis, non rependens carni salutem? Quid et honorem sanctitatis in illa mori patitur?

29. [1] Non tinguitur apud illum caro nisi virgo, nisi vidua, nisi caelebs, nisi

divortio baptismata mercata, quasi non etiam spadonibus ex nuptiis nata. Sine dubio ex damnatione coniugii institutio ista constabit. [2] Videamus an iusta, non quasi destructuri felicitatem sanctitatis, ut aliqui Nicolaitae assertores libidinis atque luxuriae, sed qui sanctitatem sine nuptiarum damnatione noverimus et sectemur et praeferamus, non ut malo bonum, sed ut bono melius. Non enim proicimus sed deponimus nuptias, nec praescribimus sed suademus sanctitatem, servantes et bonum et melius pro viribus cuiusque sectanda, tunc denique coniugium exserte defendentes cum inimice accusatur spurcitiae nomine in destructionem creatoris, qui proinde coniugium pro rei honestate bene- dixit in crementum generis humani, quemadmodum et universum conditionis in integros et bonos usus. [3] Non ideo autem et cibi damnabuntur quia operosius exquisiti in gulam committunt, ut nec vestitus ideo accusabuntur quia pretiosius comparati in ambitionem tumescunt. Sic nec matrimonii res ideo despiciuntur quia intemperantius diffusae in luxuriam inardescunt. Multum differt inter causam et culpam, inter statum et excessum. [4] Ita huiusmodi non institutio sed exorbitatio reprobanda est, secundum censuram institutoris ipsius, cuius est tam, Crescite et multiplicamini, quam et, Non adulterabis, et, Uxorem proximi tui non concupisces, morte punientis et incestam sacrilegam atque monstruosam in masculos et in pecudes libidinum insaniam. Sed et si nubendi iam modus ponitur, quem quidem apud nos spiritalis ratio paracleto auctore defendit unum in fide matrimonium praescribens, eiusdem erit modum figere qui modum aliquando diffuderat, is colliget qui sparsit, is caedet silvam qui plantavit, is metet segetem qui seminavit, is dicet, Superest ut et qui uxores habent sic sint quasi non habeant, cuius et retro fuit Crescite et multiplicamini; eiusdem finis cuius et initium. [5] Non tamen ut accusanda caeditur silva, nec ut damnanda secatur seges, sed ut tempori suo parens. Sic et connubii res non ut mala securem et falcem admittit sanctitatis, sed ut matura defungi, ut ipsi sanctitati reservata, cui caedendo praestaret messem. Unde iam dicam deum Marcionis, cum matrimonium ut malum et impudicitiae negotium reprobatur, adversus ipsam facere sanctitatem, cui videtur studere. Materiam enim eius eradit, quia si nuptiae non erunt sanctitas nulla est. [6] Vacat enim abstinentiae testimonium cum licentia eripitur, quoniam ita quaedam in diversis probantur. Sicut et virtus in infirmitate perficitur, sic et abstinentia nubendi in facultate dinoscitur. Quis denique abstinens dicetur sublato eo a quo abstinendum est? Quae temperantia

gulae in fame? Quae ambitionis repudiatio in egestate? Quae libidinis infrenatio in castratione? [7] Iam vero sementem generis humani compescere totum, nescio an hoc quoque optimo deo congruat. Quomodo enim salvum hominem volet quem vetat nasci, de quo nascitur auferendo? Quomodo habebit in quo bonitatem suam signet, quem esse non patitur? Quomodo diligit cuius originem non amat? [8] Timet forsitan redundantiam subolis, ne laboret plures liberando, ne multos faciat haereticos, ne generosiores habeat Marcionitas ex Marcionitis. Non erit humanior duritia Pharaonis, nascentium enecatrix? Nam ille animas adimit, hic non dat; ille aufert de vita, hic non admittit in vitam. Nihil apud ambos de homicidio differt. Sub utroque homo interficitur, sub altero iam editus, sub altero edendus. Gratus esses, o dee haeretice, si isses in dispositionem creatoris, quod marem et feminam miscuit; utique enim et Marcion tuus ex nuptiis natus est. [9] Satis haec de deo Marcionis, quem et definitiones unicae divinitatis et condiciones statuum eius omnino non esse confirmant. Sed et totius opusculi series in hoc utique succedit. Proinde si cui minus quid videmur egisse, speret reservatum suo tempori, sicut et ipsarum scripturarum examinationem quibus Marcion utitur.

LIBER II.

1. [1] Occasio reformandi opusculi huius, cui quid acciderit primo libellulo praefati sumus, hoc quoque contulit nobis, uti duobus deis adversus Marcionem retractandis suum cuique titulum et volumen distingueremus pro materiae divisione, alterum deum definientes omnino non esse, alterum defendentes digne deum esse, quatenus ita Pontico placuit alterum inducere, alterum excludere. Non enim poterat aedificare mendacium sine demolitione veritatis. Aliud subruere necesse habuit, ut quod vellet extrueret. Sic aedificat qui propria paratura caret. [2] Oportuerat autem in hoc solum disceptasse, quod nemo sit deus ille qui creatori superducitur, ut falso deo depulso regulis certis et unicam et perfectam praescribentibus divinitatem, nihil iam quaereretur in deum verum, quem quanto constaret esse sic quoque dum alium esse non constat, tanto qualemcumque sine controversia haberi deceret, adorandum potius quam iudicandum, et demerendum magis quam retractandum, vel quam timendum ob severitatem. [3] Quid enim amplius homini necessarium quam cura in deum verum, in quem, ut ita dixerim, inciderat, quia alius deus non erat?

2. [1] At nunc negotium patitur deus omnipotens, dominus et conditor universitatis, ideo tantum opinor, quia a primordio notus est, quia nunquam latuit, quia semper illuxit, etiam ante Romulum ipsum, nedum ante Tiberium: nisi quod solis haereticis cognitus non est, qui ei negotium faciunt, propterea alium deum existimantes praesumendum quia quem constat esse reprehendere magis possunt quam negare, de arbitrio sensus sui pensitantes deum, aliqui proinde atque si caecus vel fluitantibus oculis ideo alium solem praesumere velit mitiorem et salubriorem quia quem videat non videt. [2] Unicus sol est, o homo, qui mundum hunc temperat, et quando non putas, optimus et utilis, et cum tibi acrior et infestior vel etiam sordidior atque corruptior, rationi tamen suae par est. Eam tu si perspicere non vales, iam nec ullius alterius solis, si qui fuisset, radios sustinere potuisses, utique maioris. [3] Nam qui in inferiorem deum caecutis, quid in sublimiorem? Quin potius infirmitati tuae parcis, nec in periculum extenderis, habens deum certum et indubitatum et hoc ipso satis visum, cum id primum conspexeris eum esse quem non scias nisi ex parte qua voluit ipse? Sed deum quidem ut sciens non negas, ut nesciens retractas, immo et accusas quasi sciens, quem si scires non accusares, immo nec

retractares. Reddens nomen illi negas substantiam nominis, id est magnitudinis quae deus dicitur, non tantam eam agnoscens quantam si homo omnifariam nosse potuisset magnitudo non esset. [4] Esaias iam tum apostolus pro spiciens haeretica corda, Quis, inquit, cognovit sensum domini, aut quis consiliarius eius fuit? aut ad quem consultavit, aut viam intellectus et scientiae quis demonstravit ei? Cui et apostolus condicet, O profundum divitiarum et sophiae dei, ut ininvestigabilia iudicia eius, utique dei iudicis, et in investigabiles viae eius, utique intellectus et scientiae, quas ei nemo monstravit, nisi forte isti censores divinitatis, dicentes, Sic non debuit deus, et, Sic magis debuit, quasi cognoscat aliquis quae sint in deo nisi spiritus dei. [5] Mundi autem habentes spiritum, non agnoscentes in sapientia dei per sapientiam deum, consultiores sibimet videntur deo, quoniam sicut sapientia mundi stultitia est penes deum, ita et sapientia dei stultitia est penes mundum. Sed nos scimus stultum dei sapientius hominibus, et invalidum dei validius hominibus. [6] Et ita deus tunc maxime magnus cum homini pusillus, et tunc maxime optimus cum homini non bonus, et tunc maxime unus cum homini duo aut plures. Quodsi a primordio homo animalis, non recipiens quae sunt spiritus, stultitiam existimavit dei legem, ut quam observare neglexit, ideoque non habendo fidem etiam quod videbatur habere ademptum est illi, paradisi gratia et familiaritas dei per quam omnia dei cognovisset si obedisset, quid mirum, si redhibitus materiae suae et in ergastulum terrae laborandae relegatus in ipso opere prono et devexo ad terram usurpatum ex illa spiritum mundi universo generi suo tradidit, duntaxat animali et haeretico, non recipienti quae sunt dei? [7] Aut quis dubitabit ipsum illud Adae delictum haeresim pronuntiare, quod per electionem suae potius quam divinae sententiae admisit? Nisi quod Adam nunquam figulo suo dixit, Non prudenter definxisti me. Confessus est seductionem. Non occultavit seductricem. Rudis admodum haeticus fuit. Non obaudiit, non tamen blasphemavit creatorem, nec reprehendit auctorem, quem a primordio sui bonum et optimum invenerat, et ipse, si forte, iudicem fecerat [a primordio].

3. [1] Igitur oportebit ineuntes examinationem in deum notum, si quaeritur in qua condicione sit notus, ab operibus eius incipere, quae priora sunt homine, ut statim cum ipso comperta bonitas eius et exinde constituta atque praescripta aliquem sensum suggerat nobis intellegendi qualiter sequens rerum ordinatio evaserit. [2] Possunt autem discipuli Marcionis recognoscentes

bonitatem dei nostri dignam quoque deo agnoscere per eosdem titulos per quos indignam ostendimus in deo illorum. Iam hoc ipsum, quod materia est agnitionis suae, non apud alium invenit, sed de suo sibi fecit. Prima denique bonitas creatoris, qua se deus noluit in aeternum latere, id est non esse aliquid cui deus cognosceretur. [3] Quid enim tam bonum quam notitia et fructus dei ? Nam etsi nondum apparebat hoc bonum esse, quia nondum erat quicquam cui appareret, sed deus praesciebat quid boni appariturum esset, et ideo in suam summam commisit bonitatem, apparituri boni negotiatricem, non utique repentinam nec obventiciae bonitatis nec provocaticiae animationis, quasi exinde censendam quo coepit operari. [4] Si enim ipsa constituit initium exinde quo coepit operari, non habuit initium ipsa cum fecit. Initio autem facto ab ea etiam ratio temporum nata est, utpote quibus distinguendis et notandis sidera et luminaria caelestia disposita sunt. Erunt enim, inquit, in tempora et menses et annos. Ergo nec tempus habuit ante tempus quae fecit tempus, sicut nec initium ante initium quae constituit initium. [5] Atque ita carens et ordine initii et modo temporis de immensa et interminabili aetate censebitur, nec poterit repentina vel obventicia et provocaticia reputari, non habens unde reputetur, id est aliquam temporis speciem, sed et aeterna et deo ingenua et perpetua praesumenda ac per hoc deo digna, suffundens iam hinc bonitatem dei Marcionis, non dico initiis et temporibus sed ipsa malitia creatoris posteriorem, si tamen malitia potuit a bonitate committi.

4. [1] Igitur cum cognoscendo deo hominem prospexisset bonitas dei ipsius, etiam hoc praeconio suo addidit, quod prius domicilium homini commentata est, aliquam postmodum molem maximam, postmodum et maiorem, ut in magna tanquam in minore proluderet atque proficeret, et ita de bono dei, id est de magno, ad optimum quoque eius, id est ad maius habitaculum promoveretur. Adhibet operi bono optimum etiam ministrum, sermonem suum: Eructavit, inquit, cor meum sermonem optimum. [2] Agnoscat hinc primum fructum optimum utique optimae arboris Marcion. Imperitissimus rusticus quidem in malam bonam inseruit. Sed non valebit blasphemiae surculus; arescet cum suo artifice, et ita se bonae arboris natura testabitur. Aspice ad summam, qualia sermo fructificaverit. Et dixit deus, Fiat, et factum est, et vidit deus quia bonum, non quasi nesciens bonum nisi videret, sed quia bonum ideo videns, honorans et consignans et dispungens bonitatem operum dignatione conspectus. [3] Sic et benedicebat quae benefaciebat, ut tibi totus

deus commendaretur, bonus et dicere et facere. Maledicere adhuc sermo non norat, quia nec malefacere. Videbimus causas quae hoc quoque a deo exegerunt. Interim mundus ex bonis omnibus constitit, satis praemonstrans quantum boni pararetur illi cui praeparabatur hoc totum. Quis denique dignus incolere dei opera quam ipsius imago et similitudo? [4] Eam quoque bonitas et quidem operantior operata est, non imperiali verbo sed familiari manu, etiam verbo blandiente praemisso, Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram. Bonitas dixit, bonitas finxit hominem de limo in tantam substantiam carnis ex una materia tot qualitativis exstructam. Bonitas inflavit animam, non mortuam sed vivam. Bonitas praefecit universis fruendis atque regnandis, etiam cognominandis. Bonitas amplius delicias adiecit homini, ut, quamquam totius orbis possidens, in amoenioribus moraretur translatus in paradysum, iam tunc de mundo in ecclesiam. Eadem bonitas et adiutorium prospexit, ne quid non boni. [5] Non est enim, inquit, bonum, solum esse hominem. Sciebat illi sexum Mariae et deinceps ecclesiae profuturum. Sed et quam arguis legem, quam in controversias torques, bonitas erogavit, consulens homini, quo deo adhaereret, ne non tam liber quam abiectus videretur, aequandus famulis suis, ceteris animalibus, solutis a deo et ex fastidio liberis, sed ut solus homo gloriaretur, quod solus dignus fuisset qui legem a deo sumeret, utque animal rationale intellectus et scientiae capax ipsa quoque libertate rationali contineretur, ei subiectus qui subiecerat illi omnia. [6] Cuius legis observandae consilium bonitas pariter adscripsit: Qua die autem ederitis, morte moriemini. Benignissime enim demonstravit exitum transgressionis, ne ignorantia periculi negligentiam iuvaret obsequii. Porro si legis imponendae ratio praecessit, sequebatur etiam observandae, ut poena transgressionis adscriberetur, quam tamen evenire noluit qui ante praedixit. Agnosce igitur bonitatem dei nostri interim vel hucusque ex operibus bonis, ex benedictionibus bonis, ex indulgentiis, ex providentiis, ex legibus et praemonitionibus bonis et benignis.

5. [1] Iam hinc ad quaestiones omnes, o canes, quos foras apostolus expellit, latrantes in deum veritatis. Haec sunt argumentationum ossa, quae obroditis. Si deus bonus et praescius futuri et avertendi mali potens, cur hominem, et quidem imaginem et similitudinem suam, immo et substantiam suam, per animae scilicet censum, passus est labi de obsequio legis in mortem circumventum a diabolo? [2] Si enim et bonus, qui evenire tale quid nollet, et

praescius, qui eventurum non ignoraret, et potens, qui depellere valeret, nullo modo evenisset quod sub his tribus condicionibus divinae maiestatis evenire non posset. Quod si evenit, absolutum est e contrario deum neque bonum credendum neque praescium neque potentem; siquidem in quantum nihil tale evenisset, si talis deus, id est bonus et praescius et potens, in tantum ideo evenit quia non talis deus. [3] Ad haec prius est istas species in creatore defendere quae in dubium vocantur, bonitatem dico et praescientiam et potentiam. Nec immorabor huic articulo, praeunte definitione etiam ipsius Christi. Ex operibus ineundae probationes. Opera creatoris utrumque testantur, et bonitatem eius, qua bona, sicut ostendimus, et potentiam, qua tanta, et quidem ex nihilo. Nam et si ex aliqua materia, ut quidam volunt, hoc ipso tamen ex nihilo, dum non id fuerunt quod sunt. [4] Postremo vel sic magna, dum bona, vel sic deus potens, dum omnia ipsius, unde et omnipotens. De praescientia vero quid dicam, quae tantos habet testes quantos fecit prophetas? Quamquam quis praescientiae titulus in omnium auctore, qua universa utique disponendo praesciit et praesciendo disposuit? certe ipsam transgressionem, quam nisi praescisset, nec cautionem eius delegasset sub metu mortis. [5] Igitur si et fuerunt in deo istae facultates prae quibus nihil mali evenire homini aut potuisset aut debuisset, et nihilominus evenit, videamus et hominis condicionem, ne per illam potius evenerit quod per deum evenire non potuit. Liberum et sui arbitrii et suae potestatis invenio hominem a deo institutum, nullam magis imaginem et similitudinem dei in illo animadvertens quam eiusmodi status formam. [6] Neque enim facie et corporalibus lineis tam variis in genere humano ad uniformem deum expressus est, sed in ea substantia quam ab ipso deo traxit, id est animae ad formam dei respondentis, et arbitrii sui libertate et potestate signatus est. Hunc statum eius confirmavit etiam ipsa lex tunc a deo posita. [7] Non enim poneretur lex ei qui non haberet obsequium debitum legi in sua potestate, nec rursus comminatio mortis transgressioni adscriberetur, si non et contemptus legis in arbitrii libertatem homini deputaretur. Sic et in posteris legibus creatoris invenias, proponentis ante hominem bonum et malum, vitam et mortem, sed nec alias totum ordinem disciplinae per praecepta dispositum, avocante deo et minante et exhortante, nisi et ad obsequium et ad contemptum libero et voluntario homine.

6. [1] Sed quoniam ex hoc iam intellegimur eo struentes liberam hominis potestatem arbitrii sui ut quod ei evenit non deo sed ipsi debeat exprobari, ne

et tu hinc iam opponas non ita illum institui debuisse, si libertas et potestas arbitrii exitiosa futura esset, hoc quoque prius defendam ita institui debuisse, quo fortius commendem et ita institutum et digne deo institutum, potiore ostensa ea causa quae ita fecit institui. Bonitas dei et ratio eius huic quoque instituto patrocinaabuntur, in omnibus conspirantes apud deum nostrum. [2] Nec ratio enim sine bonitate ratio est, nec bonitas sine ratione bonitas, nisi forte penes deum Marcionis irrationaliter bonum, sicut ostendimus. Oportebat deum cognosci. Bonum hoc utique et rationale. Oportebat dignum aliquid esse quod deum cognosceret. Quid tam dignum prospici posset quam imago dei et similitudo? [3] Et hoc bonum sine dubio et rationale. Oportebat igitur imaginem et similitudinem dei liberi arbitrii et suae potestatis institui in qua hoc ipsum imago et similitudo dei deputeretur, arbitrii scilicet libertas et potestas, in quam rem ea substantia homini accommodata est quae huius status esset, afflatus dei utique liberi et suae potestatis. Sed et alias quale erat ut totius mundi possidens homo non inprimis animi sui possessione regnaret, aliorum dominus, sui famulus? [4] Habes igitur et bonitatem dei agnoscere ex dignatione, et rationem ex dispositione. Sola nunc bonitas deputeretur quae tantum homini largita sit, id est arbitrii libertatem. Aliud sibi ratio defendat in eiusmodi institutionem. Nam bonus natura deus solus. Qui enim quod est sine initio habet, non institutione habet illud, sed natura. Homo autem, qui totus ex institutione est, habens initium cum initio sortitus est formam qua esset, atque ita non natura in bonum dispositus est, sed institutione, non suum habens bonus esse, quia non natura in bonum dispositus est, sed institutione, secundum institutorem bonum, scilicet bonorum conditorem. [5] Ut ergo bonum iam suum haberet homo, emancipatum sibi a deo, et fieret proprietas iam boni in homine et quodammodo natura, de institutione adscripta est illi quasi libripens emancipati a deo boni libertas et potestas arbitrii, quae efficeret bonum, ut proprium, iam sponte praestari ab homine, quoniam et hoc ratio bonitatis exigeret voluntarie exercendae, ex libertate scilicet arbitrii, [non] favente institutioni, non serviente, ut ita demum bonus consisteret homo, si secundum institutionem quidem sed ex voluntate iam bonus inveniretur, quasi de proprietate naturae, proinde ut et contra malum (nam et illud utique deus providebat) fortior homo praetenderet, liber scilicet et suae potestatis, quia si careret hoc iure, ut bonum quoque non voluntate obiret, sed necessitate, usurpabilis etiam malo futurus esset ex infirmitate servitii,

proinde et malo sicut bono famulus. [6] Tota ergo libertas arbitrii in utramque partem concessa est illi, ut sui dominus constanter occurreret et bono sponte servando et malo sponte vitando, quoniam et alias positum hominem sub iudicio dei oportebat iustum illud efficere de arbitrii sui meritis, liberi scilicet.

[7] Ceterum nec boni nec mali merces iure pensaretur ei qui aut bonus aut malus necessitate fuisset inventus, non voluntate. In hoc et lex constituta est, non excludens sed probans libertatem, de obsequio sponte praestando vel transgressionem sponte committenda; ita in utrumque exitum libertas patuit arbitrii. Igitur si et bonitas et ratio dei invenitur circa libertatem arbitrii concessam homini, non oportet omissa prima definitione bonitatis atque rationis, quae ante omnem tractatum constituenda est, post factis praeiudicare non ita deum instituere debuisse, quia aliter quam deum deceret evasis, sed dispecto quia ita debuerit instituere, salvo eo quod dispectum est cetera explorare. [8] Ceterum facile est offendentes statim in hominis ruinam, antequam conditionem eius inspexerint, in auctorem referre quod accidit, quia nec auctoris examinata sit ratio. Denique et bonitas dei a primordio operum perspecta persuadebit nihil a deo mali evenire potuisse, et libertas hominis recogitata se potius ream ostendet quod ipsa commisit.

7. [1] Hac definitione omnia deo salva sunt, et natura bonitatis et ratio dispositionis et praescientiae et potentiae copia. Exigere tamen a deo debes et gravitatem summam et fidem praecipuam in omni institutione eius, ut desinas quaerere an deo nolente potuerit quid evenire. Tenens enim gravitatem et fidem dei boni, sed rationalibus institutionibus eius vindicandas, nec illud miraberis, quod deus non intercesserit adversus ea quae noluit evenire ut conservaret ea quae voluit. [2] Si enim semel homini permiserat arbitrii libertatem et potestatem, et digne permiserat, sicut ostendimus, utique fruendas eas ex ipsa institutionis auctoritate permiserat, fruendas autem, quantum in ipso, secundum ipsum, id est secundum deum, id est in bonum (quis enim adversus se permittet aliquid?), quantum vero in hominem, secundum motus libertatis ipsius (quis enim non hoc praestat ei cui quid semel frui praestat, ut pro animo et arbitrio suo fruatur?). Igitur consequens erat uti deus secederet a libertate, semel concessa homini, id est contineret in semet ipso et praescientiam et praepotentiam suam, per quas intercessisse potuisset quominus homo male libertate sua frui aggressus in periculum laberetur. [3] Si enim intercessisset, rescidisset arbitrii libertatem, quam ratione et bonitate

permiserat. Denique puta intercessisse, puta rescidisse illum arbitrii libertatem, dum revocat ab arbore, dum ipsum circumscriptorem colubrum a congressu feminae arcet, nonne exclamaret Marcion, O dominum fulem, instabilem, infidelem, rescindentem quae instituit? Cur permiserat liberum arbitrium, si intercedit? Cur intercedit, si permisit? Eligat ubi semetipsum erroris notet, in institutione, an in rescissione. [4] Nonne tunc magis deceptus ex impraesentia futuri videretur, cum obstitisset? et quod quasi ignorans quomodo evasurum esset indulserat, quis non diceret? Sed et si praescierat male hominem institutione sua usurum, quid tam dignum deo quam gravitas, quam fides institutionum qualiumcunque? Vidisset homo, si non bene dispunxisset quod bene acceperat, ut ipse legi reus fuisset cui obsequi nolisset, non ut legislator ipse fraudem legi suae faceret, non sinendo praescriptum eius impleri. [5] Haec dignissime peroraturus in creatorem, si libero arbitrio hominis ex providentia et potentia, quas exigit, obstitisset, nunc tibi insurra pro creatore et gravitatem et patientiam et fidem, institutionibus suis functo ut et rationalibus et bonis.

8. [1] Neque enim ad vivendum solummodo produxerat hominem, ut non ad recte vivendum, in respectu scilicet dei legisque eius. Igitur vivere quidem illi ipse praestiterat facto in animam vivam, recte vero vivere demandarat admonito in legis obsequium. Ita non in mortem institutum hominem probat qui nunc cupit in vitam restitutum, malens peccatoris paenitentiam quam mortem. [2] Igitur sicut deus homini vitae statum induxit, ita homo sibi mortis statum attraxit, et hoc non per infirmitatem, sicuti nec per ignorantiam, ne quid auctori imputaretur. Nam etsi angelus qui seduxit, sed liber et suae potestatis qui seductus est, sed imago et similitudo dei fortior angelo, sed afflatus dei generosior spiritu materiali quo angeli constiterunt. Qui facit, inquit, spiritus angelos et apparitores flammam ignis. Quia nec universitatem homini subiecisset infirmo dominandi et non potiori angelis, quibus nihil tale subiecit. [3] Sic nec legis pondus imposuisset, si gravis lex invalido sustinendi, nec quem excusabilem sciret nomine imbecillitatis, eum definitione mortis convenisset; postremo non libertate nec potestate arbitrii fecisset infirmum, sed potius defectione earum. Atque adeo eundem hominem, eandem substantiam animae, eundem Adae statum eadem arbitrii libertas et potestas victorem efficit hodie de eodem diabolo, cum secundum obsequium legum eius administratur.

9. [1] Quoquo tamen, inquis, modo substantia creatoris delicti capax invenitur, cum afflatus dei, id est anima, in homine deliquit, nec potest non ad originalem summam referri corruptio portionis. Ad hoc interpretanda erit qualitas animae. Inprimis tenendum quod Graeca scriptura signavit, afflatum nominans, non spiritum. [2] Quidam enim de Graeco interpretantes non recogitata differentia nec curata proprietate verborum pro afflatu spiritum ponunt, et dant haereticis occasionem spiritum dei delicto infuscandi, id est ipsum deum. Et usurpata iam quaestio est. Intellege itaque afflatum minorem spiritu esse, etsi de spiritu accidit, ut aurulam eius, non tamen spiritum. Nam et aura vento rarior, et si de vento aura, non tamen ventus aura. Capit etiam imaginem spiritus dicere flatum. [3] Nam et ideo homo imago dei, id est spiritus; deus enim spiritus. Imago ergo spiritus afflatus. Porro imago veritati non usquequaque adaequabitur. Aliud est enim secundum veritatem esse, aliud ipsam veritatem esse. Sic et afflatus cum imago sit spiritus, non potest ita imaginem dei comparare, ut, quia veritas, id est spiritus, id est deus, sine delicto est, ideo et afflatus, id est imago, non debuerit admisisse delictum. [4] In hoc erit imago minor veritate et afflatus spiritu inferior, habens illas utique lineas dei, qua immortalis anima, qua libera et sui arbitrii, qua praescia plerumque, qua rationalis, capax intellectus et scientiae, tamen et in his imago, et non usque ad ipsam vim divinitatis, sic nec usque ad integritatem a delicto, quia hoc soli deo cedit, id est veritati, et hoc solum imagini non licet. [5] Sicut enim imago, cum omnes lineas exprimat veritatis, vi tamen ipsa caret, non habens motum, ita et anima, imago spiritus, solam vim eius exprimere non valuit, id est non delinquendi felicitatem. Ceterum non esset anima, sed spiritus, nec homo, qui animam sortitus est, sed deus. [6] Et alias autem non omne quod dei erit deus habebitur, ut expostules deum et afflatum, id est vacuum a delicto, quia dei sit afflatus. Nec tu enim si in tibiam flaveris, hominem tibiam feceris, quamquam de anima tua flaveris, sicut et deus de spiritu suo. Denique cunx manifeste scriptura dicat flasse deum in faciem hominis, et factum hominem in animam vivam, non in spiritum vivificantem, separavit eam a condicione factoris. [7] Opus enim aliud sit necesse est ab artifice, id est inferius artifice. Nec urceus enim factus a figulo ipse erit figulus, ita nec afflatus factus a spiritu ideo erit spiritus. Ipsum quod anima vocitatus est flatus, vide ne etiam de afflatus condicione transierit in aliquam deminutiorem qualitatem. Ergo, inquis, dedisti animae infirmitatem supra

negatam. Plane cum illam exigis deo parem, id est delicti immunem, dico infirmam. Cum vero ad angelum provocatur, fortiorem defendam necesse est dominum universitatis, cui iam angeli administrant, qui etiam angelos iudicaturus est, si in dei lege constiterit, quod in primordio noluit. [8] Hoc ipsum ergo potuit afflatus dei admittere; potuit, sed non debuit. Potuisse enim habuit per substantiae exilitatem, qua afflatus, non spiritus, non debuisset autem per arbitrii potestatem, qua liber, non servus, adsistente amplius demonstratione non delinquendi, sub comminatione moriendi, qua substrueretur substantiae exilitas et regeretur sententiae libertas. Itaque non per illud iam videri potest anima deliquisse quod illi cum deo affine est, id est per afflatum, sed per illud quod substantiae accessit, id est per liberum arbitrium, a deo quidem rationaliter attributum, ab homine vero qua voluit agitatam. [9] Quodsi ita se habent, omnis iam dei dispositio de mali exprobratione purgatur. Libertas enim arbitrii non ei culpam suam respuet a quo data est, sed a quo non ut debuit administrata est. Quod denique malum describes creatori? Si delictum hominis, non erit dei quod est hominis, nec idem habendus est delicti auctor qui invenitur interdictor, immo et condemnator. Si mors malum, nec mors comminatori suo sed contemptori faciet invidiam, ut auctori. Contemnendo enim eam fecit, non utique futuram si non contempsisset.

10. [1] Sed et si ab homine in diabolum transcripseris mali elogium, ut in instinctorem delicti, uti sic quoque in creatorem dirigas culpam ut in auctorem diaboli, qui facit angelos spiritus, ergo quod factus a deo est, id est angelus, id erit eius qui fecit, quod autem factus a deo non est, id est diabolus, id est delator, superest ut ipse sese fecerit, deferendo de deo, et quidem falsum, primo, quod deus illos ex omni ligno edere vetuisset, dehinc, quasi morituri non essent, si edissent, tertio, quasi deus illis invidisset divinitatem. [2] Unde igitur malitia mendacii et fallaciae in homines et infamiae in deum? A deo utique non, qui et angelum ex forma operum bonorum instituit bonum. Denique sapientissimus omnium editur ante quam diabolus; nisi malum est sapientia. Et si evolvas Ezechielis prophetiam, facile animadverteres tam institutione bonum angelum illum quam sponte corruptum. [3] In persona enim principis Sor ad diabolum pronuntiatur, Et factus est sermo domini ad me dicens: Fili hominis, sume planctum super principem Sor, et dices, Haec dicit dominus: Tu es resignaculum similitudinis, qui scilicet integritatem imaginis

et similitudinis resignaveris, corona decoris (hoc ut eminentissimo angelorum, ut archangelo, ut sapientissimo omnium) in deliciis paradisi dei tui natus es; illic enim, ubi deus in secunda animalium figurae formatione angelos fecerat. Lapidem optimum indutus es, sardium, topazium, smaragdum, carbunculum, sapphirum, iaspin, lyncurium, achaten, arnethystum, chrysolithum, beryllum, onychinum, et auro replesti horrea tua et thesauros tuos. Ex qua die conditus es, cum cherub imposui te in monte sancto dei, fuisti in medio lapidum igneorum, fuisti invituperabilis in diebus tuis, ex qua die conditus es, donec inventae sunt laesurae tuae; de multitudine negotiationis tuae promas tuas replesti, et deliquisti, et cetera, quae ad suggillationem angeli, non ad illius principis, proprie pertinere manifestum est, eo quod nemo hominum in paradiso dei natus sit, ne ipse quidem Adam, translatus potius illuc, nec cum cherub impositus in monte sancto dei, id est in sublimitate caelesti, de qua satanam dominus quoque decidisse testatur, nec inter lapides igneos demoratus, inter gemmantes siderum ardentium radios, unde etiam quasi fulgur deiectus est satanas. [4] Sed ipse auctor delicti in persona peccatoris viri denotabatur, retro quidem invituperabilis a die conditionis suae, a deo in bonum conditus, ut a bono conditore invituperabilium conditionum, et excultus omni gloria angelica, et apud deum constitutus, qua bonus apud bonum, postea vero a semetipso translatus in malum. Ex quo enim, inquit, apparuerunt laesurae tuae, illi eas reputans, quibus scilicet laesit hominem eiectum a dei obsequio, [5] et ex illo deliquit ex quo delictum seminavit, atque ita exinde negotiationis, id est malitiae, suae multitudinem exercuit, delictorum scilicet censum, non minus et ipse liberi arbitrii institutus, ut spiritus. Nihil enim deus proximum sibi non libertate eiusmodi ordinasset. Quem tamen et praedamnando testatus est ab institutionis forma libidine propria conceptae ultro malitiae exorbitasse, et commeatum operationibus eius admetiendo rationem bonitatis suae egit, eodem consilio differens extinctionem diaboli quo hominis restitutionem. [6] Certamini enim dedit spatium, ut et homo eadem arbitrii libertate elideret inimicum qua succiderat illi, probans suam, non dei culpam, et ita salutem digne per victoriam recuperaret, et diabolus amarius puniretur ab eo quem eliserat ante devictus, et deus tanto magis bonus inveniretur, sustinens hominem gloriosorem in paradysum ad licentiam decerpendae arboris vitae iam de vita regressurum.

11. [1] Igitur usque ad delictum hominis deus a primordio tantum bonus,

exinde iudex et severus et, quod Marcionitae volunt, saevus. Statim mulier in doloribus parere et viro servire damnatur, sed quae ante sine ulla contristatione per benedictionem incrementum generis audierat, Crescite, tantum, et multiplicamini, sed quae in adiutorium masculo, non in servitium fuerat destinata. Statim et terra maledicatur, sed ante benedicta. Statim tribuli et spinae, sed ante foenum, et herbae et arborum fructuosa. Statim sudor et labor panis, sed ante ex omni ligno victus immunis et alimenta secura. [2] Exinde homo ad terram, sed ante de terra; exinde ad mortem, sed ante ad vitam; exinde in scortis vestibis, sed ante sine scrupulo nudus. Ita prior bonitas dei secundum naturam, severitas posterior secundum causam. Illa ingenita, haec accidens; illa propria, haec accommodata; illa edita, haec adhibita. Nec natura enim inoperatam debuit continuisse bonitatem, nec causa dissimulatam evasisse severitatem. Alteram sibi, alteram rei deus praestitit. [3] Incipe nunc etiam iudicis statum ut affinem mali arguere, qui idcirco alium deum somniasti, solummodo bonum, quia non potes iudicem. Quamquam et illum ut iudicem ostendimus; aut si non iudicem, certe perversum ac vanum, disciplinae non vindicandae, id est non iudicandae, constitutorem. Non reprobas autem deum iudicem, qui non iudicem deum probas: ipsam sine dubio iustitiam accusare debebis, quae iudicem praestat, aut et eam in species malitiae deputare, id est iniustitiam in titulos bonitatis adscribere. [4] Nunc enim iustitia malum, si iniustitia bonum. Porro cum cogeris iniustitiam de pessimis pronuntiare, eodem iugo urgeris iustitiam de optimis censere. Nihil enim aemulum mali non bonum, sicut et boni aemulum nihil non malum. Igitur quanto malum iniustitia, tanto bonum iustitia. Nec species solummodo, sed tutela reputanda bonitatis, quia bonitas, nisi iustitia regatur ut iusta sit, non erit bonitas, si iniusta sit. Nihil enim bonum quod iniustum, bonum autem omne quod iustum.

12. [1] Ita si societas et conspiratio bonitatis atque iustitiae separationem earum non potest capere, quo ore constitues diversitatem duorum deorum, in separatione seorsum deputans deum bonum et seorsum deum iustum? Illic consistit bonum ubi et iustum. A primordio denique creator tam bonus quam et iustus. Pariter utrumque processit. Bonitas eius operata est mundum, iustitia modulata est, quae etiam tum mundum iudicavit ex bonis faciendum quia cum bonitatis consilio iudicavit. [2] Iustitiae opus est quod inter lucem et tenebras separatio pronuntiata est, inter diem et noctem, inter caelum et terram, inter

aquam superiorem et inferiorem, intermaris coetum et aridae molem, inter luminaria maiora et minora, diurna atque nocturna, inter marem et feminam, inter arborem agnitionis mortis et vitae, inter orbem et paradisum, inter aquigena et terrigena animalia. Omnia ut bonitas concepit, ita iustitia distinxit. [3] Totum hoc iudicato dispositum et ordinatum est. Omnis situs, habitus elementorum, effectus, motus, status, ortus, occasus singulorum, iudicia sunt creatoris: ne putes eum exinde iudicem definiendum quo malum coepit, atque ita iustitiam de causa mali offusces. His enim modis ostendimus eam cum auctrice omnium bonitate prodisse, ut et ipsam ingentem deo et naturalem nec obventiciam deputandam, quae in domino inventa sit arbitrix operum eius.

13. [1] At enim ut malum postea erupit atque inde iam coepit bonitas dei cum adversario agere, aliud quoque negotium eadem illa iustitia dei nacta est iam secundum aversionem dirigendae bonitatis, ut seposita libertate eius, qua et ultro deus bonus, pro meritis cuiusque pensetur, dignis offeratur, indignis denegetur, ingratum auferatur, proinde omnibus aemulis vindicetur. [2] Ita omne hoc iustitiae opus procuratio bonitatis est; quod iudicando damnat, quod damnando punit, quod, ut dicitis, saevit, utique bono, non malo proficit. Denique timor iudicii ad bonum, non ad malum confert. Non enim sufficebat bonum per semetipsum commendari, iam sub adversario laborans. Nam et si commendabile per semetipsum, non tamen et conservabile, quia expugnabile iam per adversarium, nisi vis aliqua praecesset timendi, quae bonum etiam nolentes appetere et custodire compelleret. [3] Ceterum tot illecebris mali expugnantibus bonum quis illud appeteret quod impune contemneret? Quis custodiret quod sine periculo amitteret? Legis mali viam latam et multo frequentiore: nonne omnes illa laberentur, si nihil in illa timeretur? Horremus terribiles minas creatoris, et vix a malo avellimur. Quid, si nihil minaretur? Hanc iustitiam malum dices, quae malo non favet? Hanc bonum negabis, quae bono prospicit? Qualem oportet deum velles? qualem malles expedit? Sub quo delicta gauderent, cui diabolus illuderet? [4] Illum bonum iudicares deum qui hominem posset magis malum facere securitate delicti? Quis boni auctor, nisi qui et exactor? Proinde quis mali extraneus, nisi qui et inimicus? Quis inimicus, nisi qui et expugnator? Quis expugnator, nisi qui et punitor? Sic totus deus bonus est, dum pro bono omnia est. Sic denique omnipotens, quia et iuvandi et laedendi potens. Minus est tantummodo

prodesse, quia non aliud quid possit quam prodesse. De eiusmodi qua fiducia bonum sperem, si hoc solum potest? quomodo innocentiae mercedem secter, si non et nocentiae spectem? [5] Diffidam necesse est, ne nec alteram partem remuneretur qui utramque non valuit. Usque adeo iustitia etiam plenitudo est divinitatis ipsius, exhibens deum perfectum et patrem et dominum, patrem clementia, dominum disciplina, patrem potestate blanda, dominum severa, patrem diligendum pie, dominum timendum necessarie, diligendum quia malit misericordiam quam sacrificium, et timendum quia nolit peccatum, diligendum quia malit paenitentiam peccatoris quam mortem, et timendum quia nolit peccatores sui iam non paenitentes. Ideo lex utrumque definit: Diliges deum, et, Timebis deum. Aliud obsecutori proposuit, aliud exorbitatori.

14. [1] Ad omnia tibi occurrit deus, idem percutiens sed et sanans, mortificans sed et vivificans, humilians sed et sublimans, condens mala sed et pacem faciens, ut etiam et hinc respondeam haereticis. Ecce enim, inquit, ipse se conditorem profitetur malorum dicens, Ego sum qui condo mala. [2] Amplexi enim vocabuli communionem duas malorum species in ambiguitate turbantem, quia mala dicuntur et delicta et supplicia, passim volunt eum conditorem intellegi malorum, ut malitiae auctor renuntietur. Nos autem adhibita distinctione utriusque formae, separatis malis delicti et malis supplicii, malis culpa et malis poenae, suum cuique parti definimus auctorem, malorum quidem peccati et culpa diabolum, malorum vero supplicii et poenae deum creatorem, ut illa pars malitiae deputetur, ista iustitiae, mala condentis iudicii adversus mala delicti. [3] De his ergo creator profitetur malis quae congruunt iudici: quae quidem illis mala sunt quibus rependuntur, ceterum suo nomine bona, qua iusta, et bonorum defensoria et delictorum inimica, atque in hoc ordine deo digna. Aut proba ea iniusta, ut probes malitiae deputanda, id est iniustitiae mala, quia si iustitiae erunt, iam mala non erunt, sed bona, malis tantummodo mala, quibus etiam directo bona pro malis damnantur. [4] Constitue igitur iniuste hominem divinae legis voluntarium contemptorem id retulisse quo voluit caruisse, iniuste malitiam aevi illius imbribus, dehinc et ignibus caesam, iniuste Aegyptum foedissimam, superstitiosam, amplius hospitis populi conflictatricem, decemplici castigatione percussam. Indurat cor Pharaonis. Sed meruerat in exitium subministrari qui iam negaverat deum, qui iam legatos eius totiens

superbus excusserat, qui iam populo laborem operis adiecerat; postremo, quae Aegyptius, olim deo reus fuerat gentilis idololatriae, ibi et crocodilum citius colens quam deum vivum. Impendit et ipsum populum, sed ingratum. Immisit et pueris ursos, sed irreverentibus in prophetam.

15. [1] Iustitiam ergo primo iudicis dispice, cuius si ratio constiterit, tunc et severitas, et per quae severitas decurrit, rationi et iustitiae reputabuntur. Ac ne pluribus immoremur, asserite causas ceteras quoque, ut sententias condemnetis, excusate delicta, ut iudicia reprobetis. Nolite reprehendere iudicem, sed revincite malum iudicem. Nam et si patrum delicta de filiis exigebat, duritia populi talia remedia compulerat, ut vel posteritatibus suis prospicientes legi divinae obedirent. Quis enim non magis filiorum salutem quam suam curet? [2] Sed et si benedictio patrum semini quoque eorum destinabatur, sine ullo adhuc merito eius, cur non et reatus patrum in filios quoque redundaret? Sicut gratia, ita et offensa; ut per totum genus et gratia decurreret et offensa, salvo eo quod postea decerni habebat, non dicturos acidam uvam patres manducasse et filiorum dentes obstupuisse, id est non sumpturum patrem delictum filii, nec filium delictum patris, sed unumquemque delicti sui reum futurum, ut post duritiam populi duritia legis edomita, iustitia iam non genus sed personas iudicaret. [3] Quamquam si evangelium veritatis accipias, ad quos pertineat sententia reddentis in filios patrum delicta cognosces, ad illos scilicet qui hanc ultro sibi sententiam fuerant irrogaturi, Sanguis illius super capita nostra et filiorum nostrorum. Hoc itaque omnis providentia dei censuit quod iam audierat.

16. [1] Bona igitur et severitas quia iusta, si bonus iudex, id est iustus. Item cetera bona per quae opus bonum currit bonae severitatis, sive ira sive aemulatio sive saevitia. Debita enim omnia haec sunt severitati, sicut severitas debitum est iustitiae. Vindicanda erat procacitas aetatis verecundiam debentis. Atque ita non poterunt iudici exprobrari quae iudici accedunt, carentia et ipsa culpa, sicut et iudex. Quid enim, si medicum quidem dicas esse debere, ferramenta vero eius accuses quod secent et inurant et amputent et constrictent, quando sine instrumento artis medicus esse non possit? [2] Sed accusa male secantem, importune amputantem, temere inurentem, atque ita ferramenta quoque eius ut mala ministeria reprehende. Proinde est enim cum deum quidem iudicem admittis, eos vero motus et sensus per quos iudicat destruis. Deum nos a prophetis et a Christo, non a philosophis nec ab Epicuro

erudimur. [3] Qui credimus deum etiam in terris egisse et humani habitus humilitatem suscepisse ex causa humanae salutis, longe sumus a sententia eorum qui nolunt deum curare quicquam. Inde venit ad haereticos quoque definitio eiusmodi, si deus irascitur et aemulatur et extollitur et exacerbatur, ergo et corrumpetur, ergo et morietur. Bene autem quod Christianorum est etiam mortuum deum credere et tamen viventem in aevo aevorum. [4] Stultissimi, qui de humanis divina praeiudicant, ut quoniam in homine corruptoriae conditionis habentur huiusmodi passionες, idcirco et in deo eiusdem status existimentur. Discerne substantias, et suos eis distribue sensus tam diversos quam substantiae exigunt, licet vocabulis communicare videantur. Nam et dexteram et oculos et pedes dei legimus, nec ideo tamen humanis comparabuntur quia de appellatione sociantur. Quanta erit diversitas divini corporis et humani sub eisdem nominibus membrorum, tanta erit et animi divini et humani differentia sub eisdem licet vocabulis sensuum, quos tam corruptorios efficit in homine corruptibilitas substantiae humanae quam incorruptorios in deo efficit incorruptibilitas substantiae divinae. [5] Certe deum confiteris creatorem? Certe, inquis. Quomodo ergo in deo humanum aliquid existimas, et non divinum omne? Quem deum non negas, confiteris non humanum, siquidem deum confitendo praeiudicasti utique illum ab omni humanarum conditionum qualitate diversum. Porro cum pariter agnoscas hominem a deo inflatum in animam vivam, non deum ab homine, satis perversum est ut in deo potius humana constituas quam in homine divina, et hominis imagine deum induas potius quam dei hominem. [6] Et haec ergo imago censenda est dei in homine, quod eosdem motus et sensus habeat humanus animus quos et deus, licet non tales quales deus; pro substantia enim et status eorum et exitus distant. Denique contrarios eorum sensus, lenitatem dico, patientiam, misericordiam, ipsamque matricem earum, bonitatem, cur divina praesumitis? Nec tamen perfecte ea obtinemus, quia solus deus perfectus. Ita et illas species, irae dico et exasperationis, non tam feliciter patimur, quia solus deus de incorruptibilitatis proprietate felix. [7] Irascetur enim sed non <quatiētur>; exacerbabitur sed non periclitabitur; movebitur sed non evertetur. Omnia necesse est adhibeat propter omnia; tot sensus quot et causas; et iram propter scelestos, et bilem propter ingratos, et aemulationem propter superbos, et quicquid non expedit malis. Sic et misericordiam propter errantes, et patientiam propter non resipiscentes, et praestantiam propter

merentes, et quicquid bonis opus est. Quae omnia patitur suo more, quo eum pati condecet, propter quem homo eadem patitur aequo suo more.

17. [1] Haec ita dispecta totum ordinem dei iudicis operarium et, ut dignius dixerim, protectorem catholicae et summae illius bonitatis ostendunt quam semotam a iudiciariis sensibus et in suo statu puram nolunt Marcionitae in eodem deo agnoscere, pluentem super bonos et malos et solem suum oriri facientem super iustos et iniustos, quod alius deus omnino non praestat. Nam etsi hoc quoque testimonium Christi in creatorem Marcion de evangelio eradere ausus est, sed ipse mundus inscriptus est et omni a conscientia legitur.

[2] Et erit haec ipsa patientia creatoris in iudicium Marcionis, illa patientia quae expectat paenitentiam potius peccatoris quam mortem, et mavult misericordiam quam sacrificium, avertens iam destinatum exitium Ninivitis, et largiens spatium vitae Ezechiae lacrimis, et restituens statum regni Babylonis tyranno paenitentia functo: illam dico misericordiam quae et filium Saulis moriturum ex devotione populo concessit, et David delicta in domum Uriae confessum venia liberavit, et ipsum Israel totiens restituit quotiens iudicavit, totiens refovit quotiens et increpuit. [3] Non solum igitur iudicem aspiciens convertere et ad optimi exempla. Notans cum ulciscitur considera cum indulget. Repende austeritati lenitatem. Cum utrumque conveneris in creatore, invenies in eo et illud propter quod alterum deum credis. Veni denique ad inspectionem doctrinarum, disciplinarum, praeceptorum consiliorumque eius. Dices forsitan haec etiam humanis legibus determinari. Sed ante Lycurgos et Solonas omnes Moyses et deus. Nulla posteritas non a primordiis accipit. [4] Tamen non a tuo deo didicit creator meus praescribere, Non occides, non adulterabis, non furaberis, non falsum testimonium dices, alienum non concupisces, honora patrem et matrem, et diliges proximum tuum ut te ipsum. Ad haec innocentiae, pudicitiae et iustitiae et pietatis principalia consulta accedunt etiam humanitatis praescripta, cum septimo quoque anno servitia libertate solvuntur, cum eodem tempore agro parcitur, egenis cedendo locum, bovi etiam terenti vincula oris remittuntur ad fructum praesentis laboris, quo facilius in pecudibus praemeditata humanitas in hominum refrigeria erudiretur.

18. [1] Sed quae potius legis bona defendam quam quae haeresis concu<tere concu>piit ut talionis definitionem, oculum pro oculo, dentera pro dente, et livorem pro livore repetentis? Non enim iniuriae mutuo exercendae licentiam

sapit, sed in totum cohibendae violentiae prospicit, ut quia durissimo et infideli in deum populo longum vel etiam incredibile videretur a deo expectare defensam, edicendam postea per prophetam, Mihi defensam, et ego defendam, dicit dominus, interim commissio iniuriae metu vicis statim occurrurae repastinaretur, et licentia retributionis prohibitio esset provocationis, ut sic improbitas aestuata cessaret, dum secunda permissa prima terretur, et prima deterrita nec secunda committitur, qua et alias facilius timor talionis per eundem saporem passionis. Nihil amarius quam id ipsum pati quod feceris aliis. [2] Et si lex aliquid cibis detrahit et immunda pronuntiat animalia quae aliquando benedicta sunt, consilium exercendae continentiae intellege, et frenos impositos illi gulae agnosce quae cum panem ederet angelorum, cucumeres et pepones Aegyptiorum desiderabat. Agnosce simul et comitibus gulae, libidini scilicet atque luxuriae, prospectum, quae fere ventris castigatione frigescunt. Manducaverat enim populus et biberat et surrexerat ludere. Proinde ut et pecuniae ardor restringeretur ex parte qua de victus necessitate causatur, pretiosorum ciborum ambitio detracta est: postremo, ut facilius homo ad ieiunandum deo formaretur, paucis et non gloriosis escis assuefactus, et nihil de lautioribus esuriturus. [3] Reprehendendus sane creator quod cibos potius populo suo abstulit quam ingratoribus Marcionitis. Sacrificiorum quoque onera et operationum et oblationum negotiosas scrupulositates nemo reprehendat, quasi deus talia sibi proprie desideraverit, qui tam manifeste exclamat, Quo mihi multitudinem sacrificiorum vestrorum? et, Quis exquisivit ista de manibus vestris? sed illam dei industriam sentiat qua populum primum in idololatriam et transgressionem eiusmodi officii religioni suae voluit adstringere quibus superstitio saeculi agebatur, ut ab ea avocaret illos, sibi iubens fieri quasi desideranti, ne simulacris faciendis delinqueret.

19. [1] Sed et in ipsis commerciis vitae et conversationis humanae domi ac foris adusque curam vasculorum omnifariam distinxit, ut istis legalibus disciplinis occurrentibus ubique nec ullo momento vacarent a dei respectu. Quid enim faceret beatum hominem quam in lege domini voluntas eius, et in lege domini meditabitur die ac nocte? Quam legem non duritia promulgavit auctoris, sed ratio summae benignitatis, populi potius duritiam edomantis et rudem obsequio fidem operosis officiis dedolantis, ut nihil de arcanis attingam significantiis legis, spiritalis scilicet et propheticae, et in omnibus paene

argumentis figuratae. [2] Sufficit enim in praesenti si simpliciter hominem deo obligabat, ut nemo eam reprobare debeat, nisi cui non placet deo deservire. Ad hoc beneficium, non onus, legis adiuvandum etiam prophetas eadem bonitas dei ordinavit, docentes deo digna, auferre nequitias de anima, discere benefacere, exquirere iudicium, iudicare pupillo et iustificare viduam, diligere quaestiones, fugere improborum contactum, dimittere conflictam integram, dissipare scripturam inivistam, infringere panem esurienti et tectum non habentem inducere in domum tuam, nudum si videris, contegere, et domesticos seminis tui non despicere, compescere linguam a malo, et labia ne loquantur dolum, declinare a malo et facere bonum, quaerere pacem et sectari eam, irasci et non delinquere, id est in ira non perseverare sive saevire, non abire in concilium impiorum, nec stare in via peccatorum, nec in cathedra pestilentium sedere. Sed ubi? [3] Vide quam bonum et iocundum habitare fratres in unum, meditantes die ac nocte in lege domini, quia bonum scilicet fidere in dominum quam fidere in hominem, et sperare in dominum quam sperare in hominem. Qualis enim apud deum merces homini? Et erit tanquam lignum quod plantatum est iuxta exitus aquarum, quod fructum suum dabit in tempore suo, et folium eius non decidet, et omnia quaecunque faciet prosperabuntur illi. Innocens autem et purus corde, qui non accepit in vanum nomen dei et non iuravit ad proximum suum in dolo, iste accipiet benedictionem a domino, et misericordiam a deo salutificatore suo. [4] Oculi enim domini super timentes eum, sperantes in misericordiam ipsius, ad deliberandas animas eorum de morte, utique aeterna, et nutriendos eos in fame, utique vitae aeternae. Multae enim pressurae iustorum, et ex omnibus liberabit eos dominus. Honorabilis mors in conspectu domini sanctorum eius. Dominus custodit omnia ossa eorum unum ex ipsis non comminuetur. Redimet dominus animas servorum suorum. Pauca ista de tantis scripturis creatoris intulimus, et nihil puto iam ad testimonium dei optimi deesse, quod satis et praecepta bonitatis et praemissa consignant.

20. [1] Sed enim sepie isti, quorum figura illud quoque pisculentum de cibis lex recusavit, ut traductionem sui sentiunt, tenebras hinc blasphemiae intervomunt, atque ita intentionem uniuscuiusque iam proximam dispargunt, iactitando et asseverando ea quae relucens bonitatem creatoris infuscent. Sed et per istas caligines sequemur nequitiam, et in lucem extrahemus ingenia tenebrarum, obicientia creatori vel maxime fraudem illam et rapinam auri et

argenti, mandatam ab illo Hebraeis in Aegyptios. [2] Age, infelicissime haeretice, te ipsum expostulo arbitrum, cognosce in utramque gentem prius, et ita de auctore praecepti iudicabis. Reposcunt Aegyptii de Hebraeis vasa aurea et argentea. Contra Hebraei mutuas petitiones instituunt, allegantes sibi quoque eorundem patrum nomine, ex eodem scripturae instrumento, mercedes restitui oportere illius operariae servitutis pro laterinis deductis, pro civitatibus et villis aedificatis. [3] Quid iudicabis, optimi dei elector? Hebraeos fraudem agnoscere debere, an Aegyptios compensationem? Nam et aiunt ita actum per legatos utrinque, Aegyptiorum quidem repetentium vasa, Iudaeorum vero reposcentium operas suas. Et tamen vasis iustitia renuntiaverunt ibi Aegyptii. Hodie adversus Marcionitas amplius allegant Hebraei, negantes compensationi satis esse quantumvis illud auri et argenti, si sexcentorum milium operae per tot annos vel singulis nummis diurnis aestimentur. [4] Quae autem pars maior, repetentium vasa an incolentium villas et urbes? Querela ergo maior Aegyptiorum, an gratia Hebraeorum? Ut solo iniuriarum iudicio Hebraei Aegyptios reprecuterent, liberi homines in ergastulum subacti: ut solas scapulas suas scribae eorum apud subsellia sua ostenderent flagellorum contumeliosa atrocitate laceratas: non paucis lancibus et scyphis, pauciorum utique divitum ubique, sed totis et ipsorum facultatibus et popularium omnium collationibus satisfaciendum Hebraeis pronuntiasset. Igitur si bona Hebraeorum causa, bona iam et causa, id est mandatum, creatoris, qui et Aegyptios gratos fecit nescientes, et suum populum in tempore expeditionis angusto aliquo solatio tacitae compensationis expunxit. Plane minus exigi iussit. Hebraeis etiam filios Aegyptii restituere debuerant.

21. [1] Sic et in ceteris contrarietates praeceptorum ei exprobras ut mobili et instabili, prohibentis sabbatis operari et iubentis arcam circumferri per dies octo, id est etiam sabbato, in expugnatione civitatis Hiericho. Nec sabbati enim inspicias legem, opera humana, non divina, prohibentem. Siquidem, Sex, inquit, diebus operare, et facies omnia opera tua, septima autem die sabbata domino deo tuo; non facies in ea omne opus. Quod? utique tuum. Consequens enim est ut ea opera sabbato auferret quae sex diebus supra indixerat, tua scilicet, id est humana et cotidiana. [2] Arcam vero circumferre neque cotidianum opus videri potest neque humanum, sed et rarum et sacrosanctum et ex ipso tunc dei praecepto utique divinum. Quod et ipse quid significaret edissererem, nisi longum esset figuras argumentorum omnium creatoris

expandere, quas forsitan nec admittis. Sed plus est si de absolutis revincamini, simplicitate veritatis, non curiositate: sicut et nunc certa distinctio est sabbati humana, non divina, opera prohibentis. Ideoque qui sabbatis lignatum ierat, morti datus est: suum enim opus fecerat, lege interdictum. Qui vero arcam sabbatis circumtuleraunt, impune gesserunt: non suum enim opus sed dei, ex praecepto scilicet ipsius, administraverant.

22. [1] Proinde et similitudinem vetans fieri omnium quae in caelo et in terra et in aquis, ostendit et causas, idololatriae scilicet substantiam cohibentes. Subicit enim, Non adorabitis ea neque servietis illis. Serpentis autem aenei effigies postea praecepta Moysi a domino non ad idololatriae titulum pertinebat, sed ad remediandos eos qui a serpentibus infestabantur. Et taceo de figura remedii. [2] Sic et cherubim et seraphim aurea, in arcae figuratum exemplum certe simplex ornamentum, accommodata suggestui: longe diversas habendo causas ab idololatriae condicione, ob quam similitudo prohibetur, non videntur similitudinum prohibitarum legi refragari, non in eo similitudinis statu deprehensa ob quem similitudo prohibetur. Diximus de sacrificiorum rationali institutione, avocante scilicet ab idolis ad deum officia ea quae si rursus eiecerat dicens, Quo mihi multitudinem sacrificiorum vestrorum? hoc ipsum voluit intellegi quod non sibi ea proprie exegisset. Non enim bibam, inquit, sanguinem taurorum, quia et alibi ait, Deus aeternus non esuriet nec sitiet. [3] Nam etsi ad oblationes Abel advertit, et holocausta Noe odoratus est libenter, quae iocunditas sive viscerum vervecinorum sive nidoris ardentium victimarum? Sed animus simplex et deum metuens offerentium ea quae a deo habebant, et pabuli et suavis olentiae, gratiae apud deum deputabatur, non quae fiebant exigentis, sed illud propter quod fiebant, ob honorem scilicet dei. Si cliens diviti aut regi nihil desideranti tamen aliquid vilissimi munusculi obtulerit, quantitas et qualitas muneris infuscabit divitem et regem, an delectabit titulus officii? [4] At si cliens ei munera ultro, vel etiam indicta, ordine suo offerat, et sollemnia regis observet, non ex fide tamen, nec corde puro, nec pleno circa cetera quoque obsequia, nonne consequens ut rex ille vel dives exclamet, Quo mihi multitudinem munerum tuorum? plenus sum: et, Sollemnitates et dies festos et vestra sabbata? Vestra dicendo quae secundum libidinem suam non secundum religionem dei celebrando, sua iam non dei fecerant, condicionalem idcirco et rationalem demonstravit recusationem eorum quae administranda praescripserat.

23. [1] Si vero etiam circa personas levem vultis intellegi cum reprobatur aliquando probatos, aut improvidum cum probatur quandoque reprobandos, quasi iudicia sua aut damnet praeterita aut ignoret futura, atquin nihil tam bono et iudici convenit quam pro praesentibus meritis et reicere et adlegere. Adlegitur Saul, sed nondum despector prophetae Samuelis. Reicitur Salomon, sed iam a mulieribus alienis possessus et idolis Moabitarum et Sidoniorum mancipatus. [2] Quid faceret creator ne a Marcionitis reprehenderetur? Bene adhuc agentes praedamnaret iam propter futura delicta? Sed dei boni non erat nondum merentes praedamnare. Proinde peccantes nunc non recusaret propter pristina benefacta? Sed iusti iudicis non erat rescissis iam bonis pristinis scelera donare. Aut quis hominum sine delicto, ut eum deus semper adlegeret quem nunquam posset recusare? [3] Vel quis item sine aliquo bono opere, ut eum deus semper recusaret quem nunquam posset adlegere? Exhibe bonum semper, et non recusabitur; exhibe malum semper, et nunquam adlegetur. Ceterum si idem homo, ut in utroque pro temporibus, in utroque dispungetur a deo et bono et iudice, qui non levitate aut improvidentia sententias vertit, sed censura gravissima et providentissima merita temporis cuiusque dispensat.

24. [1] Sic et paenitentiam apud illum prave interpretaris, quasi proinde mobilitate vel improvidentia, immo iam ex delicti recordatione paeniteat, quoniam quidem dixerit, Paenituit quod regem fecerim Saul, praescribens scilicet paenitentiam confessionem sapere mali operis alicuius vel erroris. Porro non semper. Evenit enim in bonis factis paenitentiae confessio ad invidiam et exprobrationem eius qui beneficii ingratus extiterit, [2] sicut et tunc circa personam Saulis honorandam annuntiatur a creatore, qui non deliquerat cum Saulem assumit in regnum et sancto spiritu augeat; optimum enim adhuc, qualis, inquit, non erat in filiis Israelis, dignissime adlegerat. Sed nec ignoraverat ita eventurum. Nemo enim te sustinebit improvidentiam adscribentem deo ei quem deum non negans confiteris et providum. Haec enim illi propria divinitas constat. Sed malum factum Saulis, ut dixi, onerabat paenitentiae suae professione, quam vacante delicto circa Saulis adlectionem consequens est invidiosam potius intellegi, non criminosam. Ecce, inquis, criminosam eam animadverto circa Ninivitas, dicente scriptura Ionae, Et paenituit dominum de malitia quam dixerat facturum se illis, nec fecit. Sicut et ipse Ionas ad dominum, Propterea praeveni profugere in Tarsos, quia cognoveram te esse misericordem et miserescentem, patientem et plurimum

misericordiae, paenitentem malitiarum. [3] Bene igitur quod praemisit optimi dei titulum, patientissimi scilicet super malos et abundantissimi misericordiae et miserationis super agnoscentes et deplangentes delicta sua, quales tunc Ninivitae. Si enim optimus qui talis, de isto prius cessisse debebis, non competere in talem, id est in optimum, etiam malitiae concursus. Et quia et Marcion defendit arborem bonam malos quoque fructus non licere producere, sed malitiam tamen nominavit, quod optimus non capit, numquid aliqua interpretatio subest earum malitiarum intellegendarum quae possint et in optimum decucurrere? Subest autem. [4] Dicimus denique malitiam nunc significari non quae ad naturam redigatur creatoris, quasi mali, sed quae ad potestatem, quasi iudicis; secundum quam enuntiarit, Ego sum qui condo mala, et, Ecce ego emitto in vos mala, non peccatoria sed ultoria, quorum satis diluimus infamiam ut congruentium iudici. Sicut autem, licet mala dicantur, non reprehenduntur in iudice, nec hoc nomine suo malum iudicem ostendunt, ita et malitia haec erit intellegenda nunc quae ex illis malis iudiciariis deputata cum ipsis competat iudici. [5] Nam et apud Graecos interdum malitiae pro vexationibus et laesuris, non pro malignitatibus ponuntur, sicut et in isto articulo. Atque adeo si eius malitiae paenituit creatorem, quasi creaturae reprobandae scilicet et deletui vindicandae, atqui nec hic ullum admissum criminosum reputabitur creatori, qui iniquissimam civitatem digne meritoque decreverat abolendam. [6] Ita quod iuste destinaverat non male destinans, ex iustitia non ex malitia destinavit; sed poenam ipsam malitiam nominavit ex malo et merito passionis ipsius. Ergo, dices, si malitiam iustitiae nomine excusas, quia iuste exitium destinavit in Ninivitas, sic quoque culpandus est, qui iustitiae utique non paenitendae paenitentiam gessit. Immo nec iustitiae, inquam, paenitebit deum, et superest iam agnoscere quid sit paenitentia dei. Non enim, si hominem ex recordatione plurimum delicti, interdum et ex alicuius boni operis ingratia paenitet, ideo et deum proinde. [7] In quantum enim deus nec malum admittit nec bonum damnat, in tantum nec paenitentiae boni aut mali apud eum locus est. Nam et hoc tibi eadem scriptura determinat, dicente Samuele Sauli, Discidit dominus regnum Israelis de manu tua hodie et dabit illud proximo tuo, optimo super te, et scindetur Israel in duas partes, et non convertetur neque paenitentiam aget, quia non sicut homo est ad paenitendum. [8] Haec itaque definitio in omnibus aliam formam divinac paenitentiae statuit, quae neque ex improvidentia neque ex levitate neque ex

ulla boni aut mali operis damnatione reputetur, sicut humana. Quis ergo erit mos paenitentiae divinae? Iam relucet, si non ad humanas condiciones eam referas. Nihil enim aliud intellegetur quam simplex conversio sententiae prioris, quae etiam sine reprehensione eius possit admitti, etiam in homine, nedum in deo, cuius omnis sententia caret culpa. Nam et in Graeco sono paenitentiae nomen non ex delicti confessione, sed ex animi demutatione compositum est, quam apud deum pro rerum variantium sese occursu regi ostendimus.

25. [1] Iam nunc, ut omnia eiusmodi expediam, ad ceteras pusillitates et infirmitates et incongruentias, ut putatis, interpretandas purgandasque pertendam. Inclamat deus, Adam, ubi es? scilicet ignorans ubi esset, et causato nuditatis pudore an de arbore gustasset interrogat, scilicet incertus. Immo nec incertus admissi nec ignorans loci. Enimvero oportebat conscientia peccati delitescentem evocatum prodire in conspectum domini, non sola nominis inclamatione, sed cum aliqua iam tunc admissi suggillatione. [2] Nec enim simplici modo, id est interrogatorio sono legendum est, Ubi es, Adam? sed impresso et incusso et imputativo, Adam, ubi es! id est in perditione es, id est iam hic non es, ut et increpandi et dolendi exitus vox sit. Ceterum qui totum orbem comprehendit manu velut nidum, cuius caelum thronus et terra scabellum, nimirum huius oculos aliqua paradisi portio evaserat, quominus illi ubicunque Adam ante evocationem viseretur tam latens quam de interdicta fruge sumens? [3] Speculatorem vineae vel horti tui lupus aut furunculus non latet. Deum puto de sublimioribus oculatiorem aliquid subiecti praeterire non posse. Stulte, qui tantum argumentum divinae maiestatis et humanae instructionis naso agis. Interrogat deus quasi incertus, ut et hic liberi arbitrii probans hominem in causa aut negationis aut confessionis daret ei locum sponte confitendi delictum et hoc nomine relevandi. Sicut de Cain sciscitatur ubinam frater eius; quasi non iam vociferatum a terra sanguinem Abelis audisset: sed ut et ille haberet potestatem ex eadem arbitrii potestate sponte negandi delicti et hoc nomine gravandi, atque ita nobis conderentur exempla confitentorum potius delictorum quam negandorum; ut iam tunc initiaretur evangelica doctrina, Ex ore tuo iustificaberis et ex ore tuo damnaberis. [4] Nam etsi Adam propter statum legis deditus morti est, sed spes ei salva est, dicente domino, Ecce Adam factus est tanquam unus ex nobis, de futura scilicet adlectione hominis in divinitatem. Denique quid sequitur? Et nunc, ne quando

extendat manum et sumat de ligno vitae et vivat in aevum. Interponens enim, Et nunc, praesentis temporis verbum, temporalem et ad praesens dilationem vitae fecisse se ostendit. [5] Ideoque nec maledixit ipsum Adam et Evam, ut restitutionis candidatos, ut confessione relevatos. Cain vero et maledixit et cupidum morte luere delictum mori interim vetuit, ut praeter admissum etiam negationis eius oneratum. Haec erit ignorantia dei nostri, quae ideo simulabatur ne delinquens homo quid sibi agendum sit ignoret. [6] Sed ad Sodomam et Gomorram descendens, Videbo, ait, si secundum clamorem pervenientem ad me consummantur, si vero non, ut agnoscam. Et hic videlicet ex ignorantia incertus et scire cupidus? An hic sonus pronuntiationis necessarius, non dubitativum, sed comminativum exprimens sensum, sub sciscitationis obtentu? Quodsi descensum quoque dei irrides, quasi aliter non potuerit perficere iudicium nisi descendisset, vide ne tuum aequum deum pulses. Nam et ille descendit ut quod vellet efficeret.

26. [1] Sed et iurat deus. Numquid forte per deum Marcionis? Immo, inquit, multo vanius, quod per semetipsum. Quid vellet facere, si alius deus non erat in conscientia eius, hoc cum maxime iurantem alium absque se omnino non esse? Igitur peierantem deprehendis, an vane deierantem? Sed non potest videri peierasse qui alium esse non scivit, ut dicitis. Quod enim scit hoc deierans, vere non peieravit. Sed nec vane deierat alium deum non esse. [2] Tunc enim vane deieraret, si non fuissent qui alios deos crederent, tunc quidem simulacrorum cultores, nunc vero et haeretici. Iurat igitur per semetipsum, ut vel iuranti deo credas alium deum omnino non esse. Hoc ut deus faceret tu quoque Marcion coegisti. Iam tunc enim providebaris. Proinde si et in promissionibus aut comminationibus iurat, fidem in primordiis arduam extorquens, nihil deo indignum est quod efficit deo credere. [3] Satis et tunc pusillus deus in ipsa etiam ferocia sua, cum ob vituli consecrationem efferatus in populum de famulo suo postulat Moyse, Sine me, et indignatus ira disperdam illos, et faciam te in nationem magnam. Unde meliorem soletis affirmare Moysen deo suo, deprecatorem, immo et prohibitorum irae. Non facies enim, inquit, istud, aut et me una cum eis impende. [4] Miserandi vos quoque cum populo, qui Christum non agnoscitis in persona Moysi figuratum, patris deprecatorem et oblatorem animae suae pro populi salute. Sed sufficit si et Moysi proprie donatus est populus ad praesens. Quod ut famulus postulare posset a domino, id dominus a se postulavit. Ad hoc enim famulo dixit, Sine

me, et disperdam illos, ut ille postulando et semetipsum offerendo non sineret, atque ita disceres quantum liceat fideli et prophetae apud deum.

27. [1] Iam nunc, ut et cetera compendio absolvam, quaecunque adhuc ut pusilla et infirma et indigna colligitis ad destructionem creatoris, simplici et certa ratione proponam, deum non potuisse humanos congressus inire, nisi humanos et sensus et affectus suscepisset, per quos vim maiestatis suae, intolerabilem utique humanae mediocritati, humilitate temperaret, sibi quidem indigna, homini autem necessaria, et ita iam deo digna, quia nihil tam dignum deo quam salus hominis. [2] De isto pluribus retractarem, si cum ethnicis agerem; quamquam et cum haereticis non multo diversa stet congressio. Quatenus et ipsi deum in figura et in reliquo ordine humanae conditionis deversatum iam credidistis, non exigitis utique diutius persuaderi deum conformasse semetipsum humanitati, sed de vestra fide revincimini. Si enim deus, et quidem sublimior, tanta humilitate fastigium maiestatis suae stravit ut etiam morti subiceret, et morti crucis, cur non putetis nostro quoque deo aliquas pusillitates congruisse, tolerabiliores tamen Iudaicis contumeliis et patibulis et sepulcris? [3] An hae sunt pusillitates, quae iam hinc praeiudicare debebunt Christum humanis passionibus obiectum eius dei esse cui humanitates exprobrantur a vobis? Nam et profiteamur Christum semper egisse in dei patris nomine, ipsum ab initio conversatum, ipsum congressum cum patriarchis et prophetis, filium creatoris, sermonem eius, quena ex semetipso proferendo filium fecit, et exinde omni dispositioni suae voluntatique praefecit, diminuens illum modico citra angelos, sicut apud David scriptum est; [4] qua diminutione in haec quoque dispositus est a patre quae ut humana reprehenditis, ediscens iam inde a primordio, iam inde hominem <indutus, id esse> quod erat futurus in fine. Ille est qui descendit, ille qui interrogat, ille qui postulat, ille qui iurat. Ceterum patrem nemini visum etiam commune testabitur evangelium dicente Christo, Nemo cognovit patrem nisi filius. [5] Ipse enim et veteri testamento pronuntiarat, Deum nemo videbit et vivet, patrem invisibilem determinans, in cuius auctoritate et nomine ipse erat deus qui videbatur, dei filius. Sed et penes nos deus in persona Christi accipitur, quia et hoc modo noster est. [6] Igitur quaecunque exigitis deo digna, habebuntur in patre invisibili incongressibilique et placido et, ut ita dixerim, philosophorum deo. Quaecunque autem ut indigna reprehenditis, deputabuntur in filio et viso et audito et congresso, arbitro patris et ministro,

miscente in semetipso hominem et deum, in virtutibus deum, in pusillitatibus hominem, ut tantum homini conferat quantum deo detrahit. [7] Totum denique dei mei penes vos dedecus sacramentum est humanae salutis. Conversabatur deus <humane>, ut homo divine agere doceretur. Ex aequo agebat deus cum homine, ut homo ex aequo agere cum deo posset. Deus pusillus inventus est, ut homo maximus fieret. Qui talem deum dedignaris, nescio an ex fide credas deum crucifixum. Quanta itaque perversitas vestra erga utrumque ordinem creatoris! [8] Iudicem eum designatis, et severitatem iudicis secundum merita causarum congruentem pro saevitia exprobratis. Deum optimum exigitis, et lenitatem eius benignitati congruentem pro captu mediocritatis humanae deiecius conversatam ut pusillitatem depretiatis. Nec magnus vobis placet nec modicus, nec iudex nec amicus. Quid si nunc eadem et in vestro deprehendantur? Iudicem quidem et illum esse iam ostendimus in libello suo, et de iudice necessarie severum, et de severo sic et saevum, si tamen saevum.

28. [1] Nunc et de pusillitatibus et malignitatibus ceterisque notis et ipse adversus Marcionem antitheses aemulas faciam. Si ignoravit deus meus esse alium super se, etiam tuus omnino non scivit esse alium infra se. Quod enim ait Heraclitus ille tenebrosus, eadem via sursum et deorsum. Denique si non ignorasset, et ab initio ei occurrisset. Delictum et mortem et ipsum auctorem delicti diabolum et omne malum quod deus meus passus est esse, hoc et tuus, qui illum pati passus est. Mutavit sententias suas deus noster, proinde qua et vester. Qui enim genus humanum tam sero respexit, eam sententiam mutavit qua tanto aevo non respexit. [2] Paenituit mali in aliquo deum nostrum, sed et vestrum. Eo enim, quod tandem animadvertit ad hominis salutem, paenitentiam dissimulationis pristinae fecit debitam malo facto. Porro malum factum deputabitur negligentia salutis humanae, non nisi per paenitentiam emendata apud deum vestrum. Mandavit fraudem deus noster, sed auri et argenti. Quanto autem homo pretiosior auro et argento, tanto fraudulentior deus vester, qui hominem domino et factori suo eripit. Oculum pro oculo reposcit deus noster, sed et vester vicem prohibens iterabilem magis iniuriam facit. Quis enim non rursus percutiet non percussus? Nescit deus noster quales adlegeret. Ergo nec vester. Iudam traditorem non adlegisset, si praescisset. Si et mentitum alicubi dicis creatorem, longe maius mendacium est in tuo Christo, cuius corpus non fuit verum. Multos saevitia dei mei absumpsit. [3] Tuus quoque deus quos salvos non facit utique in exitium

disponit. Deus meus aliquem iussit occidi. Tuus semetipsum voluit interfici, non minus homicida in semetipsum quam in eum a quo vellet occidi. Multos autem occidisse deum eius probabo Marcioni. Nam fecit homicidam, utique peritum, nisi si populus nihil deliquit in Christum. Sed expedita virtus veritatis paucis amat. Multa mendacio erunt necessaria.

29. [1] Ceterum ipsas quoque *Antitheses* Marcionis cominus cecidissem, si operosiore destructione earum egeret defensio creatoris tam boni quam et iudicis, secundum utriusque partis exempla congruentia deo, ut ostendimus. Quodsi utraque pars bonitatis atque iustitiae dignam plenitudinem divinitatis efficiunt omnia potentis, compendio interim possum antitheses retudisse, gestientes ex qualitatibus ingeniorum sive legum sive virtutum discernere, atque ita alienare Christum a creatore, ut optimum a iudice, et mitem a fero, et salutarem ab exitioso. [2] Magis enim eos coniungunt quos in eis diversitatibus ponunt quae deo congruunt. Aufer titulum Marcionis et intentionem atque propositum operis ipsius, et nihil aliud praestaret quam demonstrationem eiusdem dei optimi et iudicis, quia haec duo in solum deum competunt. Nam et ipsum studium in eis exemplis opponendi Christum creatori ad unitatem magis spectat. [3] Adeo enim ipsa et una erat substantia divinitatis, bona et severa, et eisdem exemplis et in similibus argumentis, ut bonitatem suam voluerit ostendere in quibus praemiseraat severitatem; quia nec mirum erat diversitas temporalis, si postea dens mitior pro rebus edomitis, qui retro austerior pro indomitis. Ita per antitheses facilius ostendi potest ordo creatoris a Christo refonnatus quam repercussus, et redditus potius quam exclusus, praesertim <cum> deum tuum ab omni motu amariore secernas, utique et ab aemulatione creatoris scilicet. [4] Nam si ita est, quomodo eum antitheses singulas species creatoris aemulatum demonstrant? Agnoscam igitur et in hoc per illas deum meum zeloten, qui res suas arbustiores in primordiis bona, ut rationali, aemulatione maturitatis praecuraverit suo iure, cuius antitheses etiam ipse mundus eius agnoscet ex contrarietatibus elementorum, summa tamen ratione modulatus. Quam ob rem, inconsiderantissime Marcion, alium deum lucis ostendisse debueras, alium vero tenebram, quo facilius alium bonitatis, alium severitatis persuasisses. Ceterum eius erit antithesis cuius est et in mundo.

LIBER III.

1. [1] Secundum vestigia pristini operis, quod amissum reformare perseveramus, iam hinc ordo de Christo, licet ex abundanti post decursam defensionem unicae divinitatis. Satis etenim praeiudicatum est Christum non alterius dei intellegendum quam creatoris, cum determinatum est alium deum non credendum praeter creatorem, quem adeo Christus praedicaverit, et deinceps apostoli non alterius Christum adnuntiaverint quam eius dei quem Christus praedicavit, id est creatoris, ut nulla mentio alterius dei atque ita nec alterius Christi agitata sit ante scandalum Marcionis. [2] Facillime hoc probatur apostolicarum et haeticarum ecclesiarum recensu, illic scilicet pronuntiandam regulae interversionem ubi posteritas invenitur. Quod etiam primo libello intexui. Sed et nunc congressio ista seorsum in Christum examinatura eo utique proficiet, ut dum Christum probamus creatoris, sic quoque deus excludatur Marcionis. Decet veritatem totis viribus uti suis, non ut laborantem: ceterum in praescriptionum compendiis vincit: sed [decretum est] ut gestientem ubique adversario occurrere, in tantum furenti ut facilius praesumpserit eum venisse Christum qui nunquam sit adnuntiatus quam eum qui semper sit praedicatus.

2. [1] Hinc denique gradum consero, an debuerit tam subito venisse. Primo quia et ipse dei sui filius. Hoc enim ordinis fuerat, ut ante pater filium profiteretur quam patrem filius, et ante pater de filio testaretur quam filius de patre. Dehinc et quia missus, praeter filii nomen. Proinde enim praecessisse debuerat mittentis patrocinium in testimonium missi, quia nemo veniens ex alterius auctoritate ipse eam sibi ex sua affirmatione defendit, sed ab ipsa defensionem potius expectat, praeunte suggestu eius qui auctoritatem praestat. [2] Ceterum nec filius agnoscetur quem nunquam pater nuncupavit, nec missus credetur quem nunquam mandator designavit, nuncupaturus pater et designaturus mandator, si fuisset. Suspectum habebitur omne quod exorbitarit a regula, rerumque principalis gradus non sinit posterius agnosci patrem post filium et mandatorem post mandatum et deum post Christum. [3] Nihil origine sua prius est in agnitione, quia nec in dispositione. Subito filius et subito missus et subito Christus. Atquin nihil putem a deo subitum, quia nihil a deo non dispositum. Si autem dispositum, cur non et praedicatum, ut probari posset et dispositum ex praedicatione et divinum ex dispositione? [4] Et

utique tantum opus, quod scilicet humanae saluti parabatur, vel eatenus subitum non fuisset qua per fidem profuturum. In quantum enim credi habebat ut prodesset, in tantum paraturam desiderabat ut credi posset, substructam fundamentis dispositionis et praedicationis, quo ordine fides informata merito et homini indiceretur a deo et deo exhiberetur ab homine, ex agnitione debens credere quia posset, quae scilicet credere didicisset ex praedicatione.

3. [1] Non fuit, inquis, ordo eiusmodi necessarius, quia statim se et filium et missum et dei Christum rebus ipsis esset probaturus per documenta virtutum. At ego negabo solam hanc illi speciem ad testimonium competisse, quam et ipse postmodum exauctoravit, siquidem edicens multos venturos et signa facturos et virtutes magnas edituros, aversionem etiam electorum, nec ideo tamen admittendos, temerariam signorum et virtutum fidem ostendit, ut etiam apud pseudochristos facillimarum. [2] Aut quale est si inde se voluit probari et intellegi et recipi, ex virtutibus dico, unde ceteros noluit aeque et ipsos tam subito venturos quam a nullo auctore praedicatos? Si quia prior eis venit et prior virtutum documenta signavit, idcirco, quasi locum in balneis, ita fidem occupavit, posteris quibusque praeripuit, vide ne et ipse in condicione posteriorum deprehendatur, posterior inventus creatore ante iam cognito, et proinde virtutes ante operato, et non aliter praefato non esse aliis credendum, post eum scilicet. [3] Igitur si priorem venisse et priorem de posteris pronuntiasse hoc fidem excludet, praedamnatus erit et ipse iam ab eo quo posterior est agnitus, et solius erit auctoritas creatoris hoc in posteros constituendi, qui nullo posterior esse potuit. Iam nunc, cum probaturus sim creatorem easdem virtutes, quas solas ad fidem Christo tuo vindicas, interdum per famulos suos retro edidisse, interdum per Christum suum edendas destinasse, possum et ex hoc merito praescribere tanto magis Christum non ex solis virtutibus credendum fuisse quanto illum non alterius quam creatoris interpretari potuissent, ut respondentes virtutibus creatoris et editis per famulos suos et in Christum suum repromissis. [4] Quamquam, et si alia documenta invenirentur in tuo Christo, nova scilicet, facilius crederemus etiam nova eiusdem esse cuius et vetera, quam cuius tantummodo nova, egentia experimentis fidei victricis vetustatis, ut sic quoque praedicatus venire debuerit tam praedicationibus propriis exstruentibus ei fidem quam et virtutibus, praesertim adversus Christum creatoris venturum et signis et prophetiis propriis munitum, ut aemulus Christi per omnes diversitatum

species reluceret. Sed quomodo a deo nunquam praedicato Christus eius praedicaretur? Hoc est ergo quod exigit nec deum nec Christum tuum credi, quia et deus ignotus esse non debuit, et Christus agnosci per deum debuit.

4. [1] Dedignatus, opinor, est imitari ordinem dei nostri, ut displicentis, ut cum maxime revincendi. Novus nove venire voluit, filius ante patris professionem et missus ante mandatoris auctoritatem, ut et ipse fidem monstruosissimam induceret, qua ante crederetur Christum venisse quam sciretur fuisse. Competit mihi etiam illud retractare, cur non post Christum venerit. [2] Nam cum intueor deum eius tanto aevo patientissimum acerbissimi creatoris annuntiantis interea in homines Christum suum, quacunque id ratione fecit tam revelationem quam intercessionem suam differens, eadem ratione dico illum patientiam debuisse creatori in Christo quoque suo dispositiones suas executuro, ut perfecta et expleta omni operatione aemuli dei et aemuli Christi tunc et ipse proprias dispositiones superduceret. [3] Ceterum paenitentia tantae patientiae fecit quod non in finem rerum creatoris perseveraverit. Vane sustinuit praedicari Christum eius quem non sustinuit exhiberi. Aut sine causa intercidit temporis alieni decursum, aut sine causa tam diu non intercidit. Quid illum detinuit, quidve turbavit? Atquin in utrumque commisit, post creatorem quidem tam tarde revelatus, ante Christum vero eius tam propere. [4] Alterum vero iam dudum debuerat traduxisse, alterum nondum. Ne illum quidem tam diu saevientem sustinuisse, istum vero adhuc quiescentem inquietasse! circa ambos excidens ab optimi dei titulo, certe varius et ipse et incertus, tepidus scilicet in creatorem et calidus in Christum, et vanus utrobique. Non magis enim compescuit creatorem quam obstitit Christo. Manet et creator, qualis omnino est; veniet et Christus, qualis et scribitur. Quid venit post creatorem, quem emendare non valuit? Quid ante Christum eius revelatus est, quem revocare non potuerit? [5] Aut si emendavit creatorem, post illum revelatus est, ut emendanda praecederent: ergo et Christum eius aequae emendaturus expectasse debuerat, proinde et illius posterior emendator futurus, sicut creatoris. Aliud est si et ipse post illum rursus adveniet, ut primo quidem adventu processerit adversus creatorem, legem et prophetas destruens eius, secundo vero procedat adversus Christum, regnum redarguens eius. Tunc ergo conclusurus ordinem suum, tunc, si forte, credendus est: aut si iam hinc perfecta res est eius, vane ergo venturus est, nihil scilicet peracturus.

5. [1] His proluserim quasi de gradu primo adhuc et quasi de longinquo. Sed et hinc iam ad certum et cominus dimicaturus video aliquas etiam nunc lineas praeducendas, ad quas erit dimicandum, ad scripturas scilicet creatoris. Secundum eas enim probaturus Christum creatoris fuisse, ut postea Christo suo adimpletas, necesse habeo ipsarum quoque scripturarum formam et, ut ita dixerim, naturam demandare, ne tunc in controversiam deductae cum adhibentur ad causas, et sua et causarum defensione commixta obtundant lectoris intentionem. [2] Duas itaque causas prophetici eloquii adlego agnoscendas abhinc adversariis nostris. Unam, qua futura interdum pro iam transactis enuntiantur. Nam et divinitati competit quaecunque decreverit ut perfecta reputare, quia non sit apud illam differentia temporis apud quam uniformem statum temporum dirigit aeternitas ipsa. Et divinationi propheticae magis familiare est id quod prospiciat, dum prospicit, iam visum atque ita iam expunctum, id est omni modo futurum, demonstrare, sicut per Esaïam, Dorsum meum posui in flagella, maxillas autem meas in palmas, faciem meam vero non averti a sputaminibus. [3] Sive enim Christus iam tunc in semetipsum secundum nos, sive propheta de semetipso secundum Iudaeos pronuntiabat, nondum tamen factum pro iam transacto sonabat. Alia species erit qua pleraque figurate portenduntur per aenigmata et allegorias et parabolas, aliter intellegenda quam scripta sunt. Nam et montes legimus destillaturos dulcorem, non tamen ut sapam de petris aut defrutum de rupibus speres; et terram audimus lacte et melle manantem, non tamen ut de glebis credas te unquam placentas et Samias coacturum; quia nec statim aquilicem et agricolam se deus repromisit, dicens, Ponam flumina in regione sitiendi et in solitudine buxum et cedrum. Sicut et praedicans de nationum conversione, Benedicent me bestiae agri, sirenes et filiae passerum, non utique ab hirundinum pullis et vulpeculis et illis monstruosis fabulosisque cantricius fausta omina relaturus est. [4] Et quid ego de isto genere amplius? cum etiam haereticorum apostolus ipsam legem indulgentem bubus terentibus os liberum, non de bubus sed de nobis interpretetur, et petram potui subministrando comitem Christum adleget fuisse, docens proinde et Galatas duo argumenta filiorum Abrahae allegorice cucurrisse, et suggerens Ephesiis quod in primordio de homine praedicatum est relicturo patrem et matrem et futuris duobus in unam carnem, id se in Christum et ecclesiam agnoscere.

6. [1] Si satis constat de istis interim duabus proprietatibus Iudaicae

litteraturae, memento, lector, constitisse ut, cum tale quid adhibuerimus, non retractetur de forma scripturae sed de statu causae. Cum igitur haeretica dementia eum Christum venisse praesumeret qui nunquam fuerat annuntiatus, sequebatur ut eum Christum nondum venisse contenderet qui semper fuerat praedicatus; [2] atque ita coacta est cum Iudaico errore sociari et ab eo argumentationem sibi struere, quasi Iudaei certi et ipsi alium fuisse qui venit, non modo respuerint eum ut extraneum verum et interfecerint eum ut adversarium, agnitori sine dubio et omni officio religionis persecutori, si ipsorum fuisset. [3] Scilicet nauclero illi non quidem Rhodia lex, sed Pontica, caverat errare Iudaeos in Christum suum non licere, quando, et si nihil tale praedicatum in illos inveniretur, vel sola utique humana conditio deceptui obnoxia persuasisset Iudaeos errare potuisse, qua homines, nec statim praeiudicium sumendum de sententia eorum quos credibile fuerat errasse. [4] Porro cum et praedicatum sit non agnituros eos Christum ideoque etiam perempturos, iam ergo ipse erit et ignoratus et interemptus ab illis in quem ita admissuri praenotabantur. Hoc si probari exigis, non eas scripturas evolvam quae interemptibilem Christum edicentes utique et ignorabilem affinnant (nisi enim ignoratus nihil scilicet pati posset), sed reservatis eis ad causam passionum eas praedicationes in praesenti sufficiet adhibere quae interim ignorabilem probent Christum, et hoc breviter, dum ostendunt omnem vim intellectus ademptam populo a creatore. [5] Auferam, inquit, sapientiam sapientium illorum, et prudentiam prudentium eorum abscondam, et, Aure audietis et non audietis, et oculis videbitis et non videbitis: incrassatum est enim cor populi huius, et auribus graviter audierunt et oculos concluderunt, ne quando auribus audiant et oculis videant et corde coniciant et convertantur, et sanem illos. [6] Hanc enim obtusionem salutarium sensuum meruerant, labiis diligentes deum, corde autem longe absistentes ab eo. Igitur si Christus quidem annuntiabatur a creatore solidante tonitruum et concludente spiritum et annuntiante in homines Christum suum, secundum Ioelem prophetam, si omnis spes Iudaeorum, ne dicam etiam gentium, in Christi revelationem destinabatur, sine dubio id demonstrabantur non agnituri et non intellecturi, ablatis agnitionis et intellegentiae viribus, sapientia atque prudentia, quod annuntiabatur, id est Christus, erraturis in eum principalibus sapientibus eorum, id est scribis, et prudentibus eorum, id est pharisaeis, pariter et populo auribus audituro et non audituro, utique Christum docentem, et oculis visuro

et non visuro, utique Christum signa facientem, secundum quod et alibi, Et quis caecus, nisi pueri mei? et quis surdus, nisi qui dominatur eorum? [7] Sed et cum exprobrat per eundem Esaiam, Filios generavi et exaltavi, at illi me reiecerunt: agnovit bos possessorem suum et asinus praesepe domini sui, Israel autem me non cognovit et populus me non intellexit; nos quidem certi Christum semper in prophetis locutum, spiritum scilicet creatoris, sicut propheta testatur, Persona spiritus nostri Christus dominus, qui ab initio vicarius patris in dei nomine et auditus sit et visus, scimus ipsius voces eiusmodi fuisse iam tunc Israeli exprobrantis quae in illum commissuri praedicabantur, Dereliquistis dominum et in iram provocastis sanctum Israel. [8] Si vero non in Christum, sed in ipsum potius deum volueris referre omnem Iudaicae ignorantiae de pristino reputationem, nolens etiam retro sermonem et spiritum, id est Christum creatoris, despectum ab eis et non agnitum, sic quoque revinceris. Non negans enim filium et spiritum et substantiam creatoris esse Christum eius, concedas necesse est eos qui patrem non agnoverint nec filium agnoscere potuisse, per eiusdem substantiae condicionem, cuius si plenitudo intellecta non est, multo magis portio, certe qua plenitudinis consors. [9] His ita dispectis iam apparet quomodo et respuerint Iudaei Christum et interemerint, non ut extraneum Christum intellegentes, sed ut suum non agnoscentes. Qui enim extraneum intellegere potuissent de quo nihil unquam fuerat annuntiatum, cum intellegere non potuissent de quo semper fuerat praedicatum? Id enim intellegi vel non intellegi capit quod habendo substantiam praedicationis habebit et materiam vel agnitionis vel erroris. Quod vero materia caret, non admittit sapientiae eventum. [10] Et adeo non qua alterius dei Christum aversati persecutique sunt, sed qua solummodo hominem, quem planum in signis et aemulum in doctrinis existimabant; ut et ipsum hominem qua suum, id est Iudaeum, sed Iudaismi exorbitatorem et destructorem, deduxerint in iudicium et suo iure punierint, alienum scilicet non iudicaturi. Tanto abest ut alienum Christum intellexisse videantur, qui nec hominem eius ut alienum iudicaverunt.

7. [1] Discat nunc haereticus ex abundanti cum ipso licebit Iudaeo rationem quoque errorum eius, a quo ducatum mutuatus in hac argumentatione caecus a caeco in eandem decidit foveam. Duos dicimus Christi habitus a prophetis demonstratos totidem adventus eius praenotasse: unum in humilitate, utique primum, cum tanquam ovis ad victimam deduci habebat, et tanquam agnus

ante tondentem sine voce, ita non aperiens os suum, ne aspectu quidem honestus. [2] Annuntiavimus enim, inquit, de illo: sicut puerulus, sicut radix in terra sitienti, et non est species eius neque gloria, et vidimus eum, et non habebat speciem neque decorem, sed species eius inhonorata, deficiens citra filios hominum, homo in plaga, et sciens ferre infirmitatem, ut positus a patre in lapidem offensionis et petram scandali, minoratus ab eo modicum citra angelos, vermem se pronuntians et non hominem, ignominiam hominis et nullificamen populi. [3] Quae ignobilitatis argumenta primo adventui competunt, sicut sublimitatis secundo, cum fiet iam non lapis offensionis nec petra scandali, sed lapis summus angularis post reprobationem adsumptus et sublimatus in consummationem templi, ecclesiae scilicet, et petra sane illa apud Daniele de monte praecisa, quae imaginem saecularium regnorum comminuet et conteret. [4] De quo adventu idem propheta, Et ecce cum nubibus caeli tanquam filius hominis veniens, venit usque ad veterem dierum, aderat in conspectu eius, et qui adsistebant adduxerunt illum, et data est ei potestas regia, et omnes nationes terrae secundum genera, et omnis gloria famulabunda, et potestas eius usque in aevum, quae non auferetur, et regnum eius quod non vitiabitur, [5] tunc scilicet habiturus et speciem honorabilem et decorem indeficientem super filios hominum. Tempestivus enim, inquit, decore citra filios hominum, effusa est gratia in labiis tuis, propterea benedixit te deus in aevum. Accingere ensem super femur tuum, potens tempestivitate tua et pulchritudine tua; cum et pater, posteaquam diminuit eum modicum quid citra angelos, gloria et honore coronabit illum et subiciet omnia pedibus eius. [6] Tunc et cognoscent eum qui compugerunt, et caedent pectora sua tribus ad tribum, utique quod retro non agnoverunt eum in humilitate condicionis humanae: Et homo est, inquit Hieremias, et quis cognoscet illum? Quia et, Nativitatem eius Esaias, quis, inquit, enarrabit? Sic et apud Zachariam in persona Iesu, immo et in ipso nominis sacramento, verus summus sacerdos patris, Christus Iesus, duplici habitu in duos adventus delineatur, primo sordidis indutus, id est carnis passibilis et mortalis indignitate, cum et diabolus adversabatur ei, auctor scilicet Iudae traditoris, ne dicam etiam post baptismum temptator, dehinc despoliatus pristinas sordes, et exornatus podere et mitra et cidari munda, id est secundi adventus gloria et honore. [7] Si enim et duorum hircomm qui ieiunio offerebantur faciam interpretationem, nonne et illi utrumque ordinem Christi figurant? Pares

quidem atque consimiles propter eundem dominum conspectum, quia non in alia venturus est fonna, ut qui agnosci habeat a quibus laesus est. Alter autem eorum circumdatus coccino, maledictus et consputus et convulsus et compunctus, a populo extra civitatem adiciebatur in perditionem, manifestis notatus insignibus dominicae passionis. Alter vero, pro delictis oblatus et sacerdotibus templi in pabulum datus, secundae repraesentationis argumenta signabat, qua delictis omnibus expiatis sacerdotes templi spiritalis, id est ecclesiae, dominicae gratiae quasi visceratione quadam fruerentur, ieiunantibus ceteris a salute. [8] Igitur quoniam primus adventus et plurimum figuris obscuratus et omni inhonestate prostratus canebar, secundus vero et manifestus et deo condignus, idcirco quem facile et intellegere et credere potuerunt, eum solum intuentes, id est secundum, non immerito decepti sunt circa obscuriorem, certe indigniorem, id est primum. Atque ita in hodiernum negant venisse Christum suum, quia non in sublimitate venerit, dum ignorant etiam in humilitate fuisse venturum.

8. [1] Desinat nunc haereticus a Iudaeo, aspis quod aiunt a vipera, mutuari venenum, evomat iam hinc proprii ingenii virus, phantasma vindicans Christum. Nisi quod et ista sententia alios habebit auctores, praecoquos et abortivos quodammodo Marcionitas, quos apostolus Ioannes antichristos pronuntiavit, negantes Christum in carne venisse, et tamen non ut alterius dei ius constituerent, quia et de isto notati fuissent, sed quoniam incredibile praesumpserant deum carnem. [2] Quo magis antichristus Marcion sibi eam rapuit praesumptionem, aptior scilicet ad renuendam corporalem substantiam Christi, qui ipsum deum eius nec auctorem carnis induxerat nec resuscitorem, optimum videlicet et in isto, et diversissimum a mendaciis et fallaciis creatoris. Et ideo Christus eius, ne mentiretur, ne falleret, et hoc modo creatoris forsitan deputeretur, non erat quod videbatur, et quod erat mentiebatur, caro nec caro, homo nec homo, proinde deus Christus nec deus.

[3] Cur enim non etiam dei phantasma portaverit? An credam ei de interiore substantia qui sit de exteriori frustratus? Quomodo verax habebitur in occulto tam fallax repertus in aperto? Quomodo autem in semetipso veritatem spiritus fallacia carnis confundens, negatam ab apostolo lucis, id est veritatis, et fallaciae, id est tenebrarum, commisit communicationem? [4] Iam nunc cum mendacium deprehenditur Christus caro, sequitur ut et omnia quae per carnem Christi gesta sunt mendacio gesta sint, congressus, contactus, convictus, ipsae

quoque virtutes. Si enim tangendo aliquem liberavit a vitio vel tactus ab aliquo, quod corporaliter actum est non potest vere actum credi sine corporis ipsius veritate. Nihil solidum ab inani, nihil plenum a vacuo perfici licuit. Putativus habitus, putativus actus: imaginarius operator, imaginariae operae. [5] Sic nec passiones Christi eius fidem merebuntur. Nihil enim passus est qui non vere est passus; vere autem pati phantasma non potuit. Eversum est igitur totum dei opus. Totum Christiani nominis et pondus et fructus, mors Christi negatur, quam tam impresse apostolus demandat, utique veram, summum eam fundamentum evangelii constituens et salutis nostrae et praedicationis suae. Tradidi enim, inquit, vobis inprimis, quod Christus mortuus sit pro peccatis nostris, et quod sepultus sit, et quod resurrexerit tertia die. [6] Porro si caro eius negatur, quomodo mors eius asseveratur, quae propria carnis est passio, per mortem devertentis in terram de qua est sumpta, secundum legem sui auctoris? Negata vero morte, dum caro negatur, nec de resurrectione constabit. Eadem enim ratione non resurrexit qua mortuus non est, non habendo substantiam scilicet carnis, cuius sicut et mors, ita et resurrectio est. Proinde resurrectione Christi infirmata etiam nostra subversa est. Nec ea enim valebit, propter quam Christus venit, si Christi non valebit. [7] Nam sicut illi, qui dicebant resurrectionem mortuorum non esse, revincuntur ab apostolo ex resurrectione Christi, ita resurrectione Christi non consistente aufertur et mortuorum resurrectio. Atque ita inanis est et fides nostra, inanis est praedicatio apostolorum. Inveniuntur autem etiam falsi testes dei, quod testimonium dixerint quasi resuscitaverit Christum quem non resuscitavit. Et sumus adhuc in delictis. Et qui in Christo dormierunt, perierunt; sane resurrecturi, sed phantasmate forsitan, sicut et Christus.

9. [1] In ista quaestione qui putaveris opponendos esse nobis angelos creatoris, quasi et illi in phantasmate, putativae utique carnis, egerint apud Abraham et Loth, et tamen vere sint et congressi et pasti et operati quod mandatum eis fuerat, primo non admitteris ad eius dei exempla quem destruis. Nam et quanto meliorem et perfectiorem deum inducis, tanto non competunt illi eius exempla quo nisi diversus in totum non erit omnino melior atque perfectior. [2] Dehinc scito nec illud concedi tibi, ut putativa fuerit in angelis caro, sed verae et solidae substantiae humanae. Si enim difficile non fuit illi putativae carnis veros et sensus et actus exhibere, multo facilius habuit veris et sensibus et actibus veram dedisse substantiam carnis, vel qua proprius

auctor et artifex eius. [3] Tuus autem deus, eo quod carnem nullam omnino produxerit, merito fortasse phantasma eius intulerit cuius non valuerat veritatem. Meus autem deus, qui illam de limo sumptam in hac reformavit qualitate, nondum ex semine coniugali et tamen carnem, aequae potuit ex quacunque materia angelis quoque adstruxisse carnem, qui etiam mundum ex nihilo in tot ac talia corpora, et quidem verbo aedificavit. [4] Et utique, si deus tuus veram quandoque substantiam angelorum hominibus pollicetur, Erunt enim, inquit, sicut angeli, cur non et deus meus veram substantiam hominum angelis accommodarit undeunde sumptam? Quia nec tu mihi respondebis unde illa apud te angelica sumatur, sufficit mihi hoc definire quod deo congruit, veritatem scilicet eius rei quam tribus testibus sensibus obiecit, visui, tactui, auditui. [5] Difficilius deo mentiri quam carnis veritatem undeunde producere, licet non natae. Ceterum et aliis haereticis, definientibus carnem illam in angelis ex carne nasci debuisse si vere fuisset humana, certa ratione respondemus, qua et humana vere fuerit et innata: humana vere propter dei veritatem a mendacio et fallacia extranei, et quia non possent humanitus tractari ab hominibus nisi in substantia humana; innata autem, quia solus Christus in carnem ex carne nasci habebat, ut nativitatem nostram nativitate sua reformaret, atque ita etiam mortem nostram morte sua dissolveret resurgendo in carne in qua natus est ut et mori posset. [6] Ideoque et ipse cum angelis tunc apud Abraham in veritate quidem carnis apparuit, sed nondum natae quia nondum moriturae, sed et discentis iam inter homines conversari. Quo magis angeli, neque ad moriendum pro nobis dispositi, brevem carnis commeatum non debuerunt nascendo sumpsisse, quia nec moriendo deposituri eam fuerant; [7] sed undeunde sumptam et quoquo modo omnino dimissam, mentiti eam tamen non sunt. Si creator facit angelos spiritus et apparitores suos ignem flagrantem, tam vere spiritus quam et ignem, idem illos vere fecit et carnem, ut nunc recordemur et haereticis renuntiemus eius esse promissum homines in angelos reformandi quandoque qui angelos in homines formarit aliquando.

10. [1] Igitur non admissus ad consortium exemplorum creatoris, ut alienorum, et suas habentium causas, velim edas et ipse consilium dei tui, quo Christum suum non in veritate carnis exhibuit. Si aspernatus est illam ut terrenam et, ut dicitis, stercoribus infersam, cur non et simulacrum eius proinde despexit? Nullius enim dedignandae rei imago dignanda est. Sequitur

statum similitudo. [2] Sed quomodo inter homines conversaretur, nisi per imaginem substantiae humanae? Cur ergo non potius per veritatem, ut vere conversaretur, si necesse habebat conversari? Quanto dignius necessitas fidem quam stropham administrasset? [3] Satis miserum deum instituis, hoc ipso quod Christum suum non potuit exhibere nisi in indignae rei effigie, et quidem alienae. Aliquantis enim indignis conveniet uti, si nostris, sicut alienis non congruet uti, licet dignis. Cur enim non in aliqua alia digniore substantia venit, et inprimis sua, ne et indigna et aliena videretur eguisse? [4] Si creator meus per rubum quoque et ignem, idem postea per nubem et globum cum homine congressus est, et elementorum corporibus in repraesentationibus sui usus est, satis haec exempla divinae potestatis ostendunt deum non eguisse aut falsae aut etiam verae carnis paratura. Ceterum si ad certum spectamus, nulla substantia digna est quam deus induat. [5] Quodcunque induerit, ipse dignum facit, absque mendacio tamen. Et ideo quale est ut dedecus existimarit veritatem potius quam mendacium carnis? Atquin honoravit illam fingendo. Quanta iam caro est cuius phantasma necessarium fuit deo superiori?

11. [1] Totas istas praestigias putativae in Christo corpulentiae Marcion illa intentione suscepit, ne ex testimonio substantiae humanae nativitas quoque eius defenderetur, atque ita Christus creatoris vindicaretur, ut qui nascibilis ac per hoc carneus annuntiaretur. Stultissime et hic Ponticus; quasi non facilius crederetur caro in deo non nata quam falsa, praestruentibus vel maxime fidem istam angelis creatoris in carne vera conversatis, nec tamen nata. [2] Nam et Philumene illa magis persuasit Apelli ceterisque desertoribus Marcionis ex fide quidem Christum circumtulisse carnem, nullius tamen nativitatis, utpote de elementis eam mutuatum. Quodsi verebatur Marcion ne fides carnis nativitatis quoque fidem induceret, sine dubio qui homo videbatur, natus utique credebatur. [3] Nam et mulier quaedam exclamaverat, Beatus venter qui te portavit, et ubera quae hausisti. Et quomodo mater et fratres eius dicti sunt foris stare? [4] Et videbimus de his capitulis suo tempore. Certe cum et ipse se filium hominis praedicaret, natum scilicet profitebatur. Nunc ut haec omnia ad evangelii distulerim examinationem, tamen, quod supra statui, si omni modo natus credi habebat qui homo videbatur, vane nativitatis fidem consilio imaginariae carnis expungendam putavit. [5] Quid enim profuit non vere fuisse quod pro vero haberetur, tam carnem quam nativitatem? Aut si dixeris, viderit opinio humana: iam deum tuum honoras fallaciae titulo, si aliud se sciebat

esse quam quod homines fecerat opinari. Iam tunc potuisti etiam nativitatem putativam illi accommodasse, ne in hanc quoque impegisses quaestionem. [6] Nam et mulierculae nonnunquam praegnantēs sibi videntur aut sanguinis tributo aut aliqua valetudine inflatae. Et utique debuerat phantasmatis scenam decucurrisse, ne originem carnis non desaltasset, qui personam substantiae ipsius egisset. Plane nativitatis mendacium recusasti: ipsam enim carnem veram edidisti. Turpissimum scilicet dei etiam vera nativitas. [7] Age iam, perora in illa sanctissima et reverenda opera naturae, invehere in totum quod es: carnis atque animae originem destrue; cloacam voca uterum tanti animalis, id est hominis, producendi officinam; persequere et partus immunda et pudenda tormenta, et ipsius exinde puerperii spurcos, anxios, ludicros exitus. Tamen cum omnia ista destruxeris, ut deo indigna confirmes, non erit indignior morte nativitas et cruce infantia et natura poena et caro damnatione. [8] Si vere ista passus est Christus, minus fuit nasci. Si mendacio passus est, ut phantasma, potuit et mendacio nasci. Summa ista Marcionis argumenta, per quae alium efficit Christum, satis opinor ostendimus non consistere omnino, dum docemus magis utique competere deo veritatem quam mendacium eius habitus in quo Christum suum exhibuit. [9] Si veritas fuit, caro fuit; si caro fuit, natus est. Ea enim quae expugnat haec haeresis confirmantur, cum ea per quae expugnat destruuntur. Itaque, si carneus habebitur quia natus, et natus quia carneus, quia phantasma non fuerit, ipse erit agnoscendus qui in carne et ex nativitate venturus annuntiabatur a creatoris prophetis, utpote Christus creatoris.

12. [1] Provoca nunc, ut soles, ad hanc Esaiæ comparisonem Christi, contendens illam in nullo convenire. Primo enim, inquis, Christus Esaiæ Emmanuel vocari habebit, debinc virtutem sumere Damasci et spolia Samariae adversus regem Assyriorum. Porro iste, qui venit, neque sub eiusmodi nomine est editus neque ulla re bellica functus est. [2] At ego te admonebo, uti cohaerentia quoque utriusque capituli recognoscas. Subiuncta est enim et interpretatio Emmanuelis, Nobiscum deus; uti non solum sonum nominis spectes, sed et sensum. Sonus enim Hebraicus, quod est Emmanuel, suae gentis est; sensus autem eius, quod est Deus nobiscum, ex interpretatione communis est. Quaere ergo an ista vox, Nobiscum deus, quod est Emmanuel, exinde quo Christus illuxit, agitetur in Christo. [3] Et puto, non negabis, utpote qui et ipse dicas, Deus nobiscum dicitur, id est Emmanuel. Aut si tam vanus

es, ut quia penes te Nobiscum deus dicitur, non Emmanuel, idcirco nolis venisse illum cuius proprium sit vocari Emmanuel, quasi non hoc sit et Deus nobiscum, invenies apud Hebraeos Christianos, immo et Marcionitas, Emmanuelem nominare, cum volunt dicere Nobiscum deus; sicut et omnis gens, quoquo sono dixerit Nobiscum deus, Emmanuelem pronuntiavit in sensu sonum expungens. [4] Quodsi Emmanuel Nobiscum deus est, deus autem nobiscum Christus est, qui etiam in nobis est (quotquot enim in Christum tincti estis, Christum induistis), tam proprius est Christus in significatione nominis, quod est Nobiscum deus, quam in sono nominis, quod est Emmanuel. Atque ita constat venisse iam illum qui praedicabatur Emmanuel, quia quod significat Emmanuel venit, id est Nobiscum deus.

13. [1] Aeque et sono nominum duceris, cum virtutem Damasci et spolia Samariae et regem Assyriorum sic accipis quasi bellatorem portendant Christum creatoris, non animadvertens quid scriptura praemittat, quoniam priusquam cognoscat vocare patrem et matrem, accipiet virtutem Damasci et spolia Samariae adversus regem Assyriorum. [2] Ante est enim inspicias aetatis demonstrationem, an hominem iam Christum exhibere possit, nedum imperatorem. Scilicet vagitu ad arma esset convocaturus infans, et signa belli non tuba sed crepitacillo daturus, nec ex equo vel de curru vel de muro, sed de nutricis aut gerulae suae collo sive dorso hostem destinaturus, atque ita Damascum et Samariam pro mammillis subactus? [3] Aliud est si penes Ponticos barbariae gentis infantes in proelium erumpunt, credo ad solem uncti prius, dehinc pannis armati et butyro stipendiati, qui ante norint lanciare quam lancinare. Enimvero si nusquam hoc natura concedit, ante militare quam vivere, ante virtutem Damasci sumere quam patris et matris vocabulum nosse, sequitur ut figurata pronuntiatio videatur. Sed et virginem, inquit, parere natura non patitur, et tamen creditur prophetae. Et merito. [4] Praestruxit enim fidem incredibili rei, rationem edendo, quod in signo esset futura. Propterea, inquit, dabit vobis dominus signum: Ecce virgo concipiet in utero et pariet filium. Signum autem a deo, nisi novitas aliqua monstruosa, iam signum non fuisset. Denique et Iudaei, si quando ad nos dei ciendos mentiri audent, quasi non virginem [5] sed iuvenulam concepturam et parituram scriptura contineat, hinc revincuntur quod nihil signi videri possit res cotidiana, iuvenulae scilicet praegnatus et partus. In signum ergo disposita virgo et mater merito creditur, infans vero bellator non aeque. Non enim et hic signi ratio versatur.

Sed signo nativitatis novae adscripto exinde post signum alius ordo iam infantis edicitur, mel et butyrum manducaturi. [6] Nec hoc utique in signum est, malitiae non assentaturi, et hoc enim infantiae est, sed accepturi virtutem Damasci et spolia Samariae adversus regem Assyriorum. Serva modum aetatis et quaere sensum praedicationis, immo redde evangelio veritatis quae posterior detraxisti, et tam intellegitur prophetia quam renuntiatur expuncta. Maneant autem orientales illi Magi in infantia Christum recentem auro et ture munerantes, et acceperit infans virtutem Damasci sine proelio et armis. [7] Nam praeter quod omnibus notum est, orientis virtutem, id est vim et vires, auro et odoribus pollere solitam, certe est creatori virtutem ceterarum quoque gentium aurum constituere, sicut per Zachariam, Et Iudas praetendet apud Hierusalem et congregabit omnem valentiam populorum per circuitum, aurum et argentum. [8] De illo autem tunc auri munere etiam David, Et dabitur illi ex auro Arabiae; et rursus, Reges Arabum et Saba munera offerent illi. Nam et Magos reges habuit fere oriens, et Damascus Arabiae retro deputabatur, antequam transcripta esset in Syrophoenicen ex distinctione Syriarum, cuius tunc virtutem Christus accepit, accipiendo insignia eius, aurum scilicet et odores; spolia autem Samariae ipsos Magos, qui cum illum cognovissent et muneribus honorassent et genu posito adorassent quasi deum et regem sub testimonio indicis et ducis stellae, spolia sunt facti Samariae, id est idololatriae, credentes videlicet in Christum. [9] Idololatriam enim Samariae nomine notavit, ut ignominiosae ob idololatriam, qua desciverat tunc a deo sub rege Hieroboam. Nec hoc enim novum est creatori, figurate uti translatione nominum ex comparatione criminum. Nam et archontas Sodomorum appellat archontas Iudaeorum, et populum ipsum populum Gomorrae vocat. Et idem alibi, Pater inquit tuus Amorraeus et mater tua Cethea, ob consimilem impietatem; quos aliquando etiam suos filios dixerat, Filios generavi et exaltavi. [10] Sic et Aegyptus nonnunquam totus orbis intellegitur apud illum, superstitionis et maledictionis elogio. Sic et Babylon etiam apud Ioannem nostrum Romanae urbis figura est, proinde magnae et regno superbae et sanctorum dei debellatricis. Hoc itaque usu Magos quoque Samaritarum appellatione titulavit, despoliatos quod habuerant cum Samaritis, ut diximus, idololatriam. Adversus regem autem Assyriorum adversus Herodem intellege, cui utique adversati sunt Magi tunc non renuntiando de Christo, quem intercipere quaerebat.

14. [1] Aduvabitur haec nostra interpretatio, dum et alibi bellatorem existimans Christum ob armorum quorundam vocabula et eiusmodi verba, ex reliquorum quoque sensuum comparatione convinceris. Accingere, inquit David, ense super femur. Sed quid supra legis de Christo? Tempestivus decore praeter filios hominum, effusa est gratia in labiis tuis. [2] Rideo si, quem ad bellum ense cingebat, ei de tempestivitate decoris et labiorum gratia blandiebatur. Sic item subiungens, Et extende et prosperare et regna, adiecit propter veritatem et lenitatem et iustitiam. Quis enim <ea> ense operabitur, et non contraria potius, dolum et asperitatem et iniustitiam, propria scilicet negotia proeliorum? Videamus ergo an alius sit ensis ille, cuius alius est actus. [3] Nam et apostolus Ioannes in Apocalypsi ensem describit ex ore dei prodeuntem bis acutum, praeacutum, quem intellegi oportet sermonem divinum, bis acutum, duobus testamentis legis et evangelii, acutum sapientia, infestum diabolo, armantem nos adversus hostes spiritales nequitiae et concupiscentiae omnis, amputantem etiam a carissimis ob dei nomen. [4] Quodsi Ioannem agnitum non vis, habes communem magistrum Paulum, praecingentem lumbos nostros veritate et lorica iustitiae, et calciantem nos praeparationem evangelii pacis, non belli, adsumere iubentem scutum fidei, in quo possimus omnia diaboli ignita tela extinguere, et galeam salutaris, et gladium spiritus, quod est, inquit, dei sermo. [5] Hanc et dominus ipse machaeram venit mittere in terram, non pacem. Si tuus Christus est, ergo et ipse bellator est. Si bellator non est, machaeram intentans allegoricam, licuit ergo et Christo creatoris in psalmo sine bellicis rebus ense sermonis praecingi figurato, cui supradicta tempestivitas congruat et gratia labiorum, quem tunc iam cingebatur super femur apud David, quandoque missurus in terram. [6] Hoc est enim quod ait, Et extende et prosperare et regna. Extendens sermonem in omnem terram ad universam gentium vocationem, prosperaturus successu fidei, qua est receptus, et regnans exinde, qua mortem resurrectione devicit. Et deducet te, inquit, mirifice dextera tua, virtus scilicet gratiae spiritalis, qua Christi agnitio deducitur. [7] Sagittae tuae acutae, pervolantia ubique praecepta, et minae et traductiones cordis, compungentes et transfigentes conscientiam quamque. Populi sub te concident, utique adorantes. Sic bellipotens et armiger Christus creatoris, sic et nunc accipiens spolia, non solius Samariae, verum et omnium gentium. Agnosce et spolia figurata, cuius et arma allegorica didicisti. Figure itaque et domino eiusmodi

loquente et apostolo scribente non temere interpretationibus eius utimur, quarum exempla etiam adversarii admittunt, atque ita in tantum Esaiæ erit Christus qui venit, in quantum non fuit bellator, quia non talis ab Esaia prædicatur.

15. [1] De quaestione carnis et per eam nativitatis et unius interim nominis Emmanuelis hucusque. De ceteris vero nominibus et imprimis Christi quid pars diversa respondebit? Si proinde commune est apud vos Christi nomen quemadmodum et dei, ut sicut utriusque dei filium Christum competat dici, sic utrumque patrem <et> dominum, certe ratio huic argumentationi refragabitur. [2] Dei enim nomen quasi naturale divinitatis potest in omnes communicari quibus divinitas vindicatur, sicut et idolis, dicente apostolo, Nam et sunt qui dicuntur dii sive in caelo sive in terris. Christi vero nomen non ex natura veniens, sed ex dispositione, proprium eius efficitur a quo dispositum invenitur. Nec in communicationem alii deo subiacet, maxime aemulo et habenti suam dispositionem, cui et nomina privata debebit. [3] Quale est enim quod diversas dispositiones duorum commentati deorum societatem nominum admittunt in discordiam dispositionum, quando nulla magis probatio assisteret duorum et aemulorum deorum quam si in dispositione eorum etiam diversitas nominum inveniretur? Nullus enim status differentiarum nonnisi proprietatibus appellationum consignatur. [4] Quibus deficientibus si quando, nunc Graeca catachresis de alieno abutendo succurrit. Apud deum autem deficere, puto, nihil debet, nec de alieno instrui dispositiones eius. Quis hic deus est, qui filio quoque suo nomina a creatore vindicat, non dico aliena, sed vetera et vulgata quae vel sic non competerent deo novo et incognito? [5] Quomodo denique docet novam plagulam non adsui veteri vestimento, nec vinum novum veteribus utribus credi, adsutus ipse et indutus nominum senio? Quomodo abscidit evangelium a lege, tota lege vestitus, in nomine scilicet Christi? Quis illum prohibuit aliud vocari, aliud prædicantem aliunde venientem, cum propterea nec corporis suscepit veritatem ne Christus creatoris crederetur? [6] Vane autem noluit eum se videri quem voluit vocari, quando et si vere corporeus fuisset, magis Christus creatoris non videretur, si non vocaretur. At nunc substantiam respuit, cuius nomen accepit, etiam substantiam probaturus ex nomine. Si enim Christus unctus est, ungui utique corporis passio est. Qui corpus non habuit, ungui omnino non potuit; qui ungui omnino non potuit, Christus vocari nullo modo potuit. Aliud est si et

nominis phantasma affectavit. [7] Sed quomodo, inquit, irreperet in Iudaeorum fidem, nisi per sollemne apud eos et familiare nomen? Inconstantem aut subdolum deum narras; aut diffidentiae aut malitiositatis consilium est fallendo quid promovere. Multo liberius atque simplicius egerunt pseudoprophetae adversus creatorem in sui dei nomine venientes. Sed nec effectum consilii huius invenio, cum facilius aut suum crediderint Christum aut planum potius aliquem quam alterius dei Christum, sicut evangelium probabit.

16. [1] Nunc si nomen Christi, ut sportulam furunculus, captavit, cur etiam Iesus voluit appellari, non tam expectabili apud Iudaeos nomine? Nec enim, si nos per dei gratiam intellectum consecuti sacramentorum eius hoc quoque nomen agnoscimus Christo destinatum, ideo et Iudaeis, quibus adempta est sapientia, nota erit res. Denique ad hodiernum Christum sperant, non Iesum, et Heliam potius interpretantur Christum quam Iesum. [2] Qui ergo et in eo nomine venit in quo Christus non praesumebatur, potuit in eo solo nomine venisse quod solum praesumebatur. Ceterum cum duo miscuit, speratum et insperatum, expugnatur utrumque consilium eius. Sive enim ideo Christus, ut interim quasi creatoris irreperet, obstreperet Iesus, quia non sperabatur Iesus in Christo creatoris: sive <ideo Iesus> ut alterius haberetur, non sinit Christus quia non alterius sperabatur Christus quam creatoris. [3] Quid horum constare possit ignoro. Constabit autem utrumque in Christo creatoris, in quo invenitur etiam Iesus. Quomodo, inquis? Disce et hic cum partiariis erroris tui Iudaeis. Cum successor Moysi destinaretur Auses filius Nave, transfertur certe de pristino nomine et incipit vocari Iesus? [4] Certe, inquis. Hanc prius dicimus figuram futuri fuisse. Nam quia Iesus Christus secundum populum, quod sumus nos nati in saeculi desertis, introducturus erat in terram promissionis melle et lacte manantem, id est vitae aeternae possessionem, qua nihil dulcius, idque non per Moysen, id est non per legis disciplinam, sed per Iesum, per evangelii gratiam, provenire habebat, circumcisis nobis petrina acie, id est <praeceptis> Christi, [5] petra enim Christus, — ideo is vir, qui in huius sacramenti imagines parabatur, etiam nominis dominici inauguratus est figura, Iesus cognominatus. Hoc nomen ipse Christus suum iam tunc esse testatus est cum ad Moysen loquebatur. Quis enim loquebatur, nisi spiritus creatoris, qui est Christus? Cum ergo mandato diceret populo, Ecce ego mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam, qui te custodiat in via et introducat in terram quam

paravi tibi, intende illi et exaudi eum, ne inobaudieris eum; non enim celabit te, quoniam nomen meum super illum est: angelum quidem eum dixit ob magnitudinem virtutum quas erat editurus, et ob officium prophetae, nuntiantis scilicet divinam voluntatem; Iesum autem ob nominis sui futuri sacramentum. [6] Identidem nomen suum confirmavit quod ipse ei indiderat, quia non angelum nec Ausen, sed Iesum eum iusserat exinde vocitari. Ergo si utrumque nomen competit in Christum creatoris, tanto utrumque non competit in Christum non creatoris, sicut nec reliquus ordo. Facienda est denique iam hinc inter nos certa ista et iusta praescriptio et utrique parti necessaria, qua determinatum sit nihil omnino commune esse debere alterius dei Christo cum Christo creatoris. [7] Nam et a vobis proinde diversitas defendenda est, sicut a nobis repugnanda est, quia nec vos probare poteritis alterius dei venisse Christum, nisi eum longe alium demonstraveritis a Christo creatoris, nec nos eum creatoris vindicare, nisi talem eum ostenderimus qualis constituitur a creatore. De nominibus iam obduximus. Mihi vindico Christum, mihi defendo Iesum.

17. [1] Reliquum ordinem eius cum scripturis conferamus. Quodcunque illud corpusculum sit, quoniam habitum et quoniam conspectum fuit, si inglorius, si ignobilis, si inhonorabilis, meus erit Christus, talis enim habitu et aspectu annuntiabatur. Adest rursus Esaias: Annuntiavimus, inquit, coram ipso: velut puerulus, velut radix in terra sitiendi, et non est species eius neque gloria, et vidimus eum, et non habebat speciem neque decorem, sed species eius inhonorata, deficiens citra omnes homines. Sicut et supra patris ad filium vox, Quemadmodum expavescent multi super te, sic sine gloria erit ab hominibus forma tua. [2] Nam etsi tempestivus decore apud David supra filios hominum, sed in allegorico illo statu gratiae spiritalis, cum accingitur ense sermonis, qui vere species et decor et gloria ipsius est. [3] Ceterum habitu incorporabili apud eundem prophetam vermis etiam et non homo, ignominia hominis et nullificamen populi. Neque interiorum qualitatem eius eiusmodi annuntiat. Si enim plenitudo in illo spiritus constitit, agnosco virgam de radice Iesse. Flos eius meus erit Christus, in quo requievit secundum Esaiam spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, spiritus consilii et vigoris, spiritus agnitionis et pietatis, spiritus timoris dei. [4] Neque enim ulli hominum diversitas spiritalium documentorum competeat nisi in Christum, flori quidem ob gratiam spiritus adaequatum, ex stirpe autem Iesse deputatum, per Mariam

inde censendum. Expostulo autem de proposito: si das ei omnis humilitatis et patientiae et tranquillitatis intentionem, et ex his Esaiae erit Christus — homo in plaga et sciens ferre imbecillitatem, qui tanquam ovis ad victimam adductus est, et tanquam agnus ante tondentem non aperuit os, qui neque contendit neque clamavit, nec audita est foris vox eius, qui arundinem contusam, id est quassam Iudaeorum fidem, non comminuit, qui linum ardens, id est momentaneum ardorem gentium, non extinxit — non potest alius esse quam qui praedicebatur. [5] Oportet actum eius ad scripturarum regulam recognosci, duplici, nisi fallor, operatione distinctum, praedicationis et virtutis. Sed de utroque titulo sic disponam, ut, quoniam ipsum quoque Marcionis evangelium discuti placuit, de speciebus doctrinarum et signorum illuc differamus, quasi in rem praesentem: hic autem generaliter expungamus ordinem coeptum, docentes praedicatorem interim annuntiari Christum per Esaiam: Quis enim, inquit, in vobis, qui deum metuit et exaudiet vocem filii eius? Item medicatorem: Ipse enim, inquit, imbecillitates nostras abstulit, et languores portavit.

18. [1] De exitu plane, puto, diversitatem temptatis inducere, negantes passionem crucis in Christum creatoris praedicatam, et argumentantes insuper non esse credendum ut in id genus mortis exposuerit creator filium suum quod ipse maledixerat. Maledictus, inquit, omnis qui pependerit in ligno. Sed huius maledictionis sensum differo, dignae sola praedicatione crucis, de qua nunc maxime quaeritur, quia et alias antecedit rerum probatio rationem. De figuris prius edocebo. [2] Et utique vel maxime sacramentum istud figurari in praedicatione oportebat, quanto incredibile, tanto magis scandalo futurum si nude praedicaretur, quantoque magnificum, tanto magis obumbrandum, ut difficultas intellectus gratiam dei quaereret. Itaque inprimis Isaac, cum a patre in hostiam deditus lignum sibi ipse portaret, Christi exitum iam tunc denotabat, in victimam concessi a patre et lignum passionis suae baiulantis. [3] Ioseph et ipse Christum figuraturus (nec hoc solo, ne demorer cursum, quod persecutionem a fratribus passus est ob dei gratiam, sicut et Christus a Iudaeis carnaliter fratribus) cum benedicitur a patre etiam in haec verba, Tauri decor eius, cornua unicornis cornua eius, in eis nationes ventilabit pariter ad summum usque terrae: non utique rhinoceros destinabatur unicornis nec minotaurus bicornis, sed Christus in illo significabatur, taurus ob utramque dispositionem, aliis ferus ut iudex, aliis mansuetus ut salvator, cuius cornua

essent crucis extrema. [4] Nam et in antenna, quae crucis pars est, extremitates cornua vocantur; unicornis autem medius stipitis palus. Hac denique virtute crucis et hoc naore cornutus universas gentes et nunc ventilat per fidem, auferens a terra in caelum, et tunc per iudicium ventilabit, deiciens de caelo in terram. [5] Idem erit et alibi taurus apud eandem scripturam, cum Iacob in Simeonem et Levi, id est in scribas et pharisaeos (ex illis enim deducitur census istorum) spiritualiter interpretatur: Simeon et Levi perfecerunt iniquitatem ex sua haeresi, qua scilicet Christum sunt persecuti; in concilium eorum ne venerit anima mea, et in stationem eorum ne incubuerint iecora mea, quia in indignatione sua interfecerunt homines, id est prophetas, et in concupiscentia sua ceciderunt nervos tauro, id est Christo, quem post necem prophetarum suffigendo, <in> nervos utique eius clavis desaevierunt. Ceterum vanum, si post homicidia alicuius bovis illis exprobrat carnificinam. [6] Iam vero Moyses, quid utique tunc tantum, cum Iesus adversus Amalech proeliabatur, expansis manibus orabat residens, quando in rebus tam attonitis magis utique genibus depositis et manibus caedentibus pectus et facie humi volutante orationem commendare debuisset, nisi quia illic, ubi nomen domini dimicabat dimicaturi quandoque adversus diabolum, crucis quoque erat habitus necessarius, per quam Iesus victoriam esset relaturus? [7] Idem rursus Moyses, post interdictam omnis rei similitudinem, cur aereum serpentem ligno impositum pendentis habitu in spectaculum salutare proposuit? An et hic dominicae crucis vim intentabat, qua serpens diabolus publicabatur, et laeso cuique a spiritalibus colubris, intuenti tamen et credenti in eam, sanitas morsuum peccatorum et salus exinde praedicabatur?

19. [1] Age nunc, si legisti penes David, Dominus regnavit a ligno, expecto quid intellegas. Nisi forte lignarium aliquem regem significari Iudaeorum, et non Christum, qui exinde a passione ligni superata morte regnavit. Etsi enim mors ab Adam regnavit usque ad Christum, cur Christus non regnasse dicatur a ligno, ex quo crucis ligno mortuus regnum mortis exclusit? [2] Proinde et Esaias, Quoniam, inquit, puer est natus nobis. Quid novi, si non de filio dei dicit? Et datus est nobis cuius imperium factum est super humerum ipsius. Quis omnino regum insigne potestatis suae humero praefert, et non aut capite diadema aut manu sceptrum aut aliquam propriae vestis notam? [3] Sed solus novus rex novorum aevorum Christus Iesus novae gloriae et potestatem et sublimitatem suam humero extulit, crucem scilicet, ut secundum superiorem

prophetiam exinde dominus regnaret a ligno. Hoc lignum et Hieremias tibi insinuat, dicturis praedicans Iudaeis, Venite, iniciamus lignum in panem eius, utique in corpus. [4] Sic enim deus in evangelio quoque vestro revelavit, panem corpus suum appellans, ut et hinc iam eum intellegas corporis sui figuram pani dedisse, cuius retro corpus in panem propheta figuravit, ipso domino hoc sacramentum postea interpretaturo. [5] Si adhuc quaeris dominicae crucis praedicationem, satis iam tibi potest facere vigesimus primus psalmus, totam Christi continens passionem, canentis iam tunc gloriam suam: Foderunt, inquit, manus meas et pedes, quae propria atrocitas crucis. Et rursus, cum auxilium patris implorat, Salvum, inquit, fac me ex ore leonis, utique mortis, et de cornibus unicornis humilitatem, [6] de apicibus scilicet crucis, ut supra ostendimus. Quam crucem nec ipse David passus est, nec ullus rex Iudaeorum, ne putes alterius alicuius prophetari passionem quam eius qui solus a populo tam insigniter crucifixus est. Nunc et si omnes istas interpretationes respuerit et irriserit haeretica duritia, concedam illi nullam Christi crucem significatam a creatore, quia nec ex hoc probabit alium esse qui crucifixus est: [7] nisi forte ostenderit hunc exitum eius a suo deo praedicatum, ut diversitas passionum, ac per hoc etiam personarum, ex diversitate praedicationum vindicetur. Ceterum nec ipso Christo eius praedicato, nedum cruce ipsius, sufficit in meum Christum solius mortis prophetia. Ex hoc enim quod non est edita qualitas mortis, potuit et per crucem evenisse, tunc alii deputanda si in alium fuisset praedicatum. [8] Nisi si nec mortem volet Christi mei prophetatam, quo magis erubescat, si suum quidem Christum mortuum annuntiat, quem negat natum, meum vero mortalem negat, quem nascibilem confitetur. Et mortem autem et sepulturam et resurrectionem Christi mei una voce Esaiae volo ostendere dicentis, Sepultura eius sublata de medio est. [9] Nec sepultus enim esset nisi mortuus, nec sepultura eius sublata de medio nisi per resurrectionem. Denique subiecit, Propterea ipse multos haereditati habebit et multorum dividet spolia, pro eo quod tradita est anima eius in mortem. Ostensa est enim causa gratiae huius, pro iniuria scilicet mortis repensandae. Pariter ostensum est haec illum [propter mortem consecuturum,] post mortem utique per resurrectionem consecuturum.

20. [1] Sufficit hucusque de his interim ordinem Christi decucurrisse, quo talis probatus qualiter annuntiabatur non alius haberi debeat quam qui talis

annuntiabatur, ut iam ex ista consonantia rerum eius et scripturarum creatoris illis etiam restituenda sit fides ex praeiudicio maioris partis quae ad diversas sententias vel in dubium deducuntur vel negantur. Amplius nunc superstruimus ea quoque paria ex scripturis creatoris quaequae post Christum futura praecinebantur. [2] Nec enim dispositio expuncta inveniretur, si non ille venisset post quem habebat evenire. Aspice universas nationes de voragine erroris humani exinde emergentes ad deum creatorem, ad deum Christum, et, si audes, nega prophetatum. [3] Sed statim tibi in psalmis promissio patris occurret: Filius meus es tu, ego hodie generavi te: postula a me, et dabo tibi gentes haereditatem tuam et possessionem tuam terminos terrae. Nec poteris magis David filium eius vindicare quam Christum, aut terminos terrae David potius promissos qui intra unicam Iudaeorum gentem regnavit, quam Christo qui totum iam orbem evangelii sui fide cepit. [4] Sic et per Esaïam: Ecce dedi te in dispositionem generis, in lucem nationum, aperire oculos caecorum, utique errantium, exsolvere de vinculis vinctos, id est de delictis liberare, et de cella carceris, id est mortis, sedentes in tenebris, ignorantiae scilicet. [5] Quae si per Christum eveniunt, non in alium erunt prophetata quam per quem eveniunt. Item alibi: Ecce testimonium eum nationibus posui, principem et imperantem nationibus; nationes, quae te non sciunt, invocabunt te, et populi confugient ad te. Nec enim haec in David interpretaberis, quia praemisit, Et disponam vobis dispositionem aeternam, religiosa et fidelia David. [6] Atquin hinc magis Christum intellegere debebis ex David deputatum carnali genere ob Mariae virginis censem. De hoc enim promisso iuratur in psalmo ad David, Ex fructu ventris tui collocabo super thronum tuum. Quis iste venter est? Ipsius David? Utique non. Neque enim pariturus esset David. [7] Sed nec uxoris eius. Non enim dixisset, Ex fructu ventris tui, sed potius, Ex fructu ventris uxoris tuae. Ipsius autem dicendo ventrem superest ut aliquem de genere eius ostenderit cuius ventris futurus esset fructus caro Christi, quae ex utero Mariae floruit. Ideoque et fructum ventris tantum nominavit, ut proprie ventris, quasi solius ventris, non etiam viri, et ipsum ventrem ad David redegit, ad principem generis et familiae patrem. [8] Nam quia viro deputare non poterat virginis eum ventrem, patri deputavit. Ita quae in Christo nova dispositio invenitur hodie, haec erit quam tunc creator pollicebatur, religiosa et fidelia David appellans, quae erant Christi, quia Christus ex David: immo ipsa erit caro eius religiosa et fidelia David, iam sancta religione et fidelis ex

resurrectione. Nam et Nathan propheta in prima Basilium professionem ad David facit semini eius, quod erit, inquit, ex ventre ipsius. Hoc si in Salomonem simpliciter edisseres, risum mihi incuties: videbitur enim David peperisse Salomonem. An et hic Christus significatur, ex eo ventre semen David qui esset ex David, id est Mariae? [9] Quia et aedem dei magis Christus aedificaturus esset, hominem scilicet sanctum, in quo potiore templo inhabitaret dei spiritus, et in dei filium magis Christus habendus esset quam Salomon filius David. Denique et thronus in aevum et regnum in aevum magis Christo competit quam Salomoni, temporali scilicet regi. Sed et a Christo misericordia dei non abscessit, Salomoni vero etiam ira dei accessit post luxuriam et idololatriam. [10] Suscitavit enim illi Satan hostem Idumaeum. Cum ergo nihil horum competat in Salomonem, sed in Christum, certa erit ratio interpretationum nostrarum, ipso etiam exitu rerum probante quas in Christum apparet praedicatas. Et ita in hoc erunt sancta et fidelia David. Hunc deus testimonium nationibus posuit, non David; principem et imperantem nationibus, non David, qui soli Israeli imperavit. Christum hodie invocant nationes quae eum non sciebant, et populi ad Christum hodie confugiunt, quem retro ignorabant. Non potest futurum dici quod vides fieri.

21. [1] Sic nec illam iniectionem tuam potes sistere ad differentiam duorum Christorum, quasi Iudaicus quidem Christus populo soli ex dispersione redigendo destinetur a creatore, vester vero omni humano generi liberando collatus sit a deo optimo, cum postremo priores inveniantur Christiani creatoris quam Marcionis, exinde vocatis omnibus populis in regno eius ex quo deus regnavit a ligno, nullo adhuc Cerdone, nedum Marcione. [2] Sed et revictus de nationum vocatione convertere iam in proselytos. Quaeris qui de nationibus transeant ad creatorem, quando et proselyti diversae et propriae condicionis seorsum a propheta nominentur: Ecce, inquit Esaias, proselyti per me accedent ad te, ostendens ipsos quoque proselytos per Christum accessuros ad deum. Et nationes, quod sumus nos, proinde suam habebant nominationem sperantes in Christum: Et in nomine, inquit, eius nationes sperabunt. [3] Proselyti autem, quos in nationum praedicatione substituis, non in Christi nomine sperare solent, sed in Moysi ordine, a quo institutio illorum est. Ceterum allectio nationum a novissimis diebus exorta est. Iisdem verbis Esaias, Et erit, inquit, in novissimis diebus manifestus mons domini, utique sublimitas dei, et aedes dei super summos montes, utique Christus, catholicum

dei templum, in quo deus colitur, constitutum super omnes eminentias virtutum et potestatum: et venient ad eum universae nationes, et ibunt multi et dicent, Venite, ascendamus in montem domini et in aedem dei Iacob, et annuntiabit nobis viam suam, et incedemus in ea: ex Sion enim exibat lex, et sermo domini ex Hierusalem. Haec erit via novae legis evangelium, et novi sermonis in Christo, iam non in Moyse. Et iudicabit inter nationes, de errore scilicet earum: et revincet populum amplum, ipsorum inprimis Iudaeorum et proselytorum: et concident machaeras suas in aratra et sibynas in falces, id est animorum nocentium et linguarum infestarum et omnis malitiae atque blasphemiae ingenia convertent in studia modestiae et pacis: et non accipiet gens super gentem machaeram, utique discordiae: et non discent amplius bellare, id est inimicitias perficere, ut et hic discas Christum non bellipotentem, sed paciferum repromissum. [4] Haec aut prophetata nega, cum coram videntur, aut adimpleta, cum leguntur, aut si non negas utrumque, in eo erunt adimpleta in quem sunt prophetata. Inspice enim adhuc etiam ipsum introgressum atque decursum vocationis in nationes a novissimis diebus adeuntes ad deum creatorem, non in proselytos, quomm a primis magis diebus allectio est. Etenim fidem istam apostoli induxerunt.

22. [1] Habes et apostolorum opus praedicatum: Quam tempestivi pedes evangelizantium pacem, evangelizantium bona, non bellum nec mala. Respondit et psalmus, In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum et in terminos terrae voces eorum, circumferentium scilicet legem ex Sion profectam et sermonem domini ex Hierusalem, ut fieret quod scriptum est, Longe quique a iustitia mea appropinquaverunt iustitiae meae et veritati. [2] Cum huic negotio accingerentur apostoli, renuntiaverunt presbyteris et archontibus et sacerdotibus Iudaeorum. An non vel maxime, inquit, ut alterius dei praedicatores? Atquin ipsius eiusdem cuius scripturam cum maxime implebant. Divertite, divertite, inclamat Esaias, excedite illinc, et immundum ne attigeritis, blasphemiam scilicet in Christum: excedite de medio eius, utique synagogae; separamini, qui dominica vasa portatis. [3] Iam enim secundum supra scripta revelaverat dominus brachio suo sanctum, id est virtute sua Christum coram nationibus, ut viderint universae nationes et summa terrae salutem quae erat a deo. Sic et ab ipso Iudaismo divertentes, cum legis obligamenta et onera evangelica iam libertate mutarent, psalmum exsequebantur: Disrumpamus vincula eorum et abiciamus a nobis iugum

eorum; postea certe quam tumultuatae sunt gentes et populi meditati sunt inania; astiterunt reges terrae, et principes congregati sunt in unum adversus dominum et adversus Christum eius. [4] Quae dehinc passi sunt apostoli? Omnem, inquis, iniquitatem persecutionum, ab hominibus scilicet creatoris, ut adversarii eius quem praedicabant. Et quare creator, si adversarius erat Christi, non modo praedicat hoc passuros apostolos eius, verum et exprobrat? [5] Nam neque praedicaret alterius dei ordinem, quem ignorabat ut vultis, neque exprobrasset quod ipse curasset: Videte quomodo perit iustus, nec quisquam excipit corde, et viri iusti auferantur, nec quisquam animadvertit: a persona enim iniustitiae sublatus est iustus. Quis, nisi Christus? Venite, inquit, auferamus iustum, quia inutilis est nobis. Praemittens itaque, et subiungens proinde, passum etiam Christum, aequae iustos eius eadem passuros tam apostolos quam et deinceps omnes fideles prophetavit, signatos illa nota scilicet de qua Ezechiel: Dicit dominus ad me, Pertransi in medio portae in media Hierusalem, et da signum Tau in frontibus virorum. [6] Ipsa est enim littera Graecorum Tau, nostra autem T, species crucis, quam portendebat futuram in frontibus nostris apud veram et catholicam Hierusalem, in qua fratres Christi, filios scilicet dei, gloriam patri deo relaturos psalmus vigesimus primus canit ex persona ipsius Christi ad patrem: Enarrabo nomen tuum fratribus meis, in medio ecclesiae hymnum tibi dicam. Quod enim in nomine et spiritu ipsius hodie fieri habebat, merito a se futurum praedicabat. Et paulo infra: A te laus mihi in ecclesia magna. Et in sexagesimo septimo: In ecclesiis benedicite dominum deum; ut pariter concurreret et Malachiae prophetia: Non est voluntas mea, dicit dominus, et sacrificia vestra non accipiam; quoniam ab ortu solis usque in occasum nomen meum glorificatum est in nationibus, et in omni loco sacrificium nomini meo offertur, et sacrificium mundum, gloriae scilicet relatio et benedictio et laus et hymni. [7] Quae omnia cum in te quoque deprehendantur, et signaculum frontium et ecclesiarum sacramenta et munditiae sacrificiorum, debes iam erumpere uti dicas spiritum creatoris tuo Christo prophetasse.

23. [1] Nunc, quia cum Iudaeis negas venisse Christum eorum, recognosce et exitum ipsorum quem post Christum relaturi praedicabantur, ob impietatem qua eum et despexerunt et interemerunt. Primum enim ex die qua secundum Esaiam proiecit homo aspernamenta sua aurea et argentea, quae fecerunt adorandis vanis et nocivis, id est ex quo genus hominum dilucidata per

Christum veritate idola proiecit, vide an quod sequitur expunctum sit: [2] Abstulit enim dominus sabaoth a Iudaea et ab Hierusalem inter cetera et prophetam et sapientem architectum, spiritum scilicet sanctum, qui aedificat ecclesiam, templum scilicet et domum et civitatem dei. Nam exinde apud illos destitit dei gratia, et mandatum est nubibus ne pluerent imbrem super vineam Sorech, id est caelestibus beneficiis ne provenirent domui Israelis. [3] Fecerat enim spinas, ex quibus dominum coronaverat, et non iustitiam, sed clamorem, quo in crucem eum extorserat. Et ita subtractis charismatum roribus lex et prophetae usque ad Ioannem. Dehinc cum ea perseverantia furoris et nomen domini per ipsos blasphemaretur, sicut scriptum est: Propter vos blasphematur nomen meum in nationibus (ab illis enim coepit infamia), et tempus medium a Tiberio usque ad Vespasianum non paenitentiam intellexissent, facta est terra eorum deserta, civitates eorum exustae, regionem eorum sub ipsorum conspectu extranei devorant, derelicta filia Sion, et tanquam specula in vinea vel in cucumerario casula, ex quo scilicet Israel dominum non cognovit, et populus eum non intellexit, sed dereliquit, et in indignationem provocavit sanctum Israelis. [4] Sic et machaerae condicionalis comminatio, Si nolueritis nec audieritis me, machaera vos comedet, probavit Christum fuisse quem non audiendo perierunt. Qui et in psalmo quinquagesimo octavo dispersionem eis postulat a patre: Disperge eos in virtute tua. Qui et rursus per Esaïam in exustionem eorum perorans, Propter me haec, inquit, facta sunt vobis, in anxietate dormietis. [5] Satis vane, si haec non propter eum passi sunt qui propter se passuros pronuntiarat, sed propter Christum dei alterius. Atquin Christum, inquam, alterius dei dicitis a creatoris virtutibus et potestatibus, ut ab aemulis, in crucem actum. Sed ecce defensio ostenditur a creatore, et dati sunt pessimi pro sepultura eius, qui scilicet subreptam eam asseveraverant, et locupletes pro morte eius, qui scilicet et a Iuda traditionem redemerant, et a militibus falsum testimonium cadaveris subrepti. [6] Igitur aut non propter illum acciderunt ista Iudaeis — sed revinceris conspirante et sensu scripturarum cum exitu rerum et ordine temporum — aut si propter illum acciderunt, non potuit creator ulcisci nisi suum Christum, remuneraturus potius Iudam si adversarium domini sui peremissent. Certe si nondum venit Christus creatoris, propter quem haec passuri praedicantur, cum venerit ergo, patientur. Et ubi tunc filia Sion derelinquenda, quae nulla hodie est? [7] Ubi civitates exurendae, quae iam in tumultis? Ubi dispersio gentis, quae iam

extorris? Redde statum Iudaeae, quem Christus creatoris inveniatur, et alium contende venisse. Iam vero quale est ut per caelum suum admiserit quem in terra sua esset interempturus, honestiore et gloriosiore regni sui regione violata, ipsa aula sua et arce calcata? An hoc magis affectavit? Plane deus zelotes, tamen vicit. Erubescere, qui victo deo credis. Quid sperabis ab eo qui se protegere non valuit? Aut enim per infirmitatem oppressus est a virtutibus et hominibus creatoris, aut per malitiositatem, ut tantum illis sceleris patientia infingeret.

24. [1] Immo, inquis, spero ab illo, quod et ipsum faciat ad testimonium diversitatis, regnum dei aeternae et caelestis possessionis. Ceterum vester Christus pristinum statum Iudaeis pollicetur ex restitutione terrae, et post decursum vitae apud inferos in sinu Abrahae refrigerium. Deum optimum, si reddit placatus quod et abstulerat iratus! O deum tuum, qui et caedit et sanat, condit mala et facit pacem! O deum etiam ad inferos usque misericordem! [2] Sed de sinu Abrahae suo tempore. De restitutione vero Iudaeae, quam et ipsi Iudaei ita ut describitur sperant locorum et regionum nominibus inducti, quomodo allegorica interpretatio in Christum et in ecclesiam et habitum et fructum eius spiritualiter competat et longum est persequi et in alio opere digestum, quod inscribimus DE SPE FEDELIIUM, et in praesenti vel eo otiosum quia non de terrena sed de caelesti promissione sit quaestio. [3] Nam et confitemur in terra nobis regnum repromissum, sed ante caelum, sed alio statu, utpote post resurrectionem, in mille annos in civitate divini operis Hierusalem caelo delata, quam et apostolus matrem nostram sursum designat: et politeuma nostrum, id est municipatum, in caelis esse pronuntians alicui utique caelesti civitati eum deputat. [4] Hanc et Ezechiel novit, et apostolus Ioannes vidit: et qui apud fidem nostram est novae prophetiae sermo testatur, ut etiam effigiem civitatis ante repraesentationem eius conspectui futuram in signum praedicarit. Denique proxime expunctum est orientali expeditione. Constat enim ethnicis quoque testibus in Iudaea per dies quadraginta matutinis momentis civitatem de caelo pependisse, omni moeniorum habitu evanescente de profectu diei, et alias de proximo nullam. [5] Hanc dicimus excipiendis resurrectione sanctis et refovendis omnium bonorum utique spiritualium copia in compensationem eorum quae in saeculo vel despeximus vel amisimus a deo prospectam. Siquidem et iustum et deo dignum illic quoque exultare famulos eius ubi sunt et afflicti in nomine ipsius. Haec ratio regni caelestis, [6] post

cuius mille annos, intra quam aetatem concluditur sanctorum resurrectio pro meritis maturius vel tardius resurgentium, tunc et mundi destructione et iudicii conflagratione commissa demutati in atomo in angelicam substantiam, scilicet per illud incorruptelae superindumentum, transferemur in caeleste regnum, de quo nunc sic ideo retractatur, quasi non praedicato apud creatorem, ac per hoc alterius dei Christum probante, a quo primo et solo sit revelatum. [7] Disce iam hinc illud et praedicatum a creatore et sine praedicatione credendum apud creatorem. Quid tibi videtur? cum Abrahae semen, post primam promissionem qua in multitudinem arenae repromittitur, ad instar quoque stellarum destinatur, nonne et terrenae et caelestis dispositionis auspicia sunt? Cum Isaac benedicens Iacob filium suum, Det ait tibi deus de rore caeli et de opimitate terrae, nonne utriusque indulgentiae exempla sunt? [8] Denique animadvertenda est hic etiam structura benedictionis ipsius. Nam circa Iacob, qui quidem posterioris et praelatoris populi figura est, id est nostri, prima promissio caelestis est roris, secunda terrenae opimitatis. Nos enim primo ad caelestia invitamur, cum a saeculo avellimur, et ita postea invenimur etiam terrena consecuturi. Et evangelium vestrum quoque habet, Quaerite primum regnum dei, et haec adicientur vobis. [9] Ceterum ad Esau promittit benedictionem terrenam et subicit caelestem, De opimitate terrae, dicens, erit inhabitatio tua et a rore caeli. Iudaeorum enim dispositio in Esau, priorum natu et posteriorum affectu filiorum, a terrenis bonis imbuta per legem, postea ad caelestia per evangelium credendo deducitur. Cum vero Iacob somniat scalas obfirmatas in terra ad caelum et angelos alios ascendentes et alios descendentes, innixum desuper dominum, temere, si forte, interpretabimur scalis his iter ad caelum demonstrari, quo alii perveniant, unde alii decidant, domini constitutum esse iudicio. [10] Cur autem, ut evigilavit et primum loci horrore concussus est, convertitur ad interpretationem somnii? Cum enim dixisset, Quam terribilis est locus iste! Non est, inquit, aliud, sed aedes dei, et haec porta caeli. Christum dominum enim viderat, templum dei et portam eundem, per quem aditur caelum. Et utique portam caeli non nominasset, si caelum non aditur apud creatorem. Sed est et porta quae recipit, et <via> quae perducit, strata iam a Christo. De quo Amos: Qui aedificat in caelum ascensum suum, utique non sibi soli, sed et suis, qui cum illo erunt. [11] Et circumdabis enim illos tibi, inquit, tanquam ornamentum sponsae. Ita per illum ascensum ad caelestia regna tendentes miratur spiritus dicens, Volant

velut qui sunt milvi, ut nubes volant, et velut pulli columbarum ad me, scilicet simpliciter ut columbae. Auferemur enim in nubes obviam domino, secundum apostolum (illo scilicet filio hominis veniente in nubibus, secundum Danielem), et ita semper cum domino erimus, eatenus dum et in terra et in caelo, qui ob utriusque promissionis ingratos ipsa etiam elementa testatur: Audi caelum et in aures percipe terra. [12] Et ego quidem, etiam si nullam spei caelestis manum mihi totiens scriptura porrigente satis haberem huius quoque promissionis praeiudicium, quod iam terrenam gratiam teneam expectarem aliquid et de caelo, a deo caeli sicut et terrae; ita crederem Christum sublimiora pollicentem eius esse qui et humiliora promiserat, qui et experimenta maiorum de parvulis fecerat, qui hoc inauditi, si forte, regni praeconium soli Christo reservaverat, ut per famulos quidem terrena gloria, caelestis vero per ipsum deum annuntiaretur. [13] At tu hinc quoque alium argumentaris Christum quod regnum novum annuntiet. Prius est aliquod exemplum indulgentiae proferas, ne merito dubitem de fide tantae promissionis quam sperandam dicis; immo ante omnia est ut, quem caelestia praedicas repromittere, aliquod caelum probes eius. At nunc vocas ad coenam, nec domum ostendis; allegas regnum, nec regiam monstras. An quia Christus tuus caeleste regnum repromittit non habens caelum, quomodo et hominem praestitit non habens carnem? O phantasma omne! O praestigia magnae etiam promissionis!

LIBER IV.

1. [1] Omnem sententiam et omnem paraturam impii atque sacrilegi Marcionis ad ipsum iam evangelium eius provocamus quod interpolando suum fecit. Et ut fidem instrueret, dotem quandam commentatus est illi, opus ex contrarietatum oppositionibus *Antitheses* cognominatum et ad separationem legis et evangelii coactum, qua duos deos dividens, proinde diversos, alterum alterius instrumenti, vel, quod magis usui est dicere, testamenti, ut exinde evangelio quoque secundum *Antitheses* credendo patrocinaretur. [2] Sed et istas proprio congressu cominus, id est per singulas iniectiones Pontici, cecidissem, si non multo opportunius in ipso et cum ipso evangelio cui procurant retunderentur; quamquam tam facile est praescriptive occurrere, et quidem ut accepto eas faciam, ut rato habeam, ut nobiscum facere dicam, quo magis de caecitate auctoris sui erubescant, nostrae iam antitheses adversus Marcionem. [3] Atque adeo confiteor alium ordinem decucurrisse in veteri dispositione apud creatorem, alium in nova apud Christum. Non nego distare documenta eloquii, praecepta virtutis, legis disciplinas, dum tamen tota diversitas in unum et eundem deum competat, illum scilicet a quo constat eam dispositam sicut et praedicatam. [4] Olim contionatur Esaias prodituram ex Sion legem et sermonem domini ex Hierusalem, aliam utique legem aliumque sermonem. Denique iudicabit, inquit, inter nationes, et traducet populum plurimum, scilicet non unius gentis Iudaeorum, sed nationum quae per novam legem evangelii et novum sermonem apostolorum iudicantur et traducuntur apud semetipsas de pristino errore, simul crediderunt, atque exinde concidunt machaeras suas in aratra, et sibynas, quod genus venabulorum est, in falces, id est feros et saevos quondam animos convertunt in sensus probos et bonae frugis operarios. [5] Et rursus: Audite me, audite me, et populus meus et reges, auribus intendite in me, quoniam lex prodibit a me et iudicium meum in lucem nationum, quo iudicaverat atque decreverat nationes quoque illuminandas per evangelii legem atque sermonem. Haec erit lex et apud David, invituperabilis, qua perfecta, convertens animam, utique ab idolis ad deum. Hic erit et sermo, de quo idem Esaias, Quoniam, inquit, decisum sermonem faciet dominus in terra. [6] Compendiatum est enim novum testamentum et a legis laciniosis oneribus expeditum. Sed quid pluribus, cum manifestius et luce ipsa clarius novatio praedicetur a creatore per eundem? Ne

rememineritis priorum, et antiqua ne recogitaveritis: vetera transierunt, nova oriuntur: ecce facio nova, quae nunc orientur. Item per Hieremiam: Novate vobis novamen novum, et ne severitis in spinas, et circumcidimini praeputium cordis vestri. Et alibi: Ecce venient dies, dicit dominus, et perficiam domui Iacob et domui Iudae testamentum novum, non secundum testamentum quod disposui patribus eorum in die qua arripui dispositionem eorum ad educendos eos de terra Aegypti. [7] Adeo pristinum testamentum temporale significat, dum mutabile ostendit, etiam dum aeternum de postero pollicetur. Nam per Esaiam, Audite me et vivetis, et disponam vobis testamentum aeternum, adiciens sancta et fidelia David, ut id testamentum in Christo decursurum demonstraret. Eundem ex genere David, secundum Mariae censem, [8] etiam in virga ex radice Iesse processura figurate praedicabat. Igitur si alias leges aliosque sermones et novas testamentorum dispositiones a creatore dixit futuras, ut etiam ipsorum sacrificiorum alia officia potiora et quidem apud nationes destinarit, dicente Malachia, Non est voluntas mea in vobis, inquit dominus, et sacrificia vestra non excipiam de manibus vestris, quoniam a solis ortu usque ad occasum glorificatum est in nationibus nomen meum, et in omni loco sacrificium nomini meo offertur, et sacrificium mundum scilicet simplex oratio de conscientia pura, necesse est omnis demutatio veniens ex innovatione diversitatem ineat cum his quorum fit, et contrarietatem ex diversitate. [9] Sicut enim nihil demutatum quod non diversum, ita nihil diversum quod non contrarium. Eiusdem ergo deputabitur etiam contrarietas ex diversitate cuius fuerit demutatio ex innovatione. Qui disposuit demutationem, iste instituit et diversitatem; qui praedicavit innovationem, iste praenuntiavit et contrarietatem. [10] Quid differentiam rerum ad distantiam interpretaris potestatum? quid antitheses exemplorum distorques adversus creatorem, quas in ipsis quoque sensibus et affectionibus eius potes recognoscere? Ego, inquit, percutiam, et ego sanabo: Ego, inquit, occidam, et ego vivificabo, condens scilicet mala et faciens pacem; qua etiam soles illum mobilitatis quoque et inconstantiae nomine reprehendere, prohibentem quae iubet et iubentem quae prohibet. Cur ergo non et antitheses ad naturalia reputasti contrarii sibi semper creatoris? Nec mundum saltim recogitare potuisti, nisi fallor, etiam apud Ponticos ex diversitatibus structum aemularum invicem substantiarum. [11] Prius itaque debueras alium deum luminis, alium tenebrarum determinasse, ut ita posses alium legis, alium evangelii

asseverasse. Ceterum praeiudicatum est ex manifestis, cuius opera et ingenia per antitheses constant, eadem forma constare etiam sacramenta.

2. [1] Habes nunc ad *Antitheses* expeditam a nobis responsionem. Transeo nunc ad evangelii, sane non Iudaici sed Pontici, interim adulterati demonstrationem, praestructuram ordinem quem aggredimur. Constituimus inprimis evangelicum instrumentum apostolos auctores habere, quibus hoc munus evangelii promulgandi ab ipso domino sit impositum. Si et apostolicos, non tamen solos, sed cum apostolis et post apostolos, quoniam praedicatio discipulorum suspecta fieri posset de gloriae studio, si non adsistat illi auctoritas magistrorum, immo Christi, quae magistros apostolos fecit. [2] Denique nobis fidem ex apostolis Ioannes et Matthaeus insinuant, ex apostolicis Lucas et Marcus instaurant, isdem regulis exorsi, quantum ad unicum deum attinet creatorem et Christum eius, natum ex virgine, supplementum legis et prophetarum. Viderit enim si narrationum dispositio variavit, dummodo de capite fidei conveniat, de quo cum Marcione non convenit. [3] Contra Marcion evangelio, scilicet suo, nullum adscribit auctorem, quasi non licuerit illi titulum quoque affingere, cui nefas non fuit ipsum corpus evertere. Et possem hic iam gradum figere, non agnoscendum contendens opus quod non erigat frontem, quod nullam constantiam praeferat, nullam fidem repromittat de plenitudine tituli et professione debita auctoris. [4] Sed per omnia congregi malumus, nec dissimulamus quod ex nostro intellegi potest. Nam ex iis commentatoribus quos habemus Lucam videtur Marcion elegerisse quem caederet. Porro Lucas non apostolus sed apostolicus, non magister sed discipulus, utique magistro minor, certe tanto posterior quanto posterioris apostoli sectator, Pauli sine dubio, ut et si sub ipsius Pauli nomine evangelium Marcion intulisset, non sufficeret ad fidem singularitas instrumenti destituta patrocinio antecessorum. [5] Exigeretur enim id quoque evangelium quod Paulus invenit, cui fidem dedit, cui mox suum congruere gestiit, siquidem propterea Hierosolymam ascendit ad cognoscendos apostolos et consultandos, ne forte in vacuura cucurrisset, id est ne non secundum illos credidisset et non secundum illos evangelizaret. Denique ut cum auctoribus contulit, et convenit de regula fidei, dextras miscuere, et exinde officia praedicandi distinxerunt, ut illi in Iudaeos, Paulus in Iudaeos et in nationes. Igitur si ipse illuminator Lucae auctoritatem antecessorum et fidei et praedicationi suae optavit, quanto magis eam evangelio Lucae expostulem,

quae evangelio magistri eius fuit necessaria?

3. [1] Aliud est si penes Marcionem a discipulatu Lucae coepit religionis Christianae sacramentum. Ceterum si et retro decucurrit, habuit utique authenticam paraturam, per quam ad Lucam usque pervenit, cuius testimonio adsistente Lucas quoque possit admitti. [2] Sed enim Marcion nactus epistolam Pauli ad Galatas, etiam ipsos apostolos suggillantibus ut non recto pede incedentes ad veritatem evangelii, simul et accusantis pseudapostolos quosdam pervertentes evangelium Christi, connititur ad destruendum statum eorum evangeliorum quae propria et sub apostolorum nomine eduntur, vel etiam apostolicorum, ut scilicet fidem quam illis adimit suo conferat. [3] Porro etsi reprehensus est Petras et Ioannes et Iacobus, qui existimabantur columnae, manifesta causa est. Personarum enim respectu videbantur variare convictum. Et tamen cum ipse Paulus omnibus omnia fieret, ut omnes lucraretur, potuit et Petro hoc in consilio fuisse aliquid aliter agendi quam docebat. [4] Proinde si et pseudapostoli irrepserant, horum quoque qualitas edita est, circumcisionem vindicantium et Iudaicos fastos. Adeo non de praedicatione sed de conversatione a Paulo denotabantur, aequae denotaturo si quid de deo creatore aut Christo eius errassent. Igitur distinguenda erunt singula. Si apostolos praevaricationis et simulationis suspectos Marcion haberi queritur usque ad evangelii depravationem, Christum iam accusat, accusando quos Christus elegit. Si vero apostoli quidem integrum evangelium contulerunt, de sola convictus inaequalitate reprehensi, pseudapostoli autem veritatem eorum interpolaverunt, et inde sunt nostra digesta, quod erit germanum illud apostolorum instrumentum quod adulteros passum est, quod Paulum illuminavit et ab eo Lucam? Aut si tam funditus deletum est, ut cataclysmo quodam, ita inundatione falsariorum oblitteratum, iam ergo nec Marcion habet verum. [5] Aut si ipsum erit verum, id est apostolorum, quod Marcion habet solus (et quomodo nostro consonat quod non apostolorum, sed Lucae refertur?) aut si non statim Lucae deputandum est quo Marcion utitur, quia nostro consonat, scilicet adulterato etiam circa titulum, ceterum apostolorum est. Iam ergo et nostrum, quod illi consonat, aequae apostolorum est, sed adulteratum de titulo quoque.

4. [1] Funis ergo ducendus est contentionis, pari hinc inde nisu fluctuante. Ego meum dico verum, Marcion suum. Ego Marcionis affirmo adulteratum, Marcion meum. Quis inter nos determinabit, nisi temporis ratio, ei

praescribens auctoritatem quod antiquius reperietur, et ei praeiudicans vitiationem quod posterius revincetur? In quantum enim falsum corruptio est veri, in tantum praecedat necesse est veritas falsum. [2] Prior erit res passione, et materia aemulatione. Alioquin quam absurdum, ut, si nostrum antiquius probaverimus, Marcionis vero posterius, et nostrum ante videatur falsum quam habuerit de veritate materiam, et Marcionis ante credatur aemulationem a nostro expertum quam et editum, et postremo id verius existimetur quod est serius, post tot ac tanta iam opera atque documenta Christianae religionis saeculo edita, quae edi utique non potuissent sine evangelii veritate, id est ante evangelii veritatem. [3] Quod ergo pertinet ad evangelium interim Lucae, quatenus communio eius inter nos et Marcionem de veritate disceptat, adeo antiquius Marcione est quod est secundum nos, ut et ipse illi Marcion aliquando crediderit, cum et pecuniam in primo calore fidei catholicae ecclesiae contulit, proiectam mox cum ipso, posteaquam in haeresim suam a nostra veritate descivit. Quid nunc, si negaverint Marcionitae primam apud nos fidem eius, adversus epistolam quoque ipsius? Quid si nec epistolam agnoverint? [4] Certe *Antitheses* non modo fatentur Marcionis, sed et praeferunt. Ex his mihi probatio sufficit. Si enim id evangelium quod Lucae refertur penes nos (viderimus an et penes Marcionem) ipsum est quod Marcion per *Antitheses* suas arguit ut interpolatum a protectoribus Iudaismi ad concorporationem legis et prophetarum, qua etiam Christum inde confingerent, utique non potuisset arguere nisi quod invenerat. [5] Nemo post futura reprehendit quae ignorat futura. Emendatio culpam non antecedit. Emendator sane evangelii a Tiberianis usque ad Antoniniana tempora eversi Marcion solus et primus obvenit, expectatus tamdiu a Christo, paenitente iam quod apostolos praemisisse properasset sine praesidio Marcionis. Nisi quod humanae temeritatis, non divinae auctoritatis, negotium est haeresis, quae sic semper emendat evangelia dum vitiat; cum et si discipulus Marcion, non tamen super magistrum; et si apostolus Marcion, Sive ego, inquit Paulus, sive illi, sic praedicamus; et si prophetae Marcion, et spiritus prophetarum prophetis erunt subditi, non enim eversionis sunt, sed pacis; etiam si angelus Marcion, citius anathema dicendus quam evangelizator, quia aliter evangelizavit. Itaque dum emendat, utrumque confirmat, et nostrum antierius, id emendans quod invenit, et id posterius quod de nostri emendatione constituens suum et novum fecit.

5. [1] In summa, si constat id verius quod prius, id prius quod et ab initio, id ab initio quod ab apostolis, pariter utique constabit id esse ab apostolis traditum quod apud ecclesias apostolorum fuerit sacrosanctum. Videamus quod lac a Paulo Corinthii hauserint, ad quam regulam Galatae sint recorrecti, quid legant Philippenses, Thessalonicenses, Ephesii, quid etiam. Romani de proximo sonent, quibus evangelium et Petrus et Paulus sanguine quoque suo signatum reliquerunt. [2] Habemus et Ioannis alumnas ecclesias. Nam etsi Apocalypsin eius Marcion respuit, ordo tamen episcoporum ad originem recensensus in Ioannem stabit auctorem. Sic et ceterarum generositas recognoscitur. Dico itaque apud illas, nec solas iam apostolicas, sed apud universas quae illis de societate sacramenti confoederantur, id evangelium Lucae ab initio editionis suae stare quod cum maxime tuemur, Marcionis vero plerisque nec notum, nullis autem notum ut non eadem damnatum. [3] Habet plane et illud ecclesias, sed suas, tam posteras quam adulteras, quarum si censum requiras, facilius apostaticum invenias quam apostolicum, Marcione scilicet conditore, vel aliquo de Marcionis examine. Faciunt favos et vespae, faciunt ecclesias et Marcionitae. Eadem auctoritas ecclesiarum apostolicarum ceteris quoque patrocinabitur evangeliis, quae proinde per illas et secundum illas habemus, Ioannis dico et Matthaei, licet et Marcus quod edidit Petri affirmetur, cuius interpretes Marcus. Nam et Lucae digestum Paulo adscribere solent. [4] Capit magistrorum videri quae discipuli promulgarint. Itaque et de his Marcion flagitandus, quod omissis eis Lucae potius institerit, quasi non et haec apud ecclesias a primordio fuerint, quemadmodum et Lucae. Atquin haec magis a primordio fuisse credibile est, ut priora, qua apostolica, ut cum ipsis ecclesiis dedicata. Ceterum quale est, si nihil apostoli ediderunt, ut discipuli potius ediderint, qui nec discipuli existere potuissent sine ulla doctrina magistrorum? [5] Igitur dum constet haec quoque apud ecclesias fuisse, cur non haec quoque Marcion attigit, aut emendanda si adulterata, aut agnoscenda si integra? Nam et competit ut si qui evangelium pervertebant, eorum magis curarent perversionem quorum sciebant auctoritatem receptiorem. Ideo et pseudapostoli, quod per falsum apostolos imitarentur. In quantum ergo emendasset quae fuissent emendanda, si fuissent corrupta, in tantum confirmavit non fuisse corrupta quae non putavit emendanda. [6] Denique emendavit quod corruptum existimavit. Sed nec hoc merito, quia non fuit corruptum. Si enim apostolica integre decucurrerunt, Lucae autem, quod est

secundum nos, adeo congruit regulae eorum ut cum illis apud ecclesias maneat, iam et Lucae constat integrum decucurrisse usque ad sacrilegium Marcionis. Denique ubi manus illi Marcion intulit, tunc diversum et aemulum factum est apostolicis. [7] Igitur dabo consilium discipulis eius, ut aut et illa convertant, licet sero, ad formam sui, quo cum apostolicis convenire videantur (nam et cotidie reformant illud, prout a nobis cotidie revincuntur), aut erubescant de magistro utrobique traducto, cum evangelii veritatem nunc ex conscientia tramittit, nunc ex impudentia evertit. His fere compendiis utimur, cum de evangelii fide adversus haereticos expedimur, defendentibus et temporum ordinem posteritati falsariorum praescribentem, et auctoritatem ecclesiarum traditioni apostolorum patrocinantem, quia veritas falsum praecedat necesse est, et ab eis procedat a quibus tradita est.

6. [1] Sed alium iam hinc inimus gradum, ipsum, ut professi sumus, evangelium Marcionis provocantes, sic quoque probaturi adulteratum. Certe enim totum quod elaboravit etiam Antitheses praestruendo in hoc cogit, ut veteris et novi testamenti diversitatem constituat, proinde Christum suum a creatore separatum, ut dei alterius, ut alienum legis et prophetarum. [2] Certe propterea contraria quaeque sententiae suae erasit, conspirantia cum creatore, quasi ab assertoribus eius intexta: competentia autem sententiae suae reservavit. Haec conveniemus, haec amplectemur, si nobiscum magis fuerint, si Marcionis praesumptionem percusserint. Tunc et illa constabit eodem vitio haereticae caecitatis erasa quo et haec reservata. [3] Sic habebit intentio et forma opusculi nostri, sub illa utique condicione quae ex utraque parte conducta sit. Constituit Marcion alium esse Christum qui Tiberianis temporibus a deo quondam ignoto revelatus sit in salutem omnium gentium, alium qui a deo creatore in restitutionem Iudaici status sit destinatus quandoque venturus. Inter hos magnam et omnem differentiam scindit, quantam inter iustum et bonum, quantam inter legem et evangelium, quantam inter Iudaismum et Christianismum. [4] Hinc erit et nostra praescriptio, qua defigimus nihil Christo dei alterius commune esse debere cum creatore, ceterum creatoris pronuntiandum si administraverit dispositiones eius, si impleverit prophetias eius, si adjuverit leges eius, si repraesentaverit promissiones eius, si restauraverit virtutes eius, si sententias reformaverit, si mores, si proprietates expresserit. Huius pacti et huius praescripti, quaeso te, lector, memineris ubique, et incipe recognoscere aut Marcionis Christum aut

creatoris.

7. [1] Anno quintodecimo principatus Tiberiani proponit eum descendisse in civitatem Galilaeae Capharnaum, utique de caelo creatoris, in quod de suo ante descenderat. Ecquid ergo ordinis fuerat ut prius de suo caelo in creatoris descendens describeretur? Cur enim non et ista reprehendam quae non implent fidem ordinariae narrationis, deficientis in mendacio semper? Plane semel dicta sint per quae iam alibi retractavimus an descendens per creatorem, et quidem adversus ipsum, potuerit ab eo admitti et inde tramitti in terram aequae ipsius. [2] Nunc autem et reliquum ordinem descensionis expostulo, tenens descendisse illum. Viderit enim sicubi appamisse positum est. Apparere subitum ex inopinato sapit conspectum, qui semel impegerit oculos in id quod sine mora apparuit. Descendisse autem dum fit, videtur et subit oculos. De facto etiam ordinem facit, atque ita cogit exigere, quali habitu, quali suggestu, quonam impetu vel temperamento, etiam quo in tempore diei noctisque descenderit: praeterea quis viderit descendentem, quis retulerit, quis asseveraverit rem utique nec asseveranti facile credendam. [3] Indignum denique ut Romulus quidem ascensus sui in caelum habuerit Proculum affirmatorem, Christus vero dei descensus de caelo sui non invenerit annuntiatorem, quasi non sic et ille ascenderit iisdem mendacii scalis, sicut et iste descendit. Quid autem illi cum Galilaea, si non erat creatoris, cui ista regio destinabatur ingressuro praedicationem? dicente Esaia, Hoc primum bibito, cito facito, regio Zabulon et terra Nephthalim, et ceteri qui maritimam et Iordanis, Galilaea nationum, populus qui sedetis in tenebris, videte lumen magnum: qui habitatis terram, sedentes in umbra mortis, lumen ortum est super vos. [4] Bene autem quod et deus Marcionis illuminator vindicatur nationum, quo magis debuerit vel de caelo descendere, et, si utique, in Pontum potius descendere quam in Galilaeam. Ceterum et loco et illuminationis opere secundum praedicationem occurrentibus Christo iam eum prophetatum incipimus agnoscere, ostendentem in primo ingressu venisse se non ut legem et prophetas dissolveret, sed ut potius adimpleret. Hoc enim Marcion ut additum erasit. [5] Sed frustra negabit Christum dixisse quod statim fecit ex parte. Prophetiam enim interim de loco adimplevit. De caelo statim ad synagogam. Ut dici solet, ad quod venimus; hoc age, Marcion, aufer etiam illud de evangelio, Non sum missus nisi ad oves perditas domus Israel, et, Non est auferre panem filiis et dare eum canibus, ne scilicet Christus Israelis

videretur. [6] Sufficiunt mihi facta pro dictis. Detrahe voces Christi mei, res loquentur. Ecce venit in synagogam; certe ad oves perditas domus Israelis. Ecce doctrinae suae panem prioribus offert Israelitis; certe ut filios praeferat. Ecce aliis eum nondum impertit; certe ut canes praeterit. Quibus autem magis impertisset quam extraneis creatoris, si ipse inprimis non fuisset creatoris? [7] Et tamen quomodo in synagogam potuit admitti tam repentinus, tam ignotus, cuius nemo adhuc certus de tribu, de populo, de domo, de censu denique Augusti, quem testem fidelissimum dominicae nativitatis Romana archiva custodiunt? Meminerant certe, nisi circumcisum scirent, non admittendum in sancta sanctorum. Sed etsi passim synagoga adiretur, non tamen ad docendum nisi ab optime cognito et explorato et probato, iam pridem in hoc ipsum vel aliunde commendato cum hoc munere. Stupebant autem omnes ad doctrinam eius. Plane. Quoniam, inquit, in potestate erat sermo eius, non quoniam adversus legem et prophetas docebat. Utique enim eloquium divinum et vim et gratiam praestabat, magis exstruens quam destruens substantiam legis et prophetarum. [8] Alioquin non stuperent, sed horrerent. Nec mirarentur, sed statim aversarentur destructorem legis et prophetarum, et utique inprimis alterius dei praedictorem, quia nec potuisset adversus legem et prophetas docere et hoc nomine adversus creatorem, non praemissa diversae atque aemulae divinitatis professione. Cum ergo nihil tale scriptura significet, nisi solam vim et potestatem sermonis admirationi fuisse, facilius ostendit secundum creatorem docuisse illum, quia non negavit, quam adversus creatorem, quia non significavit. [9] Atque ita aut eius erit agnoscendus secundum quem docuit, aut praevaricator iudicandus si secundum eum adversus quem venerat docuit. Exclamat ibidem spiritus daemonis, Quid nobis et tibi est Iesu? venisti perdere nos: scio qui sis, sanctus dei. [10] Hic ego non retractabo an et hoc cognomentum competierit ei quem nec Christum vocari oporteret, si non creatoris. Alibi iam de nominibus expostulatum est. At nunc discepto quomodo hoc eum vocari cognoverit daemon, nulla unquam retro emissa praedicatione in illum a deo ignoto et in id temporis muto, cuius nec sanctum eum contestari potuit, ut ignoti etiam ipsi suo creatori. Quid autem iam tale ediderit novae divinitatis per quod posset alterius dei sanctus intellegi? [11] Tantum quod synagogam introgressus, et nec sermone operatus aliquid adversus creatorem? Sicut ergo quem ignorabat nullo modo poterat Iesum et sanctum dei agnoscere, ita quem norat agnovit. Nam et prophetam

meminerat sanctum dei praedicasse, et Iesum nomen dei esse in filio Nave. Haec et ab angelo exceperat secundum nostrum evangelium: Propterea quod in te nascetur vocabitur sanctum, filius dei: et, Vocabis nomen eius Iesum. [12] Sed et habebat utique sensum aliquem dominicae dispositionis (licet daemon tamen), magis quam alienae et nondum satis cognitae. Nam et praemisit, Quid nobis et tibi, Iesu? non quasi in extraneum, sed ad quem pertinent spiritus creatoris. Nec enim dixit, Quid tibi et nobis? sed, Quid nobis et tibi? se deplorans et sorti suae exprobrans; quam iam videns adicit, Venisti perdere nos. [13] Adeo iudicis et ultoris et, ut ita dixerim, saevi dei filium agnoverat Iesum, non optimi illius, et perdere et punire nescientis. Quorsum hunc locum praemisimus? Ut Iesum et a daemone non alium doceamus agnitum et a semetipso non alium confirmatum quam creatoris. Atquin, inquis, increpuit illum Iesus. Plane, ut invidiosum, et in ipsa confessione petulantem et male adulantem; quasi haec esset summa gloria Christi, si ad perditionem daemonum venisset et non potius ad hominum salutem, qui nec discipulos de subactione spirituum sed de candida salutis gloriari volebat. [14] Aut cur eum increpuit? Si quasi mentitum in totum, ergo non fuit Iesus, nec dei sanctus omnino: si quasi ex parte mentitum, quod eum Iesum quidem et sanctum dei, sed creatoris, existimasset, iniustissime increpuit hoc sentientem quod sciebat sentiendum, et hoc non existimantem quod ignorabat existimandum, alium Iesum et alterius dei sanctum. [15] Quodsi verisimiliorem statum non habet increpatio nisi quem nos interpretamur, iam ergo et daemon nihil mentitus est, non ob mendacium increpuit; ipse enim erat Iesus, praeter quem alium daemon agnovisse non poterat, et Iesus eum confirmavit quem agnoverat daemon, dum non ob mendacium increpat daemonem.

8. [1] Nazaraeus vocari habebat secundum prophetiam Christus creatoris. Unde et ipso nomine nos Iudaei Nazarenos appellant per eum. Nam et sumus de quibus scriptum est: Nazaraei exalcati sunt super nivem, qui scilicet retro luridati delinquentiae maculis et nigrati ignorantiae tenebris. Christo autem appellatio Nazaraei competitura erat ex infantiae latebris, ad quas apud Nazareth descendit, vitando Archelaum filium Herodis. [2] Hoc propterea non omisi, quia Christum Marcionis oportuerat omne commercium eierasse etiam locorum familiarium Christi creatoris, habentem tanta Iudaeae oppida non ita Christo creatoris per prophetas emancipata. Ceterum prophetarum erit Christus ubicunque secundum prophetas invenitur. Et tamen apud Nazareth.

quoque nihil novi notatur praedicasse, dum alio, merito unius proverbii, eiectus refertur. Hic primum manus ei iniectas animadvertens necesse habeo iam de substantia eius corporali praefinire, quod non possit phantasma credi qui contactum et quidem violentia plenum detentus et captus et ad praecipitium usque protractus admiserit. [3] Nam etsi per medios evasis, sed ante iam vim expertus, et postea dimissus; scilicet soluto, uti assolet, tumultu, vel etiam irrupto, non tamen per caliginem eluso, quae nulli omnino tactui succidisset, si fuisset.

Tangere enim et tangi nisi corpus nulla potest res,

etiam saecularis sapientiae digna sententia est. [4] Ad summam, et ipse mox tetigit alios, quibus manus imponens, utique sentiendas, beneficia medicinarum conferebat, tam vera, tam non imaginaria, quam erant per quas conferebat. Ipse igitur est Christus Esaiae, remediator valetudinum. Hic, inquit, imbecillitates nostras aufert et languores portat. Portare autem Graeci etiam pro eo solent ponere quod est tollere. Sufficit interim mihi generalis repromissio. Quodcunque curaverit Iesus, meus est. Veniemus tamen et ad species curationum. [5] Ceterum et a daemoniis liberare curatio est valetudinis. Itaque spiritus nequam quasi ex forma iam prioris exempli cum testimonio excedebant vociferantes, Tu es filius dei. Cuius dei, vel hic pareat. Sed proinde increpabantur et iuebantur tacere. Proinde enim Christus ab hominibus, non a spiritibus immundis, volebat se filium dei agnosci, ille Christus duntaxat cui hoc congruebat quia praemiserat per quos posset agnosci, et utique digniores praedicatores. [6] Illius erat praeconium immundi spiritus respuere cui sancti abundabant. Porro qui nunquam fuerat annuntiatus (si tamen volebat agnosci, frustra autem venerat si nolebat), non esset aspernatus testimonium alienae et cuiuscunque substantiae, qui propriae non habebat, qui in aliena descenderat. [7] Iam nunc et qua destructor creatoris nihil magis gestisset quam a spiritibus ipsius agnosci et divulgari prae timore; nisi quod Marcion deum suum timeri negat, defendens bonum non timeri, sed iudicem, apud quem sint materiae timoris, ira, saevitia, iudicia, vindicta, damnatio. Sed et daemonia timore utique cedebant. Ergo timendi dei filium confitebantur, occasionem habitura non cedendi, si non timendi: et ille iussu et increpitu ea expellens, non suasu qua bonus, timendum se exhibebat. [8] Aut numquid ideo increpabat quia timebatur, nolens timeri? Et quomodo ea volebat excedere, quod nisi timore non facerent? Cecidit ergo in necessitatem

qua disparem se naturae suae ageret, cum posset ut bonus semel eis parcere. Cecidit et in aliam praevaricationis notam, cum se a daemoniis quasi filium creatoris sustineret timeri, ut iam non propria potestate expelleret daemonia, sed per creatoris auctoritatem. [9] In solitudinem procedit. Solemnis et huiusmodi regio creatoris. Oportebat sermonem illic quoque videri in corpore ubi egerat aliquando et in nube. Competebat et evangelio habitus loci qui placuerat et legi. Capiat itaque iocunditatem solitudo: hoc Esaias promiserat. Detentus a turbis, Oportet me, inquit, et aliis civitatibus annuntiare regnum dei. [10] Ostenderat iam alicubi deum suum? Non puto adhuc usque. Sed de his loquebatur qui alium quoque deum noverant? Nec hoc credo. Ergo si nec ille alium deum ediderat nec illi noverant praeter creatorem, eiusdem dei regnum portendebat quem solum sciebat notum eis qui audiebant.

9. [1] De tot generibus operum quid utique ad piscaturam respexit, ut ab illa in apostolos sumeret Simonem et filios Zebedaei (non enim simplex factum videri potest de quo argumentum processurum erat), dicens Petro trepidanti de copiosa indagine piscium, Ne time, abhinc enim homines eris capiens? [2] Hoc enim dicto intellectum illis suggerebat adimpletae prophetiae, se eum esse qui per Hieremiam pronuntiarat, Ecce ego mittam piscatores multos, et piscabuntur illos, homines scilicet. Denique relictis naviculis secuti sunt eum, ipsum intellegentes qui coeperat facere quod edixerat. Aliud est si affectavit de naviculariorum collegio adlegere, habiturus apostolum quandoque nauclerum Marcionem. [3] Praestruximus quidem adversus *Antitheses* nihil proficere proposito Marcionis quam putat diversitatem legis et evangelii, ut et hanc a creatore dispositam, denique praedicatam in repromissione novae legis et novi sermonis et novi testamenti. Sed quoniam attentius argumentatur apud illum suum nescio quem *suntalai/pwron*, id est commiseronem, et *summisou&menon*, id est coodibilem, in leprosi purgationem, non pigebit ei occurrere et inprimis figuratae legis vim ostendere, quae in exemplo leprosi non contingendi, immo ab omni commercio submovendi, communicationem prohibebat hominis delictis commaculati, cum qualibus et apostolus cibum quoque vetat sumere; participari enim stigmata delictorum, quasi ex contagione, si qui se cum peccatore miscuerit. [4] Itaque dominus volens altius intellegi legem per carnalia spiritalia significantem, et hoc nomine non destruens sed magis extruens, quam pertinentius volebat agnosci, tetigit leprosum, a quo etsi homo inquinari potuisset, deus utique non inquinaretur,

incontaminabilis scilicet. Ita non praescribetur illi quod debuerit legem observare et non contingere immundum, quem contactus immundi non erat inquinaturus. [5] Hoc magis meo Christo competere sic doceo, dum tuo non competere demonstro. Si enim ut aemulus legis tetigit leprosum, nihili faciens praeceptum legis per contemptum inquinamenti, quomodo posset inquinari, qui corpus non habebat quod inquinaretur? Phantasma enim inquinari non posset. Qui ergo inquinari non poterat ut phantasma, iam non virtute divina incontaminabilis erit sed phantasmatis inanitate; nec contempsisse videri potest inquinamentum, cuius materiam non habebat; ita nec legem destruxisse, qui inquinamentum ex occasione phantasmatis, non ex ostentatione virtutis, evaserat. [6] Si autem Helisaeus prophetae creatoris unicum leprosum Naaman Syrum ex tot leprosis Israelitis emundavit, nec hoc ad diversitatem facit Christi, quasi hoc modo melioris dum Israeliten leprosum emundat extraneus, quem suus dominus emundare non valuerat; Syro facilius emundato, significato per nationes emundationis in Christo lumine earum, quae septem maculis capitalium delictorum inhorrent, idololatria, blasphemia, homicidio, adulterio, stupro, falso testimonio, fraude. [7] Quapropter septies, quasi per singulos titulos, in Iordane lavit, simul et ut totius hebdomadis caneret expiationem, et quia unius lavacri vis et plenitudo Christo soli dicabatur, facturo in terris, sicut sermonem compendiatum, ita et lavacrum. Nam et hoc opponit Marcion, Helisaeum quidem materia eguisse, aquam adhibuisse, et eam septies, Christum vero verbo solo et hoc semel functum curationem statim repraesentasse. Quasi non audeam et verbum ipsum in substantiam creatoris vindicare. Nullius rei non ille potior auctor qui prior. [8] Incredibile plane ut potestas creatoris verbo remedium vitii unius operata sit, quae verbo tantam mundi molem semel protulit. Unde magis dinoscitur Christus creatoris quam ex verbi potestate? Sed ideo alius Christus, quia aliter quam Helisaeus, quia potentior dominus famulo suo. Quid constituis, Marcion, proinde res agi a servis quemadmodum ab ipsis dominis? Non times ne in dedecus tibi vertat, si ideo Christum negas creatoris quia potentior fuerit famulo creatoris, qui ad Helisaei pusillitatem maior agnoscitur, si tamen maior? Par enim curatio, licet distet operatio. Quid amplius praestitit tuus Christus quam meus Helisaeus? Immo quid magnum praestitit tui Christi verbum, cum id praestiterit quod fluvius creatoris? [9] Secundum haec cetera quoque occurrunt. Quantum enim ad gloriae humanae

aversionem pertinebat, vetuit eum divulgare, quantum autem ad tutelam legis, iussit ordinem impleri: Vade, ostende te sacerdoti, et offer mvmus quod praecepit Moyses. Argumenta enim figurata utpote prophetatae legis adhuc in suis imaginibus tuebatur, quae significabant hominem quondam peccatorem verbo mox dei emaculatum offerre debere munus deo apud templum, orationem scilicet et actionem gratiarum apud ecclesiam per Christum Iesum, catholicum patris sacerdotem. [10] Itaque adiecit, Ut sit vobis in testimonium, sine dubio quo testabatur se legem non dissolvere sed adimplere, quo testabatur se ipsum esse qui morbos et valetudines eorum suscepturus annuntiabatur. Hanc tam congruentem et debitam interpretationem testimonii adulator Christi sui Marcion sub obtentu mansuetudinis et lenitatis quaerit excludere. Nam et bonus, inquit, praeterea sciens omnem qui lepra esset liberatus solemnia legis executurum, ideo ita praecepit. [11] Quid tum? Perseveravitne in bonitate, id est permissione legis, an non? Si enim bonus perseveravit, nusquam destructor erit legis, nec dei alterius habebitur, cessante legis destructione per quam alterius dei vindicatur. [12] Si non perseveravit bonus, destruendo postea legem, falsum ergo testimonium postea collocavit apud illos in curatione leprosi; deseruit enim bonitatem, dum destruit legem. Malus iam quando legis eversor, si bonus cum legis indultor. Sed et eo quod indulsit legi obsequium, bonam legem confirmavit. Nemo enim malo obsequi patitur. [13] Ergo et sic malus, si obsequium malae legi indulsit, et sic deterior, si bonae legis destructor advenit. Proinde si ut sciens omnem qui lepra liberatus esset ita facturum ideo praecepit munus offerre, potuit et non praecepisse quod sciebat ultro futurum. In vanum ergo descendit quasi legem destructurus, cum cedit obsecutoribus legis. Atquin quasi sciens formam eorum magis ab ea avertendos praevenire debuerat, si in hoc venerat. Cur enim non tacuit, ut homo solo suo arbitrio legi obediret? Tunc enim aliquatenus posset videri patientiae suae praestitisse. [14] Sed adiecit etiam auctoritatem suam exaggeratam testimonii pondere. Cuius iam testimonii, nisi legis assertae? Certe nihil interest quomodo firmaverit legem, sive qua bonus, sive qua supervacuum, sive qua patiens, sive qua inconstans, dum te, Marcion, de gradu pellam. Ecce praecepit legem impleri. [15] Quocunque modo praecepit, eodem potuit etiam illam praemisisse sententiam, Non veni legem dissolvere sed adimplere. Quid ergo tibi fuit de evangelio erasisse quod salvum est? Confessus es enira prae bonitate fecisse illum quod negas dixisse.

Constat ergo dixisse illum, quia et fecit, et te potius vocem domini de evangelio eradicasse quam nostros iniecisse.

10. [1] Curatur et paralyticus, et quidem in coetu, spectante populo. Videbit enim, inquit Esaias, populus sublimitatem domini et gloriam dei. Quam sublimitatem, et quam gloriam? Convalescite manus dimissae et genua dissoluta; hoc erit paralysis. Convalescite, nec timete. Non otiose iterans, Convalescite, nec vane subiungens, Nec timete, quoniam cum redintegratione membrorum virium quoque repraesentationem pollicebatur: Exsurge, et tolle dicturi erant, Quis dimittet peccata nisi solus deus? [2] Habes itaque iam et specialis medicinae dispunctam prophetiam, et eorum quae medicinam sunt secuta. Pariter et dimissorem delictorum Christum recognosce apud eundem prophetam: Quoniam, inquit, in plurimis dimittet delicta eorum, et delicta nostra ipse aufert. Nam et in priore ex ipsius domini persona, Etsi fuerint delicta vestra tanquam roseum, velut nivem exalbabo, etsi tanquam coccinum, velut lanam exalbabo; in roseo sanguinem ostendens prophetarum, in coccino domini, ut clariorem. Etiam Micheas de venia delictorum, Quis deus quomodo tu, eximens iniquitates et praeteriens iniustitias residuis haereditatis tuae? et non tenuit in testimonium iram suam, quia voluit esse misericordiam; avertet, et miserebitur nostri; demerget delicta nostra, et demerget in profundo maris peccata nostra. [3] Sed et si nihil tale in Christum fuisset praedicatum, haberem huius benignitatis exempla in creatore, promittentia mihi et in filio patris affectus. Video Ninivitas scelerum veniam consecutos a creatore, ne dixerim tunc quoque a Christo, quia a primordio egit in patris nomine. Lego et Nathan prophetam agnoscenti David delictum suum in Uriam dixisse, Et dominus circumduxit delictum tuum et non morieris; proinde et Achab regem, maritum Iezabel, reum idololatriae et sanguinis Nabuthae, veniam meruisse paenitentiae nomine; Ionathan, filium Saulis, resignati ieiunii culpam deprecatione delesse. [4] Quid de ipso populo retexam totiens delictorum indulgentia restituto? ab eo scilicet deo qui mavult misericordiam quam sacrificium, et peccatoris paenitentiam quam mortem. Prius est igitur neges creatorem indulsisse aliquando delicta, consequens est ut ostendas nec in Christum suum tale quid eum praedicasse; et ita probabis novam istam Christi novi scilicet benignitatem, si probaveris nec parem creatori nec praedicatam a creatore. [5] Sed et peccata dimittere an eius possit esse qui negetur tenere, et an eius sit absolvere cuius non sit etiam damnare, et an congruat eum

ignoscere in quem nihil sit admissum, alibi iam congressi malumus admonere quam retractare. [6] De filio hominis duplex est nostra praescriptio, neque mentiri posse Christum, ut se filium hominis pronuntiaret si non vere erat, neque filium hominis constitui qui non sit natus ex homine, vel patre vel matre, atque ita discutiendum cuius hominis filius accipi debeat, patris an matris. Si ex deo patre est, utique non est ex homine; si non et ex homine, superest ut ex homine sit matre; si ex homine, iam apparet quia ex virgine. Cui enim homo pater non datur, nec vir matri eius deputabitur: porro, cui vir non deputabitur, virgo est. [7] Ceterum duo iam patres habebuntur, deus et homo, si non virgo sit mater. Habebit enim virum, ut virgo non sit, et habendo virum duos patres faciet, deum et hominem, ei qui et dei et hominis esset filius. Talem, si forte, Castori aut Herculi nativitatem tradunt fabulae. Si haec ita distinguuntur, id est si ex matre filius est hominis quia ex patre non est, ex matre autem virgine quia non ex patre homine, hic erit Christus Esaiae quem concepturam virginem praedicat. [8] Qua igitur ratione adnitas filium hominis, Marcion, circumspicere non possum. Si patris hominis, negas dei filium; si et dei, Herculem de fabula facis Christum; si matris tantum hominis, meum concedis; si neque patris hominis <neque matris>, ergo nullius hominis est filius, et necesse est mendacium admiserit, qui se quod non erat dixit. [9] Unum potest angustiis tuis subvenire, si audeas aut deum tuum patrem Christi Hominem quoque cognominare, quod de aeone fecit Valentinus, aut virginem hominem negare, quod nec Valentinus quidem fecit. Quid nunc, si ipso titulo filii hominis censetur Christus apud Daniele? Nonne sufficit ad probationem prophetici Christi? [10] Cum enim id se appellat quod in Christum praedicabatur creatoris, sine dubio ipsum se praestat intellegi in quem praedicabatur. Nominum communio simplex, si forte, videri potest, et tamen nec Christum nec Iesum vocari debuisse defendimus diversitatis condicionem tenentes. Appellatio autem, quod est filius hominis, in quantum ex accidenti obvenit, in tantum difficile est ut et ipsa concurrat super nominis communionem. Ex accidenti enim proprio est, maxime cum causa non convenit eadem per quam deveniat in communionem. [11] Atque adeo si et Christus Marcionis natus ex homine diceretur, tunc et ipse caperet appellationis communionem, et essent duo filii hominis, sicut et duo Christi et duo Iesus. Ergo cum appellatio propria est eius in quo habet causam, si et alii vindicetur in quo est communio nominis, non etiam appellationis, suspecta

iam fit communio nominis quoque in eo cui vindicatur sine causa communio appellationis, et sequitur ut unus idemque credatur qui et nominis et appellationis capacior invenitur, dum alter excluditur, qui non habet appellationis communionem, carens causa. Nec alius erit capacior utriusque quam qui prior et nomen sortitus est Christi et appellationem filii hominis, Iesus scilicet creatoris. [12] Hic erat visus Babylonio regi in fornace cum martyribus suis quartus, tanquam filius hominis. Idem ipsi Danieli revelatus directo filius hominis veniens cum caeli nubibus iudex, sicut et scriptura demonstrat. [13] Hoc dixi sufficere potuisse de nominatione prophetica circa filium hominis. Sed plus mihi scriptura confert, ipsius scilicet domini interpretatione. Nam cum Iudaei solummodo hominem eius intuentes, necdum et deum certi, qua dei quoque filium, merito retractarent non posse hominem delicta dimittere, sed deum solum, cur non secundum intentionem eorum de homine eis respondit habere eum potestatem dimittendi delicta, quando et filium hominis nominans hominem nominaret? nisi quia ideo ipsa voluit eos appellatione filii hominis ex instrumento Danielis repercutere, ut ostenderet deum et hominem qui delicta dimitteret; [14] illum scilicet solum filium hominis apud Danielis prophetiam consecutum iudicandi potestatem, ac per eam utique et dimittendi delicta (qui enim iudicat, et absolvit), ut scandalo isto discusso per scripturae recordationem facilius eum agnoscerent ipsum esse filium hominis ex ipsa peccatorum remissione. Denique nusquam adhuc professus est se filium hominis quam in isto loco primum in quo primum peccata dimisit, id est in quo primum iudicavit, dum absolvit. [15] Ad haec quodcunque diversa pars fuerit argumentata quale sit dispice. Nam in illam necesse est amentiam tendat, ut et filium hominis defendat ne mendacem eum faciat, et ex homine neget natum ne filium virginis concedat. Quodsi et auctoritas divina et rerum natura et communis sapientia non admittunt insaniam haeticam, occasio est et hic interpellandi quam brevissime de substantia corporis adversus phantasmata Marcionis. [16] Si natus ex homine est, ut filius hominis, corpus ex corpore est. Plane facilius invenias hominem natum cor non habere vel cerebrum, sicut ipsum Marcionem, quam corpus, ut Christum Marcionis. Atque adeo inspicere cor Pontici aut cerebrum.

11. [1] Publicanum adlectum a domino in argumentum deducit, quasi ab adversario legis adlectum, extraneum legis et Iudaismi profanum. Excidit ei vel de Petro, legis homine, et tamen non tantum adlecto, sed etiam

testimonium consecuto agnitionis praestitae a patre. Nusquam legerat lumen et spem et expectationem nationum praedicari Christum. Atquin probavit potius Iudaeos, dicendo medicum sanis non esse necessarium sed male habentibus. [2] Si enim male valentes voluit intellegi ethnicos et publicanos, quos adlegebat, sanos Iudaeos confirmabat, quibus medicum necessarium negabat. Hoc si ita est, male descendit ad legem destruendam, quasi ad malam valetudinem remediandam, in qua qui agebant bene valebant, quibus medicus necessarius non erat. [3] Quale est autem ut similitudinem medici proposuerit, nec impleverit? Nam sicut sanis medicum nemo adhibet, ita nec in tantum extraneis, quantum est homo a deo Marcionis, suum habens et auctorem et protectorem, et ab illo potius medicum Christum. Hoc similitudo praeiudicat, ab eo magis praestari medicum ad quem pertinent qui languent. [4] Unde autem et Ioannes venit in medium? Subito Christus, subito et Ioannes. Sic sunt omnia apud Marcionem, quae suum et plenum habent ordinem apud creatorem. Sed de Ioanne cetera alibi. Ad praesentes enim quosque articulos respondendum est. Nunc illud tuebor, ut demonstrem et Ioannem Christo et Christum Ioanni convenire, utique prophetae creatoris, qua Christum creatoris, atque ita erubescat haereticus, Ioannis ordinem frustra frustratus. [5] Si enim nihil omnino administrasset Ioannes, secundum Esaïam vociferator in solitudinem et praepparator viarum dominicarum per denuntiationem et laudationem paenitentiae, si non etiam ipsum inter ceteros tinxisset, nemo discipulos Christi manducantes et bibentes ad formam discipulorum Ioannis assidue ieiunantium et orantium provocasset, quia, si qua diversitas staret inter Christum et Ioannem et gregem utriusque, nulla esset comparationis exactio, vacaret provocationis intentio. [6] Nemo enim miraretur et nemo torqueretur, si diversae divinitatis aemulae praedicationes de disciplinis quoque inter se non convenirent, non convenientes prius de auctoritatibus disciplinarum. Adeo Ioannis erat Christus et Ioannes Christi, ambo creatoris, et ambo de lege et prophetis praedicatores et magistri. Sed et Christus reiecisset Ioannis disciplinam, ut dei alterius, et discipulos defendisset, ut merito aliter incedentes, aliam scilicet et contrariam initiatos divinitatem. At nunc humiliter reddens rationem quod non possent ieiunare filii sponsi quamdiu cum eis esset sponsus, postea vero ieiunaturos promittens cum ablatus ab eis sponsus esset, nec discipulos defendit, sed potius excusavit, quasi non sine ratione reprehensos, nec Ioannis reiecit disciplinam, sed magis concessit,

tempori Ioannis eam praestans, ut tempori suo eam destinans, reiecturus alioquin eam et defensurus aemulos eius, si non ipsius fuisset iam quae erat. [7] Teneo meum Christum etiam in nomine sponsi, de quo psalmus, Ipse tanquam sponsus egrediens de thalamo suo: a summo caeli profectio eius et deversio eius ad summum usque eius. Qui etiam per Esaiam gaudens ad patrem, Exultet, inquit, anima mea in domino, induit enim me indumentum salutaris, et tunicam iocunditatis velut sponso, circumposuit mihi mitram velut sponsae. In se enim et ecclesiam deputat, de qua idem spiritus ad ipsum, Et circumpones tibi omnes eos, velut ornamentum sponsae. [8] Hanc sponsam Christus sibi etiam per Salomonem ex vocatione gentium arcessit: siquidem legisti, Veni sponsa de Libano, eleganter Libani utique montis mentione iniecta, qui turis vocabulo est penes Graecos; de idololatria enim sibi sponsabat ecclesiam. Nega te nunc dementissimum, Marcion. Ecce legem tui quoque dei impugnas. Nuptias non coniungit, coniunctas non admittit, neminem tingit nisi caelibem aut spadonem, morti aut repudio baptisma servat. Quid itaque Christum eius sponsum facis? Illius hoc nomen est qui masculum et feminam coniunxit, non qui separavit. [9] Errasti in illa etiam domini pronuntiatione qua videtur nova et vetera discernere. Inflatu es utribus veteribus et excerebratus es novo vino, atque ita veteri, id est priori evangelio, pannum haereticae novitatis assuisti. In quo alter creator, velim discere. Cum per Hieremiam praecepit, Novate vobis novamen novum, nonne a veteribus avertit? cum per Esaiam edicit, Vetera transierunt, et ecce nova quae ego facio, nonne ad nova convertit? Olim hanc statuimus destinationem pristinorum a creatore potius repromissam a Christo exhiberi, sub unius et eiusdem dei auctoritate, cuius sint et vetera et nova. [10] Nam et vinum novum is non committit in veteres utres qui et veteres utres non habuerit, et novum additamentum nemo inicit veteri vestimento nisi cui non defuerit et vetus vestimentum. Ille non facit quid, si faciendum non est, qui habeat unde faciat, si faciendum esset. Itaque si in hoc dirigebat similitudinem, ut ostenderet se evangelii novitatem separare a legis vetustate, suam demonstrabat et illam a qua separabat alienorum separatione non fuisse notandam, quia nemo alienis sua adiungit ut ab alienis separare possit. [11] Separatio per coniunctionem capit, de qua fit. Ita quae separabat, et in uno ostendebat fuisse, sicut et fuissent si non separaret. Et tamen sic concedimus separationem istam per reformationem, per amplitudinem, per profectum, sicut fructus separatur a

semine, cum sit fructus ex semine: sic et evangelium separatur a lege, dum provehitur ex lege, aliud ab illa sed non alienum, diversum sed non contrarium. [12] Nec forma sermonis in Christo nova. Cum similitudines obicit, cum quaestiones refutat, de septuagesimo septimo venit psalmo: Aperiam, inquit, in parabolam os meum, id est similitudinem; eloquar problemata, id est edisseram quaestiones. Si hominem alterius gentis probare voluisses, utique de proprietate loquelae probares.

12. [1] De sabbato quoque illud praemitto, nec hanc quaestionem consistere potuisse si non dominum sabbati circumferret Christus. Nec enim disceptaretur cur destrueret sabbatum, si destruere deberet. Porro destruere deberet, si alterius dei esset, nec quisquam miraretur facientem quod illi congruebat. Mirabantur ergo, quia non congruebat illi deum creatorem circumferre et sabbatum eius impugnare. [2] Et ut prima quaeque decidamus, ne eadem ubique novemus ad omnem argumentationem adversarii ex aliqua nova Christi institutione nitentem, haec iam definitio stabit, ideo de novitate institutionis cuiusque disceptatum, quia de novitate divinitatis nihil erat usque adhuc editum, sicuti nec disceptatum, nec posse retorqueri ex ipsa novitate institutionis cuiusque satis aliam a Christo demonstratam divinitatem, quando et ipsam novitatem pronuntiatam a creatore constiterit in Christo non esse mirandam. Et oportuerit utique prius alium deum exponi, postea disciplinam eius induci, quia deus auctoritatem praestet disciplinae, non deo disciplina; nisi si et Marcion plane tam perversas non per magistrum litteras didicit, sed per litteras magistrum. [3] Cetera de sabbato ita dirigo. Si sabbatum Christus intervertit, secundum exemplum fecit creatoris; siquidem in obsidione civitatis Hierichuntis circumlata per muros arca testamenti octo diebus, etiam sabbato, ex praecepto creatoris sabbatum operatione destruxit, ut putant qui hoc et de Christo existimant, ignorantes neque Christum sabbatum destruxisse neque creatorem, ut mox docebimus. Et tamen per Iesum tunc quoque concussum est sabbatum, ut et hoc in Christum renuntiaretur. [4] Etiam si odio insecutus est sollemnissimum Iudaeorum diem, ut Christus non Iudaeorum, de odio quoque sabbati professus creatorem, ut Christus ipsius, sequebatur exclamantem ore Esaiae, Neomenias et sabbata vestra odit anima mea. Sed et haec quoquo modo dicta sint, scimus adhibendam tamen in hac specie etiam abruptam defensionem adversus abruptam provocationem. [5] Nunc et ad ipsam materiam disceptabo, in qua visa est destruere sabbatum Christi

disciplina. Esurierant discipuli ea die; spicas decerptas manibus efflixerant, cibum operati ferias ruperant. Excusat illos Christus, et reus est sabbati laesi; accusant pharisaei, Marcion captat status controversiae (ut aliquid ludam cum mei domini veritate), scripti et voluntatis. De scriptura enim sumitur creatoris et de Christi voluntate color, quasi de exemplo David introgressi sabbatis templum et operati cibum audenter fractis panibus propositionis. [6] Meminerat enim et ille hoc privilegium donatum sabbato a primordio quo dies ipse compertus est, veniam ieiunii dico. Cum enim prohibuisset creator in biduum legi manna, solummodo permisit in parasceue, ut sabbati sequentis ferias pridiana pabuli paratura ieiunio liberaret. [7] Bene igitur quod et causam. eandem secutus est dominus in sabbati, si ita volunt dici, destructione; bene quod et affectum creatoris expressit in sabbato non ieiunandi honore. Denique tunc demum sabbatum destruxisset, etiam ipsum creatorem, si discipulos sabbato ieiunare mandasset adversus statum scripti et voluntatis creatoris. [8] Sed quoniam discipulos non constanter tuebatur, sed excusat, quoniam humanam opponit necessitatem quasi deprecatricem, quoniam potioem honorem sabbati servat non contristandi quam vacandi, quoniam David comitesque eius cum discipulis suis aequat in culpa et in venia, quoniam placet illi quia creator indulset, quoniam de exemplo eius et ipse tam bonus est, ideo alienus est a creatore? [9] Exinde observant pharisaei si medicinas sabbatis ageret, ut accusarent eum, certe qua sabbati destructorem, non qua novi dei professorem; fortasse enim hunc solum articulum ubique ingeram, alium Christum nusquam praedicatum. In totum autem errabant pharisaei circa sabbati legem, non animadvertentes condicionaliter eam indicentem ferias operum, sub certa specie eorum. Nam cum de die sabbati dicit, Omne opus tuum non facies in ea, dicendo Tuum de humano opere definiit, quod quisque ex artificio vel negotio suo exequitur, non de divino. [10] Opus autem salutis et incolumitatis non est hominis, sed dei proprium. Sicut et rursus in lege, Non facies, inquit, omne opus in ea, nisi quod fiet omni animae, id est in causa animae liberandae: quia opus dei etiam per hominem fieri potest in salutem animae, a deo tamen, quod facturus fuerat et Christus homo, quia et deus. In hunc ergo sensum legis inducere volens illos per manus arefactae restitutionem interrogat, Licetne sabbatis benefacere, an non? animam liberare, an perdere? [11] ut id operis permittens quod pro anima facturus esset admoneret eos quae opera sabbati lex prohiberet, humana scilicet, et quae

praeciperet, divina scilicet, quae fierent animae omni. Dominus sabbati dictus, quia sabbatum ut rem suam. tuebatur. Quod etiam si destruxisset, merito, quia dominus magis ille qui instituit. [12] Sed non omnino destruxit quia dominus, ut hinc iam apparere possit ne tum quidem in arcae circumlacione apud Hierichuntem sabbatum a creatore destructum. Nam et illud opus dei erat quod ipse praeceperat, et quod propter animas disposuerat hominum suorum in discrimine belli constitutas. [13] Sed et si odium alicubi sabbatorum professus est, Vestra sabbata dicendo, hominum ea deputans, non sua, quae sine dei timore celebrat populus plenus delictis, labiis deum diligens, non corde, suis sabbatis, id est quaecunque disciplina eius agerentur, alium statum fecit, quae per eundem postea propheten vera et delicata et non profananda pronuntiat. [14] Ita nec Christus omnino sabbatum rescindit, cuius legem tenuit et supra in causa discipulorum pro anima operatus (esurientibus enim solatium cibi indulsit), et nunc manum aridam curans, factis ubique ingerens, Non veni dissolvere legem, sed adimplere, si Marcion hac voce os ei obstruxit. Adimplevit enim et hic legem, dum condicionem interpretatur eius, dum operum differentiam illuminat, dum facit quae lex de sabbati feriis excipit, dum ipsum sabbati diem benedictione patris a primordio sanctum benefactione sua efficit sanctiorem, in quo scilicet divina praesidia ministrabat, quod adversarius aliis diebus praestitisset, ne sabbatum creatoris ornaret, ne opera debita sabbato redderet. [15] In quo die si et Helisaeus prophetes Sunamitidis filium mortuum restituit in vitam, vides pharisaei, tuque Marcion, olim creatoris esse sabbatis benefacere, animam liberare, non perdere, nihil Christum novi intulisse quod non sit ex forma, ex lenitate, ex misericordia, ex praedicatione quoque creatoris. Nam et hic specialis medicinae prophetiam repraesentat. Invalescunt manus dissolutae, sicut et genua dissoluta in paralytico.

13. [1] Certe evangelizat Sion et Hierusalem pacem et bona omnia, certe ascendit in montem et illic pernoctat in oratione et utique auditur a patre. Evolve igitur prophetas, et ordinem totum recognosce. In montem excelsum, inquit Esaias, ascende, qui evangelizas Sion, extolle cum vigore vocem tuam, qui evangelizas Hierusalem. Adhuc in vigore obstupescebant in doctrina eius; erat enim docens tanquam virtutem habens. Et rursus: Propterea cognoscet populus nomen meum in illa die. Quod nomen, nisi Christi? Quod ego sum ipse qui loquor. Tunc enim ipse erat qui in prophetis loquebatur, sermo, filius

creatoris. [2] Adsum, dum hora est, in montibus, ut evangelizans auditionem pacis, ut evangelizans bona. Item Naum ex duodecim, Quoniam ecce veloces pedes in monte evangelizantis pacem. De voce autem nocturnae orationis ad patrem manifeste psalmus: Deus meus, clamabo per diem, et exaudies, et nocte, et non in vanitatem mihi. Et alibi de loco et voce cadem psalmus: Voce mea ad dominum exclamavi, et exaudivit me de monte sancto suo. [3] Habes nominis representationem, habes actum evangelizantis, habes locum montis, et tempus noctis, et sonum vocis, et auditum patris, habes Christum prophetarum. Cur autem duodecim apostolos elegit, et non alium quemlibet numerum? Nae et ex hoc meum Christum interpretari possem, non tantum vocibus prophetarum, sed et argumentis rerum praedicatum. [4] Huius enim numeri figuras apud creatorem deprehendo duodecim fontes Elim, et duodecim gemmas in tunica sacerdotali Aaronis, et duodecim lapides ab Iesu de Iordane electos et in arcam testamenti conditos. Totidem enim apostoli portendebantur, proinde ut fontes et amnes rigaturi aridum retro et desertum a notitia orbem nationum (sicut et per Esaiam: Ponam in terra inaquosa flumina), proinde ut gemmae illuminaturi sacram ecclesiae vestem quam induit Christus pontifex patris, proinde ut et lapides solidi fide, quos de lavacro Iordanis Iesus verus elegit et in sacrarium testamenti sui recepit. [5] Quid tale de numeri defensione competit Christo Marcionis? Non potest simpliciter factum ab illo quid videri quod potest videri non simpliciter factum a meo. Eius erit res apud quem invenitur rei praeparatura. Mutat et Petro nomen de Simone, quia et creator Abrahae et Sarae et Auseae nomina reformavit, hunc vocando Iesum, illis syllabas adiciendo. Sed et cur Petrum? [6] Si ob vigorem fidei, multae materiae solidaeque nomen de suo accommodarent. An quia et petra et lapis Christus? Siquidem et legimus positum eum in lapidem offendiculi et in petram scandali. Omitto cetera. Itaque affectavit carissimo discipulorum de figuris suis peculiariter nomen communicare, puto propius quam de non suis. Conveniunt a Tyro et ex aliis regionibus multitudo etiam transmarina. Hoc spectabat psalmus: Et ecce allophyli et Tyrus et populus Aethiopum, isti fuerunt illic: Mater Sion, dicet homo: et homo factus est in illa (quoniam deus homo natus est), et aedificavit eam voluntate patris; ut scias ad eum tunc gentiles convenisse, quia deus homo natus erat aedificaturus ecclesiam ex voluntate patris, ex allophylis quoque. [7] Sic et Esaias: Ecce isti veniunt de longinquo, isti autem veniunt ab

aquilone et mari, alii autem de terra Persarum. De quibus et rursus: Attolle per circuitum oculos tuos et vide, omnes congregati sunt. De quibus et infra, videns ignotos et extraneos: Et dices cordi tuo, Quis istos genuit mihi? porro hos quis mihi educavit? at hi mihi ubi fuerunt? Hic erit Christus non prophetarum? et quis erit Christus Marcionitarum? Si perversitas placet, qui non fuerit prophetarum.

14. [1] Venio nunc ad ordinarias sententias eius, per quas proprietatem doctrinae suae inducit, ad edictum, ut ita dixerim, Christi: Beati mendici (sic enim exigit interpretatio vocabuli quod in Graeco est), quoniam illorum est regnum dei. Iam hoc ipsum, quod a benedictionibus coepit, creatoris est, qui universa, prout edidit, nulla alia voce quam benedictionis dedicavit. Eructavit enim, inquit, cor meum sermonem optimum. [2] Hic erit sermo optimus, benedictionis scilicet, qui et novi quoque testamenti initiator agnoscitur de veteri exemplo. Quid ergo mirum est, si et ab affectibus creatoris ingressus est per huiusmodi dictionem, semper mendicos et pauperes et humiles ac viduas et pupillos usque diligentis, consolantis, asserentis, vindicantis? ut hanc Christi quasi privatam benignitatem rivulum credas de fontibus salvatoris. [3] Revera quo dirigam nescio in tanta frequentia eiusmodi vocum, tanquam in silva vel in prato vel in nemore pomorum. Passim prout incidit res petenda est. Inclamat psalmus: Iudicate pupillo et mendico, et humilem et pauperem iuste tractate, liberate pauperem, et mendicum de manu peccatoris eruite. [4] Item psalmus septuagesimus primus: Iustitia iudicabit mendicos populi et faciet salvos filios pauperum. Et in sequentibus de Christo: Omnes nationes servient ei. David autem uni genti Iudaicae praefuit, ne qui in David putet dictum, quia et ille suscepit humiles et necessitatibus laborantes: Quod liberaverit, inquit, a dynasta mendicum, parcat mendico et pauperi, et animas pauperum salvas faciet, ex usura et iniustitia redimet eorum animas, et honoratum nomen eorum in conspectu ipsius. [5] Item: Avertantur peccatores in inferos, omnes nationes quae dei obliviscuntur, quoniam non in finem oblivioni habebitur mendicus, tolerantia pauperum non peribit in finem. Item: Quis sicut deus noster, qui habitat in excelsis et humilia prospectat in caelo et in terra, qui suscitavit mendicum de terra et de stercore exaltavit pauperem, uti sedere eum faciat cum principibus populi, utique in regno suo? [6] Sic et retro in Basiliis Anna, mater Samuelis, spiritu gloriam deo reddens, Qui, inquit, excitavit pauperem de terra et mendicum, uti sedere eum faciat cum dynastis

populi, utique in regno suo, et in thronis gloriae, utique regalibus. Per Esaiam vero quomodo invehitur in vexatores egenorum: Vos autem, ad quid incenditis vineam meam, et rapina mendici in domibus vestris? cur vos laeditis populum meum, et faciem mendicorum confunditis? Et rursus: Vae qui scribunt nequitiam, scribentes enim scribunt nequam, vitantes iudicia mendicorum et diripientes iudicata pauperum populi mei. [7] Quae iudicia pupillis quoque et viduis exigit, ut et ipsis egenis solatii: Iudicate pupillo, et iuste tractate viduam, et venite, conciliemur, dicit dominus. Cui tantus affectus in omnem condicionem humilitatis creatoris est, eius erit et regnum quod a Christo repromittitur, ad cuius affectum iam dudum pertinent ii quibus repromittitur. [8] Nam et si putas creatoris quidem terrenas promissiones fuisse, Christi vero caelestes, bene quod caelum nullius alterius usque adhuc dei apparet nisi cuius et terra, bene quod creator vel minora promisit, ut facilius illi et de maioribus credam quam qui nunquam de minoribus prius fidem liberalitatis suae struxit. [9] Beati esurientes, quoniam ipsi saturabuntur. Possem hunc titulum in superiorem transmisisse, quod non alii sunt esurientes quam pauperes et mendici, si non et hanc promissionem creator specialiter in evangelii scilicet sui praestructionem destinasset; siquidem per Esaiam de eis quos vocaturus esset a summo terrae, utique nationes, Ecce, inquit, velociter, leviter advenient; velociter qua properantes sub finibus temporum, leviter qua sine oneribus pristinae legis. Non esurient neque sitient. [10] Ergo saturabuntur, quod utique nisi esurientibus et sitientibus non promittitur. Et rursus, Ecce, inquit, qui serviunt mihi saturabuntur, vos autem esurietis: ecce qui serviunt mihi bibent, vos autem sitiatis. Videbimus et contraria ista, an Christo praeministrentur. Interim quod esurientibus saturitatem repromittit, dei creatoris est. Beati plorantes, quia ridebunt. [11] Decurre sententiam Esaiae: Ecce, qui serviunt mihi exultabunt in iocunditate, vos autem confundemini: ecce qui serviunt mihi oblectabuntur, vos autem clamabitis prae dolore cordis. Et haec contraria apud Christum recognosce. Certe oblectatio et exultatio in iocunditate illis promittitur qui in diversa condicione sunt, maestis et tristibus et anxiis. [12] Scilicet etiam psalmus cxxv, Qui seminant, inquit, in lacrimis, in exultatione metent. Porro tam exultantibus et iocunditatem capientibus risus accedit quam maerentibus et dolentibus fletus. Ita creator materias risus et fletus praedicans risuros plorantes prior dixit. [13] Igitur qui a consolatione pauperum et humilium et esurientium et flentium exorsus est, statim se illum

repraesentare gestivit quem demonstraverat per Esaïam: Spiritus domini super me, propter quod unxit me ad evangelizandum pauperibus. Beati mendici, quoniam illorum est regnum caelorum; misit me curare obtritatos corde: Beati qui esuriunt, quoniam saturabuntur; advocare languentes: Beati qui plorant, quoniam ridebunt; dare lugentibus Sionis gloriam, et pro cinere unguenti iocunditatem et gloriae habitum pro spiritu taedii. [14] Haec si statim admissus Christus administravit, aut ipse est qui se ad haec venturum praedicavit, aut si nondum venit qui praedicavit, ridicule sed necessarie dixerim, fortasse mandaverit Christo Marcionis. Beati eritis cum vos odio habebunt homines et exprobrabunt et eicient nomen vestrum velut nequam propter filium hominis. [15] Hac pronuntiatione sine dubio ad tolerantiam exhortatur. Quid minus creator per Esaïam? Ne metueritis ignominiam ab hominibus, et nullificatione eorum ne minuamini. Quae ignominia, quae nullificatio? Quae futura erat propter filium hominis. Quem istum? Qui est secundum creatorem. Unde probabimus? [16] Ex odio in ipsum quoque praedicato; sicut per Esaïam ad auctores odii Iudaeos: Propter vos blasphematur nomen meum in nationibus; et alibi: Sancite eum qui circumscribit animam suam, qui aspernamento habetur a nationibus, famulis et magistratibus. Si enim odium in illum filium hominis praedicabatur qui secundum creatorem est, evangelium autem nomen Christianorum, utique a Christo deductum, odio futurum contestatur propter filium hominis, quod est Christus, eum filium hominis in causa odii constituit qui erat secundum creatorem, in quem odium praedicabatur. [17] Et utique si nondum venisset, non potuisset nominis odium, quod agitur hodie, personam nominis antecessisse. Nam et sancitur penes nos, et animam suam circumscribit propter nos eam ponens, et aspernamento habetur a nationibus. Et qui natus est, ipse erit filius hominis propter quem et nomen nostrum recusatur.

15. [1] Secundum haec, inquit, faciebant prophetis patres eorum. O Christum versipellem, nunc destructorem, nunc assertorem prophetarum! destruebat ut aemulus, convertens discipulos eorum; sibi asserebat ut amicus, suggillans insectatores eorum. Porro, in quantum non congruisset Christo Marcionis assertio prophetarum ad quorum venerat destructionem, in tantum congruit Christo creatoris suggillatio in insectatores prophetarum quos in omnibus adimplebat, vel quia magis creatoris est delicta patrum filiis exprobrare quam eius dei qui nec propria cuiusque castigat. [2] Sed non statim,

inquis, prophetas tuebatur, si iniquitatem Iudaeorum affirmatam volebat, quod nec cum prophetis suis pie egissent. Atquin nulla hic iniquitas exprobranda erat Iudaeis, laudandis potius et probandis, si eos suggillaverunt ad quorum destructionem post tantum aevi deus optimus motus est. Sed, puto, iam et non optimus, iam aliquid et cum creatore moratus, nec in totum Epicuri deus. [3] Ecce enim demutat in maledictionem, et ostendit eum se esse qui novit offendi et irasci. Vae enim dicit. Sed fit nobis quaestio de verbi istius qualitate, quasi non tam maledictionis sit quam admonitionis. Et quid causae interest, quando et admonitio non fit sine aculeo comminationis, maxime per Vae amarior facta? Et admonitio autem et comminatio eius erunt qui norit irasci. Nemo enim admonebit et nemo comminabitur ne <quis> quid faciat, nisi qui factum vindicabit. Nemo vindicarit nisi qui norit irasci. [4] Alii agnoscunt quidem verbum maledictionis, sed volunt Christum sic Vae pronuntiasse, non quasi ex sententia sua proprie, sed quod Vae a creatore sit, et voluerit illis asperitatem creatoris opponere, quo suam supra in benedictionibus sufferentiam commendaret. Quasi non creatori competat, qua utrumque praestanti, et bonum deum et iudicem, ut quia praemiserat in benedictionibus benignitatem, subiceret etiam in maledictionibus severitatem, amplitudinem disciplinae utriusque instruendae, tam ad benedictionem sectandam quam ad maledictionem praecavendam. [5] Nam et ita praemiserat: Ecce posui ante vos benedictionem et maledictionem: quod etiam in hanc evangelii dispositionem portendebat. Alioquin qualis est ille qui, ut suam insinuaret bonitatem, creatoris opposuit asperitatem? Infirma commendatio est quae de alterius destructione fulcitur. [6] Atquin opponens asperitatem creatoris timendum eum confirmavit. Si timendum, magis utique obaudiendum quam neglegendum, et incipit iam Christus Marcionis creatori docere. Tunc, si Vae creatoris est quod in divites spectat, ergo Christus non est divitibus offensus, sed creator, et ratas habet Christus divitum causas, superbiam dico et gloriam et saeculi studia et dei incuriam, per quae Vae merentur a creatore. [7] Sed quomodo non eiusdem sit divites reprobare qui supra mendicos probavit? Nemo non contrarium eius quod probaverit reprobat. Itaque si creatori deputabitur maledictio in divites, eiusdem defendetur benedictio in mendicos, et totum iam opus Christi creatoris est. Si deo Marcionis adscribetur benedictio in mendicos, eiusdem imponetur et maledictio in divites, et erit par iam creatoris, tam bonus quam et iudex, nec erit iam discrimini locus quo duo dei fiunt, sublatoque discrimine

supererit unum deum renuntiari creatorem. [8] Igitur Vae si et vox maledictionis est vel alicuius austerioris inclamationis, et a Christo dirigitur in divites, debeo creatorem divitum quoque aspernatorem probare, sicut probavi mendicorum advocatorem, ut Christum in hac quoque sententia creatoris ostendam. Locupletat is quidem Salomonem, sed quia permissa sibi optione maluit ea postulare quae sciebat deo grata, sapientiam <et intellegentiam,> et meruerat etiam divitias consequi, quas non magis voluit. Quamquam et divitias praestare non incongruens deo sit, per quas et divites solatio iuvantur et multa inde opera iustitiae et dilectionis administrantur. [9] Sed accidentia vitia divitiis illa in evangelio quoque Vae divitibus adscribunt, Quoniam, inquit, recepistis advocationem vestram, utique ex divitiis, de gloria earum et saecularibus fructibus. Itaque in Deuteronomio Moyses, Ne, inquit, cum manducaveris et repletus fueris, et domus magnas aedificaveris, pecoribus et bubus tuis multiplicatis et pecunia et auro, exaltetur cor tuum et obliviscaris domini dei tui. Quemadmodum et Ezechiam regem, thesauris inflatum et de eis potius quam de deo gloriatum, apud illos qui ex Perside advenerant insilit per Esaïam: Ecce dies veniunt, et auferentur omnia quae in domo tua sunt, et quae patres tui congegesserunt in Babylonem transferentur. [10] Sic et per Hieremiam quoque edicit, Ne gloriatur dives in divitiis suis, et qui gloriatur, scilicet in deo gloriatur. Sic et in filias Sionis invehitur per Esaïam, cultu et divitiarum abundantia inflatas, comminabundus et alibi nobilibus et superbis: Dilatavit orcus animam suam et aperuit os suum, et descendent inclyti et magni et divites (hoc erit Christi Vae super divites), et humiliabitur homo, utique exaltatus divitiis, et inhonorabitur vir, utique ob substantiam honorabilis. [11] De quibus et rursus: Ecce dominus virtutum conturbabit gloriosos cum valentia, et elati comminuentur, et ruent gladio sublimes. Qui magis quam divites? quia receperunt scilicet advocationem suam, gloriam et honorem, sublimitatem ex divitiis. A quibus avertens nos et in psalmo XLVIII, Ne timueris, inquit, cum dives factus fuerit homo, et cum abundabit gloria eius, quoniam cum morietur non tollet omnia, nec descendet cum illo gloria sua. Item in LXI, Ne desideraveritis divitias, et si relucet, ne adieceritis cor. [12] Id ipsum postremo verbum Vae olim per Amos in divites affluentes deliciis destinatur. Vae enim, inquit, qui dormiunt in lectis eburneis et deliciis fluunt in toris suis, qui edunt hoedos de gregibus caprarum et vitulos de gregibus boum lactantes, complaudentes ad sonum organorum:

tanquam perseverantia deputaverunt, et non tanquam fugientia : qui bibunt vinum liquatum et unguentis primariis unguntur. [13] Igitur et si tantummodo dehortantem a divitiis ostenderem creatorem, non etiam praedamnantem divites etiam verbo ipso quo et Christus, nemo dubitaret ab eodem adiectam in divites comminationem per Vae Christi a quo ipsarum materialium, id est divitiarum, dehortatio praecucurrisset. Comminatio enim dehortationis accessio est. Ingerit Vae etiam saturatis, quia esurient, etiam ridentibus nunc, quia lugebunt. His respondebunt illa quae supra benedictionibus opposita sunt apud creatorem: Ecce, qui mihi serviunt saturabuntur, vos autem esurietis, utique quia saturati estis: et ecce, qui mihi serviunt oblectabuntur, vos autem confundemini, utique ploraturi, qui nunc ridetis. Sicut enim in psalmo: Qui seminant in lacrimis in laetitia metent; ita in evangelio, qui in risu seminant, scilicet ex laetitia, in lacrimis metent. Haec olim creator simul posuit, Christus solummodo distinguendo, non mutando, renovavit. [14] Vae, cum vobis benedixerint homines. Secundum haec faciebant et pseudoprophetae patres illorum. Aequae creator benedictionis et laudis humanae sectatores incusat per Esaiam: Populus meus, qui vos beatos dicunt, seducunt vos et vias pedum vestrorum disturbant. Prohibet et alias fidere omnino in hominem, sic et in laudem hominis, ut per Hieremiam: Maledictus homo qui spem habet in homine. [15] Nam et in psalmo cxvii: Bonum est confidere in deum quam confidere in homine, et bonum est sperare in deum quam sperare in principes. Ita totum quod ab homine captatur, abdixit creator, nedum benedictionem. Pseudoprophetae autem laudatos sive benedictos a patribus eorum tam eius est exprobrare quam prophetae vexatos et recusatos: sicut iniuriae prophetarum non pertinuisent ad deum ipsorum, ita nec gratiae pseudoprophetarum displicuissent nisi deo prophetarum.

16. [1] Sed vobis dico, inquit, qui auditis (ostendens hoc olim mandatum a creatore, Loquere in aures audientium), diligite inimicos vestros, et benedicite eos qui vos oderunt, et orate pro eis qui vos calumniantur. Haec creator una pronuntiatione clusit per Esaiam: Dicite, fratres nostri estis, eis qui vos oderunt. Si enim qui inimici sunt et oderunt et maledicunt et calumniantur fratres appellandi sunt, utique et benedici odientes et orari pro calumniatoribus iussit, qui eos fratres deputari praecepit. [2] Novam plane patientiam docet Christus, etiam vicem iniuriae cohibens permissam a creatore, oculum exigente pro oculo et dentem pro dente, contra ipse alteram

amplius maxillam offerri iubens, et super tunicam pallio quoque cedi. Plane haec Christus adiecerit ut supplementa consentanea disciplinae creatoris. Atque adeo hoc statim renuntiandum est, an disciplina patientiae praedicatur penes creatorem. [3] Si per Zachariam praecepit ne unusquisque malitiae fratris sui meminerit, sed nec proximi. Nam et rursus, Malitiam, inquit, proximi sui unusquisque ne recogitet. Multo magis patientiam indixit iniuriae qui indixit oblivionem. Sed et cum dicit, Mihi vindictam, et ego vindicabo, proinde patientiam docet vindictae expectatricem. [4] In quantum ergo fidem non capit ut idem videatur et dentem pro dente, oculum pro oculo, in vicem iniuriae exigere qui non modo vicem, sed etiam ultionem, etiam recordationem et recogitationem iniuriae prohibet, in tantum aperitur nobis quomodo oculum pro oculo et dentem pro dente censuerit, non ad secundam iniuriam talionis permittendam, quam prohibuerat interdicta ultione, sed ad primam coercendam, quam prohibuerat talione opposito, ut unusquisque respiciens licentiam secundae iniuriae a prima semetipsum contineret. [5] Facilius enim vim comprimi scit repraesentatione talionis quam repromissione ultionis. Utrumque autem constituendum fuit pro natura et fide hominum, ut qui deo crederet ultionem a deo expectaret, qui minus fideret leges talionis timeret. Hanc legis voluntatem de intellectu laborantem dominus et sabbati et legis et omnium paternarum dispositionum Christus et revelavit et compotem fecit, mandans alterius quoque maxillae oblationem, ut tanto magis vicem iniuriae extingueret quam et lex per talionem voluerat impedisse, certe quam prophetia manifeste coercuerat, et memoriam iniuriae prohibens et ultionem ad deum redigens. [6] Ita si quid Christus intulit, non adversario sed adiutore praecepto, non destruxit disciplinas creatoris. Denique si in ipsam rationem patientiae praecipienda, et quidem tam plenae atque perfectae, considerem, non consistet si non est creatoris, qui vindictam repromittit, qui iudicem praestat. Alioquin si tantum patientiae pondus non modo non reperiendi sed et aliam maxillam praebendi, et non modo non remaledicendi sed etiam benedicendi, et non modo non retinendi tunicam sed et amplius et pallium concedendi, is mihi imponit qui non sit me defensurus, in vacuum patientiam praecepit, non exhibens mihi mercedem praecepti, patientiae dico fructum, quod est ultio, quam mihi permisisse debuerat si ipse non praestat, aut si mihi non permittebat ipse praestare, quoniam et disciplinae interest iniuriam vindicari. [7] Metu enim ultionis omnis iniquitas refrenatur. Ceterum passim emissa

libertate dominabitur, utrumque oculum effossura et omnem dentem excitatura prae impunitatis securitate. Sed hoc est dei optimi et tantum boni, patientiae iniuriam facere, violentiae ianuam pandere, probos non defendere, improbos non coercere. [8] Omni petenti te dato, utique indigenti, vel tanto magis indigenti si etiam et abundanti. Ne quis ergo indigeat, datori imperatam habes in Deuteronomio formam creatoris. Non erit, inquit, in te indigeas, uti benedicens benedicat te dominus deus tuus, datorem scilicet, qui fecerit non esse indigentem. [9] Et plus hic. Non enim petenti iubet dari: Sed non sit, inquit, indigens in te, id est cura ultro ne sit; quo magis petenti praeiudicat dandum. Etiam in sequentibus: Si autem fuerit indigens e fratribus tuis, non avertes cor tuum, nec constringes manum tuam a fratre indigente: aperiens aperies illi manum, fenus fenerabis illi, quantum desiderarit. [10] Fenus enim nisi petenti dari non solet. Sed de fenore postmodum. Nunc si qui voluerit argumentari creatorem quidem fratribus dari iussisse, Christum vero omnibus petentibus, ut hoc sit novum atque diversum, immo unum erit ex his per quae lex creatoris erit in Christo. Non enim aliud Christus in omnes praecepit quam quod creator in fratres. Nam etsi maior est bonitas quae operatur in extraneos, sed non prior ea quae ante deberet in proximos. [11] Quis enim poterit diligere extraneos? Quodsi secundus gradus bonitatis est in extraneos qui in proximos primus est, eiusdem erit secundus gradus cuius et primus, facilius quam ut eius sit secundus cuius non extitit primus. Ita creator et secundum naturae ordinem primum in proximos docuit benignitatem, emissurus eam postea in extraneos, et secundum rationem dispositionis suae primo in Iudaeos, postea et in omne hominum genus. [12] Ideoque quamdiu intra Israellem erat sacramentum, merito in solos fratres misericordiam mandabat; at ubi Christo dedit gentes haereditatem et possessionem terminos terrae, et coepit expungi quod dictum est per Osee: Non populus meus populus meus, et non misericordiam consecuta misericordiam consecuta, natio scilicet, exinde Christus in omnes legem paternae benignitatis extendit, neminem excipiens in miseratione, sicut in vocatione. Ita et si quid amplius docuit, hoc quoque in haereditatem gentium accepit. [13] Et sicut vobis fieri vultis ab hominibus, ita et vos facite illis. In isto praecepto utique alia pars eius subauditur: Et sicut vobis non vultis fieri ab hominibus, ita et vos ne faciatis illis. Hoc si novus deus et ignotus retro et nondum plane editus praecepit, qui me nulla antehac institutione formaverit, qua prius scirem quid deberem mihi velle vel nolle

atque ita et aliis facere quae et mihi vellem, non facere quae et mihi nollem, passivitate sententiae meae permisit, nec adstrinxit me ad convenientiam voluntatis et facti, ut id aliis faciam quod mihi velim et id nec aliis faciam quod mihi nolim. [14] Non enim definiit quid mihi atque aliis debeam velle vel nolle, ut ad legem voluntatis parem factum, et possim alii non praestare quod ab alio mihi velim praestitum, amorem, obsequium, solatium, praesidium, et eiusmodi bona, proinde et alii facere quod ab alio mihi fieri nolim, vim, iniuriam, contumeliam, fraudem, et eiusmodi mala. Denique hac inconvenientia voluntatis et facti agunt ethnici nondum a deo instructi. [15] Nam etsi natura bonum et malum notum est, non tamen dei disciplina; qua cognita tunc demum convenientia voluntatis et facti ex fide, ut sub metu dei, agitur. Itaque deus Marcionis cum maxime revelatus, si tamen revelatus, non potuit huius praecepti de quo agitur tam strictum et obscurum et caecum adhuc et facilius pro meo potius arbitrio interpretandum compendium emittere, cuius nullam praestruxerat distinctionem. [16] At enim creator meus et olim et ubique praecepit indigentes pauperes et pupillos et viduas protegi, iuvare, refrigerari; sicut et per Esaiam: Infringito panem tuum mendicis, et qui sine tecto sunt, in domum tuam inducito, et nudum si videris, tegito. Item per Ezechielem de viro iusto: Panem suum dabit esurienti, et nudum conteget. Satis ergo iam tunc me docuit ea facere aliis quae mihi velim fieri. [17] Proinde denuntians, Non occides, Non adulterabis, Non furaberis, Non falsum testimonium dices, docuit ne faciam aliis quae fieri mihi nolim; et ideo ipsius erit praeceptum in evangelio qui illud retro et praestruxit et distinxit et ad arbitrium disciplinae suae disposuit et merito iam compendio substrinxit: quoniam et alias recisum sermonem facturus in terris dominus, id est Christus, praedicabatur.

17. [1] Hic nunc de fenore cum interponit, Et si feneraveritis a quibus speratis vos recepturos, quae gratia est vobis? percurrere sequentia Ezechielis de eodem viro iusto: Pecuniam, inquit, suam fenori non dedit, et quod abundaverit non sumet, fenoris scilicet redundantiam, quod est usura. Prius igitur fuit ut fructum fenoris eradicaret, quo facilius adsuefaceret hominem ipsi quoque fenori, si forte, perdendo, cuius fructum didicisset amittere. [2] Hanc etenim dicimus operam legis fuisse procurantis evangelio. Quorundam tunc fidem paulatim ad perfectum disciplinae Christianae nitorem primis quibusque praeceptis balbutientis adhuc benignitatis informabat. Nam et

supra, Et pignus, inquit, reddes debentis; utique si non sit solvendo, quia solutori utique pignus restituendum esse utrum homo scriberet? [3] Multo manifestius in Deuteronomio: Non dormies super pignus eius, redditione reddes illi pallium circa solis occasum, et dormiet in pallio suo. Adhuc clarius supra: Dimittes omne debitum quod tibi proximus debet, et fratrem tuum non reposes, quoniam remissio domini dei tui invocata est. [4] Porro cum debitum dimitti iubet, utique non exsoluturo (plus enim est, etsi exsoluturo, cum reposci vetat), quid aliud docet quam non exsoluturo feneremus, qui tantum detrimentum fenori indixit? Et eritis filii dei. Nihil impudentius, si ille nos sibi filios faciet qui nobis filios facere non permisit auferendo connubium. Quomodo in id nomen allecturus est suos quod iam erasit? [5] Filius spadonis esse non possum, maxime cum patrem habeam eundem quem et omnia. Nam tam pater omnium qui conditor universitatis, quam spado qui nullius substantiae conditor. Et si marem ac feminam non miscuisset creator, et si non universis quoque animalibus filios concessisset, hoc eram eius ante paradisum, ante delictum, ante exilium, ante duos unum. Denuo factus filius fui, statim cum me manibus enixus est, cum de suo halitu movit. [6] Ille me nunc rursus filium nuncupat, iam non in animam sed in spiritum pariens. Quia ipse, inquit, suavis est adversus ingratos et malos. Euge, Marcion, satis ingeniose detraxisti illi pluvias et soles, ne creator videretur. Sed quis iste suavis, qui ne cognitus quidem usque adhuc? [7] Quomodo suavis, a quo nulla beneficia praecesserant hoc genus suavitatis qua soles et imbres qui feneraverat, non recepturus ab humano genere? Ut creator, qui pro tanta elementorum liberalitate facilius idolis quam sibi debitum gratiae referentes homines usque adhuc sustinet, vere suavis etiam spiritalibus commodis: Eloquia enim domini dulciora super mel et favos. Ille igitur et ingratos suggillavit qui gratos experiri merebatur, cuius solem et imbres tu quoque Marcion ingratus habuisti. Ceterum tuus non poterat iam queri ingratos, qui non paraverat gratos. [8] Misericordiam quoque praecipiens, Estote, inquit, misericordes, sicut pater vester misertus est vestri. Hoc erit, Panem infringito esurienti, et <qui> sine tecto in domum tuam inducito, et nudum si videris tegito, et, Iudicate pupillo, et iustificate viduam. Agnosco doctrinam eius veterem qui mavult misericordiam quam sacrificium. Aut si alius nunc misericordiam praecepit, quia et ipse misericors sit, cur tanto aevo misericors mihi non fuit? [9] Nolite iudicare, ne iudicemini. Nolite condemnare, ne

condemnemini. Dimittite, et dimitemini. Date, et dabitur vobis, mensuram bonam, pressam ac fluentem, dabunt in sinum vestrum. Eadem qua mensi eritis mensura, remetietur vobis. Ut opinor, haec retributionem pro meritis provocatam sonant. A quo ergo retributio? ^[10] Si ab hominibus tantum, ergo humanam docet disciplinam et mercedem, et in totum hominibus obediemus: si a creatore, ut a iudice et dispunctore meritorum, ergo illi nostrum impellit obsequium apud quem constituit retributionem captandam vel timendam, prout quisque iudicaverit aut condemnaverit aut dimiserit aut mensus fuerit: si ab ipso, ergo et ille iam iudicat, quod Marcion negat. ^[11] Eligant itaque Marcionitae ne tanti sit de magistri regula excidere quanti Christum aut hominibus aut creatori docentem habere. Sed caecus caecum ducit in foveam. Credunt aliqui Marcioni. Sed non est discipulus super magistrum. Hoc meminisse debuerat Apelles, Marcionis de discipulo emendator. Eximat et de oculo suo trabem haereticus, tunc in oculo Christiani si quam putat stipulam revincat. Proinde et arbor bona non proferat malum fructum, quia nec veritas haeresim; nec mala bonum, quia nec haeresis veritatem. Sic nec Marcion aliquid boni de thesauro Cerdonis malo protulit, nec Apelles de Marcionis. ^[12] Multo enim haec congruentius in ipsos interpretabimur quae Christus in homines allegorizavit, non in duos deos secundum scandalum Marcionis. Puto me non temere hucusque adhuc lineae insistere, qua definitio nusquam omnino alium deum a Christo revelatum. In hoc solo adulterium Marcionis manus stupuisse miror. Nisi quod etiam latrones timent. Nullum maleficium sine formidine est, quia nec sine conscientia sui. Tam diu ergo et Iudaei non alium deum norant quam praeter quem neminem adhuc norant, nec alium deum appellabant quam quem solum norant. Si ita est, quis videbitur dixisse, Quid vocas, Domine, domine? ^[13] Utrumne qui nunquam hoc fuerat vocatus, ut nusquam adhuc editus, an ille qui semper dominus habebatur, ut a primordio cognitus, deus scilicet Iudaeorum? Quis item adiecisce potuisset, Et non facitis quae dico? Utrumne qui cum maxime edocere temptabat, an qui a primordio ad illos et legis et prophetarum eloquia mandaverat? Qui et inobaudientiam illis exprobrare posset, etiam si nunquam alias exprobrasset? Porro qui ante Christum, Populus iste me labiis diligit, cor autem eorum longe absistit a me, contionatus est, veterem utique illis contumaciam imputabat. Alioquin quam absurdum, ut novus deus, novus Christus, novae tantaeque religionis illuminator, contumaces et inobsequentes pronuntiaret quos non

potuisset experiri?

18. [1] Proinde extollenda fide centurionis incredibile si is professus est talem se fidem nec in Israele invenisse ad quem non pertinebat fides Israelis. Sed nec exinde pertinere poterat, adhuc cruda ut probaretur vel compararetur, ne dixerim adhuc nulla. Sed cur non licuerit illi alienae fidei exemplo uti? Quoniam si ita esset, dixisset talem fidem nec in Israele unquam fuisse: ceterum dicens talem fidem debuisse se invenire in Israele, qui quidem ad hoc venisset ut eam inveniret, deus scilicet et Christus Israelis, quam non suggillasset nisi exactor et sectator eius. [2] Aemulus vero etiam maluisset eam talem inventam, ad quam infirmandam et destruendam magis venerat, non ad comprobendam. Resuscitavit et mortuum filium viduae. Non novum documentum. Hoc et prophetae creatoris ediderant, quanto magis filius? [3] Adeo autem in illud usque momenti nullum alium deum Christus intulerat, ut omnes illic creatori gloriam retulerint dicentes, Magnus prophetae prodiit in nobis, et Respexit deus populum suum. Quis deus? Utique cuius populus, et a quo prophetae. Quodsi illi quidem creatorem glorificabant, Christus vero et audiens et sciens non corripuit, et quidem in tanto documento mortui resuscitati creatorem adhuc honorantes, sine dubio aut non alium circumferebat deum quam quem in suis beneficiis atque virtutibus honorari sustinebat: aut quale est ut illos tam diu errantes sustineret, ad hoc veniens ut errori eorum mederetur? [4] Sed scandalizatur Ioannes auditis virtutibus Christi, ut alterius. At ego rationem scandali prius expediam, quo facilius haeretici scandalum explodam. Ipso iam domino virtutum sermone et spiritu patris operante in terris et praedicante, necesse erat portionem spiritus sancti quae ex forma prophetici moduli in Ioanne egerat praeparaturam viarum dominicarum, abscedere iam ab Ioanne, redactam scilicet in dominum ut in massalem suam summam. [5] Itaque Ioannes communis iam homo, et unus iam de turba, scandalizabatur quidem qua homo, sed non qua alium Christum sperans vel intellegens, qui neque <haberetur> unde speraret, ut nihil novi docentem vel operantem. Nemo haesitabit de aliquo quem dum scit non esse nec sperat nec intellegit; Ioannes autem certus erat neminem deum praeter creatorem, vel qua Iudaeus, etiam prophetae. Plane facilius quasi haesitavit de eo quem cum sciat esse an ipse sit nesciat. [6] Hoc igitur metu et Ioannes, Tu es, inquit, qui venis, an alium expectamus? simpliciter inquirens an ipse venisset quem expectabat. Tu es qui venis, id est qui venturus es, an alium

expectamus? id est an alius est quem expectamus, si non tu es quem venturum expectamus? Sperabat enim, sicut omnes opinabantur, ex similitudine documentorum potuisse et prophetam interim missum esse, a quo alius esset, id est maior, ipse scilicet dominus, qui venturus expectabatur. Atque adeo hoc erat Ioannis scandalum quod dubitabat ipsum venisse quem expectabant, quem et praedicatis operationibus agnovisse debuerant, ut dominus per easdem operationes agnoscendum se nuntiaverit Ioanni. [7] Quae cum constant praedicata in Christum creatoris, sicut ad singula ostendimus, satis perversum ut Christum non creatoris per ea renuntiavit intellegendum per quae magis Christum creatoris agnosci compellebat. Multo perversius, si et testimonium Ioanni perhibet non Ioannis Christus, propheten eum confirmans, immo et supra ut angelum, ingerens etiam scriptum super illo: Ecce ego mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam, qui praeparabit viam tuam; eleganter ad superiorem sensum scandalizati Ioannis commemorans prophetiam, ut confirmans praecursorem Ioannem iam advenisse extingueret scrupulum interrogationis illius: Tu es qui venis, an alium expectamus? Praecursore enim iam functo officium, praeparata via domini, ipse erat intellegendus cui praecursor ministraverat, [8] maior quidem omnibus natis mulierum: sed non ideo subiecto ei qui minor fuerit in regno dei, quasi alterius sit dei regnum in quo modicus quis maior erit Ioanne, alterius Ioannes qui omnibus natis mulierum maior sit. Sive enim de quocunque dicit modico per humilitatem, sive de semetipso quia minor Ioanne habebatur, omnibus scilicet in solitudinem concurrentibus ad Ioannem potius quam ad Christum (Quid existis videre in solitudinem?), tantundem et creatori competit et Ioannem ipsius esse maiorem natis mulierum, et Christum vel quemque modicum, qui maior Ioanne futurus sit in regno aequae creatoris, et qui sit maior tanto propheta, qui non fuerit scandalizatus in Christum, quod tunc Ioannem minuit. [9] Diximus de remissa peccatorum. Illius autem peccatricis feminae argumentum eo pertinebit, ut cum pedes domini osculis figeret, lacrimis inundaret, crinibus detergeret, unguento perduceret, solidi corporis veritatem, non phantasma inane, tractaverit, et ut peccatricis paenitentia secundum creatorem meruerit veniam, praeponere solitum sacrificio. Sed et si paenitentiae stimulus ex fide acciderat, per paenitentiam ex fide iustificatam ab eo audiit, Fides tua te salvam fecit, qui per Abacuc pronuntiavit, luster ex fide sua vivet.

19. [1] Quod divites Christo mulieres adhaerebant, quae et de facultatibus

suis ministrabant ei, inter quas et uxor regis procuratoris, de prophetia est. Has enim vocabat per Esaïam: Mulieres divites, exsurgite et audite vocem meam: ut discipulas primo, dehinc ut operarias et ministras ostenderet: Filiae in spe audite sermones meos: diei anni mementote cum labore in spe; cum labore enim, quo sequebantur, et ob spem ministrabant. [2] Aequè de parabolis semel sufficiat probatum hoc genus eloquii a creatore promissum. At nunc illa quoque pronuntiatio eius ad populum, Aure audietis et non audietis, dedit Christo frequenter inculcare, Qui habet aures audiat: non quasi ex diversitate auditum permetteret Christus quem ademisset creator, sed quia comminationem exhortatio sequebatur. Primo, aure audietis et non audietis; dehinc, qui habet aures audiat. [3] Non enim audiebant ultro qui aures habebant, sed ostendebat aures cordis necessarias, quibus illos audituros negarat creator. Et ideo per Christum adicit: Videte quomodo audiat et non audiat, non corde scilicet audientes sed aure. Si dignum sensum pronuntiationi accommodes pro sensu eius qui auditui suscitabat, etiam dicendo, Videte quomodo audiat, non audituris minabatur. Sane minatur mitissimus deus, quia nec iudicat nec irascitur. [4] Hoc probat etiam subiucens sensus. Ei qui habet dabitur, ab eo autem. qui non habet etiam quod habere se putat auferetur ei. Quid dabitur? Adiectio fidei vel intellectus vel salus ipsa. Quid auferetur? Utique quod dabitur. A quo dabitur et auferetur? Si a creatore auferetur, ab eo et dabitur. Si a deo Marcionis dabitur, ab eo et auferetur. [5] Quoquo tamen nomine comminatur ablationem, non erit eius dei qui nescit comminari quia non novit irasci. Miror autem cum lucernam negat abscondi solere, qui se tanto saeculo absconderat maius et necessarius lumen, cum omnia de occulto in apertum repromittit, qui deum suum usque adhuc obumbrat, expectans, opinor, nasci Marcionem. [6] Venimus ad constantissimum argumentum omnium qui domini nativitatem in controversiam deferunt. Ipse, inquit, contestatur se non esse natum dicendo, Quae mihi mater, et qui mihi fratres? Ita semper haeretici aut nudas et simplices voces coniecturis quo volunt rapiunt, aut rursus condicionales et rationales simplicitatis condicione dissolvunt, ut hoc in loco. [7] Nos contrario dicimus primo non potuisse illi annuntiari quod mater et fratres eius foris starent quaerentes videre eum, si nulla illi mater et fratres nulli fuissent, quos utique norat qui annuntiabat vel retro notos vel tunc ibidem compertos, dum eum videre desiderant, vel dum ipsi nuntium mandant. Ad hanc primam

propositionem nostram solet ex diverso responderi: Quid enim si temptandi gratia nuntiatur ei? Sed hoc scriptura non dicit, quae quanto significare solet ex temptatione quid factum (Ecce legis doctor adsurrexit temptans eum: et de tributi consultatione, Et accesserunt ad eum pharisaei temptantes eum), tanto, ubi non facit temptationis mentionem, non admittit temptationis interpretationem. [8] Et tamen ex abundanti causas temptationis expostulo, cui rei temptaverint illum per nominationem matris et fratrum. Si ut scirent natusne esset an non: quando de hoc fuit quaestio quam ex ista temptatione discuterent? [9] Quis autem dubitaret natum, quem videret hominem, quem audisset filium se hominis professum, quem de conspectu omnis humanae qualitatis dubitarent deum aut filium dei credere, propheten facilius existimantes licet magnum aliquem, utique tamen natum? Etiamsi in exploratione nativitatis temptandus fuisset, quodcunque aliud argumentum temptationi competisset quam per earum personarum mentionem quas potuit etiam natus non habere. [10] Dic mihi, omnibus natis mater advivit? omnibus natis adgenerantur et fratres? non licet patres magis et sorores habere, vel et neminem? Sed et census constat actos sub Augusto nunc in Iudaea per Sentium Saturninum, apud quos genus eius inquirere potuissent. Adeo nullo modo constitit ratio temptationis istius, et vere mater et fratres eius foris stabant. Superest et inspicere sensum non simpliciter pronuntiantis, Quae mihi mater aut fratres? quasi ad generis et nativitatis negationem, sed et ex causae necessitate et condicione rationali. [11] Tam proximas enim personas foris stare extraneis intus defixis ad sermones eius, amplius et avocare eum a sollemni opere quaerentes, merito indignatus est. Non tam abnegavit quam abdicavit. Atque adeo cum praemisisset, Quae mihi mater et qui mihi fratres? subiungens, Nisi qui audiunt verba mea et faciunt ea, transtulit sanguinis nomina in alios, quos magis proximos pro fide iudicaret. [12] Nemo autem transfert quid nisi ab eo qui habet id quod transfert. Si ergo matrem et fratres eos fecit qui non erant, quomodo negavit eos qui erant? Meritorum scilicet condicione, non ex proximorum negatione, in semetipso docens qui patrem aut matrem aut fratres praeponeret verbo dei non esse dignum discipulum. Ceterum ex hoc magis matrem et fratres confitebatur quod illos nolebat agnoscere. [13] Quod alios adoptabat, confirmabat quos ex offensa negavit, quibus non ut veriores substituit sed ut digniores. Denique nihil magnum si fidem sanguini praeposuit quem non habebat.

20. [1] Quis autem iste est qui et ventis et mari imperat? nimirum novus dominator atque possessor elementorum subacti iam et exclusi creatoris? Non ita est. Sed agnorant substantiae auctorem suum, quae famulis quoque eius obaudire consueverant. Inspice Exodum, Marcion, aspice mari rubro, vastiori super omnia stagna Iudaeae, virgam Moysi imperantem, ut funditus proscissum et pari utrinque stupore discriminis fixum sicco populum pede intestino itinere transmitteret, rursusque sub eiusdem virgae nutu redeunte natura Aegyptium exercitum undarum concordia obrueret, in quod opus et austri servierunt. [2] Lege ex sorte familiae dirimendae in transitu eius Iordanis machaeram fuisse, cuius impetum atque decursum plane et Iesus docuerat prophetis transmeantibus stare. Quid ad haec? Si tuus Christus est, non erit potentior famulis creatoris. Sed his solis exemplis usus essem, si non etiam praedicatio marinae istius expeditionis Christum antecessisset. [3] Nam cum transfretat, psalmus expungitur: Dominus, inquit, super aquas multas. Cum undas freti discutit, Abacuc adimpletur: Dispargens, inquit, aquas itinere. Cum ad minas eius eliditur mare, Naum quoque absolvitur: Comminans, inquit, mari et arefaciens illud, utique cum ventis quibus inquietabatur. Unde vis meum vindicem Christum? de exemplis an de prophetis creatoris? [4] Age nunc, qui militem et armatum bellatorem praedicari putas, non figurate nec allegorice, qui bellum spiritale adversus spiritales hostes spiritali militia et spiritalibus armis spiritaliter debellaturus esset, cum invenis in uno homine multitudinem daemonum, legionem se professam, utique spiritalem, disce et Christum expugnatorem spiritalium hostium spiritaliter armatum et spiritaliter bellicosum intellegendum, atque ita ipsum esse qui cum legione quoque daemonum erat dimicaturus; ut et de hoc bello psalmus possit videri pronuntiasse, Dominus validus, dominus potens in bello. [5] Nam cum ultimo hoste morte proeliatus per tropaeum crucis triumphavit. Cuius autem dei filium Iesum legio testata est? Sine dubio cuius tormenta et abyssum noverant et timebant. Nec enim videntur posse ignorasse adhuc quod novi et ignoti dei virtus operaretur in terris, quia verisimile non est creatorem ignorasse. Si enim alium supra se deum ignoraverat aliquando, tamen iam infra caelum suum agentem utique compererat. [6] Quod autem dominus comperisset, iam et universae familiae innotuisset in eodem mundo et intra eundem ambitum caeli quo peregrina divinitas conversaretur. In quantum ergo et creator scisset eam, et substantiae eius, si fuisset, in tantum, quia nulla fuit, non alium daemones

sciebant quam dei sui Christum. Non enim depetunt ab alio quod meminissent petendum sibi a creatore, veniam scilicet abyssi creatoris. Denique impetraverunt. [7] Quo merito? Quia mentiti erant, quia saevi dei filium eum fecerant? Et qualis erit qui mentitos iuvabat, qui infamantes sustinebat? Sed enim quia mentiti non erant, quia deum abyssi et suum cognoverant, ita eum se et ipse confirmavit quem cognoverunt daemones, Iesum iudicem et ultoris dei filium. Ecce aliquid et de illis pusillitatibus et infirmitatibus creatoris in Christo. Ignorantiam enim et ego adscribere ei volo. Permittite mihi adversus haereticum. Tangitur a femina quae sanguine fluitabat, et nescivit a qua. [8] Quis me, inquit, tetigit? Etiam excusantibus discipulis perseverat in ignorantiae voce: Tetigit me aliquis; idque de argumento affirmat: Sensi enim virtutem ex me profectam. Quid dicit haereticus? Sciebatne personam? Et cur quasi ignorans loquebatur? Ut confessionem certe provocaret, ut timorem probaret. Sic et Adam aliquando quaesierat quasi ignorans, Adam ubi es? Habes et creatorem cum Christo excusatum et Christum creatori adaequatum. [9] Sed et hoc qua adversarius legis, ut quia lex a contactu feminae sanguinantis summovet, idcirco gestierit non tantum contactum eius admittere, sed etiam sanitatem donare. O deum non natura beneficum, sed aemulatione! At enim, si fidem mulieris invenimus ita meruisse, cum dicit, Fides tua te salvam fecit, quis es, ut aemulationem legis interpreteris in isto facto, quod ipse dominus ex fidei remuneratione editum ostendit? [10] Sed hanc vis mulieris fidem constituere qua contempserat legem. Et cui credibile ut mulier nullius adhuc dei conscia, nullius adhuc novae legis initiata, legem inrumperet eam cui adhuc tenebatur? Qua denique fide inrupit? in quem deum credens? quem spernens? Creatorem? Certe enim ex fide tetigit. Si ex fide creatoris, quae alium deum ignorabat, equomodo legem eius inrupit? Tam enim inrupit, si inrupit, quam ex fide creatoris. [11] Quomodo enim utrumque conveniet, ut et inruperit, et ex fide eam inruperit propter quam inrupisse non debuit? Dicam. Fides haec fuit primo, qua deum suum confidebat misericordiam malle quam ipsum sacrificium, qua eum deum certa erat operari in Christo, qua sic eum tetigit, non ut hominem sanctum, nec ut prophetam, quem contaminabilem pro humana substantia sciret, sed ut ipsum deum, quem nulla spurcitia pollui posse praesumpserat. [12] Itaque non ternere interpretata est sibi legem, ea contaminari significantem quae essent contaminabilia, non deum, quem in Christo confidebat. Sed et illud

recogitavit, ordinarium et sollemnem menstrui vel partialis sanguinis fluxum in lege taxari, qui veniat ex officio naturae non ex vitio valetudinis. Illa autem ex vitio valetudinis redundabat, cui non modum temporis, sed divinae misericordiae auxilium necessarium sciebat. [13] Atque ita potest videri legem non inrupisse, sed distinxisse. Haec erit fides quae contulerat etiam intellectum: Nisi credideritis, inquit, non intellegetis. Hanc fidem probans Christus eius feminae, quae solum credebat creatorem, eius fidei se deum respondit quam probavit. Nec illud omittam, quod dum tangitur vestimentum eius, utique corpori non phantasmati inditum, corpus quoque demonstrabatur; non quasi iam de hoc retractemus, sed quia ad praesentem conspirat quaestionem. [14] Si enim non erat veritas corporis, phantasma utique contaminari, qua res vacua, non posset. Qui ergo non potest contaminari prae inanitate substantiae, quomodo voluisset? Ut aemulus legis, mentiebatur qui non vere polluebatur.

21. [1] Dimittit discipulos ad praedicandum dei regnum. Numquid vel hic edidit cuius? Prohibet eos victui aut vestitui quid in viam ferre. Quis hoc mandasset, nisi qui et corvos alit et flores agri vestit, qui bovi quoque terenti libertatem oris ad veniam pabuli ex opere summovendi ante praecepit, quia dignus operarius mercede sua? Haec Marcion deleat, dum sensui salva sint. At cum iubet pulverem excutere de pedibus in eos a quibus excepti non fuissent, et hoc in testimonium mandat fieri. [2] Nemo testatur quod non iudicio destinatur; inhumanitatem qui in testationem redigi iubet, iudicem comminatur. Nullum deum novum a Christo probatum illa etiam opinio omnium declaravit, quia Christum Iesum alii Ioannem, alii Heliam, alii unum aliquem ex veteribus prophetis Herodi adseverabant. Ex quibus quicumque fuisset, non utique ob hoc est suscitatus ut alium deum post resurrectionem praedicaret. Pascit populum in solitudine, de pristino scilicet more. [3] Aut si non eadem et maiestas, ergo iam minor est creatore, qui non uno die sed annis quadraginta, nec de inferioribus materiis panis et piscis sed de manna caelesti, nec quinque circiter sed sexcenta milia hominum protelavit. [4] Adeo autem ea fuit maiestas ut et pabuli exiguitatem non tantum sufficere, veram etiam exuberare de pristino voluerit exemplo. Sic enim et in tempore famis sub Helia viduae Sareptensi modica et suprema alimenta ex prophetae benedictione per totum famis tempus redundaverant. Habes tertiam Basiliarum. [5] Si et quartam resolves, invenies totum hunc ordinem Christi

circa illum dei hominem qui oblatos sibi decem hordeaceos panes cum populo distribui iussisset, et minister eius proinde comparata multitudine et pabuli mediocritate respondisset, Quid ego hoc dem in conspectu centum hominum? Da, inquit, et manducabunt, quoniam haec dicit dominus, Manducabunt et relinquent reliquias secundum dictum domini. O Christum et in novis veterem! [6] Haec itaque qui viderat Petrus et cum pristinis compararat, et non tantum retro facta, sed et in futurum iam tunc prophetantia recognoverat, interroganti domino quisnam illis videretur, cum pro omnibus responderet, Tu es Christus, non potest novum eum sensisse Christum, nisi quem noverat in scripturis, quem iam recensebat in factis. Hoc et ipse confirmat usque adhuc patiens, immo et silentium indicens. Si enim Petrus quidem non poterat alium eum confiteri quam creatoris, ille autem praecepit ne cui hoc dicerent, utique id noluit provulgari quod Petrus senserat. [7] Immo, inquis, quia non recte senserat, noluit mendacium disseminari. Sed aliam silentii causam edixit, quia oporteret filium hominis multa pati, et reprobari a presbyteris et scribis et sacerdotibus, et interfici, et post tertium diem resurgere. Quae cum praedicata sint et ipsa in Christum creatoris, sicut suis locis implebimus, sic quoque ipsum se ostendit esse in quem praedicabantur. [8] Certe et si non essent praedicata, eam causam indicti silentii protulit quae non Petri errorem demonstraret, obeundarum passionum necessitatem. Qui voluerit, inquit, animam suam salvam facere, perdet illam, et qui perdiderit eam propter me, salvam faciet eam. Certe filius hominis hanc sententiam emisit. Perspice igitur et tu cum rege Babylonio fornacem eius ardentem, et invenies illic tanquam filium hominis (nondum enim vere erat, nondum scilicet natus ex homine) iam tunc istos exitus constituentem. Salvas facit animas trium fratrum, qui eas pro deo perdere conspiraverant, Chaldaeorum vero perdidit, quas illi per idololatriam salvas facere maluerant. Quae est ista nova doctrina cuius vetera documenta sunt? [9] Quamquam et praedicationes martyriorum tam futurorum quam a deo mercedem relatorum decucurrerunt. Vide, inquit Esaias, quomodo perit iustus, et nemo excipit corde, et viri iusti auferuntur, et nemo considerat. Quando magis hoc fit quam in persecutione sanctorum eius? Utique non simplex, nec de naturae lege communis, sed illa insignis et pro fide militaris, in qua qui animam suam propter deum perdit, servat illam, ut et hic tamen iudicem cognoscas, qui malum animae lucrum perditione eius et bonum animae detrimentum salute eius remuneratur. [10] Sed et zeloten deum

mihi exhibet, malum malo reddentem: Qui confusus, inquit, mei fuerit, et ego confundar eius. Quando nec confusionis materia conveniat nisi meo Christo, cuius ordo magis pudendus, ut etiam haereticorum conviciis pateat, omnem nativitatis et educationis foeditatem et ipsius etiam carnis indignitatem quanta amaritudine possunt perorantibus. [11] Ceterum quomodo ille erit obnoxius confusionis qui eam non capit? non vulva licet virginis, tamen feminae, coagulatus, et si non semine, tamen ex lege substantiae corporalis, ex feminae humore, non caro habitus ante formam, non pecus dictus post figuram, non decem mensium cruciatu deliberatus, non subita dolorum concussione cum tanti temporis coeno per corporis cloacam effusus ad terram, nec statim lucem lacrimis auspicatus et primo retinaculi sui vulnere, nec mulso ablutus, nec sale ac melle medicatus, nec pannis iam sepulturae involucrum initiatus, nec exinde per immunditias inter sinus volutatus, molestus uberibus, diu infans, vix puer, tarde homo, sed de caelo expositus, semel grandis, semel totus, statim Christus, spiritus et virtus et deus tantum. Ceterum ut non verus, qui non videbatur, ita nec de crucis maledicto erubescendus, cuius carebat veritate, carens corpore. [12] Non poterat itaque dixisse, Qui mei confusus fuerit. Noster hoc debuit pronuntiasse, minoratus a patre modico citra angelos, vermis et non homo, ignominia hominis et nullificamen populi, quatenus ita voluit ut livore eius sanaremur, ut dedecore eius salus nostra constaret. Et merito se pro suo homine deposuit, pro imagine et similitudine sua, non aliena, ut quoniam homo non erubuerat lapidem et lignum adorans, eadem constantia non confusus de Christo, pro impudentia idololatriae satis deo faceret per impudentiam fidei. Quid horum Christo tuo competit, Marcion, ad meritum confusionis? Plane pudere te debet quod illum ipse finxisti.

22. [1] Nam et hoc vel maxime erubescere debuisti, quod illum cum Moyse et Helia in secessu montis conspici pateris, quorum destructor advenerat. Hoc scilicet intellegi voluit vox illa de caelo: Hic est filius meus dilectus, hunc audite! id est non Moysen iam et Heliam. Ergo sufficebat vox sola sine ostentatione Moysi et Heliae. Definiendo enim quem audirent quoscunque alios vetuisset audiri. [2] Aut numquid Esaia et Hieremiam ceterosque quos non ostendit permisit audiri, si vetuit quos ostendit? Nunc et si praesentia illorum fuit necessaria, non utique in colloquio ostenderentur, quod familiaritatis indicium est, nec in consortio claritatis, quod dignationis et gratiae exemplum est, sed in sordibus aliquibus, quod destructionis

argumentum est, immo in tenebris creatoris, quibus discutiendis erat missus, longe etiam discreti a claritate Christi, qui voces et litteras ipsas eorum ab evangelio suo erat separaturus. [3] Sicine alienos demonstrat illos, dum secum habet ? Sic relinquendos docet, quos sibi iungit? Sic destruit, quos de radiis suis exstruit? Quid faceret Christus ipsorum? Credo, secundum perversitatem tales eos revelasset quales Christus Marcionis debuisset, aut quoscunque alios secum quam prophetas suos. Sed quid tam Christus creatoris quam secum ostendere praedicatores suos? cum illis videri quibus in revelationibus erat visus? cum illis loqui qui eum fuerant locuti? cum eis gloriam suam communicare a quibus dominus gloriae nuncupabatur? cum principalibus suis, quorum alter populi informator aliquando, alter reformator quandoque, alter initiator veteris testamenti, alter consummator novi. [4] Igitur et Petrus merito contubernium Christi sui agnoscens individuitate eius suggerit consilium: Bonum est nos hic esse (bonum plane ubi Moyses scilicet et Helias), et faciamus hic tria tabernacula, unum tibi, et Moysi unum, et Heliae unum; sed nesciens quid diceret. Quomodo nesciens? Utrumne simplici errore, an ratione qua defendimus in causa novae prophetiae gratiae ecstasin, id est amentiam, convenire? [5] In spiritu enim homo constitutus, praesertim cum gloriam dei conspicit, vel cum per ipsum deus loquitur, necesse est excidat sensu, obumbratus scilicet virtute divina, de quo inter nos et psychicos quaestio est. Interim facile est amentiam Petri probare. Quomodo enim Moysen et Heliam cognovisset, nisi in spiritu (nec enim imagines eorum vel statuas populus habuisset, et similitudines lege prohibente) nisi quia in spiritu viderat? Et ita quod dixisset in spiritu non in sensu constitutus, scire non poterat. [6] Ceterum si sic nescit quasi errans, eo quod putaret illorum esse Christum, ergo iam constat et supra Petrum interrogatum a Christo quem se existimarent, ut de creatoris dixisse, Tu es Christus; quia si tunc alterius dei illum cognovisset, hic quoque non errasset. Quodsi ideo et hic erravit quia et supra, ergo certus es in illum diem quoque nullam novam divinitatem a Christo revelatam, et usque adhuc non errasse Petrum, Christo usque adhuc nihil eiusmodi revelante, et tamdiu non alterius deputandum Christum quam creatoris, cuius omnem et hic ordinem expressit. [7] Tres de discentibus arbitros futurae visionis et vocis assumit. Et hoc creatoris est. In tribus, inquit, testibus stabit omne verbum. In montem secedit. Agnosco formam loci. Nam et pristinum populum apud montem et visione et voce sua creator initiat. Oportebat in eo

suggestu consignari novum testamentum in quo conscriptum vetus fuerat, sub eodem etiam ambitu nubis, quam nemo dubitabit de aere creatoris conglobatam: nisi et nubes suas illo deduxerat, quia et ipse per caelum creatoris viam ruperat; aut proinde et nubilo creatoris precario usus est. [8] Itaque nec nunc muta nubes fuit, sed vox solita de caelo, et patris novum testimonium super filio, ut qui in primo psalmo: Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te. De quo et per Esaïam: Quis deum metuens audiat vocem filii eius? [9] Itaque iam repraesentans eum, Hic est filius meus, utique subauditur, Quem repromisi. Si enim repromisit aliquando, et postea dicit, Hic est, eius est exhibentis voce uti in demonstratione promissi qui aliquando promisit, non eius cui possit responderi, Ipse enim tu quis es qui dicas, Hic est filius meus, de quo non magis praemisisti quam te ipsum quod prius eras revelasti? [10] Hunc igitur audite quem ab initio edixerat audiendum in nomine prophetae, quoniam et propheta existimari habebat a populo. Prophetam, inquit Moyses, suscitabit vobis deus ex filiis vestris, secundum carnalem scilicet censem, tanquam me audietis illum: omnis autem qui illum non audierit, exterminabitur anima eius de populo suo. Sic et Esaïas: Quis in vobis metuens <deum>? Exaudiat vocem filii eius. Quam et ipse pater commendaturus erat. Sistens enim, inquit, verba filii sui, dicendo scilicet, Hic est filius meus dilectus, hunc audite. [11] Itaque et si facta translatio sit auditionis a Moyse et Helia in Christum, sed non ut ab alio deo, nec ad alium Christum, sed a creatore in Christum eius, secundum decessionem veteris et successionem novi testamenti. Non legatus, inquit Esaïas, nec nuntius, sed ipse deus salvos eos faciet, ipse iam praedicans et implens legem et prophetas. [12] Tradidit igitur pater filio discipulos novos, ostensis prius cum illo Moyse et Helia in claritatis praerogativa, atque ita dimissis, quasi iam et officio et honore dispunctis, ut hoc ipsum confirmaretur propter Marcionem, societatem esse etiam claritatis Christi cum Moyse et Helia. Totum autem habitum visionis istius habemus etiam apud Abacuc, ubi spiritus ex persona interdum apostolorum: Domine, audiavi auditum tuum, et extimui. Quem magis quam vocis caelestis illius: Hic est filius meus dilectus, hunc audite? Consideravi opera tua, et excidi mente. Quando magis quam cum visa claritate eius nesciit quid diceret Petrus? In medio duorum animalium cognosceris, Moysi et Heliae. De quibus et Zacharias vidit in figura duarum olearum et duorum ramulorum oleae. [13] Nam hi sunt de quibus dictum est illi, Duo filii opimitatis adsistunt domino

universae terrae. Et rursum idem Abacuc: Operuit caelos virtus, utique nubilo illo, et splendor eius ut lux erit, utique qua etiam vestitus eius refulsit. Et si commemoremur promissionis Moysi, hic invenietur expuncta. [14] Cum enim desiderasset conspectum domini Moyses dicens, Si ergo inveni gratiam coram te, manifesta te mihi, ut cognoscenter videam te, eum conspectum desiderans in quo hominem esset acturus, quod propheta sciebat. Ceterum, Dei faciem, iam audierat, nemo homo videbit et vivet. Et hunc, inquit, sermonem quem dixisti, faciam tibi. [15] Et rursus Moyses: Ostende mihi gloriam tuam. Et dominus similiter de futuro: Ego praecedam in gloria mea, et reliqua. Et in novissimo: Et tunc videbis posteriora mea. Non lumbos, nec suras, sed quam desideraverat gloriam in posterioribus temporibus revelandam. In qua facie ad faciem visibilem se ei repromiserat, etiam ad Aaronem dicens, Et si fuerit propheta in vobis, in visione cognoscat illi, et in visione loquar ad eum, non quomodo ad Moysen: os ad os loquar ad eum in specie (utique hominis, quam erat gestaturus), non in aenigmate. [16] Nam et si Marcion noluit eum colloquentem domino ostensum, sed stantem, tamen et stans os ad os stabat et faciem ad faciem cum illo, inquit, non extra illum, in gloriam ipsius, nedum in conspectu. De qua gloria non aliter illustratus discessit a Christo quam solebat a creatore, proinde tunc oculos percutere filiorum Israelis quemadmodum et nunc excaecati Marcionis, qui hoc quoque argumentum adversus se facere non vidit.

23. [1] Suscipio in me personam Israelis. Stet Christus Marcionis et exclamet: O genitura incredula, quousque ero apud vos? quousque sustinebo vos? Statim a me audire debebit: Quisquis es, *e0perxo&mene*, prius ede quis sis, et a quo venias, et quod in nobis tibi ius. Usque adhuc creatoris est totum apud te. Plane si ab illo venis et illi agis, admittimus increpationem. [2] Si vero ab alio, dicas velim quid nobis unquam de tuo commisisti quod credere debuissimus, ut exprobres incredulitatem, qui nec te ipsum aliquando nobis revelasti? Quam olim apud nos agere coepisti, ut tempus queraris? In quibus nos sustinuisti, ut patientiam imputes? Asinus de Aesopi puteo modo venis, et iam exclamas. Suscipio adhuc et personam discipulorum, in quos insiliit. O natio incredula, quamdiu ero vobiscum, quamdiu vos sustinebo? Hanc eruptionem eius utique hoc modo iustissime reprecuterem: Quisquis es, *e0perxo&mene*, prius ede qui sis, a quo venias, quod tibi ius sit in nobis. [3] Usque adhuc, puto, creatoris es, et ideo secuti sumus recognoscentes omnia

illius in te. Quodsi ab illo venis, admittimus increpationem. Si vero alii agis, oro te dicas, quid nobis aliquando commisisti duntaxat de tuo quod iam credidisse debuissimus, ut exprobres incredulitatem, qui nec auctorem tuum usque adhuc edis? Quam olim autem apud nos agere coepisti, ut tempus quoque opponas? In quibus autem nos sustinuisti, ut et patientiam iactes? Asinus de Aesopi puteo modo huc apparuit, et iam exclamat. [4] Quis non ita iniustitiam increpationis retudisset, si eius eum credidisset qui nondum queri debuisset? Nisi quod nec ille eos insilisset, si non olim apud illos in lege, in prophetis, in virtutibus et beneficiis deversatus incredulos semper fuisset expertus. Sed ecce Christus diligit parvulos, tales esse docens debere qui semper maiores velint esse. Creator autem ursos pueris immisit, ulciscens Helisaeum propheten convicia ab eis passum. [5] Satis impudens antithesis, cum tam diversa committit, parvulos et pueros, innocentem adhuc aetatem, et iudicii iam capacem, quae conviciari poterat, ne dicam blasphemare. Qua ergo iustus deus, nec pueris impiis pepercit, exigens maiori aetati honorem, et utique magis a minore; qua vero bonus, adeo diligit parvulos, ut apud Aegyptum benefecerit obstetricibus, protegentibus partus Hebraeos periclitantes edicto Pharaonis. [6] Ita et haec affectio Christi cum creatore est. Iam nunc deus Marcionis, qui connubium adversatur, quomodo videri potest parvulorum dilector, quorum tota causa connubium est? Qui semen odit, fructum quoque exsecretur necesse est. Nae ille saevior habendus Aegyptio rege. [7] Nam Pharaon educari non sinebat infantes, iste nec nasci, auferens vitam illis etiam decem mensium in utero. At enim quanto credibilius ut eius deputetur affectio in parvulos qui benedicendo connubium in propagationem generis humani ipsum quoque fructum connubii benedicendo promisit, qui de infantia primus est? [8] Repraesentat creator ignium plagam Heliam postulante in illo pseudopropheta. Agnosco iudicis severitatem: e contrario Christi <lenitatem, increpantis> eandem animadversionem destinantes discipulos super illum viculum Samaritarum. Agnoscat et haereticus ab eodem severissimo iudice promitti hanc Christi lenitatem. Non contendet, inquit, nec vox eius in platea audietur: harundinem quassatam non comminuet, et linum fumigans non extinguet. [9] Talis utique multo magis homines non erat crematurus. Nam et tunc ad Heliam, Non in igni, inquit, dominus sed in spiritu miti. At enim humanissimus deus cur recusat eum qui se tam individuum illi comitem offert? Si quia superbe vel ex hypocrisi dixerat,

Sequar te quocunque ieris, ergo aut superbiam aut hypocrisin recusandam iudicando iudicem gessit. [10] Et utique damnavit quem recusavit, non consecuturum scilicet salutem. Nam sicut ad salutem vocat quem non recusat, vel etiam quem ultro vocat, ita in perditionem damnat quem recusat. Illi autem causato patris sepulturam cum respondet, Sine mortui sepeliant mortuos suos, tu autem vade et annuntia regnum dei, utramque legem creatoris manifeste confirmavit, et de sacerdotio in Levitico prohibentem sacerdotes supremis etiam parentum interesse (Super omnem, inquit, animam defunctam sacerdos non introibit, et super patrem suum non contaminabitur), et de devotione in Arithmis; nam et illic qui se deo voverit inter cetera iubet ne super ullam animam introeat defunctam, ne super patris quidem aut matris aut fratris. [11] Puto autem et devotioni et sacerdotio destinabat quem praedicando regno dei imbuerat. Aut si non ita est, satis impius pronuntiandus qui nulla ratione legis intercedente sepulturas parentum despici a filiis imperabat. Cum vero et tertium illum prius suis valedicere parantem prohibet retro respectare, sectam creatoris exequitur. Hoc et ille noluerat fecisse quos ex Sodomis liberarat.

24. [1] Adlegit et alios septuaginta apostolos super duodecim. Quo enim duodecim secundum totidem fontes in Elim, si non et septuaginta secundum totidem arbusta palmarum? Antitheses plurimum causarum diversitas fecit, non potestatum. Sed qui diversitatem causarum non respexit, facile eam potestatum existimavit. Profectionem filiorum Israelis creator etiam illis spoliis aureorum et argenteorum vasculorum et vestium praeter oneribus consparsionum offarcinatam educit ex Aegypto, Christus autem nec virgam discipulis in viam ferre praescripsit. [2] Illi enim in solitudinem promovebantur, hi autem in civitates mittebantur. Considera causarum offerentiam, et intelleges unam et eandem potestatem quae secundum penuriam et copiam expeditionem suorum disposuit, proinde per civitates abundaturam circumcidens sicut et egituram per solitudinem struxerat. Etiam calciamenta portare vetuit illos. Ipse enim erat sub quo nec in solitudine per tot annos populus calciamenta detriverat. Neminem, inquit, per viam salutaveritis. [3] O Christum destructorem prophetarum, a quibus hoc quoque accepit! Helisaeus, cum Giezin puerum suum mitteret in viam ad filium Sunamitidis resuscitandum de morte, puto sic ei praecepit: Accinge lumbos tuos et sume bacillum meum in manum et vade: quemcunque conveneris in via, ne benedixeris eum, id est ne salutaveris, et qui te benedixerit, ne

responderis ei, id est ne resalutaveris. Quae est enim inter vias benedictio nisi ex occurso mutua salutatio? [4] Sic et dominus, in quam introissent domum, pacem ei dicere. Exemplo eodem est. Mandavit enim et hoc Helisaeus, cum introisset ad Sunamitin, diceret ei, Pax viro tuo, pax filio tuo. Haec erunt potius nostrae antitheses, quae comparant, non quae separant Christum. Dignus est autem operarius mercede sua, quis magis pronuntiarit quam deus iudex? quia et hoc ipsum iudicare est, dignum facere mercede operarium. Nulla retributio non ex iudicatione constituit. Iam nunc et hic lex consignatur creatoris, etiam boves operantes dignos operarios mercede iudicantis. Bovi, inquit, terenti os non colligabis. [5] Quis tam praestans in homines nisi qui et in pecudes? Quodsi et Christus dignos pronuntiat mercede operarios, excusavit praeceptum illud creatoris de vasis aureis et argenteis Aegyptiorum auferendis. Qui enim villas et urbes operati fuerant Aegyptiis, digni utique operarii mercede, non ad fraudem sunt instructi sed ad mercedis compensationem, quam alias a dominatoribus exigere non poterant. Regnum dei neque novum neque inauditum sic quoque confirmavit, dum illud iubet annuntiari appropinquasse. Quod enim longe fuerit aliquando, id potest dici appropinquasse. [6] Si autem nunquam retro fuisset antequam appropinquasset, nec dici potuisset appropinquasse quod nunquam longe fuisset. Omne quod novum et incognitum est, subitum est. Omne quod subitum est cum annuntiatur, tunc primum speciem inducens tunc primum accipit tempus. Ceterum nec retro tardasse poterit quamdiu non annuntiabatur, nec ex quo annuntiari coeperit appropinquasse. [7] Etiam adicit, ut eis qui illos non recepissent dicerent, Scitote tamen appropinquasse regnum dei. Si hoc non et comminationis gratia mandat, vanissime mandat. Quid enim ad illos si appropinquaret regnum, nisi quia cum iudicio appropinquat, in salutem scilicet eorum qui annuntiationem eius recepissent? Quomodo, si comminatio non potest sine executione, habes deum executorem in comminatore et iudicem in utroque. Sic et pulverem iubet excuti in illos in testificationem, et haerentia terrae eorum, nedum communicationis reliquae. [8] Si enim inhumanitas et inhospitalitas nullam ab eo relaturae sunt ultionem, cui rei praemittit testificationem, minas utique portendentem? Porro cum etiam creator in Deuteronomio Ammonitas et Moabitas prohibeat recipi in ecclesiam, quod populum Aegypto profectum inhumane et inhospitaliter copiis defraudassent, ergo in Christum inde manasse constabit

communicationis interdictum ubi habet formam, Qui vos spernit, me spernit. Hoc et Moysi creator: Non te contempserunt, sed me. Tam enim apostolus Moyses quam et apostoli prophetae. [9] Aequanda erit auctoritas utriusque officii, ab uno eodemque domino apostolorum et prophetarum. Quis nunc dabit potestatem calcandi super colubros et scorpios? Utrumne omnium animalium dominus, an nec unius lacertae deus? Sed bene quod creator hanc potestatem etiam parvulis pueris per Esaiam repromisit, conicere manum in cavernam aspidum et in cubile natorum aspidum, nec omnino laedi. [10] Et utique scimus (salva simplicitate scripturae, nam nec et ipsae bestiae nocere potuerunt ubi fides fuerit) figurate scorpios et colubros portendi spiritualia malitiae, quorum ipse quoque princeps in serpentis et draconis et eminentissimae cuiusque bestiae nomine deputetur penes creatorem, largitum hanc potestatem priori Christo suo, sicut nonagesimus psalmus ad eum: Super aspidem et basiliscum incedes, et conculcabis leonem et draconem. Sicut etiam Esaias: Illa die superducat dominus deus machaeram sanctam, magnam et fortem, Christum scilicet suum, in draconem illum, colubrum magnum et tortuosum, et interficiet eum illa die. [11] Sed cum idem, Via munda et via sancta vocabitur, et non transibit illic immundum, nec erit illic via immunda, qui autem dispersi erunt vadent in ea et non errabunt, et non erit iam illic leo, nec ex bestiis pessimis quicquam ascendet in eam nec invenietur illic, cum via fidem demonstret per quam ad deum perveniemus, iam tunc eidem viae, id est fidei, hanc evacuationem et subiectionem bestiarum pollicetur. [12] Denique et tempora promissionis congruere invenias, si quae antecedunt legas: Invalescite manus dimissae et genua resoluta: tunc patefient oculi caecorum, et aures exaudient surdorum: tunc saliet claudus ut cervus, et clara erit lingua mutorum. Igitur ubi medicinarum edidit beneficia, tunc et scorpios et serpentes sanctis suis subdidit, ille scilicet qui hanc potestatem ut et aliis praestaret prior acceperat a patre, et secundum ordinem praedicationis exhibuit.

25. [1] Quis dominus caeli invocabitur qui non prius factor ostenditur? Gratias enim, inquit, ago, et confiteor, domine caeli, quod ea quae erant abscondita sapientibus et prudentibus, revelaveris parvulis. Quae ista? et cuius? et a quo abscondita? et a quo revelata? Si a deo Marcionis abscondita et revelata, qui omnino nihil praemiserat in quo aliquid absconditum esse potuisset, non prophetias, non parabolas, non visiones, non ulla rerum aut

verborum aut nominum argumenta per allegorias et figuras vel aenigmatum nebulas obumbrata, [2] sed ipsam magnitudinem sui absconderat, quam cum maxime per Christum revelabat, satis inique. Quid enim deliquerant sapientes et prudentes, ut absconderetur illis deus, ad quem cognoscendum non suffecerat sapientia atque prudentia illoruxn? Nulla via data ab ipso per aliquam operum praedicationem, vel vestigia per quae sapientes atque prudentes deducerentur. Quamquam et si in aliquo deliquissent erga deum ignotum, pone nunc notum, non tamen zeloten eum experiri debuissent, qui dissimilis creatoris inducitur. [3] Igitur si nec materias praemiserat in quibus aliquid occultasset, nec reos habuerat a quibus occultasset, nec debuerat occultasse etiam si habuisset, iam nec revelator ipse erit, qui absconditor non fuit, ita nec dominus caeli nec pater Christi; sed ille in quem competunt omnia. Nam et abscondit praemisso obscuritatis propheticae instrumento, cuius intellectum fides mereretur (Nisi enim credideritis, non intellegetis) et reos habuit sapientes atque prudentes ex ipsis operibus tot ac tantis intellegibilem deum non requirentes vel perperam in illum philosophantes et ingenia haereticis subministrantes, et novissime zelotes est. [4] Denique olim hoc per Esaïam contionabatur quod Christus gratulatur: Perdam sapientiam sapientium et prudentiam prudentium celabo. Sicut et alibi tam abscondisse quam revelaturum esse significat: Et dabo illis thesauros absconditos, invisibiles aperiam illis. Et rursus: Quis alius disiciet signa ventriloquorum et divinationes ex corde, avertens in posteriora sapientes et cogitationes eorum infatuans? [5] Si autem et Christum suum illuminatorem nationum designavit: Posui te in lucem nationum, quas interpretamur in nomine parvulorum, sensu scilicet retro parvas et imprudentia infantes, iam vero et humilitate fidei pusillas, facilius utique credemus eundem etiam parvulis revelasse per Christum qui et retro absconderit et per Christum revelationem repromiserit. [6] Aut si deus Marcionis ea quae a creatore abscondita retro fuerant patefecit, ergo iam creatori negotium gessit, res eius edisserens. Sed in destructionem, inquis, uti traduceret eas. Ergo illis traduxisse debuerat quibus creator abscondidit, sapientibus et prudentibus. Si enim benignitate faciebat, illis erat agnitio praestanda quibus fuerat negata, non parvulis quibus nihil creator inviderat. [7] Et tamen usque adhuc, puto, probamus exstructionem potius legis et prophetarum inveniri in Christo quam destructionem. Omnia sibi tradita dicit a patre. Credas, si creatoris est Christus, cuius omnia: quia non minori se

tradidit omnia filio creator quae pereum condidit, per sermonem suum scilicet. Ceterum si *eŋperxo&menoj* ille, quae sunt omnia quae illi a patre sunt tradita? Quae sunt creatoris? [8] Ergo bona sunt quae pater filio tradidit, et bonus iam creator cuius omnia bona sunt, et ille iam non bonus qui in aliena bona invasit, ut filio traderet. Docens alieno abstinere, certe mendicissimus qui nec filium unde ditaret habuit nisi de alieno. Aut si nihil de creatoris traditum est ei a patre, ecquomodo hominem creatoris sibi vindicat? Aut si solus homo ei traditus est, omnia homo non est. Scriptura autem omnium edicit traditionem filio factam. [9] Sed et si omnia ad hominum genera, id est ad omnes nationes, interpretaberis, et has filio tradidisse creatoris est: Dabo tibi gentes haereditatem tuam et possessionem tuam terminos terrae. Aut si habet et ipse aliqua sua quae omnia filio traderet pariter cum homine creatoris, ostende unum aliquod ex omnibus in fidem, in exemplum, ne tam merito non credam eius esse omnia cuius nihil video, quam merito credam etiam quae non video eius esse cuius sunt universa quae video. [10] Sed, Nemo scit qui sit pater, nisi filius, et qui sit filius, nisi pater, et cuicumque filius revelaverit. Atque ita Christus ignotum deum praedicavit. Hinc enim et alii haeretici fulciuntur, opposcentes creatorem omnibus notum, et Israeli secundum familiaritatem et nationibus secundum naturam. Et quomodo ipse testatur nec Israeli cognitum se? Israel autem me non cognovit, et populus me non intellexit; nec nationibus? [11] Ecce enim nec de nationibus, inquit, nemo. Propter quod et illas stillicidium situlae deputavit, et Sionem tanquam speculam in vinea dereliquit. Vide ergo an confirmatio sit prophetae vocis exprobrantis ignorantiam in deum humanam, quae fuerit ad filium usque. Nam et ideo subtexuit ab eo cognosci patrem cui filius revelaverit, quoniam ipse erat qui positus a patre illuminatio nationum annuntiabatur, utique de deo illuminandarum, etiam Israelis, utique per agnitionem dei plenior. [12] Ita non proficient argumenta in fidem dei alterius quae creatori competere possunt, quia quae non competunt creatori, haec poterunt in fidem proficere dei alterius. Si et sequentia inspicias, Beati oculi qui vident quae videtis: dico enim vobis, quia prophetae non viderunt quae vos videtis, de superiori sensu descendunt, adeo neminem ut decuit deum cognovisse, quando nec prophetae vidissent quae sub Christo videbantur. [13] Nam si non meus esset Christus, nec prophetarum hoc in loco mentionem collocasset. Quid enim mirum si non viderant res dei ignoti et tanto post aevo revelati? Quae autem fuisset felicitas

eorum qui tunc videbant quae alii merito vidisse non poterant, si non erant consecuti repraesentationem eorum quae nunquam praedicarant, nisi quoniam qui poterant vidisse aequae dei sui res, quas etiam praedicaverant, non tamen viderant? Haec autem felicitas erit aliorum qui videbant quae alii tantum praedicaverant. [14] Denique ostendemus, et iam ostendimus, ea visa in Christo quae fuerant praedicata, abscondita tamen et ab ipsis prophetis, ut absconderentur et a sapientibus et a prudentibus saeculi. In evangelio veritatis legis doctor dominum aggressus, Quid faciens, inquit, vitam aeternam consequar? In haeretico vita solummodo posita est, sine aeternae mentione, ut doctor de ea vita videatur consuluisse quae in lege promittitur a creatore longaeva, et dominus ideo illi secundum legem responsum dedisse, Diliges dominum deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua et totis viribus tuis, quoniam de lege vitae sciscitabatur. [15] Sed sciebat utique legis doctor quo pacto vitam legalem consequi posset, ut non de ea interrogasset cuius regulas etiam docebat. Sed quia et mortui iam suscitabantur a Christo, exsuscitatus ad spem aeternae vitae per exempla recidivae, ne plus aliquid observationis exigeret sublimior spes, idcirco consuluit de aeternae vitae consecutione. Itaque dominus, ut nec ipse alius, nec aliud novum inferens praeceptum quam quod principaliter ad omnem salutem et utramque vitam facit, ipsum caput ei legis opponit, omnifariam diligendi dominum deum suum. [16] Denique si de vita longaeva et ille consuluit et Christus respondit, quae sit penes creatorem, non de aeterna quae sit penes Marcionis deum, quomodo consequitur aeternam? Non utique eodem modo quo et longaevam. Pro differentia enim mercedum operarum quoque credenda distantia est. Ergo non ex dilectione dei tui consequetur vitam aeternam Marcionites, sicut longaevam dilector creatoris. [17] Sed quale est ut non magis diligendus sit qui aeternam pollicetur, si diligendus est qui longaevam repromittit? Ergo eiusdem erit utraque vita, cum eadem est utrique vitae captanda disciplina. Quod creator docet, id et Christo opus est diligi ut praestet, interveniente et hic illa praescriptione qua facilius apud eum debeant credi maiora apud quem minora praecedunt quam apud eum cui nullam de maioribus fidem aliqua minora praeparaverunt. [18] Viderit nunc si aeternam nostri addiderunt. Hoc mihi satis est, quod Christus ille aeternae, non longae, vitae invitator de longaeva consultus quam destruebat, non ad aeternam potius exhortatus est hominem quam inferebat. Quid, oro te, fecisset Christus creatoris si qui

creatori diligendo aedificaverat hominem non erat creatoris? Credo, negasset diligendum creatorem.

26. [1] Cum in quodam loco orasset ad patrem illum superiorem, satis impudentibus et temerariis oculis suspiciens ad caelum creatoris, a quo tam aspero et saevo et grandine et fulmine potuisset elidi, sicut et Hierusalem suffigi ab eo potuit, aggressus eum ex discipulis quidam, Domine, inquit, doce nos orare, sicut et Ioannes discipulos suos docuit, scilicet quia alium deum aliter existimaret orandum. Hoc qui praesumpserit, prius est probet alium deum editum a Christo. [2] Nemo enim ante voluisset orare nosse quam didicisset quem oraret. Igitur si didicerat, proba. Si nusquam usque adhuc probas, scito illum in creatorem formam orationis postulasse, in quem etiam discipuli Ioannis orabant. Sed quia et Ioannes novum aliquem ordinem orationis induxerat, ideo hoc et a Christo discipulus eius expostulandum non immerito praesumpserat, ut et illi de proprio magistri sui instituto non alium, sed aliter, deum orarent. [3] Proinde nec Christus ante orationis notitiam discipulo contulisset quam dei ipsius. Ita et ipse in eum docuit orationem quem discipulus usque adhuc noverat. Denique sensus orationis quem deum sapiant recognosce. Cui dicam, Pater? ei qui me omnino non fecit, a quo originem non traho, an ei qui me faciundo et instruendo generavit? [4] A quo spiritum sanctum postulem? a quo nec mundialis spiritus praestatur, an a quo fiunt etiam angeli spiritus, cuius et in primordio spiritus super aquas ferebatur? Eius regnum optabo venire quem nunquam regem gloriae audiui, an in cuius manu etiam corda sunt regum? Quis dabit mihi panem cotidianum? qui nec milium mihi condit, an qui etiam de caelo panem angelorum cotidianum populo suo praestitit? Quis mihi delicta dimittet? qui ea non iudicando non retinet, an qui, si non dimiserit, retinebit ut iudicet? [5] Quis non sinet nos deduci in temptationem? quem poterit temptator non timere, an qui a primordio temptatorem angelum praedamnavit? Hoc ordine qui alii deo supplicat et non creatori, non orat illum sed infamat. Proinde a quo petam ut accipiam? apud quem quaeram ut inveniam? ad quem pulsabo ut aperiatur mihi? quis habet petenti dare, nisi cuius omnia, cuius sum etiam ipse qui peto? Quid autem perdidit apud deum illum, ut apud eum quaeram et inveniam? [6] Si sapientiam atque prudentiam, has creator abscondit: apud eum ergo quaeram. Si salutem et vitam, et has apud creatorem. Nihil alibi quaeretur ut inveniatur quam ubi latuit ut appareat. Sic nec aliorum pulsabo

quam unde sum fugatus. Denique si accipere et invenire et admitti laboris et instantiae fructus est illi qui petiit et quaesivit et pulsavit, intellege haec a creatore mandari et repromitti. [7] Ille enim deus optimus ultro veniens ad praestandum non suo homini, nullum illi laborem nec instantiam indixisset: iam enim non optimus, si non ultro daret non petenti, et invenire praestaret non quaerenti, et aperiret non pulsanti. Creator autem potuit indicare ista per Christum, ut, quia delinquendo homo offenderat deum suum, laboraret, et instantia petendi acciperet, et quaerendi inveniret, et pulsandi introiret. [8] Sic et praemissa similitudo nocturnum panis petito rem amicum facit non alienum, et ad amicum pulsantem, non ad ignotum. Amicus autem, etiam si offendit, magis creatoris est homo quam dei Marcionis. Itaque ad eum pulsatur ad quem ius illi erat, cuius ianuam norat, quem habere panes sciebat, cubantem iam cum infantibus quos nasci voluerat. Etiam quod sero pulsatur, creatoris est tempus. Illius et serum cuius saeculum et saeculi occasus. Ad deum autem novum nemo sero pulsasset, tantum quod lucescentem. Creator est qui et ianuam olim nationibus clausit, quae olim pulsabatur a Iudaeis; [9] is et exsurgit et dat, etsi iam non quasi amico, non tamen quasi extraneo homini, sed quasi molesto, inquit. Molestum autem tam cito deus recens neminem pati potuit. Agnosce igitur et patrem quem etiam appellas creatorem. Ipse est qui scit quid filii postulent. Nam et panem petentibus de caelo dedit manna, et carnem desiderantibus emisit ortygometram; non serpentem pro pisce, nec scorpionem pro ovo. Illius autem erit non dare malum pro bono cuius utrumque sit. Ceterum deus Marcionis non habens scorpionem non poterat id se dicere non daturum quod non habebat, sed ille qui habens et scorpionem non dat. [10] Itaque et spiritum sanctum is dabit apud quem est et non sanctus. Cum surdum daemonium expulisset (ut et in ista specie curationis Esiae occurrisset), in Beelzebub dictus eicere daemonia, Si ego, inquit, in Beelzebub eicio daemonia, filii vestri in quo eiciunt? hac voce quid magis portendit quam in eo eicere se in quo et filii eorum? In virtute scilicet creatoris. Nam si putas sic accipiendum: [11] Si ego in Beelzebub filii vestri in quo, quasi illos suggillaret in Beelzebub eicientes, resistet tibi prior sensus, non posse satanam dividi adversus semetipsum. Adeo nec illi in Beelzebub eiciebant, sed, ut diximus, in virtute creatoris, quam ut intellegi faceret, subiungit: Quodsi ego in digito dei expello daemonia, ergone appropinquavit in vos regnum dei? Apud Pharaonem enim venefici illi adhibiti adversus Moysen virtutem creatoris

digitum dei appellaverunt. Digitus dei est hoc quod significaret etiam modicum, validissimum tamen. Hoc et Christus ostendens, commemorator, non obliterator, vetustatum scilicet suarum, virtutem dei digitum dei dixit, non alterius intellegendum quam eius apud quem hoc erat appellata. Ergo et regnum ipsius appropinquaverat cuius et virtus digitus vocabatur. [12] Merito igitur applicuit ad parabolam fortis illius armati, quem validior alius oppressit, principem daemoniorum, quem Beelzebub et satanam supra dixerat, significans digito dei oppressum, non creatorem ab alio deo subactum. Ceterum quomodo adhuc staret regnum eius in suis terminis et legibus et officiis quem, licet integro mundo, vel sic potuisset videri superasse validior ille deus Marcionis, si non secundum legem eius etiam Marcionitae morerentur, in terram defluendo, saepe et a scorpio docti non esse superatum creatorem? [13] Exclamat mulier de turba beatum utrum qui illum portasset, et ubera quae illum educassent. Et dominus, Immo beati qui sermonem dei audiunt et faciunt: quia et retro sic reiecerat matrem aut fratres, dum auditores et obsecutores dei praefert. Nam nec hic mater assistebat illi. Adeo nec retro negaverat natum. Cum id rursus audit, rursus proinde felicitatem ab utero et uberibus matris suae transtulit in discipulos, a qua non transtulisset si eam non haberet.

27. [1] Alibi malo purgare quae reprehendunt Marcionitae in creatore. Hic enim sufficit si ea in Christo reperiuntur. Ecce inaequalis et ipse, inconstans, levis, aliud docens aliud faciens, iubet omni petenti dare, et ipse signum petentibus non dat. Tanto aevo lucem suam ab hominibus abscondit, et negat lucernam abstrudendam, sed confirmat super candelabrum proponendam, ut omnibus luceat. Vetat remaledicere, multo magis utique maledicere, et Vae ingerit pharisaeis et doctoribus legis. Quis est tam similis dei mei Christus nisi ipsius? [2] Saepe iam fiximus nullo modo potuisse illum destructorem legis denotari si alium deum promulgasset. Ideo et tunc phariseus, qui illum vocarat ad prandium, retractabat penes se cur non prius tinctus esset quam recubisset, secundum legem, qui deum legis circumferret. Iesus autem etiam interpretatus est ei legem, dicens illos calicis et catini exteriora emundare, interiora autem ipsorum plena esse rapina et iniquitate, ut significaret vasculorum munditias hominum esse intellegendas apud deum; quia et phariseus de homine, non de calice illoto, apud se tractaverat. Ideo exteriora, inquit, calicis lavatis, id est carnem, interiora autem vestra non emundatis, id

est animam; adiciens, Nonne qui exteriora fecit, id est carnem, et interiora fecit, id est animam? [3] quo dicto aperte demonstravit ad eundem deum pertinere munditias hominis exterioris et interioris cuius uterque sit, praeponentis misericordiam non modo lavacro hominis, sed etiam sacrificio. Subiungit enim, Date quae habetis eleemosynam, et omnia munda erunt vobis. Quodsi et alius potest deus misericordiam mandasse, non tamen ante quam cognitus. Porro et hic apparet illos non de deo increpitos, sed de eius disciplina a quo illis et figurate vasculorum munditiae et manifeste misericordiarum opera imperabantur. [4] Sic et holuscula decimantes, vocationem autem et dilectionem dei praetereuntes obiurgat. Cuius dei vocationem et dilectionem, nisi cuius et rutam et mentam ex forma legis de decimis offerebant? Totum enim exprobrationis hoc erat quod modica curabant, ei utique cui maiora non exhibebant, dicenti, Diliges dominum deum tuum, ex toto corde tuo, et ex tota anima tua, et ex totis viribus tuis, qui te vocavit ex Aegypto. Ceterum nec tempus admisisset ut Christus tam praecoquam, immo tam acerbam adhuc dilectionem expostularet novo et recenti deo, ne dixerim nondum palam facto. [5] Primatum quoque captantes locorum et honorem salutationum cum incusat, sectam creatoris administrat, eiusmodi principes Sodomorum archontas appellantis, prohibentis etiam confidere in praepositos, immo et in totum miserrimum hominem pronuntiantis qui spem habet in homine. Quodsi propterea quis affectat principatum, ut de officiis aliorum gloriatur, qui officia vetuit eiusmodi sperandi et confidendi in hominem, idem et affectatores principatum increpuit. [6] Invehitur et in doctores ipsos legis, quod onerarent alios importabilibus oneribus, quae ipsi ne digito quidem aggredi auderent, non legis onera suggillans quasi detestator eius. Quomodo enim detestator, qui cum maxime potiora legis praetereuntes incusabat, eleemosynam et vocationem et dilectionem dei, ne haec quidem gravia, nedum decimas rutarum et munditias catinorum? Ceterum excusandos potius censuisset si importabilia portare non possent. Sed quae onera taxat? [7] quae ipsi de suo exaggerabant, docentes praecepta doctrinas hominum, commodorum suorum causa iungentes domum ad domum, ut quae proximi sunt auferrent, clamantes populum, amantes munera, sectantes retributionem, diripientes iudicata pauperam, uti esset illis vidua in rapinam et pupillus in praedam. De quibus idem Esaias: Vae qui valent in Hierusalem; et rursus: Qui vos postulant,

dominantur vestri. Qui magis quam legis doctores? Hi si et Christo displicebant, ut sui displicebant. Alienae enim legis doctores non omnino pulsasset. [8] Cur autem Vae audiunt etiam quod aedificarent prophetis monimenta interemptis a patribus eorum, laude potius digni, qui ex isto opere pietatis testabantur se non consentire factis patrum, si non erat zelotes, qualem arguunt Marcionitae, delicta patrum de filiis exigentem usque in quartam nativitatem? [9] Quam vero clavem habebant legis doctores nisi interpretationem legis? ad cuius intellectum neque psi adibant, non credentes scilicet (Nisi enim credideritis, non intellegetis), neque alios admittebant, utique docentes praecepta potius et doctrinas hominum. Qui ergo nec ipsos introeuntes nec aliis aditum praestantes increpabat, obrectator habendus est legis an fautor? Si obrectator, placere debebant et praeclusores legis; si fautor, iam non et aemulus legis. [10] Sed haec omnia ad infuscandum creatorem ingerebat, ut saevum, erga quem delinquentes Vae habituri essent. Et quis saevum non potius timeret provocare deficiendo ab eo? Tanto magis ergo demerendum docebat quem timendum ingerebat. Sic oportebat Christum creatoris.

28. [1] Merito itaque non placebat illi hypocrisis pharisaeorum, labiis scilicet amantium deum, non corde. Cavete, inquit discipulis, a fermento pharisaeorum, quod est hypocrisis, non praedicatio creatoris. Odit contumaces patris filius, non vult suos tales existere in illum, non in alium, in quem hypocrisis fuisset admissa, cuius exemplum a discipulis caveretur. [2] Ita pharisaeorum prohibet exemplum. In eum prohibebat illud admitti in quem admittebant pharisaei. Igitur quoniam hypocrisim eorum taxarat, utique celantem occulta cordis et incredulitatis secreta superficialibus officiis obumbrantem, quae clavem agnitionis habens ne ipsa introiret nec alios sineret, ideo adicit, Nihil autem opertum, quod non patefiet, et nihil absconditum, quod non dinoscetur; ne quis existimet illum dei ignoti retro et occulti revelationem et adagnitionem intentare, cum subiciat etiam quae inter se mussitarent vel tractarent, scilicet super ipso dicentes, Hic non expellit daemonia nisi in Beelzebub, in apertum processura, et in ore hominum futura, ex evangelii promulgatione. [3] Dehinc conversus ad discipulos, Dico autem, inquit, vobis amicis, nolite terreri ab eis qui vos solummodo occidere possunt, nec post hoc ullam in vobis habent potestatem. Sed iis erit Esaias praedicens: Vide quomodo iustus aufertur, et nemo advrtit. Demonstrabo autem vobis

quem timeatis: Timete eumqui postquam occiderit, potestatem habet mittendi in gehennam; creatorem utique significans: Itaque dico vobis, hunc timeate. Et hoc in loco sufficeret mihi si quem timeri iubet offendi vetat, et quem offendi vetat demereri iubet, et qui haec mandat ipsius est cui timendo et non offendendo et demerendo procurat. [4] Sed habeo et de sequentibus sumere. Dico enim vobis, omnis qui confitebitur in me coram hominibus, confitebor in illo coram deo. Qui confitebuntur autem in Christo, occidi habebunt coram hominibus, nihil utique amplius passuri post occisionem ab illis. Hi ergo erunt quos supra praemonet ne timeant tantummodo occidi; ideo praemittens non timendam occisionem, ut subiungeret sustinendam confessionem: Et omnis qui negaverit me coram hominibus, denegabitur coram deo, ab eo utique qui illum confitentem confessurus fuisset. [5] Si enim confessorem confitebitur, ipse est qui et negatorem negabit. Porro si confessor est cui nihil timendum est post occisionem, negator erit cui timendum est etiam post mortem. Itaque cum creatoris sit quod timendum est post mortem, gehennae scilicet poena, et negator ergo creatoris est. Si autem negator, et confessor, qui post occisionem nihil ab homine passurus est, a deo plane passurus si negaret. Atque ita Christus creatoris est, qui ostendit negatores suos creatoris gehennam timere debere. [6] Post deterritam itaque negationem sequitur et blasphemiae formidandae admonitio: Qui dixerit in filium hominis, remittetur illi, qui autem dixerit in spiritum sanctum, non remittetur ei. Quodsi iam et remissio et retentio delicti iudicem deum sapiunt, huius erit spiritus sanctus non blasphemandus, non remissuri scilicet blasphemiam, sicut et supra non negandus, occisuri scilicet etiam in gehennam. [7] Quodsi et blasphemiam Christus a creatore avertit, quomodo adversarius ei venerit non scio. Aut si et per haec severitatem eius infuscat, non remissuri blasphemiam et occisuri etiam in gehennam, superest ut et illius diversi dei impune et spiritus blasphemetur et Christus negetur, et nihil intersit de cultu eius deve contemptu, et sicut de contemptu nulla poena, ita et de cultu nulla speranda sit merces. Perductos ad potestates prohibet ad interrogationem cogitare de responsione: Sanctus enim, inquit, spiritus docebit vos ipsa hora quid eloqui debeatis. [8] Si eiusmodi documentum creatoris est, eius erit et praeceptum cuius praecessit exemplum. Balaam propheta in Arithmis arcessitus a rege Balach ad maledicendum Israel, cum quo proelium inibat, simul spiritu implebatur, non ad quam venerat maledictionem, sed quam illi ipsa hora

spiritus suggerebat benedictionem pronuntiabat, ante professus apud nuntios regis, mox etiam apud ipsum, id se pronuntiaturum quod deus ori eius indidisset. Hae sunt novae doctrinae novi Christi, quas olim famuli creatoris initiaverunt. [9] Ecce plane diversum exemplum Moysi et Christi. Moyses rixantibus fratribus ultro intercedit et iniuriosum increpat: Quid proximum tuum percutis? Et reicitur ab illo: Quis te constituit magistrum aut iudicem super nos? Christus vero postulatus a quodam ut inter illum et fratrem ipsius de dividunda haereditate componeret, operam suam, et quidem tam probae causae, denegavit. Iam ergo melior Moyses meus Christo tuo, fratrum paci studens, iniuriae occurrens. [10] Sed enim optimi et non iudicis dei Christus, Quis me, inquit, iudicem constituit super vos? Aliam vocem excusationis invenire non potuit ne ea uteretur qua improbus vir et impius frater assertorem probitatis atque pietatis excusserat. Denique probavit malam vocem, utendo ea, et malum factum, pacis inter fratres componendae declinatione. Aut numquid indigne tulerit hoc dicto fugatum Moysen, ideoque in causa pari disceptantium fratrum voluit illos commemoratione eiusdem dicti confudisse? Plane ita. Ipse enim tunc fuerat in Moyse, qui talia audierat, spiritus scilicet creatoris. [11] Puto iam alibi satis commendasse nos divitiarum gloriam damnari a deo nostro, ipsos dynastas detrahente de solio, et pauperes allevante de sterquilinio. Ab eo ergo erit et parabola divitis blandientis sibi de proventu agrorum suorum, cui deus dicit, Stulte, hac nocte animam tuam reposcent; quae autem parasti, cuius erunt? Sic denique rex de gavis et apothecis deliciarum suarum apud Persas gloriatus per Esaiam male audivit.

29. [1] Quis nollet curam nos agere animae de victu et corpori de vestitu nisi qui ista homini ante prospexit et exinde praestans merito curam eorum tanquam aemulam liberalitatis suae prohibet? qui et substantiam ipsius animae accommodavit potiores esca, et materiam ipsius corporis figuravit potiores tunica, cuius et corvi non serunt nec metunt nec in apothecas condunt, et tamen aluntur ab ipso, cuius et lilia et foenum non texunt nec nent, et tamen vestiuntur ab ipso, cuius et Salomon gloriosissimus, nec ullo tamen flosculo cultior. [2] Ceterum nihil tam abruptum quam ut alius praestet, alius de praestantia eius secure agere mandet, et quidem derogator ipsius. Denique si quasi derogator creatoris non vult de eiusmodi frivolis cogitari de quibus nec corvi nec lilia laborent, ultro scilicet pro sua vilitate subiectis, paulo post parebit. Interim cur illos modicae fidei incusat, id est cuius fidei? [3] Eiusne

quam nondum poterant perfectam exhibere deo tantum quod revelato, cum maxime discentes eum, an quam hoc ipso titulo debebant creatori, uti crederent haec illum ultro generi humano subministrare, nec de eis cogitarent? Nam et cum subicit, Haec enim nationes mundi quaerunt, non credendo scilicet in deum conditorem omnium et praebitorem, quos pares gentium nolebat, in eundem deum modicos fidei increpabat in quem gentes incredulas notabat. Porro cum et adicit, Scit autem pater opus esse haec vobis, prius quaeram quem patrem intellegi velit Christus. [4] Si ipsorum creatorem demonstrat, et bonum confirmat, qui scit quid filiis opus sit; sin illum alium deum, quomodo scit necessarium esse homini victum atque vestitum, quorum nihil praestitit? Si enim scisset, praestitisset. Ceterum si scit quae sunt homini necessaria, nec tamen praestitit, aut malignitate aut infirmitate non praestitit. Professus autem necessaria haec homini, utique bona confirmavit. Nihil enim mali necessarium. Et non erit iam depretiator operum et indulgentiarum creatoris, ut quod supra distuli expunxerim. [5] Porro si quae necessaria scit homini alius et prospexit et praestat, quomodo haec ipse promittit? An de alieno bonus est? Quaerite enim inquit regnum dei, et haec vobis adicientur. Utique ab ipso. Quodsi ab ipso, qualis est qui aliena praestabit? Si a creatore, cuius et sunt, quis est qui aliena promittat? Ea si regno accedunt, secundo gradu restituenda, eius est secundus gradus cuius et primus, eius victus atque vestitus cuius et regnum. [6] Ita tota promissio creatoris est parabolarum status, similitudinum peraequatio, si nec in alium spectant quam cui per omnia pariaverint. Sumus servi, dominum enim habemus deum. Succingere debemus lumbos, id est expediti esse ab impedimentis laciniosae vitae et implicitae. Item lucernas ardentes habere, id est mentes a fide accensas et operibus veritatis relucentes, atque ita expectare dominum, id est Christum. Unde redeuntem? si a nuptiis, creatoris est, cuius nuptiae; si non creatoris, nec ipse Marcion invitatus ad nuptias isset, deum suum intuens detestatorem nuptiarum. Defecit itaque parabola in persona domini, si non esset cui nuptiae competunt. [7] In sequenti quoque parabola satis errat qui furem illum, cuius horam si pater familiae sciret non sineret suffodi domum suam, in personam disponit creatoris. Fur enim creator quomodo videri potest, dominus totius hominis? Nemo sua furatur aut suffodit, sed ille potius qui in aliena descendit, et hominem a domino eius alienat. Porro cum furem nobis diabolum demonstret, cuius horam etiam in primordio si homo scisset nunquam ab eo

suffossus esset, propterea iubet ut parati simus, quia qua non putamus hora filius hominis adveniet, non quasi ipse sit fur, sed iudex scilicet eorum qui se non paraverint, nec caverint furem. [8] Ergo si ipse est filius hominis, iudicem teneo, et in iudice creatorem defendo; si vero Christum creatoris in nomine filii hominis hoc loco ostendit, ut eum furem portendat, qui quando venturus sit ignoremus, habes supra praescriptum nerninem rei suae furem esse, salvo et illo, quod in quantum timendum creatorem ingerit, in tantum illi negotium agens creatoris est. [9] Itaque interroganti Petro in illos an et in omnes parabolam dixisset, ad ipsos et ad universos qui ecclesiis praefuturi essent proponit actorum similitudinem, quorum qui bene tractaverit conservos absentia domini reverso eo omnibus bonis praeponetur; qui vero secus egerit, reverso domino qua die non putaverit, hora qua non scierit, illo scilicet filio hominis, Christo creatoris, non fure sed iudice, segregabitur et pars eius cum infidelibus ponetur. [10] Proinde igitur aut et hic iudicem dominum opponit et illi catechizat, aut si deum optimum, iam et illum iudicem affirmat, licet nolit haereticus. Temperare enim temptant hunc sensum, cum deo eius vindicatur, quasi tranquillitatis sit et mansuetudinis segregare solummodo et partem eius cum infidelibus ponere, ac si non sit vocatus, ut statui suo redditus. Quasi non et hoc ipsum iudicato fiat. Stultitia! Quis erit exitus segregatorum? Nonne amissio salutis? siquidem ab eis segregabuntur qui salutem consequuntur. Quis igitur infidelium status? Nonne damnatio? [11] Aut si nihil patientur segregati et infideles, aequae ex diverso nihil consequuntur retenti et fideles. Si vero consequuntur salutem retenti et fideles, hanc amittant necesse est ex diverso segregati et infideles. Hoc erit iudicium, quod qui intendit creatoris est. Quem alium intellegam caedentem servos paucis aut multis plagis, et prout commisit illis ita et exigentem ab eis, quam retributorem deum? Cui me docet obsequi nisi remuneratori? [12] Proclamat Christus tuus: Ignem veni mittere in terram. Ille optimus, nullius gehennae dominus, qui paulo ante discipulos ne ignem postularent inhumanissimo viculo coercuerat, quando iste Sodomam et Gomorram nimbo igneo exussit, quando cantatum est: Ignis ante ipsum procedet et cremabit inimicos eius, quando et per Osee comminatus est: Ignem emittam in civitates Iudaeae, vel per Esaïam: Ignis exarsit ex indignatione mea. Non mentiatur. Si non est ille qui de rubo quoque ardenti vocem suam emisit, viderit quem ignem intellegendum contendas. [13] Etiam si figura est, hoc ipso quod de meo elemento argumenta sensui suo sumit meus

est qui de meis utitur. Illius erit similitudo ignis cuius et veritas. Ipse melius interpretabitur ignis istius qualitatem, adiciens, Putatis venisse me pacem mittere in terram? non, dico vobis, sed separationem. Machaeram quidem scriptum est. Sed Marcion emendat; [14] quasi non et separatio opus sit machaerae. Igitur et ignem eversionis intendit qui pacem negavit. Quale proelium, tale et incendium. Qualis machaera, talis et flamma; neutra congruens domino. Denique, Dividetur, inquit, pater in filium et filius in patrem, et mater in filiam et filia in matrem, et nurus in socrum et socrus in nurum. Hoc proelium inter parentes si in ipsis verbis tuba cecinit prophetae, vereor ne Michaeas Christo Marcionis praedicarit. [15] Et ideo hypocritas pronuntiabat, caeli quidem et terrae faciem probantes, tempus vero illud non dinoscentes, quo scilicet adimplens omnia quae super ipsos fuerunt praedicata nec aliter docens debuerat agnosci. Ceterum quis posset eius tempora nosse cuius per quae probaret non habebat. Merito exprobrat etiam quod iustum non a semetipsis iudicarent. Olim hoc mandat per Zachariam: Iustum iudicium et pacatorium iudicate; per Hieremiam: Facite iudicium et iustitiam; per Esaia: Iudicate pupillo et iustificate viduam; imputans etiam vineae Sorech quod non iudicium fecisset sed clamorem. [16] Qui ergo docuerat ut facerent ex praecepto, is exigebat ut facerent et ex arbitrio. Qui seminaverat praeceptum, ille et redundantiam eius urgebat. Iam vero quam absurdum ut ille mandaret iuste iudicare qui deum iudicem iustum destruebat? Nam et iudicem, qui mittit in carcerem nec ducit inde nisi soluto etiam novissimo quadrante, in persona creatoris obtrectationis nomine disserunt. Ad quod necesse habeo eodem gradu occurrere. Quotiescunque enim severitas creatoris opponitur, totiens illius est Christus cui per timorem cogit obsequium.

30. [1] Quaestionem rursus de curatione sabbato facta quomodo discussit? Unusquisque vestrum sabbatis non solvit asinum aut bovem suum a praesepe et ducit ad potum? Ergo secundum condicionem legis operatus legem confirmavit, non dissolvit, iubentem nullum opus fieri nisi quod fieret omni animae, quanto potius humanae? Parabolarum congruentiam ubique recognoscor exigere. Simile est regnum dei, inquit, grano sinapis, quod accepit homo et seminavit in horto suo. [2] Quis in persona hominis intellegendus? Utique Christus, quia, licet Marcionis, filius hominis est dictus, qui accepit a patre semen regni, sermonem scilicet evangelii, et seminavit in horto suo, utique in mundo, puta nunc in homine. Sed cum in suo horto

dixerit, nec mundus autem nec homo illius sit, sed creatoris, ergo qui in suum seminarit creator ostenditur. Aut si, ut hunc laqueum evadant, converterint hominis personam a Christo in hominem accipientem semen regni et seminantem in horto cordis sui, nec ipsa materia alii conveniet quam creatori. Quale est enim ut sit lenissimi dei regnum quod etiam iudicii fervor lacrimosa austeritate subsequitur? [3] De sequenti plane similitudine vereor ne forte alterius dei regno portendat. Fermento enim comparavit illud, non azymis quae familiariora sunt creatori. Congruit et haec coniectura mendicantibus argumenta. Itaque et ego vanitatem vanitate depellam, fermentationem quoque congruere dicens regno creatoris, quia post illam clibanus vel furnus gehennae sequatur. [4] Quotiens adhuc se iudicem ostendit et in iudice creatorem? Quotiens utique eiecit et damnat reiciendo? Sicut hic quoque, Cum surrexerit, inquit, pater familiae; quo? nisi quo dixit Esaias, Cum surrexerit comminuere terram? et cluserit ostium; utique excludendis iniquis. Quibus pulsantibus respondebit, Nescio unde sitis: et rursus enumerantibus quod coram illo ederint et biberint et in plateis eorum docuerit, adiciet, Recedite a me omnes operarii iniquitatis. Illic erit fletus et frendor dentium. Ubi? [5] foris scilicet, ubi erunt exclusi, ostio cluso ab eo. Ergo erit poena a quo fit exclusio in poenam, cum videbunt iustos introeuntes in regnum dei, se vero detineri foris. A quo? Si a creatore, quis erit ergo intus recipiens iustos in regnum? Deus bonus? Quid ergo illuc creatori, ut foris detineat in poenam quos adversarius eius exdusit, suscipiendos a se, si utique, magis in adversarii bilem? [6] Sed et ille exclusurus iniquos sciat utique creatorem illos detenturum in poenam aut non sciat oportet. Ergo aut nolente eo detinebuntur, et minor est illo qui detinet, cedens ei nolens; aut si vult ita fieri, ipse ita faciendum iudicavit, et non erit melior creatore ipse auctor infamiae creatoris. Haec si nulla ratione consistunt, ut alius punire alius liberare credatur, unius erit tam iudicium quam et regnum, et dum unius est utrumque, qui et iudicat creatoris est.

31. [1] Ad prandium vel ad coenam quales vocari iubet? Quales ostenderat per Esaiam: Confringe panem tuum esurienti, et mendicos, et qui sine tecto sunt, induc in domum tuam, qui scilicet humanitatis istius vicem retribuere non possint. Hanc si Christus captari vetat, in resurrectione eam repromittens, creatoris est forma, cui non placent amantes munera, sectantes retributionem. Etiam invitatoris parabola cui magis parti occurrat expende. Homo quidam fecit coenam et vocavit multos. [2] Utique coenae paratura vitae aeternae

saturitatem figurat. Dico primo extraneos et nullius iuris adfines invitari ad coenam non solere, certe facilius solere domesticos et familiares. Ergo creatoris est invitasse, ad quem pertinebant qui invitabantur, et per Adam qua homines, et per patres qua Iudaici, non eius ad quem neque natura pertinebant neque praerogativa. [3] Dehinc si is mittit ad convivas qui coenam paravit, sic quoque creatoris est coena, qui misit ad convivas admonendos, ante iam vocatos per patres, admonendos autem per prophetas, non qui neminem miserit ad monendum, nec qui nihil prius egerit ad vocandum, sed ipse descenderit subito, tantum quod innotescens iam invitans, tantum quod invitans iam in convivium cogens, eandem faciens horam coenandi et ad coenam invitandi. Excusant se invitati. [4] Si ab alio deo, merito, quia subito invitati; si non merito, ergo nec subito. Si autem non subito invitati, ergo a creatore, a quo olim, cuius denique declinaverant vocationem, tunc primo dicentes ad Aaronem, Fac nobis deos qui praeceant nobis; atque exinde aure audientes et non audientes, vocationem scilicet dei, qui pertinentissime ad hanc parabolam per Hieremiam, Audite, inquit, vocem meam, et ero vobis in dominum et vos mihi in populum, et ibitis in omnibus viis meis, quascunque mandavero vobis. Ecce invitatio dei. Et non audierunt, inquit, et non adverterunt aurem suam. Ecce recusatio populi. Sed abierunt in iis quae concupiverunt corde suo malo. Agrum emi, et boves mercatus sum, et uxorem duxi. [5] Et adhuc ingerit: Et emisi ad vos omnes famulos meos prophetas (hic erit spiritus sanctus, admonitor convivarum) die et ante lucem. Et non audiit populus meus, et non intendit auribus suis, et obduravit collum suum. Hoc ut patrifamiliae renuntiatum est, motus tunc (bene quod et motus, negat enim Marcion moveri deum suum, ita et hoc meus est) mandat de plateis et vicis civitatis facere sublectionem. Videamus an eo sensu quo rursus per Hieremiam: Numquid solitudo factus sum domui Israelis, aut terra in incultum derelicta? id est, Numquid non habeo quos allegam aut unde allegam? Quoniam dixit populus meus, Non venimus ad te. [6] Itaque misit ad alios vocandos ex eadem adhuc civitate. Dehinc loco abundante praecepit etiam de viis et sepibus colligi, id est nos iam de extraneis gentibus; illa scilicet aemulatione qua in Deuteronomio: Avertam faciem meam ab eis, et monstrabo quid illis in novissimis, id est alios possessuros locum eorum: quoniam genitura perversa est, filii in quibus fides non est. Illi obaemulati sunt me in non deo, et provocaverunt me in iram in idolis suis, et ego

obaemulabor eos in non natione, in natione insipienti provocabo eos in iram, in nobis scilicet, quorum spem Iudaei gerunt, de qua illos gustaturos negat dominus, derelicta Sione, tanquam specula in vinea et in cucumerario casula, posteaquam et novissimam in Christum invitationem recusavit. [7] Quid ex hoc ordine secundum dispositionem et praedicationes creatoris recensendo competere potest illi, cuius nec ordinem habet nec dispositionem ad parabolae conspiracy quae totum opus semel fecit? Aut quae erit prima vocatio eius, et quae secundo actu admonitio? Ante debent alii excusare, postea alii convenisse. Nunc autem pariter utramque partem invitare venit, de civitate, de sepibus, adversus speculum parabolae. [8] Nec potest iam fastidiosos iudicare quos nunquam retro invitavit, quos cum maxime aggreditur. Aut si de futuro eos iudicat contempturos vocationem, ergo et sublectionem loco eorum ex gentibus de futuro portendit. Plane ad hoc secundo venturus est ut gentibus praedicet. Etsi venturus est autem, puto, non quasi vocaturus adhuc convivas, sed iam collocaturus. Interea qui coenae istius vocationem in caeleste convivium interpretaris spiritalis saturitatis et iocunditatis, memento et terrenas promissiones vini et olei et frumenti et ipsius civitatis aequae in spiritalia figurari a creatore.

32. [1] Ovem et dragmam perditam quis requirit? nonne qui perdidit? Quis autem perdidit? nonne qui habuit? Quis vero habuit? nonne cuius fuit? Si igitur homo non alterius est res quam creatoris, is eum habuit cuius fuit, is perdidit qui habuit, is requisivit qui perdidit, is invenit qui quaesivit, is exultavit qui invenit. [2] Ita utriusque parabolae argumentum vacat circa eum cuius non est ovis neque dragma, id est homo. Non enim perdidit, quia non habuit; nec requisivit, quia non perdidit; nec invenit, quia nec requisivit; nec exultavit, quia non invenit. Atque adeo exultare illius est de paenitentia peccatoris, id est de perditionis recuperatione, qui se professus est olira malle peccatoris paenitentiam quam mortem.

33. [1] Quibus duobus dominis neget posse serviri quia alterum offendi sit necesse alterum defendi, ipse declarat deum proponens et mammonam. Deinde mammonam quem intellegi velit, si interpretem non habes, ab ipso potes discere. Admonens enim nos de saecularibus suffragia nobis prospicere amicitiarum, secundum servi illius exemplum. qui ab actu summotus dominicos debitores deminutis cautionibus relevat in subsidium sibi, Et ego, inquit, dico vobis, facite vobis amicos de mammona iniustitiae, de nummo

scilicet de quo et servus ille. [2] Iniustitiae enim auctorem et dominatorem totius saeculi nummum scimus omnes. Cui famulatam videns pharisaeorum cupiditatem amentavit hanc sententiam: Non potestis deo servire et mammonae. Irridebant denique pharisaei pecuniae cupidi, quod intellexissent scilicet mammonam de nummo dictum: ne quis existimet in mammona creatorem intellegendum et Christum a creatoris illos servitute revocasse. Quid? nunc potius ex hoc disce unum a Christo deum ostensum. Duos enim dominos nominavit, deum et mammonam, creatorem et nummum. Denique non potestis deo servire, utique ei cui servire videbantur, et mammonae, cui magis destinabantur. [3] Quodsi ipse alium se ageret, non duos dominos sed tres demonstrasset. Et creator enim dominus, quia deus, et utique magis dominus quam mammonas, magisque observandus, qua magis dominus. Quale est enim ut qui mammonam dominum dixerat, et cum deo iunxerat, vere ipsorum dominum taceret, id est creatorem? Aut numquid tacendo eo concessit serviendum ei esse, si solummodo sibi et mammonae negavit posse servi? Ita cum unum deum ponit, nominaturus et creatorem si alius esset ipse, creatorem nominavit, quem dominum sine alio deo [non] posuit. [4] Et illud itaque relucebit, quomodo dictum, Si in mammona iniusto fideles non extitistis, quod verum est quis vobis credet? in nummo scilicet iniusto, non in creatore, quem et Marcion iustum facit. Et si in alieno fideles inventi non estis, meum quis dabit vobis? alienum enim debet esse a servis dei quod iniustum est. Creator autem quomodo alienus erat pharisaeis, proprius deus Iudaicae gentis? Si ergo haec non cadunt in creatorem, sed in mammonam, Quis vobis credet quod verius est? et, Quis vobis dabit quod meum est? non potest quasi alius dixisse de alterius dei gratia. [5] Tunc enim videretur ita dixisse, si eos in creatorem, non in mammonam, infideles notando per creatoris mentionem distinctiones fecisset dei alterius, non commissuri suam veritatem infidelibus creatoris: quomodo tunc alterius videri potest, si non ad hoc proponatur ut a re de qua agitur separetur. [6] Si autem et iustificantes se coram hominibus pharisaei spem mercedis in homine ponebant, illo eos sensu increpabat quo et propheta Hieremias: Miser homo, qui spem habet in homine. Si et adicit, Scit autem deus corda vestra, illius dei vim commemorabat qui lucernam se pronuntiabat, scrutantem renes et corda. Si superbiam tangit, Quod elatum est apud homines perosum est deo, Esaia ponit ante oculos: Dies enim domini sabaoth, in omnem contumeliosum et

superbum, in omnem sublimem et elatum, et humiliabuntur. [7] Possum iam colligere cur tanto aevo deus Marcionis fuerit in occulto. Expectabat, opinor, donec haec omnia disceret a creatore. Didicit ergo usque ad Ioannis tempora, atque ita exinde processit annuntiare regnum dei, dicens, Lex et prophetae usque ad Ioannem, ex quo regnum dei annuntiatur. [8] Quasi non et nos limitein quendam agnoscamus Ioannem constitutum inter vetera et nova, ad quem desineret Iudaismus et a quo inciperet Christianismus, non tamen ut ab alia virtute facta sit sedatio legis et prophetarum, et initiatio evangelii in quo est dei regnum, Christus ipse. Nam et si probavimus et vetera transitura et nova successura praedicari a creatore, si et Ioannes antecursor et praeparator ostenditur viarum domini evangelium superducturi et regnum dei promulgaturi, et ex hoc iam quod Ioannes venit ipse erit Christus qui Ioannem erat subsecuturus ut antecursorem, et si desierunt vetera et coeperunt nova interstite Ioanne, non erit mirum quod ex dispositione est creatoris, ut undeunde magis probetur quam ex legis et prophetarum in Ioannem occasu et exinde ortu regnum dei. [9] Transeat igitur caelum et terra citius, sicut et lex et prophetae, quam unus apex verborum domini. Verbum enim, inquit Esaia, dei nostri manet in aevum. Nam quoniam in Esaia iam tunc Christus, sermo scilicet et spiritus creatoris, Ioannem praedicarat, vocem clamantis in deserto, Parate viam domini, in hoc venturum ut legis et prophetarum ordo exinde cessaret, per adimpletionem non per destructionem, et regnum dei a Christo annuntiaretur, ideo subtexit facilius elementa transitura quam verba sua, confirmans hoc quoque quod de Ioanne dixerat non praeterisse.

34. [1] Sed Christus divortium prohibet dicens, Qui dimiserit uxorem suam et aliam duxerit, adulterium committit; qui dimissam a viro duxerit, aequè adulter est. Ut sic quoque prohibeat divortium, illicitum facit repudiatae matrimonium. Moyses vero pennittit repudium in Deuteronomio: Si sumserit quis uxorem, et habitaverit cum ea, et evenerit non invenire eam apud eum gratiam, eo quod inventum sit in illa impudicum negotium, scribet libellum repudii et dabit in manu eius, et dimittet illam de domo sua. Vides diversitatem legis et evangelii, Moysi et Christi? [2] Plane. Non enim recepisti illud quoque evangelium eiusdem veritatis et eiusdem Christi, in quo prohibens divortium propriam quaestionem eius absolvit: Moyses propter duritiam cordis vestri praecepit libellum repudii dare; a primordio autem non fuit sic; quia scilicet qui marem et feminam fecerat, Erunt duo, dixerat, in

carne una: quod deus itaque iunxit, homo disiunxerit? [3] Hoc enim responso et Moysi constitutionem protexit, ut sui, et creatoris institutionem direxit, ut Christus ipsius. Sed quatenus ex his revincendus es quae recepisti, sic tibi occurram ac si meus Christus. Nonne et ipse prohibens divortium, et patrem tamen gestans eum qui marem et feminam iunxit, excusaverit potius quam destruxerit Moysi constitutionem? Sed ecce sic tuus sit iste Christus contrarium docens Moysi et creatori, ut, si non contrarium ostendero, meus sit. [4] Dico enim illum condicionaliter nunc fecisse divortii prohibitionem, si ideo quis dimittat uxorem ut aliam ducat. Qui dimiserit, inquit, uxorem et aliam duxerit, adulterium commisit, et qui a marito dimissam duxerit, aequè adulter est, ex eadem utique causa dimissam qua non licet dimitti, ut alia ducatur; illicite enim dimissam pro indimissa ducens adulter est. [5] Manet enim matrimonium quod non rite diremptum est; manente matrimonio nubere adulterium est. Ita si condicionaliter prohibuit dimittere uxorem, non in totum prohibuit, et quod non prohibuit in totum, permisit alias, ubi causa cessat ob quam prohibuit. Et iam non contrarium Moysi docet, cuius praeceptum alicubi conservat, nondum dico confirmat. Aut si omnino negas permitti divortium a Christo, quomodo tu nuptias dirimis, nec coniungens marem et feminam, nec alibi coniunctos ad sacramentum baptismatis et eucharistiae admittens nisi inter se coniuraverint adversus fructum nuptiarum, ut adversus ipsum creatorem? Certe quid facit apud te maritus si uxor eius commiserit adulterium? Habebitne illam? Scilicet nec tuum apostolum sinere coniungi prostitutae membra Christi. [6] Habet itaque et Christum assertorem iustitiae divortii. Iam hinc confirmatur ab illo Moyses, ex eodem titulo prohibens repudium quo et Christus, nisi inventum fuerit in muliere negotium impudicum. Nam et in evangelio Matthaei, Qui dimiserit, inquit, uxorem suam praeter causam adulterii, facit eam adulterari. Aequè adulter censetur et ille qui dimissam a viro duxerit. Ceterum praeter ex causa adulterii nec creator disiungit, quod ipse scilicet coniunxit, eodem alibi Moyse constituente eum qui ex compressione matrimonium fecerat non posse dimittere uxorem in omne tempus. [7] Quodsi ex violentia coactum matrimonium stabit, quanto magis ex convenientia voluntarium? sicut et prophetiae auctoritate, Uxorem iuventutis tuae non dimittes. Habes itaque Christum ultro vestigia ubique creatoris ineuntem tam in permittendo repudio quam in prohibendo. Habes etiam nuptiarum, quoquo velis latere, prospectorem, quas nec separari vult

prohibendo repudium, nec cum macula haberi tunc permittendo divortium. Erubescere non coniungens quos tuos quoque Christus coniunxit. Erubescere etiam disiungens sine eo merito quo disiungi voluit et tuus Christus. [8] Debeo nunc et illud ostendere unde hanc sententiam deduxerit dominus quoque direxerit. Ita enim plenius constabit eum non ad Moysen destruendum spectasse per repudii propositionem subito interpositam, quia nec subito interposita est, habens radicem ex eadem Ioannis mentione. Ioannes enim retundens Herodem quod adversus legem uxorem fratris sui defuncti duxisset, habentis filiam ex illa (non alias hoc permittente, immo et praecipiente lege, quam si frater illiberis decesserit, ut a fratre ipsius et ex costa ipsius supparetur semen illi), coniectus in carcerem fuerat ab eodem Herode, postmodum et occisus. [9] Facta igitur mentione Ioannis dominus, et utique successus exitus eius, illicitorum matrimoniorum et adulterii figura iaculatus est in Herodem, adulterum pronuntians etiam qui dimissam a viro duxerit, quo magis impietatem Herodis oneraret, qui non minus morte quam repudio dimissam a viro duxerat, et hoc fratre habente ex illa filiam, et vel eo nomine illicite, ex libidinis non ex legis instinctu, ac propterea propheten quoque assertorem legis occiderat. [10] Hoc mihi disseruisse proficiet etiam ad subsequens argumentum divitis apud inferos dolentis et pauperis in sinu Abrahae requiescentis. Nam et illud, quantum ad scripturae superficiem, subito propositum est, quantum ad intentionem sensus, et ipsum cohaeret mentioni Ioannis male tractati et suggillati Herodis male maritati, utriusque exitum deformans, Herodis tormenta et Ioannis refrigeria, ut iam audiret Herodes, Habent illic Moysen et prophetas, illos audiant. [11] Sed Marcion aliorum cogit, scilicet ut utramque mercedem creatoris sive tormenti sive refrigerii apud inferos determinet eis positam qui legi et prophetis obedierint, Christi vero et dei sui caelestem definiat sinum et portum. Respondebimus ad haec, ipsa scriptura revincente oculos eius, quae ab inferis discernit Abrahae sinum pauperi. Aliud enim inferi, ut puto, aliud quoque Abrahae sinus. Nam et magnum ait intercidere regiones istas profundum et transitum utrinque prohibere. [12] Sed nec allevasset dives oculos, et quidem de longinquo, nisi in superiora, et de altitudinis longinquo per immensam illam distantiam sublimitatis et profunditatis. Unde apparet sapienti cuique, qui aliquando Elysios audierit, esse aliquam localem determinationem quae sinus dicta sit Abrahae ad recipiendas animas filiorum eius, etiam ex nationibus, patris

scilicet multarum nationum in Abrahae censum deputandarum, et ex eadem fide qua et Abraham deo credidit, nullo sub iugo legis nec in signo circumcisionis. [13] Eam itaque regionem sinum dico Abrahae, etsi non caelestem, sublimiorem tamen inferis, interim refrigerium praebituram animabus iustorum, donec consummatio rerum resurrectionem omnium plenitudine mercedis expungat, tunc apparitura caelesti promissione, quam Marcion suo vindicat, quasi non a creatore promulgatam. [14] Ad quam ascensum suum Christus aedificat in caelum, secundum Amos, utique suis, ubi est et locus aeternus, de quo Esaias: Quis annuntiabit vobis locum aeternum, nisi scilicet Christus incedens in iustitia, loquens viam rectam, odio habens iniustitiam et iniquitatem? Quodsi aeternus locus repromittitur et ascensus in caelum aedificatur a creatore, promittente etiam semen Abrahae velut stellas caeli futurum, utique ob caelestem promissionem, salva ea promissione cur non capiat sinum Abrahae dici temporale aliquod animarum. fidelium receptaculum in quo iam delinietur futuri imago ac candida quaedam utriusque iudicii prospiciatur? [15] admonens quoque vos haereticos, dum in vita estis, Moysen et prophetas unum deum praedicantes creatorem, et unum Christum praedicantes eius, et utrumque iudicium poenae et salutis aeternae apud unicum deum positum, qui occidat et vivificet. Immo, inquit, nostri dei monela de caelo non Moysen et prophetas iussit audiri, sed Christum: Hunc audite. Merito. Tunc enim apostoli satis iam audierant Moysen et prophetas, qui secuti erant Christum, credendo Moysi et prophetis. [16] Nec enim accepisset Petrus dicere, Tu es Christus, antequam audisset et credidisset Moysi et prophetis, a quibus solis adhuc Christus annuntiabatur. Haec igitur fides eorum meruerat ut etiam voce caelesti confirmaretur, iubente illum audiri quem agnoverant evangelizantem pacem, evangelizantem bona, annuntiantem locum aeternum, aedificantem illis ascensum suum in caelum. [17] Apud inferos autem de eis dictum est: Habent illic Moysen et prophetas, audiant illos, qui non credebant, vel qui nec omnino sic credebant, esse post mortem superbiae divitiarum et gloriae deliciarum supplicia annuntiata a Moyse et prophetis, decreta autem ab eo deo qui de thronis deponit dynastas, et de sterquilinis elevat inopes. Ita cum utrinque pronuntiationis diversitas competat creatori, non erit divinitatum statuenda distantia, sed ipsarum materiaram.

35. [1] Conversus ibidem ad discipulos Vae dicit auctori scandalorum,

expedisce ei si natus non fuisset, aut si molino saxo ad collum deligato praecipitatus esset in profundum, quam unum ex illis modicis utique discipulis eius scandalizasset. Aestima quale supplicium comminetur illi. Nec enim alius ulciscetur scandalum discipulorum eius. [2] Agnosce igitur et iudicem et illo affectu pronuntiantem de cura suorum quo et creator retro: Qui tetigerit vos, ac si pupillam oculi mei tangat. Idem sensus eiusdem est. Peccantem fratrem iubet corripi; quod qui non fecerit, utique deliquit, aut ex odio volens fratrem in delicto perseverare, aut ex acceptione personae parcens ei, habens Leviticum: Non odies fratrem tuum in animo tuo, traductione traduces proximum tuum, utique et fratrem, et non sumes propter illum delictum. [3] Nec mirum si ita docet qui pecora quoque fratris tui, si errantia in via inveneris, prohibet despicias quominus ea reducas fratri, nedum ipsum sibi. Sed et veniam des fratri in te delinquenti iubet, etiam septies. Parum plane. Plus est enim apud creatorem, qui nec modum statuit, in infinitum pronuntians fratris malitiae memor ne sis, nec petenti eam praestes mandat sed et non petenti. Non enim dones offensam vult, sed obliviscaris. [4] Lex leprosum quanta sit interpretationis erga species ipsius vitii et inspectionis summi sacerdotis nostrum erit scire, Marcionis morositatem legis opponere, ut et hic Christum aemulum eius affirmet, praevenientem sollemnia legis etiam in curatione decem leprosum, quos tantummodo ire iussos ut se ostenderent sacerdotibus, in itinere purgavit, sine tactu iam et sine verbo, tacita potestate et sola voluntate; [5] quasi necesse sit semel remediare languorum et vitiorum annuntiato Christo et de effectibus probato, de qualitatibus curationum retractari, aut creatorem in Christo ad legem provocari, si quid aliter quam lege distinxit ipse perfecit; cum aliter utique dominus per semetipsum operetur sive per filium, aliter per prophetas famulos suos, maxime documenta virtutis et potestatis, quae ut clariora et validiora, qua propria, distare a vicariis fas est. Sed eiusmodi et alibi iam dicta sunt in documento superiore. [6] Nunc etsi praefatus est multos tunc fuisse leprosum apud Israel in diebus Helisaei prophetae et neminem eorum purgatum nisi Naaman Syrum, non utique et numerus faciet ad differentiam deorum, in destructionem creatoris unum remediantis et praelationem eius qui decem emundavit. Quis enim dubitabit plures potuisse curari ab eo qui unum curasset quam ab illo decem qui nunquam retro unum? [7] Sed hac cum maxime pronuntiatione diffidentiam Israelis vel superbiam pulsant, quod cum multi

essent illic leprosi et prophetae non deesset, etiam edito documento nemo decurrisset ad deum operantem in prophetis. Igitur quoniam ipse erat authenticus pontifex dei patris, inspexit illos secundum legis arcanum, significantis Christum esse verum disceptatorem et elimatorem humanarum macularum. Sed et quod in manifesto fuit legis praecepit, *Ite, ostendite vos sacerdotibus. Cur, si illos ante erat emundaturus? An quasi legis illusor, ut in itinere curatis ostenderet nihil esse legem cum ipsis sacerdotibus?* [8] Et utique viderit, si cui tam opiniosus videbitur Christus. Immo digniora sunt interpretanda et fidei iustiora: ideo illos remediatis, qua secundum legem iussi abire ad sacerdotes obaudierant; neque enim credibile est emeruisse medicinam a destructore legis observatores legis. Sed cur pristino leproso nihil tale praecepit? Quia nec Helisaeus Syro Naaman; et tamen non idcirco non erat creatoris. Satis respondi; sed qui credidit, intellegit etiam altius aliquid. [9] Disce igitur et causas. In Samariae regionibus res agebatur, unde erat et unus interim ex leprosis. Samaria autem desciverat ab Israele, habens schisma illud ex novem tribubus, quas avulsas per Achiam prophetam collocaverat apud Samariam Hieroboam. Sed et alias semper sibi placentes erant Samaritani de montibus et puteis patrum, sicut in evangelio Ioannis Samaritana illa in colloquio domini apud puteum: *Nae tu maior sis,* [10] et cetera; et rursus: *Patres nostri in isto monte adoraverunt, et vos dicitis quia Hierosolymis oportet adorare. Itaque qui et per Amos Vae dixerit eis qui confident in monte Samariae, iam et ipsam restituere dignatus de industria iubet ostendere se sacerdotibus, utique qui non erant nisi ubi et templum, subiciens Samaritam Iudaeo, quoniam ex Iudaeis salus, licet Israelitae et Samaritae. Tota enim promissio tribui Iudae Christus fuit; ut scirent Hierosolymis esse et sacerdotes et templum et matricem religionis et fontem, non puteum, salutis.* [11] Et ideo, ut vidit agnovisse legem illos Hierosolymis expungendam, ex fide iam iustificandos sine legis ordine remediavit. Unde et unum illum solum ex decem memorem divinae gratiae Samariten miratus, non mandat offerre munus ex lege, quia satis iam obtulerat gloriam deo reddens, hoc et domino volente interpretari legem. Et tamen cui deo gratiam reddidit Samarites, quando nec Israelites alium deum usque adhuc didicisset? Cui alii quam cui omnes remediati retro a Christo? Et ideo, *Fides tua te salvum fecit, audiit, quia intellexerat veram se deo omnipotenti oblationem, gratiarum scilicet actionem, apud verum templum et verum pontificem eius*

Christum facere debere. [12] Sed nec pharisaei possunt videri de alterius dei regno consuluisse dominum quando venturum sit, quamdiu alius a Christo editus deus non erat, nec ille de alterius regno respondisse quam de cuius consulebatur. Non venit, inquit, regnum dei cum observatione, nec dicunt, Ecce hic, ecce illic: ecce enim regnum dei intra vos est. Quis non ita interpretabitur: Intra vos est, id est in manu, in potestate vestra, si audiat, si faciat dei praeceptum? [13] Quodsi in praecepto est dei regnum, propone igitur contra, secundum nostras antitheses, Moysen, et una sententia est. Praeceptum, inquit, excelsum non est, nec longe a te. Non est in caelo, ut dicas, Quis ascendet in caelum et deponet nobis illud, et auditum illud facieraus? nec ultra mare est, ut dicas, Quis transfretabit et sumet illud nobis, et auditum illud faciemus? Prope te est verbum, in ore tuo, et in corde tuo, et in manibus tuis facere illud. Hoc erit, Non hic, nec illic; ecce enim intra vos est regnum dei. [14] Et ne argumentetur audacia haeretica de regno creatoris, de quo consulebatur, non de suo, respondisse eis dominum, sequentia obsistunt. Dicens enim filium hominis ante multa pati et reprobari oportere, ante adventum suum, in quo et regnum substantialiter revelabitur, suum ostendit et regnum de quo responderat, quod passiones et reprobationes ipsius expectabat. Reprobari autem habens, et postea agnosci et assumi et extolli, etiam ipsum verbum reprobari inde decerpsit ubi in lapidis aenigmate utraque revelatio eius apud David caneatur, prima recusabilis, secunda honorabilis. [15] Lapis, inquit, quem reprobaverunt aedificantes, iste factus est in caput anguli: a domino factum est hoc. Vanum enim, si credidimus deum de contumelia aut gloria scilicet alicuius praedicasse, ut non eum portenderet quem et in lapidis et in petrae et in montis figura portenderat. Sed si de suo loquitur adventu, cur eum diebus Noe et Loth comparat tetris et atrocibus, deus et lenis et mitis? Cur admonet meminisse uxoris Loth, quae praeceptum creatoris non impune contempsit, si non cum iudicio venit vindicandorum praeceptomm suorum? [16] Etiam si vindicat ut ille, si iudicat me, non debuit per eius documenta formare quem destruit, ne ille me formare videatur. Si vero et hic non de suo loquitur adventu sed de Iudaei Christi, expectemus etiam nunc ne quid de suo praedicet, illum interim esse credentes quem omni loco praedicat.

36. [1] Nam et orandi perseverantiam et instantiam mandans parabolam iudicis ponit coacti audire viduam instantia et perseverantia interpellationum

eius. Ergo iudicem deum ostendit orandum, non se, si non ipse est iudex. Sed subiunxit facturum deum vindictam electorum suorum. Si ergo ipse erit iudex qui et vindex, creatorem ergo meliorem deum probavit, quem electorum suorum clamantium ad eum die et nocte vindicem ostendit. Et tamen cum templum creatoris inducit, et duos adorantes diversa mente describit, pharisaeum in superbia, publicanum in humilitate, ideoque alterum reprobatum, alterum iustificatum descendisse, utique docendo qua disciplina sit orandum, eum et hic orandum constituit a quo relaturi essent eam orandi disciplinam, sive reprobatricem superbiae sive iustificatricem humilitatis. [2] Alterius dei nec templum nec oratores nec iudicium invenio penes Christum, nisi creatoris. Illum iubet adorare in humilitate, ut allevatorem humilium, non in superbia, ut destructorem superbiorum. Quem alium adorandum mihi ostendit? qua disciplina? qua spe? Neminem, opinor. Nam et quam docuit orationem, creatori probavimus convenire. Aliud est si etiam adorari, qua deus optimus et ultro bonus, non vult. [3] Sed quis optimus, nisi unus, inquit, deus? Non quasi ex duobus diis unum optimum ostenderit, sed unum esse optimum deum solum, qui sic unus sit optimus qua solus deus. Et utique optimus, qui pluit super iustos et iniustos, et solem suum oriri facit super bonos et malos, sustinens et alens et iuvans etiam Marcionitas. [4] Denique interrogatus ab illo quodam, Praeceptor optime, quid faciens vitam aeternam possidebo? de praeceptis creatoris an ea sciret, id est faceret, expostulavit, ad contestandum praeceptis creatoris vitam acquiri sempiternam: cumque ille principaliora quaeque affirmasset observasse se ab adolescentia, Unum, inquit, tibi deest: omnia, quaecunque habes, vende et da pauperibus, et habebis thesaurum in caelo, et veni, sequere me. [5] Age, Marcion, omnesque iam commiserones et coodibiles eius haeretici, quid audebitis dicere? Resciditne Christus priora praecepta, non occidendi, non adulterandi, non furandi, non falsum testandi, diligendi patrem et matrem? an et illa servavit et quod deerat adiecit? Quamquam et hoc praeceptum largitionis in egenos ubique diffusum sit in lege et prophetis, uti gloriosissimus ille observator praeceptorum pecuniam multo cariorum habiturus traduceretur. [6] Salvum est igitur et hoc in evangelio: Non veni dissolvere legem et prophetas, sed potius adimplere. Simul et cetera dubitatione liberavit, manifestando unius esse et dei nomen et optimi, et vitam aeternam et thesaurum in caelo, et semetipsum, cuius praecepta supplendo et conservavit et auxit, secundum Michaeam quoque hoc

loco recognoscendus, dicentem, Si annuntiavit tibi, homo, quid bonum, aut quid a te dominus exquirat quam facere iudicium, diligere misericordiam, et paratum esse sequi dominum deum tuum? [7] Et homo enim Christus annuntians quid sit bonum; scientiam legis: Praecepta, inquit, scis; facere iudicium: Vende, inquit, quae habes; diligere misericordiam: Et da, inquit, egenis; paratum esse ire cum domino: Et veni, inquit, sequere me. [8] Tam distincta fuit a primordio Iudaea gens per tribus et populos et familias et domos, ut nemo facile ignorari de genere potuisset, vel de recentibus Augustianis censibus, adhuc tunc fortasse pendentibus. Iesus autem Marcionis (et natus non dubitaretur qui homo videbatur) utique, qua non natus, nullam potuerat generis sui in publico habuisse notitiam, sed erat unus aliqui deputandus ex iis qui quoquo modo ignoti habebantur. [9] Cum igitur praetereuntem illum caecus audisset, cur exclamavit, Iesu, fili David, miserere mei! nisi quia filius David, id est ex familia David, non temere deputabatur per matrem et fratres, qui aliquando ex notitia utique annuntiati ei fuerant? Sed antecedentes increpabant caecum, uti taceret. Merito, quoniam quidem vociferabatur, non quia de David filio mentiebatur. Aut doce increpantes illos scisse quod Iesus non esset filius David, ut idcirco silentium caeco indixisse credantur. [10] Sed et si doceres, facilius illos ignorasse praesumeret quam dominum falsam in se praedicationem sustinere potuisse. Sed patiens dominus. Non tamen confirmator erroris, immo etiam detector creatoris, ut non prius hanc caecitatem hominis illius enubilasset, ne ultra Iesum filium David existimaret. Atquin ne patientiam eius infamaretis, nec ullam rationem dissimulationis illi affigeretis, nec filium David negaretis, manifestissime confirmavit caeci praedicationem et ipsa remuneratione medicinae et testimonio fidei. Fides, inquit, tua te salvum fecit. [11] Quid vis caecum credidisse? Ab illo deo descendisse Iesum ad deiectionem creatoris, ad destructionem legis et prophetarum? non illum esse qui ex radice Iesse et ex fructu lumborum David destinabatur, caecorum quoque remunerator? Sed nondum, puto, eiusmodi tunc caeci erant qualis Marcion, ut haec fuerit caeci illius fides qua crediderit in voce, Iesu fili David. [12] Qui hoc se et cognovit et cognosci ab omnibus voluit, fidem hominis etsi melius oculatam, etsi veri luminis compotem, exteriore quoque visione donavit, ut et nos regulam simulque mercedem fidei disceremus. Qui vult videre Iesum, David filium credat per virginis censem. Qui non ita credet, non audiet ab illo, Fides tua te

salvum fecit, atque ita caecus remanebit, ruens in antithesim, ruentem et ipsam antithesim. Sic enim caecus caecum deducere solet. [13] Nam si aliquando Davidem in recuperatione Sionis offenderant caeci resistentes quominus admitteretur (in figuram populi proinde caeci, non admissuri quandoque Christum filium David), ideo Christus ex diverso caeco subvenit, ut hinc se ostenderet non esse filium David, ut ex animi diversitate bonus caecis, quos ille iusserat caedi. Et cur fidei et quidem pravae praestitisse se dixit? Atquin et hoc filius David, antithesim de suo retundam. [14] Nam et qui David offenderant, caeci; nunc vero eiusdem carnis homo supplicem se obtulerat filio David. Idcirco ei satisfaciendi quodammodo placatus filius David restituit lumina, cum testimonio fidei, qua hoc ipsum crediderat, exorandum sibi esse filium David. Et tamen David audacia hominum, puto, offenderit, non valetudo.

37. [1] Consequitur et Zachaei domus salutem. Quo merito? Numquid vel ille crediderat Christum a Marcione venisse? Atquin adhuc in auribus erat omnium vox illa caeci, Miserere mei, Iesu fili David, et omnis populus laudes referebat deo, non Marcionis, sed David. Enimvero Zachaeus etsi allophylus, fortasse tamen aliqua notitia scripturarum ex commercio Iudaico afflatus, plus est autem <si> et ignorans Esaiaem praecepta eius impleverat. Confringito, inquit, panem tuum esurienti, et non habentes tectum in domum tuam inducito: hoc cum maxime agebat, exceptum domo sua pascens dominum. Et nudum si videris, contegito: hoc cum maxime promittebat, in omnia misericordiae opera dimidium substantiae offerens, dissolvens violentiorum contractuum obnexus et dimittens conflictatos in laxamentum, et omnem conscriptionem iniquam dissipans, dicendo, Et si cui quid per calumniam eripui, quadruplum reddo. Itaque dominus, Hodie, inquit, salus huic domui. [2] Testimonium dixit salutaria esse quae praeceperat prophetae creatoris. Cum vero dicit, Venit enim filius hominis salvum facere quod periit, iam non contendo eum venisse ut salvum faceret quod perierat, cuius fuerat et cui perierat quod salvum venerat facere, sed in alterius quaestionis gradum dirigo. De homine agi nulla dubitatio est. [3] Hic cum ex duabus substantiis constet, ex corpore et anima, quaerendum est ex qua substantiae specie periisse videatur. Si ex corpore, ergo corpus perierat, anima non. Quod perierat, salvum facit filius hominis: habet igitur et caro salutem. Si ex anima perierat, animae perditio saluti destinatur: caro, quae non periit, salva est. Si totus homo

perierat ex utraque substantia, totus homo salvus fiat necesse est, et elisa est sententia haereticomm negantium carnis salutem. Iam et Christus creatoris confirmatur, qui secundum creatorem totius hominis salutem pollicebatur. [4] Servorum quoque parabola, qui secundum rationem feneratae pecuniae dominicae diiudicantur, iudicem ostendit deum, etiam ex parte severitatis, non tantum honorantem verum et auferentem quod quis videatur habuisse. Aut si et hic creatorem finxerit austerum, tollentem quod non posuerit et metentem quod non severit, hic quoque me ille instruit cuius pecuniam ut fenerem edocet.

38. [1] Sciebat Christus baptismum Ioannis unde esset. Et cur quasi nesciens interrogabat? Sciebat non responsuros sibi pharisaeos. Et cur frustra interrogabat? An ut ex ore ipsorum iudicaret illos, vel ex corde? Refer ergo et haec ad excusationem creatoris et ad comparisonem Christi, et considera iam quid secuturum esset si quid pharisaei ad interrogationem renuntiassent. Puta illos renuntiassent humanum Ioannis baptismum, statim lapidibus elisi fuissent. Existeret aliqui Marcion adversus Marcionem, qui diceret, O deum optimum, o deum diversum a creatoris exemplis! sciens praeceptum ituros homines ipse illos in praerupium imposuit. [2] Sic enim et de creatore in arboris lege tractatur. Sed de caelis fuit baptismum Ioannis. Et quare, inquit Christus, non credidistis ei? Ergo qui credi voluerat Ioanni, increpaturus quod non credidissent, eius erat cuius sacramentum Ioannes administrabat. Certe nolentibus renuntiare quid saperent, cum et ipse vicem opponit, Et ego non dico vobis in qua virtute haec facio, malum malo reddidit. [3] Reddite quae Caesaris Caesari, et quae sunt dei deo. Quae erunt dei? Quae similia sunt denario Caesaris; imago scilicet et similitudo eius. Hominem igitur reddi iubet creatori, in cuius imagine et similitudine et nomine et materia expressus est. Quaerat sibi monetam deus Marcionis, Christus denarium hominis suo Caesari iubet reddi, non alieno; nisi quod necesse est, qui suum denarium non habet. [4] Iusta et digna praescriptio est in omni quaestione ad propositum interrogationis pertinere debere sensum responsionis: ceterum aliud consulenti aliud respondere dementis est. Quo magis absit a Christo quod ne homini quidem convenit. Sadducaei, resurrectionis negatores, de ea habentes interrogationem, proposuerant domino ex lege materiam mulieris quae septem fratribus ex ordine defunctis secundum praeceptum legale nupsisset, cuius viri deputanda esset in resurrectione. [5] Haec fuit materia quaestionis, haec

substantia consultationis. Ad hoc respondisse Christum necesse est. Neminem timuit, ut quaestiones aut declinasse videatur, aut per occasionem earum quod alias palam non docebat subostendisse. Respondit igitur huius quidem aevi filios nubere. Vides quam pertinenter ad causam. Quia de aevo venturo quaerebatur, in quo neminem nubere definiturus praestruxit hic quidem nubi ubi sit et mori. Quos vero dignatus sit deus illius aevi possessione et resurrectione a mortuis, neque nubere neque nubi, quia nec morituri iam sint, cum similes angelorum fiant, dei et resurrectionis filii facti. [6] Cum igitur sensus responsionis non ad aliud sit dirigendus quam ad propositum interrogationis, si hoc sensu responsionis propositum absolvitur interrogationis, non aliud responsio domini sapit quam quo quaestio absolvitur. Habes et tempora permissarum et negatarum nuptiarum, non ex sua propria sed ex resurrectionis quaestione. Habes et ipsius resurrectionis confirmationem, et totum quod sadducaei sciscitabantur, non de alio deo interrogantes, nec de proprio nuptiarum iure quaerentes. [7] Quodsi ad ea facis respondere Christum de quibus non est consultus, negas eum de quibus interrogatus est respondere potuisse, sadducaeorum scilicet sapientia captum. Ex abundanti nunc et post praescriptionem retractabo adversus argumentationes cohaerentes. Nacti enim scripturae textum ita in legendo decucurrerunt: Quos autem dignatus est deus illius aevi. Illius aevi deo adiungunt, quo alium deum faciant illius aevi; cum sic legi oporteat: Quos autem dignatus est deus, ut facta hic distinctione post deum ad sequentia pertineat illius aevi, id est, quos dignatus sit deus illius aevi possessione et resurrectione. [8] Non enim de deo, sed de statu illius aevi consulebatur, cuius uxor futura esset post resurrectionem in illo aevo. Sic et de ipsis nuptiis responsum subvertunt, ut, Filii huius aevi nubunt et nubuntur, de hominibus dictum sit creatoris nuptias permittentis, se autem, quos deus illius aevi, alter scilicet, dignatus sit resurrectione, iam et hic non nubere, quia non sint filii huius aevi; quando de nuptiis illius aevi consultus, non de huius, eas negaverat de quibus consulebatur. [9] Itaque qui ipsam vim et vocis et pronuntiationis et distinctionis exceperant, nihil aliud senserunt quam quod ad materiam consultationis pertinebat. Atque adeo scribae, Magister, inquirunt, bene dixisti. Confirmaverat enim resurrectionem, formam eius edendo, adversus sadducaeorum opinionem. Denique testimonium eorum qui ita eum respondisse praesumpserant non recusavit. [10] Si autem scribae Christum

filium David existimabant, ipse autem David dominum eum appellat, quid hoc ad Christum? Non David errorem scribarum obtundebat, sed honorem Christo David procurabat, quem dominum Christum magis quam filium David confirmabat, quod non congrueret destructori creatoris. At ex nostra parte quam conveniens interpretatio! Nam qui olim a caeco illo filius David fuerat invocatus, quod tunc reticuit, non habens in praesentia scribas, nunc ultro coram eis de industria protulit, ut se, quem caecus secundum scribarum doctrinam filium tantum David praedicarat, dominum quoque eius ostenderet, remunerata quidem fide caeci, qua filium David crediderat illum, pulsata vero traditione scribarum, qua non et dominum eum norant. Quodcunque ad gloriam spectaret Christi creatoris, sic non alius tueretur quam Christus creatoris.

39. [1] Olim constitit de nominum proprietate ei illam (competere) qui prior et Christum suum in homines annuntiaret et Iesum transnominaret. Constabit itaque et de impudentia eius qui multos dicat venturos in nomine ipsius, quod non sit ipsius, si non Christus et Iesus creatoris est, ad quem proprietates nominum pertinet, amplius et prohibeat eos recipi quorum et ipse par sit, ut qui proinde in nomine venit alieno: si non ipsius erat a mendacio nominis praevenire discipulos, qui per proprietatem nominis possidebat veritatem eius.

[2] Venient denique illi dicentes, Ego sum Christus. Recipies eos, qui consimilem recepisti. Et hic enim in nomine suo venit. Quid nunc, quod et ipse veniet nominum dominus, Christus et Iesus creatoris? Reicies illum? Et quam iniquum, quam iniustum et optimo deo indignum, ut non recipias eum in nomine suo venientem, qui alium in nomine eius recepisti! [3] Videamus et quae signa temporibus imponat. Bella, opinor, et regnum super regnum, et gentem super gentem, et pestem, et fames terraeque motus, et formidines, et prodigia de caelo, quae omnia severo et atroci deo congruunt. Haec cum adicit etiam oportere fieri, quem se praestat? destructorem an probatorem creatoris? Cuius dispositiones confirmat impleri oportere, quas ut optimus tam tristes quam atroces abstulisset potius quam constituisset, si non ipsius fuissent. [4] Ante haec autem persecutiones eis praedicat et passiones venturas, in martyrium utique et in salutem. Accipe praedicatum in Zacharia: Dominus, inquit, omnipotens proteget eos, et consument illos et lapidabunt lapidibus fundae et bibent sanguinem illorum velut vinum et replebunt pateras quasi altaris, et salvos eos faciet dominus illo die velut oves, populum suum, quia

lapides sancti volutant. [5] Et ne putes haec in passiones praedicari, quae illos tot bellorum nomine ab allophylis manebant, respice ad species. Nemo in praedicatione bellorum legitimis armis debellandorum lapidationem enumerat popularibus coetibus magis et inermi tumultui familiarem. Nemo tanta in bello sanguinis flumina paterarum capacitate metitur, aut unius altaris cruentationi adaequat. Nemo oves appellat eos qui in bello armati et ipsi ex eadem feritate certantes cadunt, sed qui in sua proprietate atque patientia dedentes potius semetipsos quam vindicantes trucidantur. [6] Denique, Quia lapides, inquit, sancti volutant, non quia milites pugnant. Lapides enim sunt et fundamenta, super quae nos aedificamur, extructi, secundum Paulum, super fundamentum apostolorum, qui lapides sancti oppositi omnium offensui volutabant. Et hic igitur ipse vetat cogitari quid responderi oporteat apud tribunalia, qui et Balaam quod non cogitaverat, immo contra quam cogitaverat, suggessit, et Moysi causato linguae tarditatem os repromisit. Et sapientiam ipsam, cui nemo resisteret, per Esaiam demonstravit: Hic dicet, Ego dei sum, et clamabit in nomine Iacob, et alius inscribetur in nomine Israelis. [7] Quid enim sapientius et incontradicibilius confessione simplici et exserta in martyris nomine cum deo invalescentis, quod est interpretatio Israelis? Nec mirum si is cohibuit praecogitationem qui et ipse a patre excepit pronuntiandi tempestive subministrationem: Dominus mihi dat linguam disciplinae, quando debeam proferre sermonem; nisi Marcion Christum non subiectum patri infert. [8] A proximis quoque persecutiones, et nominis ex odio utique blasphemiam praedicatam, non debeo rursus ostendere. Sed per tolerantiam, inquit, salvos facietis vosmetipsos: de qua scilicet psalmus, Tolerantia, inquit, iustorum non periet in finem. Quia et alibi: Honorabilis mors iustorum; ex tolerantia sine dubio, quia et Zacharias: Corona autem erit eis qui toleraverint. [9] Sed ne audeas argumentari apostolos ut alterius dei praecones a Iudaeis vexatos, memento prophetas quoque eadem a Iudaeis passos, tamen non alterius dei apostolos fuisse quam creatoris. Sed monstrato dehinc tempore excidii, cum coepisset vallari exercitibus Hierusalem, signa iam ultimi finis enarrat, solis et lunae siderumque prodigia, et in terra angustias nationum obstupescientium velut a sonitu maris fluctuantis, pro expectatione imminentium orbi malorum. Quod et ipsae vires caelorum concuti habeant, accipe Ioelem: Et dabo prodigia in caelo, et in terra sanguinem et ignem et fumi vaporem: sol convertetur in tenebras et in

sanguinem luna, priusquam adveniat dies magnus et illustris domini. Habes et Abacuc: Fluminibus disrumpetur terra, videbunt te et parturient populi: disperges aquas gressu; dedit abyssus sonum suum, sublimitas timoris eius elata est: sol et luna constitit in suo ordine, in lucem coruscationes tuae ibunt, in fulgorem fulgur scutum tuum : in comminatione tua diminues terram, et in indignatione tua depones nationes. [10] Conveniunt, opinor, et domini pronuntiationes et prophetarum de concussionibus mundi et orbis, elementorum et nationum. Post haec quid dominus? Et tunc videbunt filium hominis venientem de caelis cum plurima virtute. Cum autem haec fient, erigetis vos, et levabitis capita, quoniam appropinquavit redemptio vestra: in tempore scilicet regni, de quo subiecta erit ipsa parabola. [11] Sic et vos cum videritis omnia haec fieri, scitote appropinquasse regnum dei. Hic erit dies magnus domini et illustris, venientis de caelis filii hominis, secundum Danielelem: Ecce cum caeli nubibus tanquam filius hominis adveniens, et cetera; et data est illi regia potestas, quam in parabola postulaturus exierat, relictam pecunia servis qua feneraretur: et universae nationes, quas promiserat ei in psalmo pater: Postula de me, et dabo tibi gentes haereditatem tuam: Et gloria omnis serviens illi, et potestas eius aeterna quae non auferetur, et regnum eius quod non corrumpetur, quia nec morientur in illo nec nubent, sed erunt sicut angeli. [12] De eodem adventu filii hominis et fructu eius apud Abacuc: Existi in salutem populi tui ad salvos faciendos christos tuos; erecturos scilicet se et capita levaturos, in tempore regni redemptos. Igitur cum et haec quae sunt promissionum proinde convenient sicut et illa quae sunt concussionum, ex consonantia prophetarum et dominicarum pronuntiationum, nullam hic poteris interstruere distinctionem, ut concussionem quidem referas ad creatorem, saevitiae scilicet deum, quas nec sinere, nedum expectare deberet deus optimus, promissiones vero deo optimo deputes, quas creator ignorans illum non prophetasset. Aut si suas prophetavit, non distantes a promissionibus Christi, par erit in libertate optimo deo, nec plus videbitur a Christo tuo repromitti quam a meo filio hominis. [13] Ipsum decursum scripturae evangelicae ab interrogatione discipulorum usque ad parabolam fici ita invenies contextu sensus filio hominis hinc atque illinc adhaerere ut in illum compingat et tristitia et laeta et concussionem et promissionem, nec possis separare ab illo alteram partem. [14] Unius enim filii hominis adventu constituto inter duos exitus concussionum et promissionum

necesse est ad unum pertineant filium hominis et incommoda nationum et vota sanctorum, qui ita positus est in medio ut communis exitibus ambobus, alterum conclusurus adventu suo, id est incommoda nationum, alterum incipiens, id est vota sanctorum, ut, sive mei Christi concesseris adventum filii hominis, quo mala imminetia ei deputes ^[15] quae adventum eius antecedunt, cogaris etiam bona ei adscribere quae ab adventu eius oriuntur, sive tui malueris, quo bona ei adscribas quae ab adventu eius oriuntur, cogaris mala quoque ei deputare quae adventum eius antecedunt. Tam enim mala cohaerent adventui filii hominis antecedendo quam et bona subsequendo. Quaere igitur quem ex duobus Christis constituas in persona unius filii hominis in quam utraque dispositio referatur. Aut et creatorem optimum aut et deum tuum asperum dedisti natura. ^[16] In summa ipsius parabolae considera exempluna. Aspice ficum et arbores omnes: cum fructum protulerint, intellegunt homines aestatem appropinquasse; sic et vos cum videritis haec fieri, scitote in proximo esse regnum dei. Si enim fructificationes arbuscularum signum aestivo tempori praestant, antecedendo illud, proinde conflictationes orbis signum praenotant regni, praecedendo illud. Omne autem signum eius est <cuius et> res cuius est signum, et omni rei ab eo imponitur signum cuius est res. ^[17] Ita si conflictationes signa sunt regni, sicut fructificationes aestatis, ergo et regnum creatoris est, cuius conflictationes deputantur quae signa sunt regni. Praemiserat oportere haec fieri tam atrocia, tam dira, deus optimus, certe a prophetis et a lege praedicata; adeo legem et prophetas non destruebat, cum quae praedicaverant confirmat perfici oportere. ^[18] Adhuc ingerit non transiturum caelum ac terram, nisi omnia peragantur. Quenam ista? Si quae a creatore sunt, merito sustinebunt elementa domini sui ordinem expungi; si quae a deo optimo, nescio an sustineat caelum et terra perfici quae aemulus statuit. Hoc si patietur creator, zelotes deus non est. Transeat age nunc terra et caelum; sic enim dominus eorum destinavit: dum verbum eius maneat in aevum; sic enim et Esaias praenuntiavit. Admoneantur et discipuli, ne quando graventur corda eorum crapula et ebrietate et saecularibus curis, et insistas eis repentinus dies ille velut laqueus, utique oblitis deum ex plenitudine et cogitatione mundi. Moysi erit admonitio. Adeo is liberabit a laqueo diei illius qui hanc admonitionem retro intulit. ^[19] Erant et loca alia apud Hierusalem ad docendum, erant et extra Hierusalem ad secedendum. Sed enim per diem in templo docebat, ut qui per Osee praedixerat: In templo meo me invenerunt, et

illic disputatum est ad eos. Ad noctem vero in elaeonem secedebat. Sic enim Zacharias demonstrat: Et stabunt pedes eius in monte elaeone. Erant horae quoque auditorio competentes. Diluculo conveniendum erat, quia per Esaiam cum dixisset, Dominus dat mihi linguam disciplinae, adiecit, Apposuit mihi mane aurem ad audiendum. Si hoc est prophetias dissolvere, quid erit adimplere?

40. [1] Proinde scit et quando pati oporteret eum cuius passionem lex figurat. Nam ex tot festis Iudaeorum paschae diem elegit. In hoc enim sacramentum pronuntiavit Moyses, Pascha est domini. Ideo et affectum suum ostendit: Concupiscentia concupivi pascha edere vobiscum, antequam patiar. O legis destructorem, qui concupierat etiam pascha servare! Nimirum vervecina illum Iudaica delectaret? An ipse erat qui tanquam ovis ad victimam adduci habens, et tanquam ovis coram tondente sic os non aperturus, figuram sanguinis sui salutaris implere concupiscebat? [2] Poterat et ab extraneo quolibet tradi: ne dicerem et in hoc psalmum expunctum: Qui mecum panem edit, levabit in me plantam. Poterat et sine praemio tradi. Quanta enim opera traditoris circa eum qui populum coram offendens nec tradi magis potuisset quam invadi? Sed hoc alii competisset Christo, non qui prophetias adimplebat. Scriptum est enim: Pro eo quod venumdedere iustum. Nam et quantitatem et exitum pretii, postea Iuda paenitente revocati et in emptionem dati agri figuli, sicut in evangelio Matthaei continetur, Hieremias praecanit: Et acceperunt triginta argenteos, pretium appretiati, vel honorati, et dederunt eos in agrum figuli. [3] Professus itaque se concupiscentia concupisse edere pascha ut suum (indignum enim ut quid alienum concupisceret deus), acceptum panem et distributum discipulis corpus suum illum fecit, Hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est figura corporis mei. Figura autem non fuisset nisi veritatis esset corpus: ceterum vacua res, quod est phantasma, figuram capere non posset. Aut si propterea panem corpus sibi finxit quia corporis carebat veritate, ergo panem debuit tradere pro nobis. Faciebat ad vanitatem Marcionis, ut panis crucifigeretur. Cur autem panem corpus suum appellat, et non magis peponem, quem Marcion cordis loco habuit? Non intellegens veterem fuisse istam figuram corporis Christi, dicentis per Hieremiam, Adversus me cogitaverunt cogitatum, dicentes, Venite coniciamus lignum in panem eius, scilicet crucem in corpus eius. [4] Itaque illuminator antiquitatum quid tunc voluerit significasse panem satis declaravit corpus suum vocans

panem. Sic et in calicis mentione testamentum constituens sanguine suo obsignatum, substantiam corporis confirmavit. Nullius enim corporis sanguis potest esse nisi carnis. Nam et si qua corporis qualitas non carnea opponetur nobis, certe sanguinem nisi carnea non habebit. [5] Ita consistet probatio corporis de testimonio carnis, probatio carnis de testimonio sanguinis. Ut autem et sanguinis veterem figuram in vino recognoscas, aderit Esaias: Quis, inquit, qui advenit ex Edom, rubor vestimentorum eius ex Bosor, sic decorus in stola violenta cum fortitudine? Quare rubra vestimenta tua, et indumenta sicut de foro torcularis pleno conculcato? [6] Spiritus enim propheticus velut iam contemplabundus dominum ad passionem venientem, carne scilicet vestitum, ut in ea passum, cruentum habitum carnis in vestimentorum rubore designat, conculcatae et expressae vi passionis tanquam in foro torcularis; quia exinde quasi cruentati homines de vini rubore descendunt. Multo manifestius Genesis in benedictione Iudae, ex cuius tribu carnis census Christi processurus, iam tunc Christum in Iuda delineabat: Lavabit, inquit, in vino stolam suam et in sanguine uvae amictum suum, stolam et amictum carnem demonstrans et vinum sanguinem. Ita et nunc sanguinem suum in vino consecravit, qui tunc vinum in sanguine figuravit.

41. [1] Vae, ait, per quem traditur filius hominis. Ergo iam Vae constat imprecationis et comminationis inclamationem intellegendam et irato et offenso deputandam; nisi si Iudas impune erat tantum sceleris relaturus. Aut si impune, vacat Vae: si non impune, utique ab eo puniendus in quem scelus traditionis admisit. Porro si sciens passus est hominem quem ipse comitatu suo asciverat in tantum scelus ruere, noli iam de creatore circa Adam retractare quae in tuum quoque deum retorquentur; aut ignorasse illum, qui non ex providentia obstitit peccaturo, aut obsistere non potuisse si ignorabat, aut noluisse si et sciebat et poterat; atque ita malitiosum iudicandum, qui passus sit hominem suum ex delicto perire. [2] Suadeo igitur agnoscas potius et in isto creatorem, quam parem illi deum optimum adversus sententiam tuam facias. Nam et Petrum praesumptorie aliquid elocutum negationi potius destinando, zdoten deum tibi ostendit. Debuit etiam osculo tradi propheticus scilicet Christus, ut eius scilicet filius qui labiis a populo diligebatur. Perductus in consessum an ipse esset Christus interrogatur. De quo Christo Iudaei quaesissent nisi de suo? Cur ergo non vel tunc alium eis prodidit? Ut pati posset, inquis. Id est ut ille optimus ignorantes adhuc in scelus mergeret.

Atquin et si dixisset, passurus esset: [3] Si dixero, enim inquit, vobis non credetis: porro non credituri perseverassent in necem eius. Et cur non magis passurus esset, si alterius dei ac per hoc adversarium creatoris se manifestasset? Ergo non ut pateretur, alium se tunc quoque supersedit ostendere; sed quoniam ex ore eius confessionem extorquere cupiebant, nec confesso tamen credituri, qui eum ex operibus scripturas adimplentibus agnovisse debuerant, ita eius fuit occultasse se cui ultro debebatur agnitio. [4] Et tamen adhuc eis manum porrigens, Abhinc, inquit, erit filius hominis sedens ad dexteram virtutis dei. Suggerebat enim se ex Danielis prophetia filium hominis, et e psalmo David sedentem ad dexteram dei. Itaque ex isto dicto et scripturae comparatione illuminati quem se vellet intellegi, Ergo, inquirunt, tu dei filius es? Cuius dei, nisi quem solum noverant? Cuius dei, nisi quem in psalmo meminerant dixisse filio suo, Sede ad dexteram meam? Sed respondit, Vos dicitis, quasi non ego. [5] Atquin confirmavit id se esse quod illi dixerant, dum rursus interrogant. Unde autem probabis interrogative et non ipsos confirmative pronuntiasse, Ergo tu filius dei es? Ut, quia oblique ostenderat se per scripturas filium dei intellegendum, sic senserunt, Ergo tu dei es filius, quod te non vis aperte dicere, aequae ita et ille, Vos dicitis, confirmative respondit; et adeo sic fuit pronuntiatio eius, ut perseveraverint in eo quod pronuntiatio sapiebat.

42. [1] Perductum enim illum ad Pilatum onerare coeperunt quod se regem diceret Christum, sine dubio dei filium, sessurum ad dei dexteram. Ceterum alio eum titulo gravassent, incerti an filium dei se dixisset, nisi, Vos dicitis, sic pronuntiasset, hoc se esse quod dicerent. Pilato quoque interroganti, Tu es Christus? proinde, Tu dicis, ne metu potestatis videretur amplius respondisse. [2] Constitutus est igitur dominus in iudicio; et statuit in iudicio populum suum. Ipse dominus in iudicium venit cum presbyteris et archontibus populi, secundum Esaïam. Atque exinde omne scriptum passionis suae implevit. Tumultuatae sunt ibidem nationes, et populi meditati sunt inania: astiterunt reges terrae, et archontes congregati sunt in unum adversus dominum et adversus Christum eius. Nationes, Romani qui cum Pilato fuerant; populi, tribus Israelis; reges, in Herode; archontes, in summis sacerdotibus. [3] Nam et Herodi velut munus a Pilato missus Osee vocibus fidem reddidit: de Christo enim prophetaverat, Et vinctum eum ducent xenium regi. Delectatus est denique Herodes viso Iesu, nec vocem ullam ab eo audivit. Tanquam agnus

enim coram tondente, sic non aperuit os suum, quia dominus dederat illi linguam disciplinae, ut sciret quomodo eum oporteret proferre sermonem, illam scilicet linguam quam in psalmo adglutinatam gutturi suo tunc probabat non loquendo. [4] Et Barrabas quidem nocentissimus vita ut bonus donatur, Christus vero iustissimus ut homicida morti expostulatur. Sed et duo scelesti circumfiguntur illi, ut inter iniquos scilicet deputaretur. Vestitum plane eius a militibus divisum, partim sorte concessum, Marcion abstulit, respiciens psalmi prophetiam: Dispartiti sibi sunt vestimenta mea, et in vestitum meum sortem miserunt. Aufer igitur et crucem ipsam. Idem enim psalmus de eo non tacet: Foderunt manus meas et pedes meos. Totus in illo exitus legitur. Circumdederunt me canes, synagoga maleficorum circumvallavit me: omnes qui spectabant me, naso irridebant me: locuti sunt labiis, et capita moverunt: Speravit in deum, liberet eum. Quo iam testimonium vestimentorum? Habe falsi tui praedam; totus psalmus vestimenta sunt Christi. [5] Ecce autem et elementa concutiuntur. Dominus enim patiebatur ipsorum. Ceterum adversario laeso caelum luminibus floruisset, magis sol radiis insultasset, magis dies stetisset, libenter spectans pendentem in patibulo Christum Marcionis. Haec argumenta quoque mihi competissent, et si non fuissent praedicata. Caelum, inquit Esaias, vestiam tenebris. Hic erit dies de quo et Amos: Et erit illa die, dicit dominus, occidet sol meridie (habes et horae sextae significationem), et contenebrabit super terram. Scissum est et templi velum, angeli eruptione, derelinquentis filiam Sionis tanquam in vinea speculam et in cucumerario casulam. [6] O quantum perseveravit etiam tricesimo psalmo Christum ipsum reddere! Vociferatur ad patrem, ut et moriens ultima voce prophetas adimpleret. Hoc dicto expiravit. Quis? spiritus semetipsum, an caro spiritum? Sed spiritus semetipsum expirare non potuit. Alius est qui expirat, alius qui expiratur. Si spiritus expiratur, ab alio expiretur necesse est. Quodsi solus spiritus fuisset, discessisse potius diceretur quam expirasse. Quis igitur expirat spiritum nisi caro, quae et spirat quando illum habet, et ita eum cum amittit expirat? [7] Denique si caro non fuit, sed phantasma carnis, phantasma autem spiritus fuit, spiritus autem semetipsum expiravit et expirando discessit, sine dubio phantasma discessit cum spiritus, qui erat phantasma, discessit, et nusquam comparuit phantasma cum spiritu. Nihil ergo remansit in ligno, nihil pependit etiam post expirationem, nihil de Pilato postulatum, nihil de patibulo detractum, nihil sindone involutum, nihil sepulcro novo conditum. Atquin non

nihil. Quid igitur illud fuit? Si phantasma, adhuc ergo inerat et Christus. Si discesserat Christus, ergo abstulerat phantasma. [8] Superest impudentiae haereticæ dicere phantasma illic phantasmatis remansisse. Sed si et Ioseph corpus fuisse noverat quod tota pietate tractavit, ille Ioseph qui non consenserat in scelere Iudæis, Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum, et in via peccatorum non stetit, et in cathedra pestium non sedit.

43. [1] Oportuerat etiam sepulcrem domini prophetari ac iam tunc merito benedici, si nec mulierum illarum officium praeterit prophetia quæ ante lucem convenerunt ad sepulcrum cum odorum paratura. De hoc enim per Osee, Ut quaerant, inquit, faciem meam, ante lucem vigilabunt ad me dicentes, Eamus et convertamur ad dominum, quia ipse eripuit et curabit nos, percussit et miserebitur nostri, sanabit nos post biduum, in die tertia resurgemus. [2] Quis enim hæc non credat in recogitatu mulierum illarum volutata inter dolorem præsentis destitutionis, qua percussæ sibi videbantur a domino, et spem resurrectionis ipsius, qua restitui rite arbitrantur? Corpore autem non invento sublata erat sepultura eius de medio, secundum Esaïam. Sed et duo ibidem angeli apparuerunt. Tot fere laterensibus uti solebat in duobus testibus consistens dei sermo. Revertentes quoque a sepulcro mulieres, et ab illa angelorum visione, prospiciebat Esaïas: Mulieres, inquit, venientes a visione, venite, ad renuntiandam scilicet domini resurrectionem. [3] Bene autem quod incredulitas discipulorum perseverabat, ut in finem usque defensio nostra consisteret Christum Iesum non alium se discipulis edidisse quam prophetarum. Nam cum duo ex illis iter agerent et dominus eis adhaesisset, non comparens quod ipse esset, etiam dissimulans de conscientia rei gestæ, Nos autem putabamus, inquiunt, ipsum esse redemptorem Israelis, utique suum Christum, id est creatoris. [4] Adeo nec alium se ediderat illis. Ceterum non existimarent eum creatoris, et cum creatoris existimaretur, non sustinisset hanc de se existimationem, si non is esset qui existimatur. Aut ipse erit auctor erroris et praevaricator veritatis, adversus dei optimi titulum. Sed nec post resurrectionem alium se eis ostendit quam quem existimatum sibi dixerant. Plane invectus est in illos: O insensati et tardi corde in non credendo omnibus quæ locutus est ad vos. Quæ locutus non alterius se dei esse probat, sed eiusdem dei. [5] Nam eadem et angeli ad mulieres: Rememoramini quæ locutus sit vobis in Galilæa, dicens quod oportet tradi filium hominis et crucifigi et tertia die resurgere. Et quare oportebat, nisi quia

ita a deo creatore scriptum? Igitur increpavit illos ut de sola passione scandalizatos, et ut dubios de fide resurrectionis annuntiatae sibi a feminis, per quae non crediderant ipsum fuisse quem existimarent. Itaque quod existimaverant, id volens credi se, eum se confirmabat quem existimaverant, creatoris scilicet Christum, redemptorem Israelis. [6] De corporis autem veritate quid potest clarius? cum haesitantibus eis ne phantasma esset, immo phantasma credentibus, Quid turbati estis? inquit, et quid cogitationes subeunt in corda vestra? Videte manus meas et pedes, quia ego ipse sum, quoniam spiritus ossa non habet, sicut me videtis habere. [7] Et Marcion quaedam contraria sibi illa, credo industria, eradere de evangelio suo noluit, ut ex his quae eradere potuit nec erasit, illa quae erasit aut negetur erasisse aut merito erasisse dicatur. Nec parcit nisi eis quae non minus aliter interpretando quam delendo subvertit. Vult itaque sic dictum quasi, Spiritus ossa non habet sicut me videtis habentem, ad spiritum referatur, sicut me videtis habentem, id est non habentem ossa sicut et spiritus. Et quae ratio tortuositatis istius, cum simpliciter pronuntiare potuisset, Quia spiritus ossa non habet, sicut me videtis non habentem? [8] Cur autem inspectui eorum manus et pedes suos offert, quae membra ex ossibus constant, si ossa non habebat? Cur adicit, Et scitote quia ego sum, quem scilicet corporeum retro noverant? Aut si phantasma erat usquequaque, cur illos phantasma credentes increpabat? Atquin adhuc eis non credentibus propterea cibum desideravit, ut se ostenderet etiam dentes habere. [9] Implevimus, ut opinor, sponsionem. Exhibuimus Iesum Christum prophetarum doctrinis, sententiis, affectibus, sensibus, virtutibus, passionibus, etiam resurrectione, non alium quam creatoris; siquidem et apostolos mittens ad praedicandum universis nationibus, in omnem terram exire sonum eorum et in terminos terrae voces eorum, psalmum adimplendo praecepit. Misereor tui, Marcion, frustra laborasti. Christus enim Iesus in evangelio tuo meus est.

LIBER V.

1. [1] Nihil sine origine nisi deus solus. Quae quantum praecedit in statu omnium rerum, tantum praecedat necesse est etiam in retractatu earum, ut constare de statu possit, quia nec habeas dispicere quid quale sit, nisi certus an sit, cum cognoveris unde sit. Et ideo ex opusculi ordine ad hanc materiam devolutus apostoli quoque originem a Marcione desidero, novus aliqui discipulus nec ullius alterius auditor, qui nihil interim credam nisi nihil temere credendum, temere porro credi quodcunque sine originis agnitione creditur, quique dignissime ad sollicitudinem redigam istam inquisitionem, cum is mihi affirmatur apostolus quem in albo apostolorum apud evangelium non deprehendo. [2] Denique audiens postea eum a domino allectum, iam in caelis quiescente, quasi improvidentiam existimo si non ante scivit illum sibi necessarium Christus, sed iam ordinato officio apostolatus et in sua opera dimisso, ex incursu, non ex prospectu, adiciendum existimavit, necessitate, ut ita dixerim, non voluntate. Quamobrem, Pontice nauclere, si nunquam furtivas merces vel illicitas in acatos tuas recepisti, si nullum omnino onus avertisti vel adulterasti, cautior utique et fidelior in dei rebus, edas velim nobis, quo symbolo susceperis apostolum Paulum, quis illum tituli caractere percusserit, quis transmiserit tibi, quis imposuerit, ut possis eum constanter exponere, ne illius probetur qui omnia apostolatus eius instrumenta protulerit. [3] Ipse se, inquit, apostolum est professus, et quidem non ab hominibus nec per hominem, sed per Iesum Christum. Plane profiteri potest semetipsum quis, verum professio eius alterius auctoritate conficitur. Alius scribit, alius subscribit, alius obsignat, alius actis refert. Nemo sibi et professor et testis est. Praeter haec utique legisti multos venturos qui dicant, Ego sum Christus. [4] Si est qui se Christum mentiatur, quanto magis qui se apostolum praedicet Christi? Adhuc ego in persona discipuli et inquisitoris conversor, ut iam hinc et fidem tuam obtundam, qui unde eam probes non habes, et impudentiam suffundam, qui vindicas, et unde possis vindicare non recipis. Sit Christus, sit apostolus, ut alterius, dum non probantur nisi de instrumento creatoris. [5] Nam mihi Paulum etiam Genesis olim repromisit. Inter illas enim figuras et propheticas super filios suos benedictiones Iacob cum ad Benjamin direxisset, Benjamin, inquit, lupus rapax ad matutinum comedet adhuc, et ad vesperam dabit escam. Ex tribu enim Benjamin oriturum Paulum providebat, lupum

rapacem ad matutinum comedentem, id est prima aetate vastaturum pecora domini ut persecutorem ecclesiarum, dehinc ad vesperam escam daturum, id est devergente iam aetate oves Christi educaturum ut doctorem nationum. [6] Nam et Saulis primo asperitas insectationis erga David, dehinc paenitentia et satisfactio, bona pro malis recipientis, non aliud portendebat quam Paulum in Saule secundum tribus et Iesum in David secundum virginis censum. Haec figurarum sacramenta si tibi displicent, certe Acta Apostolorum hunc mihi ordinem Pauli tradiderunt, a te quoque non negandum. Inde apostolum ostendo persecutorem, non ab hominibus neque per hominem; inde et ipsi credere inducor; inde te a defensione eius expello, nec timeo dicentem, Tu ergo negas apostolum Paulum? Non blasphemio quem tueor. Nego, ut te probare compellam. [7] Nego, ut meum esse convincam. Aut si ad nostram fidem spectas, recipe quae eam faciunt. Si ad tuam provocas, ede quae eam praestruunt. Aut proba esse quae credis; aut si non probas, quomodo credis? Aut qualis es adversus eum credens a quo solo probatur esse quod credis? [8] Habe nunc et apostolum de meo sicut et Christum, tam meum apostolum quam et Christum. Iisdem et hic dimicabimus lineis, in ipso gradu provocabimus praescriptionis, oportere scilicet et apostolum qui creatoris negetur, immo et adversus creatorem proferatur, nihil docere, nihil sapere, nihil velle secundum creatorem, et inprimis tanta constantia alium deum edicere quanta a lege creatoris abruptit. Neque enim verisimile est ut avertens a Iudaismo non pariter ostenderet in cuius dei fidem averteret, quia nemo transire posset a creatore nesciens ad quem transeundum sibi esset. [9] Sive enim Christus iam alium deum revelaverat, sequebatur etiam apostoli testatio, vel ne non eius dei apostolus haberetur quem Christus revelaverat, et quia non licebat abscondi ab apostolo qui iam revelatus fuisset a Christo: sive nihil tale de deo Christus revelaverat, tanto magis ab apostolo debuerat revelari, qui iam non posset ab alio, non credendus sine dubio si nec ab apostolo revelatus. Quod idcirco praestruximus, ut iam hinc profiteamur nos proinde probaturos nullum alium deum ab apostolo circumlatum, sicut probavimus nec a Christo, ex ipsius utique epistulis Pauli, quas proinde mutilatas etiam de numero forma iam haeretici evangelii praeiudicasse debebit.

2. DE EPISTULA AD GALATAS. [1] Principalem adversus Iudaismum epistolam nos quoque confitemur quae Galatas docet. Amplectimur etenim

omnem illam legis veteris abolitionem, ut et ipsam de creatoris venientem dispositione, sicut saepe iam in isto ordine tractavimus de praedicata novatione a prophetis dei nostri. Quodsi creator quidem vetera cessura promisit, novis scilicet orituris, Christus vero tempus distinx<it decess>ionis istius (lex et prophetae usque ad Ioannem), terminum in Ioanne statuens inter utrumque ordinem desinentium exinde veterum et incipientium novorum, necessarie et apostolus in Christo post Ioannem revelato vetera infirmat nova vero confirmat, atque ita non alterius dei fidem curat quam creatoris, apud quem et vetera decessura praedicabantur. [2] Igitur et legis destructio et evangelii aedificatio pro me faciunt in ista quoque epistula ad eam Galatarum praesumptionem pertinentes qua praesumebant Christum, ut puta creatoris, salva creatoris lege credendum, quod adhuc incredibile videretur legem a suo auctore deponi. Porro si omnino alium deum ab apostolo audissent, ultro utique scissent abscedendum sibi esse a lege eius dei quem reliquissent alium secuti. Quis enim expectaret diutius discere quod novam deberet sectari disciplinam, qui novum deum recepisset? [3] Immo quia eadem quidem divinitas praedicabatur in evangelio quae semper nota fuerat in lege, disciplina vero non eadem, hic erat totus quaestionis status, an lex creatoris ab evangelio deberet excludi in Christo creatoris. Denique aufer hunc statum, et vacat quaestio. Vacante autem quaestione ultro omnibus agnoscentibus discedendum sibi esse ab ordine creatoris per fidem dei alterius nulla apostolo materia competisset id tam presse docendi quod ultro fides ipsa dictasset. [4] Igitur tota intentio epistulae istius nihil aliud docet quam legis discessionem venientem de creatoris dispositione, ut adhuc suggeremus. Si item nullius novi dei exserit mentionem, quod nusquam magis fecisset quam in ista materia, ut rationem scilicet ablegandae legis unica hac et sufficientissima definitione proponeret novae divinitatis, apparet quomodo scribat, Miror vos tam cito transferri ab eo qui vos vocavit in gratiam ad aliud evangelium, ex conversatione aliud, non ex religione, ex disciplina, non ex divinitate: quoniam quidem evangelium Christi a lege evocare deberet ad gratiam, non a creatore ad alium deum. [5] Nemo enim illos moverat a creatore, ut viderentur sic ad aliud evangelium transferri quasi dum ad creatorem transferuntur. Nam et adiciens quod aliud evangelium omnino non esset, creatoris confirmat id quod esse defendit. Si enim et creator evangelium repromittit, dicens per Esaiam, Ascende in montem excelsum, qui evangelizas Sioni, extolle vocem

in valentia tua, qui evangelizas Hierusalem; item ad apostolorum personam, Quam tempestivi pedes evangelizantium pacem, evangelizantium bona, utique et nationibus evangelizantium, quoniam et, In nomine eius, inquit, nationes sperabunt, Christi scilicet, cui ait, Posui te in lumen nationum; est autem evangelium etiam dei novi, quod vis tunc ab apostolo defensum; iam ergo duo sunt evangelia apud duos deos, et mentitus erit apostolus dicens quod aliud omnino non est, cum sit et aliud, cum sic suum evangelium defendere potuisset, ut potius demonstraret, non ut unum determinaret. Sed fortasse, ut fugias hinc, Et ideo, dices, subtexit, Licet angelus de caelo aliter evangelizaverit, anathema sit, quia et creatorem sciebat evangelizaturum. [6] Rursus ergo te implicas. Hoc est enim quo adstringeris. Duo enim evangelia confirmare non est eius qui aliud iam negarit. Tamen lucet sensus eius qui suam praemisit personam: Sed et si nos aut angelus de caelo aliter evangelizaverit. Verbi enim gratia dictum est. Ceterum si nec ipse aliter evangelizaturus, utique nec angelus. Ita angelum ad hoc nominavit, quo multo magis hominibus non esset credendum, quando nec angelo nec apostolo, non angelum ad evangelium referret creatoris. [7] Exinde decurrens ordinem conversionis suae de persecutore in apostolum scripturam Apostolicorum confirmat, apud quam ipsa etiam epistulae istius materia recognoscitur, intercessisse quosdam qui dicerent circumcidi oportere et observandam esse Moysi legem, tunc apostolos de ista quaestione consultos ex auctoritate spiritus renuntiasse non esse imponenda onera hominibus quae patres ipsi non potuissent sustinere. Quod si et ex hoc congruunt Paulo Apostolorum Acta, cur ea respuatis iam apparet, ut deum scilicet non alium praedicantia quam creatorem, nec Christum alterius quam creatoris, quando nec promissio spiritus sancti aliunde probetur exhibita quam de instrumento Actorum. Quae utique verisimile non est ex parte quidem apostolo convenire, cum ordinem eius secundum ipsius testimonium ostendunt, ex parte vero dissidere, cum divinitatem in Christo creatoris annuntiant, ut praedicationem quidem apostolorum non sit secutus Paulus, qui formam ab eis dedocendae legis accepit.

3. [1] Denique ad patrocinium Petri ceterorumque apostolorum ascendisse Hierosolimam post annos quatuordecim scribit, ut conferret cum illis de evangelii sui regula, ne in vacuum tot annis cucurrisset aut curreret, si quid scilicet citra formam illorum evangelizaret. Adeo ab illis probari et

constabiliri desiderarat, quos, si quando, vultis Iudaismi magis adfines subintellegi. [2] Cum vero nec Titum dicit circumcislam, iam incipit ostendere solam circumcisionis quaestionem ex defensione adhuc legis concussam ab eis quos propterea falsos et superinducticios fratres appellat, non aliud statuere pergentes quam perseverantiam legis, ex fide sine dubio integra creatoris, atque ita pervertentes evangelium, non interpolatione scripturae qua Christum creatoris effingerent, sed retentione veteris disciplinae ne legem creatoris excluderent. [3] Ergo propter falsos, inquit, superinducticios fratres, qui subintraverant ad speculandam libertatem nostram quam habemus in Christo, ut nos subigerent servituti, nec ad horam cessimus subiectioni. Intendamus enim et sensui ipsi et causae eius, et apparebit vitiatio scripturae. Cum praemittit, Sed nec Titus, qui mecum erat, cum esset Graecus, coactus est circumcidi, dehinc subiungit, Propter superinducticios falsos fratres, et reliqua, contrarii utique facti incipit reddere rationem, ostendens propter quid fecerit quod nec fecisset nec ostendisset si illud propter quod fecit non accidisset. [4] Denique dicas velim, si non subintroissent falsi illi fratres ad speculandam libertatem eorum, cessissent subiectioni? Non opinor. Ergo cesserunt, quia fuerunt propter quos cederetur. Hoc enim rudi fidei et adhuc de legis observatione suspensae competeat, ipso quoque apostolo ne in vacuum cucurrisset aut curreret suspecto. [5] Itaque frustrandi erant falsi fratres, speculantes libertatem Christianam, ne ante eam in servitutem abducerent Iudaismi quam Paulus sciret se non in vacuum cucurrisset, quam dexteris ei darent antecessores, quam ex censu eorum in nationes praedicandi munus subiret. Necessario igitur cessit ad tempus, et sic ei ratio constat Timotheum circumcidendi et rastos introducendi in templum, quae in Actis edicuntur, adeo vera, ut apostolo consonent profitenti factum se Iudaeis Iudaeum ut Iudaeos lucrificeret, et sub lege agentem propter eos qui sub lege agerent, sic et propter superinductos illos, et omnibus novissime omnia factum ut omnes lucraretur. [6] Si haec quoque intellegi ex hoc postulant, id quoque nemo dubitabit, eius dei et Christi praedicatorem Paulum cuius legem quamvis excludens, interim tamen pro temporibus admiserat, statim amoliendam si novum deum protulisset. Bene igitur quod et dexteris Paulo dederunt Petrus et Iacobus et Ioannes, et de officii distributione pepigerunt, ut Paulus in nationes, illi in circumcisionem, tantum ut meminissent egenorum, et hoc secundum legem creatoris, pauperes et egenos fovendis, sicut in evangelii vestri

retractatu probatum est. [7] Adeo constat de lege sola fuisse quaestionem, dum ostenditur quid ex lege custodiri convenerit. Sed reprehendit Petrum non recto pede incedentem ad evangelii veritatem. Plane reprehendit, non ob aliud tamen quam ob inconstantiam victus, quem pro personarum qualitate variabat, timens eos qui erant ex circumcisione, non ob aliquam divinitatis perversitatem, de qua et aliis in faciem restitisset, qui de minore causa conversationis ambiguae Petro ipsi non pepercit. Sed quomodo Marcionitae volunt credi? [8] De cetero pergat apostolus, negans ex operibus legis iustificari hominem, sed ex fide. Eiusdem tamen dei cuius et lex. Nec enim laborasset fidem a lege discernere, quam diversitas ipsius divinitatis ultro discrevisset, si fuisset. Merito non reaedificabat quae destruxit. Destruui autem lex habuit ex quo vox Ioannis clamavit in eremo: Parate vias domini, ut fierent rivi et colles et montes repleti et humiliati, et tortuosa et aspera in rectitudinem et in campos, id est legis difficultates in evangelii facilitates. Meminerat iam et psalmi esse tempus: Disrumpamus a nobis vincula eorum, et abiciamus a nobis iugum ipsorum; ex quo tumultuatae sunt gentes et populi meditati sunt inania, astiterunt reges terrae et magistratus congregati sunt in unum adversus dominum et adversus Christum ipsius; ut iam ex fidei libertate iustificetur homo, non ex legis servitute, quia iustus ex fide vivit. [9] Quod si prophetae Abacuc praenuntiavit, habes et apostolum prophetas confirmantem, sicut et Christus. Eius ergo dei erit fides in qua vivet iustus, cuius et lex in qua non iustificatur operarius. Proinde si in lege maledictio est, in fide vero benedictio, utrumque habes propositum apud creatorem: Ecce posui, inquit, ante te maledictionem et benedictionem. Non potes distantiam vindicare, quae etsi rerum est, non ideo auctorum, quae ab uno auctore proponitur. Cur autem Christus factus sit pro nobis maledictio ipso apostolo edocente, manifestum est quam nobiscum faciat, id est secundum fidem creatoris. [10] Neque enim quia creator pronuntiavit, Maledictus omnis in ligno suspensus, ideo videbitur alterius dei esse Christus et idcirco a creatore iam tunc in lege maledictus. Et quomodo praemaledixisset eum creator quem ignorat? Cur autem non magis competat creatori filium suum dedisse maledictioni suae quam illi deo tuo subdidisse maledictioni, et quidem pro homine alieno? Denique si atrox videtur hoc in creatore circa filium, proinde tuo in deo; si vero rationale et in tuo, proinde et in meo, et magis in meo. [11] Facilius enim crederetur eius esse per maledictionem Christi benedictionem prospexisse homini qui et

maledictionem aliquando et benedictionem proposuerit ante hominem, quam qui neutrum unquam sit apud te professus. Accepimus igitur benedictionem spiritalem per fidem, inquit, ex qua scilicet vivit iustus, secundum creatorem. Hoc est ergo quod dico, eius dei fidem esse cuius est forma gratiae fidei. Sed et cum adicit: Omnes enim filii estis fidei, ostenditur quid supra haeretica industria eraserit, mentionem scilicet Abrahae, qua nos apostolus filios Abrahae per fidem affirmat, secundum quam mentionem hic quoque filios fidei notavit. Ceterum quomodo filii fidei? et cuius fidei, si non Abrahae? [12] Si enim Abraham deo credidit, et deputatum est iustitiae, atque exinde pater multarum nationum meruit nuncupari, nos autem credendo deo magis proinde iustificamur, sicut Abraham, et vitam proinde consequimur, sicut iustus ex fide vivit: sic fit ut et supra filios nos Abrahae pronuntiarit, qua patris fidei, et hic filios fidei, per quam Abraham pater nationum fuerat repromissus. Ipsum quod fidem a circumcisione revocabat, nonne Abrahae filios constituere quaerebat, qui in carnis integritate crediderat? Denique alterius dei fides ad formam dei alterius non potest admitti, ut credentes iustitiae deputet, ut iustos vivere faciat, ut nationes filios fidei dicat. Totum hoc eius est apud quem ante iam notum est.

4. [1] Sub eadem Abrahae mentione, dum ipso sensu revincatur, Adhuc, inquit, secundum hominem dico: dum essemus parvuli, sub elementis mundi eramus positi, ad deservendum eis. Atquin non est hoc humanitus dictum. Non enim exemplum est, sed veritas. Quis enim parvulus, utique sensu, quod sunt nationes, non elementis subiectus est mundi, quae pro deo suspicit? Illud autem fuit, quod cum Secundum hominem dixisset, tamen testamentum hominis nemo spernit aut superordinat. [2] Exemplo enim humani testamenti permanentis divinum tuebatur. Abrahae dictae sunt promissiones et semini eius: non dixit seminibus, quasi pluribus, sed semini, tanquam uni, quod Christus est. Erubescat spongia Marcionis! Nisi quod ex abundanti retracto quae abstulit, cum validius sit illum ex his revinci quae servavit. Cum autem evenit impleri tempus, misit deus filium suum, utique is qui etiam ipsorum temporum deus est quibus saeculum constat, qui signa quoque temporum ordinavit, soles et lunas et sidera et stellas, qui filii denique sui revelationem in extremitatem temporum et disposuit et praedicavit: In novissimis diebus erit manifestus mons domini, et, In novissimis diebus effundam de spiritu meo in omnem carnem, secundum Ioelem. Ipsius erat sustinuisse tempus impleri

cuius erat etiam finis temporis, sicut initium. [3] Ceterum deus ille otiosus, nec operationis nec praedicationis ullius, atque ita nec temporis alicuius, quid omnino egit quod efficeret tempus impleri et iam implendum sustineri? Si nihil, satis vanum est ut creatoris tempora sustinuerit serviens creatori. Cui autem rei misit filium suum? Ut eos qui sub lege erant redimeret, hoc est ut efficeret tortuosa in viam rectam et aspera in vias lenes, secundum Esaïam, ut vetera transirent et nova orirentur, lex nova ex Sion et sermo domini ex Hierusalem, et ut adoptionem filiorum acciperemus, utique nationes, quae filii non eramus. [4] Et ipse enim lux erit nationum, et in nomine eius nationes sperabunt. Itaque ut certum esset nos filios dei esse, misit spiritum suum in corda nostra, clamantem: Abba, pater. In novissimis enim, inquit, diebus effundam de meo spiritu in omnem carnem. Cuius gratia, nisi cuius et promissio gratiae? [5] Quis pater, nisi qui et factor? Post has itaque divitias non erat revertendum ad infirma et mendica elementa. Elementa autem apud Romanos quoque etiam primae litterae solent dici. Non ergo per mundialium elementorum derogationem a deo eorum avertere cupiebat, etsi dicendo supra, Si ergo his qui non natura sunt dei servitis, physicae, id est naturalis, superstitionis elementa pro deo habentis suggillabat errorem, nec sic tamen elementorum deum taxans. Sed quae velit intellegi elementa, primas scilicet litteras legis, ipse declarat. [6] Dies observatis et menses et tempora et annos, et sabbata ut opinor et coenas puras et ieiunia et dies magnos. Cessare enim ab his quoque, sicut et circumcisione, oportebat ex decretis creatoris, qui et per Esaïam, Neomenias vestras et sabbata et diem magnum non sustinebo, ieiunium et ferias et cerimonias vestras odit anima mea; et per Amos, Odi, reieci cerimonias vestras, et non odorabor in frequentiis vestris; item per Osee, Avertam universas iocunditates eius et cerimonias eius et sabbata et neomenias eius et omnes frequentias eius. [7] Quae ipse constituerat, inquis, erasit? Magis quam alius; aut si alius, ergo ille adiuvit sententiam creatoris, auferens quae et ille damnaverat. Sed non huius loci quaestio cur leges suas creator infregerit. Sufficit quod infracturum probavimus, ut confirmetur nihil apostolum adversus creatorem determinasse, cum et ipsa amolitio legis a creatore sit. [8] Sed ut furibus solet aliquid excidere de praeda in indicium, ita credo et Marcionem novissimam Abrahae mentionem dereliquisse, nulla magis auferenda, etsi ex parte convertit. Si enim Abraham duos liberos habuit, unum ex ancilla et alium ex libera, sed qui ex ancilla carnaliter natus est, qui

vero ex libera per repromissionem: quae sunt allegorica, id est aliud portendentia: haec sunt enim duo testamenta, sive duae ostensiones, sicut invenimus interpretatum, unum a monte Sina in synagogam Iudaeorum secundum legem generans in servitutem, aliud super omnem principatum generans, vim, dominationem, et omne nomen quod nominatur, non tantum in hoc aevo sed et in futuro, quae est mater nostra, in quam repromisimus sanctam ecclesiam; ideoque adicit, Propter quod, fratres, non sumus ancillae filii sed liberae, utique manifestavit et Christianismi generositatem in filio Abrahae ex libera nato allegoriae habere sacramentum, sicut et Iudaismi servitutem legalem in filio ancillae, atque ita eius dei esse utramque dispositionem apud quem invenimus utriusque dispositionis delineationem. [9] Ipsum quod ait, Qua libertate Christus nos manumisit, nonne eum constituit manumissorem qui fuit dominus? Alienos enim servos nec Galba manumisit, facilius liberos soluturus. Ab eo igitur praestabitur libertas apud quem fuit servitus legis. Et merito. Non decebat manumissos rursus iugo servitutis, id est legis, adstringi, iam psalmo adimpleto: Disrumpamus vincula eorum et abiciamus a nobis iugum ipsorum, postquam archontes congregati sunt in unum adversus dominum et adversus Christum ipsius. [10] De servitute igitur exemptos ipsam servitutis notam eradere perseverabat, circumcisionem, ex praedicationis scilicet propheticae auctoritate, memor dictum per Hieremiam, Et circumcidimini praeputia cordis vestri; quia et Moyses, Circumcidetis duricordiam vestram, id est non carnem. Denique si circumcisionem ab alio deo veniens excludebat, cur etiam praeputationem negat quicquam valere in Christo, sicut et circumcisionem? [11] praeferre enim debebat aemulam eius quam expugnabat, si ab aemulo circumcisionis deo esset. Porro quia et circumcisio et praeputatio uni deo deputabantur, ideo utraque in Christo vacabat propter fidei praelationem, illius fidei de qua erat scriptum: Et in nomine eius nationes credent, illius fidei quam dicendo per dilectionem perfici sic quoque creatoris ostendit. Sive enim dilectionem dicit quae in deum, et hoc creatoris est, Diliges deum ex toto corde tuo, et ex tota anima tua, et ex totis viribus tuis ; sive quae in proximum, Et proximum tuum tanquam te, creatoris est. [12] Qui autem turbat vos, iudicium feret. A quo deo? Ab optimo? Sed ille non iudicat. A creatore? Sed nec ille damnabit assertorem circumcisionis. Quodsi non erit alius qui iudicet nisi creator, iam ergo non damnabit legis defensores nisi qui ipse eam cessare constituit. Quid nunc si et

confirmat illam ex parte qua debet? Tota enim, inquit, lex in vobis adimpleta est: Diliges proximum tuum tanquam te. ^[13] Aut si sic vult intellegi, Adimpleta est, quasi iam non adimplenda, ergo non vult ut diligam proximum tanquam me, ut et hoc cum lege cessaverit. Sed perseverandum erit senaper in isto praecepto. Ergo lex creatoris etiam ab adversario probata est, nec dispendium sed compendium ab eo consecuta est, redacta summa in unum iam praeceptum. Sed nec hoc alii magis competit quam auctori. Atque adeo cum dicit, Onera vestra invicem sustinete et sic adimplebitis legem Christi, si hoc non potest fieri nisi quis diligit proximum sibi tanquam se, apparet, Diliges proximum tibi tanquam te, per quod auditur, Invicem onera vestra portate, Christi esse legem, quae sit creatoris, atque ita Christum creatoris esse, dum Christi est lex creatoris. ^[14] Erratis, deus non deridetur. Atquin derideri potest deus Marcionis, qui nec irasci novit nec ulcisci. Quod enim severit homo, hoc et metet. Ergo retributionis et iudicii deus intentat. Bonum autem facientes non fatigemur, et Dum habemus tempus, operemur bonum. Nega creatorem bonum facere praecepisse, et diversa doctrina sit diversae divinitatis. Porro si retributionem praedicat, ab eodem erit et corruptionis messis et vitae. ^[15] Tempore autem suo metemus, quia et Ecclesiasticus, Tempus inquit erit omni rei. Sed et mihi, famulo creatoris, mundus crucifixus est, non tamen deus mundi, et ego mundo, non tamen deo mundi. Mundum enim quantum ad conversationem eius posuit, cui renuntiando mutuo transfigimur et invicem morimur. Persecutores vocat Christi. Cum vero adicit stigmata Christi in corpore suo gestare se (utique corporalia competunt), iam non putativam, sed veram et solidam carnem professus est Christi, cuius stigmata corporalia ostendit.

5. DE EPISTULA AD CORINTHIOS PRIMA. ^[1] Praestructio superioris epistolae ita duxit, ut de titulo eius non retractaverim, certus et alibi retractari eum posse, communem scilicet et eundem in epistulis omnibus. Quod non utique salutem praescribit eis quibus scribit, sed gratiam et pacem, non dico. Quid illi cum Iudaico adhuc more, destructori Iudaismi? Nam et hodie Iudaei in pacis nomine appellant, et retro in scripturis sic salutabant. Sed intellego illum defendisse officio suo praedicationem creatoris: Quam maturi pedes evangelizantium bona, evangelizantium pacem. ^[2] Evangelizator enim bonorum, id est gratiae dei, pacem quam praeferebam sciebat. Haec cum a deo patre nostro et domino Iesu annuntians communibus nominibus utatur,

competentibus nostro quoque sacramento, non puto dispici posse quis deus pater et dominus Iesus praedicetur, nisi ex accedentibus cui magis competant.

[3] Primo quidem patrem dominum praescribo non alium agnoscendum quam et hominis et universitatis creatorem et institutorem: porro patri etiam domini nomen accedere ob potestatem, quod et filius per patrem capiat: dehinc gratiam et pacem non solum eius esse a quo praedicabantur, sed eius qui fuerit offensus. Nec gratia enim fit nisi offensae, nec pax nisi belli. [4] Et populus autem per disciplinae transgressionem et omne hominum genus per naturae dissimulationem et deliquerat et rebellaverat adversus creatorem. Deus autem Marcionis, et quia ignotus, non potuit offendi, et quia nescit irasci. Quae ergo gratia a non offenso? quae pax a non rebellato? [5] Ait crucem Christi stultitiam esse perituris, virtutem autem et sapientiam dei salutem consecuturis; et ut ostenderet unde hoc eveniret, adicit: Scriptum est enim, Perdam sapientiam sapientium et prudentiam prudentium irritam faciam. Si haec creatoris sunt, et quae ad causam crucis pertinent stultitiae deputat, ergo et crux et per crucem Christus ad creatorem pertinebit, a quo praedicatum est quod ad crucem pertinet. [6] Aut si creator, qua aemulus, idcirco sapientiam abstulit ut crux Christi scilicet adversarii stultitia deputetur, equomodo potest aliquid ad crucem Christi non sui creator pronuntiasse, quem ignorabat cum praedicabat? Sed et cur apud dominum optimum et profusae misericordiae alii salutem referunt, credentes crucem virtutem et sapientiam dei esse, alii perditionem, quibus Christi crux stultitia reputatur, si non creatoris est aliquam et populi et humani generis offensam detrimento sapientiae atque prudentiae multasse? [7] Hoc sequentia confirmabunt, cum dicit, Nonne infatuavit deus sapientiam mundi? cumque et hic adicit quare: Quoniam in dei sapientia non intellexit mundus per sapientiam dominum, boni duxit deus per stultitiam praedicationis salvos facere credentes. Sed prius de mundo disceptabo, quatenus subtilissimi haeretici hic vel maxime mundum per dominum mundi interpretantur, nos autem hominem qui sit in mundo intellegimus, ex forma simplici loquelaе humanae, qua plerumque id quod continet ponimus pro eo quod continetur. Circus clamavit, et forum locutum est, et basilica fremuit, id est qui in his locis rem egerunt. Igitur quia homo, non deus, mundi in sapientia non cognovit deum, quem cognoscere debuerat, et Iudaeus in sapientia scripturarum et omnis gens in sapientia operum, ideo deus idem qui in sapientia sua non erat agnitus statuit sapientiam hominum

stultitia repercutere, salvos faciendo credentes quosque in stultam crucis praedicationem. [8] Quoniam Iudaei signa desiderant, qui iam de deo certi esse debuerant, et Graeci sapientiam quaerunt, qui suam scilicet, non dei, sapientiam sistunt. Ceterum si novus deus praedicaretur, quid deliquerant Iudaei signa desiderantes quibus crederent, aut Graeci sapientiam sectantes cui magis crederent? Ita et remuneratio ipsa in Iudaeos et Graecos et zeloten deum confirmat et iudicem, qui ex retributione aemula et iudice infatuaverit sapientiam mundi. Quodsi eius sunt et causae cuius adhibentur scripturae, ergo de creatore tractans apostolus non intellecto creatorem utique docet intellegendum. [9] Etiam quod scandalum Iudaeis praedicat Christum, prophetiam super illo consignat creatoris, dicentis per Esaiam, Ecce posui in Sion lapidem offensionis et petram scandali. Petra autem fuit Christus: etiam Marcion servat. Quid est autem stultum dei sapientius hominibus, nisi crux et mors Christi? Quid infirmum dei fortius homine, nisi nativitas et caro dei? Ceterum si nec natus ex virgine Christus nec carne constructus ac per hoc neque crucem neque mortem vere perpessus est, nihil in illo fuit stultum et infirmum; nec iam stulta mundi elegit deus ut confundat sapientiam, nec infirma mundi elegit deus ut confundat fortia, nec inhonesta et minima et contemptibilia, quae non sunt, id est quae non vere sunt, ut confundat quae sunt, id est quae vere sunt. Nihil enim a deo dispositum est vere modicum et ignobile et contemptibile, sed quod ab homine. Apud creatorem autem etiam vetera stultitiae et infirmitati et inhonestati et pusillitati et contemptui deputari possunt. [10] Quid stultius, quid infirmius, quam sacrificiorum cruentorum et holocaustorum nidorosorum a deo exactio? Quid infirmius quam vasculorum et grabatorum purgatio? Quid inhonestius quam carnis iam erubescens alia dedecoratio? Quid tam humile quam talionis indictio? Quid tam contemptibile quam ciborum exceptio? Totum, quod sciam, vetus testamentum omnis haereticus irridet. Stulta enim mundi elegit deus, ut confundat sapientiam (Marcionis deus nihil tale, quia nec aemulatur contraria contrariis redarguere), ne gloriatur omnis caro, ut, quemadmodum scriptum est, Qui gloriatur, in domino gloriatur. In quo? utique in eo qui hoc praecepit: nisi creator praecepit ut in deo Marcionis gloriatur.

6. [1] Igitur per haec omnia ostendit cuius dei sapientiam loquatur inter perfectos, eius scilicet qui sapientiam sapientium abstulerit et prudentiam prudentium irritam fecerit, qui infatuaverit sapientiam mundi, stulta eligens

eius et disponens in salutem. Hanc dicit sapientiam in occulto fuisse quae fuerit in stultis et in pusillis et inhonestis, quae latuerit etiam sub figuris, allegoriis et aenigmatibus, revelanda postmodum in Christo, posito in lumen nationum a creatore promittente per Esaiae vocem patefacturum se thesauros invisibiles et occultos. [2] Nam ut absconderit aliquid is deus qui nihil egit omnino in quod aliquid abscondisse existimaretur, satis incredibile. Ipse si esset, latere non posset, nedum aliqua eius sacramenta. Creator autem tam ipse notus quam et sacramenta eius, palam scilicet decurrentia apud Israel, sed de significantiis obumbrata, in quibus sapientia dei delitescebat, inter perfectos narranda suo in tempore, proposita vero in proposito dei ante saecula. [3] Cuius et saecula, nisi creatoris? Si enim et saecula temporibus structa sunt, tempora autem diebus et mensibus et annis compinguntur, dies porro et menses et anni solibus et lunis et sideribus creatoris signantur in hoc ab eo positus (Et erunt, enim inquit, in signa mensium et annorum), apparet et saecula creatoris esse, et omne quod ante saecula propositum dicatur non alterius esse quam cuius et saecula. [4] Aut probet dei sui saecula Marcion; ostendat et mundum ipsum in quo saecula deputentur, vas quodammodo temporum, et signa aliqua vel ordinem eorum. Si nihil demonstrat, revertor ut et illud dicam, Cur autem ante saecula creatoris proposuit gloriam nostram? Posset videri eam ante saecula proposuisse quam introductione saeculi revelasset. At cum id facit paene iam totis saeculis creatoris productis, vane ante saecula proposuit, et non magis intra saecula, quod revelaturus erat paene post saecula. [5] Non enim eius est festinasse in proponendo cuius et retardasse in revelando. Creatori autem competit utrumque, et ante saecula proposuisse et in fine saeculorum revelasse, quia et quod proposuit et revelavit medio spatio saeculorum in figuris et aenigmatibus et allegoriis praeministravit. Sed quia subicit de gloria nostra, quod eam nemo ex principibus huius aevi scierit, ceterum si scissent nunquam dominum gloriae crucifixissent, argumentatur haereticus quod principes huius aevi dominum, alterius scilicet dei Christum, cruci confixerint, ut et hoc in ipsum recidat creatorem. [6] Porro cui supra ostendimus quibus modis gloria nostra a creatore sit deputanda, praecudicatum esse debet eam quae in occulto fuerit apud creatorem merito ignotam etiam ab omnibus virtutibus et potestatibus creatoris, quia nec famulis liceat consilia nosse dominorum, nedum illis apostatis angelis ipsique principi transgressionis, diabolo, quos magis extraneos fuisse contenderim ob culpam

ab omni conscientia dispositionum creatoris. [7] Sed iam nec mihi competit principes huius aevi virtutes et potestates interpretari creatoris, quia ignorantiam illis adscribit apostolus, Iesum autem et secundum nostrum evangelium diabolus quoque in temptatione cognovit, et secundum commune instrumentum spiritus nequam sciebat eum sanctum dei esse et Iesum vocari et in perditionem eorum venisse. Etiam parabola fortis illius armati, quem alius validior oppressit et vasa eius occupavit, si in creatoris accipitur apud Marcionem, iam nec ignorasse ultra potuit creator deum gloriae dum ab eo opprimitur, nec in cruce eum figere adversus quem valere non potuit, et superest ut secundum me quidem credibile sit scientes virtutes et potestates creatoris deum gloriae Christum suum crucifixisse, qua desperatione et malitiae redundantia servi quoque scelestissimi dominos suos interficere non dubitant. Scriptum est enim apud me satanam in Iudam introisse. [8] Secundum autem Marcionem nec apostolus hoc loco patitur ignorantiam adscribi virtutibus creatoris in gloriae dominum, quia scilicet non illas vult intellegi principes huius aevi. Quodsi non videtur de spiritalibus dixisse principibus, ergo de saecularibus dixit, de populo principali, utique non inter nationes, de ipsis archontibus eius, de rege Herode, etiam de Pilato, et quo maior principatus huius aevi Romana dignitas praesidebat. [9] Ita et cum destruuntur argumentationes diversae partis, nostrae expositiones aedificantur. Sed vis adhuc gloriam nostram dei tui esse et apud eum in occulto fuisse. Et quare adhuc eodem et deus instrumento et apostolus nititur? Quid illi cum sententiis prophetarum ubique? Quis enim cognovit sensum domini, et quis illi consiliarius fuit? Esaias est. Quid illi etiam cum exemplis dei nostri? [10] Nam quod architectum se prudentem affirmat, hoc invenimus significari depalatorem disciplinae divinae a creatore per Esaiam: Auferam, enim inquit, a Iudaea inter cetera et sapientem architectum. Et numquid ipse tunc Paulus destinabatur, de Iudaea, id est de Iudaismo, auferri habens in aedificationem Christianismi, positurus unicum fundamentum, quod est Christus? quia et de hoc per eundem prophetam creator, Ecce ego, inquit, inicio in fundamenta Sionis lapidem pretiosum, honorabilem, et qui in eum crediderit non confundetur. [11] Nisi si structorem se terreni operis deus profitebatur, ut non de Christo suo significaret qui futurus esset fundamentum credentium in eum; super quod prout quisque superstruxerit, dignam scilicet vel indignam doctrinam, si opus eius per ignem probabitur, si merces illi per ignem

rependetur, creatoris est: quia per ignem iudicatur vestra superaedificatio, utique sui fundamenti, id est sui Christi. Nescitis quod templum dei sitis, et in vobis inhabitet spiritus dei? Si homo et res et opus et imago et similitudo et caro per terram et anima per afflatum creatoris est, totus ergo in alieno habitat deus Marcionis si non creatoris sumus templum. [12] Quodsi templum dei quis vitiaverit, vitiabitur, utique a deo templi. Ultorem intentans, creatorem intentabis. Stulti estote, ut sitis sapientes. Quare? Sapientia enim huius mundi stultitia est penes deum. Penes quem deum? Si nihil nobis et ad hunc sensum pristina praeiudicaverunt, bene quod et hic adstruit: Scriptum est enim, Deprehendens sapientes in nequitia illorum; et rursus, Dominus scit cogitationes sapientium, quod sint supervacuae. [13] In totum enim praescriptum a nobis erit, nulla illum sententia uti potuisse eius dei quem destruere deberet, si non illi doceret. Ergo, inquit, nemo gloriatur in homine. Et hoc secundum creatoris disciplinam: Miserum hominem, qui spem habet in hominem! et, Bonum est fidere in deo quam fidere in hominibus; ita et gloriari.

7. [1] Et occulta tenebrarum ipse illuminabit, utique per Christum, qui Christum illuminationem repromisit, se quoque lucernam pronuntiavit, scrutantem corda et renes. Ab illo erit et laus unicuique a quo et contrarium laudis, ut a iudice. Certe, inquis, vel hic mundum deum mundi interpretatur, dicendo, Spectaculum facti sumus mundo et angelis et hominibus: quia si mundum homines mundi significasset, non etiam homines postmodum nominasset. Immo ne ita argumentareris, providentia spiritus sancti demonstravit quomodo dixisset, Spectaculum facti sumus mundo, dum angelis qui mundo ministrant, et hominibus quibus ministrant. [2] Verebatur nimirum tantae constantiae vir, ne dicam spiritus sanctus, praesertim ad filios scribens, quos in evangelio generaverat, libere deum mundi nominare, adversus quem nisi exserte non posset videri praedicare. Non defendo secundum legem creatoris displicuisse illum qui mulierem patris sui habuit. Communis et publicae religionis secutus sit disciplinam. Sed cum eum damnat dedendum satanae, damnatoris dei praeco est. Viderit et quomodo dixerit, In interitum carnis ut spiritus salvus sit in die domini, dum et de carnis interitu et de salute spiritus iudicavit, et auferri iubens malum de medio creatoris frequentissimam sententiam commemoraverit: [3] Expurgate vetus fermentum, ut sitis nova conspersio, sicut estis azymi. Ergo azymi figurae erant nostrae apud

creatorem. Sic et pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus. Quare pascha Christus, si non pascha figura Christi per similitudinem sanguinis salutaris pecoris et Christi? Quid nobis et Christo imagines induit sollemnium creatoris, si non erant nostrae? [4] Avertens autem nos a fornicatione manifestat carnis resurrectionem. Corpus, inquit, non fornicationi sed domino, et dominus corpori, ut templum deo et deus templo. Templum ergo deo peribit, et deus templo? Atquin vides, Qui dominum suscitavit, et nos suscitabit; in corpore quoque suscitabit, quia corpus domino, et dominus corpori. Et bene quod aggerat, Nescitis corpora vestra membra esse Christi? Quid dicet haereticus? Membra Christi non resurgent, quae nostra iam non sunt? Empti enim sumus pretio magno. [5] Plane nullo, si phantasma fuit Christus nec habuit ullam substantiam corporis quam pro nostris corporibus dependeret. Ergo et Christus habuit quo nos redimeret, et si aliquo magno redemit haec corpora, in quae eadem committenda fornicatio non erit, ut in membra iam Christi non nostra, utique sibi salva praestabit quae magno comparavit. Iam nunc quomodo honorabimus, quomodo tollemus deum in corpore perituro? [6] Sequitur de nuptiis congregi, quas Marcion constantior apostolo prohibet. Etenim apostolus, etsi bonum continentiae praefert, tamen coniugium et contrahi permittit et usui esse, et magis retineri quam disiungi suadet. Plane Christus vetat divortium, Moyses vero permittit. Marcion totum concubitus auferens fidelibus (viderint enim catechumeni eius), repudium ante nuptias iubens, cuius sententiam sequitur, Moysi an Christi? [7] Atquin et Christus cum praecipit mulierem a viro non discedere, aut si discesserit manere innuptam aut reconciliari viro, et repudium permisit, quod non in totum prohibuit, et matrimonium confirmavit, quod primo vetuit disiungi, et si forte disiunctum voluit reformari. Sed et continentiae quas ait causas? [8] Quia tempus in collecto est. Putaveram, quia deus alius in Christo; et tamen a quo est collectio temporis, ab eo erit et quod collectioni temporis congruit. Nemo alieno tempori consulit. Pusillum deum affirmas tuum, Marcion, quem in aliquo coangustat tempus creatoris. Gerte praescribens tantum in domino esse nubendum, ne qui fidelis ethnicum matrimonium contrahat, legem tueretur creatoris, allophylosum nuptias ubique prohibentis. [9] Sed, Et si sunt qui dicuntur dei, sive in caelis sive in terris, apparet quomodo dixerit; non quasi vere sint, sed quia sint qui dicantur, quando non sint. De idolis enim coepit de idolothytis disputaturus: Scimus quod idolum nihil sit. Creatorem autem et

Marcion deum non negat; ergo non potest videri apostolus creatorem quoque inter eos posuisse qui dei dicantur et tamen non sint, quando, et si fuissent, nobis tamen unus esset deus pater. Ex quo omnia nobis, nisi cuius omnia? Quanam ista? Habes in praeteritis, Omnia vestra sunt, sive Paulus, sive Apollo, sive Cephas, sive mundus, sive vita, sive mors, sive praesentia, sive futura. [10] Adeo omnium deum creatorem facit, a quo et mundus et vita et mors, quae alterius dei esse non possunt. Ab eo igitur inter omnia et Christus. Ex labore suo unumquemque docens vivere oportere satis exempla praemiseraat militum pastorum rusticorum; sed divina illi auctoritas deerat. Legem igitur opponit creatoris ingratis, quam destruebat; sui enim dei nullam talem habebat. Bovi, inquit, terenti os non obligabis, et adicit, Numquid de bubus pertinet ad dominum? etiam de bubus propter homines benignum? Propter nos enim scriptum est, inquit. [11] Ergo et legem allegoricam secundum nos probavit, et de evangelio viventibus patrocinantem, ac propter hoc non alterius esse evangelizatores quam cuius lex quae prospexit illis, cum dicit, Propter nos enim scriptum est. Sed noluit uti legis potestate, quia maluit gratis laborare. Hoc ad gloriam suam retulit, quam negavit quemquam evacuaturum, non ad legis destructionem qua alium probavit usurum. Ecce enim et in petram offendit caecus Marcion de qua bibebant in solitudine patres nostri. Si enim petra illa Christus fuit, utique creatoris, cuius et populus, cui rei figuram extranei sacramenti interpretatur? An ut hoc ipsum doceret figurata fuisse vetera in Christum ex illis recensendum? Nam et reliquum exitum populi decursurus praemittit, Haec autem exempla nobis sunt facta. [13] Dic mihi, a creatore alterius quidem ignoti dei hominibus exempla sunt facta, an alius deus ab alio mutuatur exempla, et quidem aemulo? De illo me terret sibi a quo fidem meam transfert. Meliorem me illi adversarius faciet? Iam si deliquero eadem quae et populus, eademne passurus sum, an non? Atquin si non eadem, vane mihi timenda proponit quae non sum passurus. Passurus autem a quo ero? Si a creatore, qualia infligere ipsius est? et quale erit ut peccatorem aemuli sui puniat magis quam e contrario foveat deus zelotes? Si ab illo deo, atquin punire non novit. Ita tota ista propositio apostoli nulla ratione consistit, si non ad disciplinam creatoris est. [14] Denique et in clausula praefationi respondet. Haec autem quemadmodum evenerunt illis, scripta sunt ad nos commonendos, in quos fines aevorum decucurrerunt. O creatorem et praescium iam et admonitorem alienorum Christianorum! Praetereo si quando

paria eorum quae retractata sunt, quaedam et breviter expungo. Magnum argumentum dei alterius permissio omnium obsoniorum adversus legem. Quasi non et ipsi confiteamur legis onera dimissa, sed ab eo qui imposuit, qui novationem repromisit. Ita et cibos qui abstulit, reddidit quod et a primordio praestitit. Ceterum si quis alius deus fuisset, destructor dei nostri, nihil magis suos prohibuisset quam de copiis adversarii vivere.

8. [1] Caput viri Christus est. Quis Christus? qui non est viri auctor? Caput enim ad auctoritatem posuit, auctoritas autem non alterius erit quam auctoris. Cuius denique viri caput est? Certe de quo subicit, Vir enim non debet caput velare, cum sit dei imago. Igitur si creatoris est imago (ille enim Christum sermonem suum intuens hominem futurum, Faciamus, inquit, hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram), quomodo possum alterum habere caput, non eum cuius imago sum? [2] Cum enim imago sim creatoris, non est in me locus capitis alterius. Sed et quare mulier potestatem super caput habere debebit? Si quia ex viro et propter virum facta est, secundum institutionem creatoris, sic quoque eius disciplinam apostolus curavit de cuius institutione causas disciplinae interpretatur. Adicit etiam, Propter angelos. Quos? id est cuius? Si creatoris apostatas, merito, ut illa facies quae eos scandalizavit notam. quandam referat de habitu humilitatis et obscuracione decoris: si vero propter angelos dei alterius, quid veretur, si nec ipsi Marcionitae feminas appetunt? [3] Saepe iam ostendimus haereses apud apostolum inter mala ut malum poni, et eos probabiles intellegendos qui haereses ut malum fugiant. Proinde panis et calicis sacramento iam in evangelio probavimus corporis et sanguinis dominici veritatem adversus phantasma Marcionis. Sed et omnem iudicii mentionem creatori competere, ut deo iudici, toto paene opere tractatum est. [4] Nunc de spiritualibus dico, haec quoque in Christum a creatore promissa, sub illa praescriptione, iustissima opinor, qua non alterius credenda sit exhibitio quam cuius probata fuerit repromissio. Pronuntiavit Esaias, Prohibet virga de radice Iesse, et flos de radice ascendet, et requiescet super eum spiritus domini. Dehinc species eius enumerat: Spiritus sapientiae et intelligentiae, spiritus consilii et valentiae, et spiritus agnitionis et religionis, spiritus eum replebit timoris dei. Christum enim in floris figura ostendit oriturum ex virga profecta de radice Iesse, id est virgine generis David, filii Iesse, in quo Christo consistere haberet tota substantia spiritus, non quasi postea obventura illi qui semper spiritus dei fuerit, ante carnem quoque, ne ex

hoc argumenteris prophetiam ad eum Christum pertinere qui ut homo tantum ex solo censu David postea consecutus sit dei sui spiritum, sed quoniam exinde quo florisset in carne sumpta ex stirpe David, requiescere in illo omnis haberet operatio gratiae spiritalis, et concessare et finem facere, quantum ad Iudaeos; [5] sicut et res ipsa testatur, nihil exinde spirante penes illos spiritu creatoris, ablato a Iudaea sapiente et prudente architecto et consiliario et propheta, ut hoc sit, Lex et prophetae usque ad Ioannem. Accipe nunc quomodo et a Christo in caelum recepto charismata obventura pronuntiavit. Ascendit in sublimitatem, id est in caelum: captivam duxit captivitatem, id est mortem vel humanam servitutem: dedit data filiis hominum, id est donativa quae charismata dicimus. Eleganter Filiis hominum ait, non passim Hominibus, nos ostendens filios hominum, id est vere hominum, apostolorum. [6] In evangelio, enim inquit, ego vos generavi, et, Filii mei quos parturio rursus. Iam nunc et illa promissio spiritus absolute facta per loelem: In novissimis diebus effundam de meo spiritu in omnem carnem, et prophetabunt filii filiaeque eorum, et super servos et ancillas meas de meo spiritu effundam. [7] Et utique si in novissimos dies gratiam spiritus creator repromisit, Christus autem spiritalium dispensator in novissimis diebus apparuit, dicente apostolo, At ubi tempus expletum est misit deus filium suum, et rursus, Quia tempus iam in collecto est, apparet et de temporum ultimum praedicatione hanc gratiam spiritus ad Christum praedicatoris pertinere. Compara denique species apostoli et Esaiae. [8] Alii, inquit, datur per spiritum sermo sapientiae: statim et Esaias spiritum sapientiae posuit. Alii sermo scientiae: hic erit sermo intellegentiae et consilii. Alii fides in eodem spiritu: hic erit spiritus religionis et timoris dei. Alii donum curationum, alii virtutum: hic erit valentiae spiritus. Alii prophetia, alii distinctio spirituum, alii genera linguarum, alii interpretatio linguarum: hic erit agnitionis spiritus. [9] Vide apostolum et in distributione facienda unius spiritus et in specialitate interpretanda prophetae conspirantem, Possum dicere, ipsum quod corporis nostri per multa et diversa membra unitatem charismatum variorum compagini adaequavit, eundem et corporis humani et spiritus sancti dominum ostendit, qui merita charismatum noluerit esse in corpore spiritus quae nec in corpore humano collocavit, qui de dilectione quoque omnibus charismatibus praeponenda apostolum instruxerit principali praecepto, quod probavit et Christus, [10] Diliges dominum de totis praecordiis et totis viribus et tota anima

tua et proximum tuum tanquam te ipsum. Et si quod in lege scriptum esset commemorat, in aliis linguis et in aliis labiis locuturum creatorem, cum hac commemoratione charisma linguarum confirmat, nec hic potest videri alienum charisma creatoris praedicatione confirmasse. [11] Aeque praescribens silentium mulieribus in ecclesia, ne quid discendi duntaxat gratia loquantur (ceterum prophetandi ius et illas habere iam ostendit, cum mulieri etiam prophetanti velamen imponit), ex lege accipit subiciendae feminae auctoritatem, quam, ut semel dixerim, nosse non debuit nisi in destructionem. [12] Sed ut iam a spiritualibus recedamus, res ipsae probare debebunt quis nostrum temere deo suo vindicet, et an nostrae parti possit opponi, haec et si creator repromisit in suum Christum nondum revelatum, ut Iudaeis tantum destinatum, suas habitura in suo tempore in suo Christo et in suo populo operationes. Exhibeat itaque Marcion dei sui dona, aliquos prophetas, qui tamen non de humano sensu sed de dei spiritu sint locuti, qui et futura praenuntiarint et cordis occulta traduxerint; edat aliquem psalmum, aliquam visionem, aliquam orationem, duntaxat spiritalem, in ecstasi, id est amentia, si qua linguae interpretatio accessit; probet etiam mihi mulierem apud se prophetasse ex illis suis sanctoribus feminis magnificam: si haec omnia facilius a me proferuntur, et utique conspirantia regulis et dispositionibus et disciplinis creatoris, sine dubio dei mei erit et Christus et spiritus et apostolus. Habet professionem meam qui voluerit eam exigere.

9. [1] Interim Marcionites nihil huiusmodi exhibebit, qui timet iam pronuntiare cuius magis Christus nondum sit revelatus. Sicut meus expectandus est, qui a primordio praedicatus est, illius idcirco non est, quia non a primordio sit. Melius nos credimus in Christum futurum quam haereticus in nullum. [2] Mortuorum resurrectionem quomodo quidam tunc negarint prius dispiciendum est. Utique eodem modo quo et nunc; siquidem semper resurrectio carnis negatur. Ceterum animam et sapientium plures divinam vindicantes salvam repromittunt, et vulgus ipsum ea praesumptione defunctos colit qua animas eorum manere confidit: ceterum corpora aut ignibus statim aut feris aut etiam diligentissime condita temporibus tamen aboleri manifestum est. Si ergo carnis resurrectionem negantes apostolus retundit, utique adversus illos tuetur quod illi negabant, carnis scilicet resurrectionem. Habes compendio responsum. [3] Cetera iam ex abundanti. Nam et ipsum quod mortuorum resurrectio dicitur, exigit defendi proprietates

vocabulorum. Ita vocabulum mortuum non est nisi quod amisit animam, de cuius facultate vivebat. Corpus est quod amittit animam et amittendo fit mortuum; ita mortui vocabulum corpori competit. Porro si resurrectio mortui est, mortuum autem non aliud est quam corpus, corporis erit resurrectio. [4] Sic et resurrectionis vocabulum non aliam rem vindicat quam quae cecidit. Surgere enim potest dici et quod omnino non cecidit, quod semper retro iacuit. Resurgere autem non est nisi eius quod cecidit; iterum enim surgendo, quia cecidit, resurgere dicitur. RE enim syllaba iterationi semper adhibetur. Cadere ergo dicimus corpus in terram per mortem, sicut et res ipsa testatur, ex dei lege. Corpori enim dictum est, Terra es et in terram ibis. Ita quod de terra est ibit in terram. Hoc cadit quod in terram abit, hoc resurgit quod cadit. [5] Quia per hominem mors, et per hominem resurrectio. Hic mihi et Christi corpus ostenditur in nomine hominis, qui constat ex corpore, ut saepe iam docuimus. Quodsi sic in Christo vivificamur omnes sicut mortificamur in Adam, quando in Adam corpore mortificemur, sic necesse est in Christo corpore vivificemur. Ceterum similitudo non constat si non in eadem substantia mortificationis in Adam, vivificatio concurret in Christo. Sed interposuit adhuc aliquid de Christo, et propter praesentem disceptationem non omittendum. [6] Tanto magis enim probabitur carnis resurrectio, quanto Christum eius dei ostendero apud quem creditur carnis resurrectio. Cum dicit, Oportet enim regnare eum, donec ponat inimicos eius sub pedes eius, iam quidem et ex hoc ultorem deum edicit, atque exinde ipsum qui hoc Christo repromiserit: Sede ad dexteram meam donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum: virgam virtutis tuae emittet dominus ex Sion, et dominabitur in medio inimicorum tuorum tecum. [7] Sed necesse est ad meam sententiam pertinere defendam eas scripturas quas et Iudaei nobis avocare conantur. Dicunt denique hunc psalmum in Ezechiam cecinisse, quia is sederit ad dexteram templi, et hostes eius averterit deus et absumpserit; propterea igitur et cetera, Ante luciferum ex utero generavi te, in Ezechiam convenire et in Ezechiae nativitatem. Nos edimus evangelia (de quorum fide aliquid utique iam in tanto opere istos confirmasse debemus), nocturna nativitate declarantia dominum, ut hoc sit ante luciferum, et ex stella magis intellecta, et ex testimonio angeli qui nocte pastoribus annuntiavit natum esse cum maxime Christum, et ex loco partus, in diversorium enim ad noctem convenitur. [8] Fortassean et mystice factum sit ut nocte Christus nasceretur, lux veritatis futurus ignorantiae tenebris. Sed nec,

Generavi te, edixisset deus, nisi filio vero. Nam etsi de toto populo ait, Filios generavi, sed non adiecit Ex utero. Cur autem adiecit Ex utero tam vane, quasi aliqui hominum ex utero natus dubitaretur, nisi quia curiosius voluit intellegi in Christum: Ex utero generavi te, id est ex solo utero, sine viri semine, carni deputans <quod> ex utero, spiritui quod ex ipso. His accedit, Tu es sacerdos in aevum. Nec sacerdos autem Ezechias, nec in aevum, etsi fuisset. Secundum ordinem, inquit, Melchisedec. [9] Quid Ezechias ad Melchisedec altissimi sacerdotem, et quidem non circumcisum, qui Abraham circumcisum iam accepta decimarum oblatione benedixit? At in Christum conveniet ordo Melchisedec, quoniam quidem Christus proprius et legitimus dei antistes, praeputiati sacerdotii pontifex, tum in nationibus constitutus, a quibus magis suscipi habebat, cognituram se quandoque circumcisionem et Abrahae gentem, cum ultimo venerit, acceptatione et benedictione dignabitur. Est et alius psalmus ita incipiens: Deus, iudicium tuum regi da, id est Christo regnato, et iustitiam tuam filio regis, id est populo Christi. [10] Filii enim eius sunt qui in ipso renascuntur. Sed et hic psalmus Salomoni canere dicetur. Quae tamen soli competunt Christo docere non poterunt etiam cetera non ad Salomonem, sed ad Christum pertinere? Descendit, inquit, tanquam imber super vellus, et velut stillae destillantes in terram; placidum descensum eius et insensibilem describens de caelo in carnem. Salomon autem etsi descendit alicunde, non tamen sicut imber, quia non de caelo. Sed simpliciora quaeque proponam. [11] Dominabitur, inquit, a mari ad mare, et a flumine usque ad terminos terrae. Hoc soli datum est Christo; ceterum Salomon uni et modicae Iudaeae imperavit. Adorabunt illum omnes reges. Quem omnes, nisi Christum? Et servient ei omnes nationes. Cui omnes, nisi Christo? Sit nomen eius in aevum. Cuius nomen in aeternum, nisi Christi? Ante solem manebit nomen eius. Ante solem enim sermo dei, id est Christus. [12] Et benedicentur in illo universae gentes. In Salomone nulla natio benedicitur, in Christo vero omnis. Quid nunc, si et deum eum iste psalmus demonstrat? Et beatum eum dicent: quoniam, Benedictus dominus deus Israelis, qui facit mirabilia solus: benedictum nomen gloriae eius, et replebitur universa terra gloria eius. [13] Contra Salomon, audeo dicere, etiam quam habuit in deo gloriam amisit per mulierem in idololatriam usque pertractus. Itaque cum in medio psalmo illud quoque positum sit: Inimici eius pulverem lingent, subiecti utique pedibus ipsius, ad illud pertinebit propter quod hunc psalmum et intuli et ad meam

sententiam defendi, ut confirmaverim et regni gloriam et inimicorum subiectionem secundum dispositionem creatoris, consecuturus non alium credendum quam creatoris.

10. [1] Revertamur nunc ad resurrectionem, cui et alias quidem proprio volumine satisfacimus, omnibus haereticis resistentes; sed nec hic desumus, propter eos qui illud opusculum ignorant. Quid, ait, facient qui pro mortuis baptizantur, si mortui non resurgunt? Viderit institutio ista. Kalendae, si forte, Februariae respondebunt illi, pro mortuis petere. Noli ergo apostolum novum statim auctorem aut confirmatorem eius denotare, ut tanto magis sisteret carnis resurrectionem, quanto illi qui vane pro mortuis baptizarentur, fide resurrectionis hoc facerent. [2] Habemus illum alicubi unius baptismi definitorem. Igitur et pro mortuis tingui pro corporibus est tingui; mortuum enim corpus ostendimus. Quid facient qui pro corporibus baptizantur, si corpora non resurgunt? Atque adeo recte hunc gradum figimus, ut et apostolus secundam disceptationem aequae de corpore induxerit. Sed dicent quidam, Quomodo mortui resurgent? quo autem corpore venient? [3] Defensa etenim resurrectione, quae negabatur, consequens erat de qualitate corporis retractare, quae non videbatur. Sed de ista cum aliis congrédi convenit. Marcion enim in totum carnis resurrectionem non admittens et soli animae salutem repromittens, non qualitatis sed substantiae facit quaestionem. Porro et ex his manifestissime obducitur quae apostolus ad qualitatem corporis tractat propter illos qui dicunt, Quomodo resurgent mortui? quo autem corpore venient? Iam enim praedicavit resurrecturum esse corpus, si de corporis qualitate tractavit. [4] Denique si proponit exempla grani tritici, vel alicuius eiusmodi, quibus det corpus deus prout volet, si unicuique seminum proprium ait esse corpus, ut aliam quidem carnem hominum, aliam vero pecudum et volucrum, et corpora caelestia atque terrena, et aliam gloriam solis, et lunae aliam, et stellarum aliam, — nonne carnalem et corporalem portendit resurrectionem, quam per carnalia et corporalia exempla commendat? nonne etiam ab eo deo eam spondet a quo sunt et exempla? Sic et resurrectio, inquit. [5] Quomodo? Sicut et granum, corpus seritur corpus resurgit. Seminationem denique vocavit dissolutionem corporis in terram, quia seritur in corruptela, <in dedecoratione, in infirmitate, resurgit autem in incorruptelam,> in honestatem, in virtutem. Cuius ille ordo in dissolutione, eius et hic in resurrectione corporis, scilicet sicut et granum. Ceterum si auferas corpus resurrectioni quod dedisti

dissolutioni, ubi consistet diversitas exitus? Proinde et si seritur animale, resurgit spiritale, etsi habet aliquod proprium corpus anima vel spiritus, ut possit videri corpus animale animam significare et corpus spiritale spiritum, non ideo animam dicit in resurrectione spiritum futuram, sed corpus, quod cum anima nascendo et per animam vivendo animale dici capit, futurum spiritale dum per spiritum surgit in aeternitatem. [6] Denique si non anima, sed caro seminatur in corruptela, dum dissolvitur in terram, iam non anima erit corpus animale, sed caro quae fuit corpus animale, siquidem de animali efficitur spiritale, sicut et infra dicit, Non primum quod spiritale. Ad hoc enim et de ipso Christo praestruit: [7] Factus primus homo Adam in animam vivam, novissimus Adam in spiritum vivificantem; licet stultissimus haereticus noluerit ita esse, dominum enim posuit novissimum pro novissimo Adam, veritus scilicet ne, si et dominum novissimum haberet Adam, et eiusdem Christum defenderemus in Adam novissimo cuius et primum. [8] Sed falsum relucet. Cur enim primus Adam, nisi quia et novissimus Adam? Non habent ordinem inter se nisi paria quaeque et eiusdem vel nominis vel substantiae vel auctoris. Nam etsi potest in diversis quoque esse aliud primum, aliud novissimum, sed unius auctoris. Ceterum si et auctor alius, et ipse quidem potest novissimus dici. Quod tamen intulerit, primum est; novissimum autem, si primo par sit. Par autem primo non est, quia non eiusdem auctoris est. Eodem modo et in nomine hominis revincetur. [9] Primus, inquit, homo de humo terrenus, secundus dominus de caelo. Quare secundus, si non homo, quod et primus? Aut numquid et primus dominus, si et secundus? Sed sufficit si in evangelio filium hominis adhibet Christum, et hominem et in homine Adam eum negare non poterit. [10] Sequentia quoque eum comprimunt. Cum enim dicit apostolus, Qualis qui de terra, homo scilicet, tales et terreni, homines utique, ergo et qualis qui de caelo homo, tales et qui de caelo homines. Non enim poterat hominibus terrenis non homines caelestes opposuisse, ut statum ac spem studiosius distingueret in appellationis societate. Statu enim ac spe dicit terrenos atque caelestes, homines tamen ex pari, qui secundum exitum aut in Adam aut in Christo deputantur. Et ideo iam ad exhortationem spei caelestis, Sicut portavimus, inquit, imaginem terreni, portemus et imaginem caelestis, non ad substantiam ullam referens resurrectionis, sed ad praesentis temporis disciplinam. [11] Portemus enim, inquit, non portabimus, praeceptive, non promissive, volens nos sicut ipse

incessit ita incedere, et a terreni, id est veteris, hominis imagine abscedere, quae est carnalis operatio. Denique quid subiungit? Hoc enim dico, fratres, quia caro et sanguis regnum dei non possidebunt, opera scilicet carnis et sanguinis, quibus et ad Galatas scribens abstulit dei regnum, solitus et alias substantiam pro operibus substantiae ponere, ut cum dicit eos qui in carne sunt deo placere non posse. Quando enim placere poterimus deo, nisi dum in carne hac sumus? [12] Aliud tempus operationis nullum opinor est. Sed si in carne quamquam constituti carnis opera fugiamus, tum non erimus in carne, dum non in substantia carnis non sumus, sed in culpa. Quodsi in nomine carnis, opera non substantiam carnis iubemur exponere, operibus ergo carnis, non substantiae carnis, in nomine carnis denegatur dei regnum. [13] Non enim id damnatur in quo male fit, sed id quod fit. Venenum dare scelus est, calix tamen in quo datur reus non est. Ita et corpus carnalium operum vas est, anima est autem quae in illo venenum alicuius mali facti temperat. Quale est autem ut, si anima auctrix operum carnis merebitur dei regnum per expiationem eorum quae in corpore admisit, corpus ministrum solummodo in damnatione permaneat? Venefico absoluto calix erit puniendus? Et tamen non utique carni defendimus dei regnum, sed resurrectionem substantiae suae, quasi ianuam regni, per quam aditur. [14] Ceterum aliud resurrectio, aliud regnum. Primo enim resurrectio, dehinc regnum. Resurgere itaque dicimus carnem, sed mutatam consequi regnum. Resurgent enim mortui incorrupti, illi scilicet qui fuerant corrupti dilapsis corporibus in interitum. Et nos mutabimur, in atomo, in oculi momentaneo motu. Oportet enim corruptivum hoc, tenens utique carnem suam dicebat apostolus, induere incorruptelam, et mortale hoc immortalitatem, ut scilicet habilis substantia efficiatur regno dei. Erimus enim sicut angeli. Haec erit demutatio carnis, sed resuscitatae. Aut si nulla erit, quomodo induet incorruptelam et immortalitatem? [15] Aliud igitur facta per demutationem tunc consequetur dei regnum, iam non caro nec sanguis, sed quod illi corpus deus dederit. Et ideo recte apostolus: Caro et sanguis regnum dei non consequentur, demutationi illud adscribens, quae accedit resurrectioni. [16] Si autem tunc fiet verbum quod scriptum est apud creatorem, Ubi est, mors, victoria tua vel contentio tua? Ubi est, mors, aculeus tuus? (verbum autem hoc creatoris est per prophetam), eius erit et res, id est regnum, cuius et verbum fiet in regno. Nec alii deo gratias dicit quod nobis victoriam utique de morte referre praestiterit, quam illi a quo verbum insultatorium de morte et

triumphatorium accepit.

11. DE EPISTULA SECUNDA AD CORINTHIOS. [1] Si deus commune vocabulum factum est vitio erroris humani, quatenus plures dei dicuntur atque creduntur in saeculo, benedictus tamen deus domini nostri Iesu Christi non alius quam creator intelletur qui et universa benedixit, habes Genesim; et ab universis benedicitur, habes Danielelem. Proinde si pater potest dici sterilis deus, nullius magis nomine quam creatoris; misericordiarum tamen pater idem erit qui misericors et miserator et misericordiae plurimus est dictus. [2] Habes apud Ionam cum ipso misericordiae exemplo quam Ninivitis exorantibus praestitit: facilis et Ezechiae fletibus flecti, et Achab marito lezabelis deprecanti sanguinem ignoscere Nabuthae, et David agnoscenti delictum Statim indulgere, malens scilicet paenitentiam peccatoris quam mortem, utique ex misericordiae affectu. Si quid tale Marcionis deus edidit vel edixit, agnoscam patrem misericordiarum. [3] Si vero ex eo tempore hunc titulum ei adscribit quo revelatus, quasi exinde sit pater misericordiarum quo liberare instituit genus humanum, atquin et nos ex eo tempore negamus illum ex quo dicitur revelatus. Non potest igitur aliquid ei adscribere quem tunc ostendit cum aliquid ei adscribit. Si enim prius constaret eum esse, tunc et adscribi ei potest. Accidens enim est quod adscribitur, accidentia autem antecedit ipsius rei ostensio cui accidunt, maxime cum iam alterius est quod adscribitur ei qui prius non sit ostensus. Tanto magis negabitur esse, quanto per quod affirmatur esse eius est qui iam ostensus est. [4] Sic et testamentum novum non alterius erit quam qui illud repromisit; etsi non littera, at eius spiritus; hoc erit novitas. Denique qui litteram tabulis lapideis inciderat, idem et de spiritu edixerat, Effundam de meo spiritu in omnem carnem. Et si littera occidit, spiritus vero vivificat, eius utrumque est qui ait, Ego occidam et ego vivificabo, percutiam et sanabo. Olim duplicem vim creatoris vindicavimus, et iudicis et boni, littera occidentis per legem et spiritu vivificantis per evangelium. Non possunt duos deos facere quae, etsi diversa, apud unum recenseri praevenere. [5] Commemorat et de velamine Moysi, quo faciem tegebat incontemplabilem filiis Israel. Si ideo ut claritatem maiorem defenderet novi testamenti quod manet in gloria, quam veteris quod evacuari habebat, hoc et meae convenit fidei praeponenti evangelium legi, et vide ne magis meae. Illic enim erit superponi quid, ubi fuerit et illud cui superponitur. At cum dicit, Sed obtunsi sunt sensus mundi, non utique creatoris, sed populi qui in mundo est. De

Israele enim dicit, Ad hodiernum usque velamen idipsum in corde eorum. Figuram ostendit fuisse velamen faciei in Moyse velaminis cordis in populo, quia nec nunc apud illos perspicitur Moyses corde, sicut nec facie tunc. [6] Quid est ergo adhuc velatum in Moyse quod pertineat ad Paulum, si Christus creatoris a Moyse praedicatus nondum venit? quomodo iam operta et velata adhuc denotantur corda Iudaeorum, nondum exhibitis praedicationibus Moysi, id est de Christo, in quo eum intellegere deberent? Quid ad apostolum Christi alterius, si dei sui sacramenta Iudaei non intellegebant, nisi quia velamen cordis illorum ad caecitatem, qua non perspexerant Christum Moysi, pertinebat? [7] Denique quod sequitur, Cum vero converterit ad deum, auferetur velamen, hoc Iudaeo proprie dicit apud quem et est velamen Moysi, qui cum transierit in fidem Christi, intellegit Moysen de Christo praedicasse. Ceterum quomodo auferetur velamentum creatoris in Christo dei alterius, cuius sacramenta velasse non potuit creator, ignoti videlicet ignota? [8] Dicit ergo nos iam aperta facie, utique cordis, quod velatum est in Iudaeis, contemplantes Christum eadem imagine transfigurari a gloria, qua scilicet et Moyses transfigurabatur a gloria domini, in gloriam. Ita corporalem Moysi illuminationem de congressu domini et corporale velamen de infirmitate populi proponens, et spiritalem revelationem et spiritalem claritatem in Christo superducens, tanquam a domino, inquit, spirituum, totum ordinem Moysi figuram ignorati apud Iudaeos, agniti vero apud nos Christi fuisse testatur. [9] Scimus quosdam sensus ambiguitatem pati posse de sono pronuntiationis aut de modo distinctionis, cum duplicitas earum intercedit. Hanc Marcion captavit sic legendo: In quibus deus aevi huius, ut creatorem ostendens deum huius aevi alium suggerat deum alterius aevi. Nos contra sic distinguendum dicimus: In quibus deus, dehinc: aevi huius excaecavit mentes infidelium; In quibus, Iudaeis infidelibus, in quibus opertum est aliquibus evangelium adhuc sub velamine Moysi. Illis enim deus, labiis diligentibus eum, corde autem longe absistentibus ab eo minatus fuerat: Aure audietis et non audietis, oculis videbitis et non videbitis, et: Nisi credideritis nec intellegetis, et: Auferam sapientiam sapientium et prudentiam prudentium irritam faciam. [10] Haec autem non utique de evangelio dei ignoti abscondendo minabatur. Ita etsi huius aevi deus, sed infidelium huius aevi excaecat cor, quod Christum eius non ultro recognoverint de scripturis intellegendum. Et positum in ambiguitate distinctionis hactenus tractasse, ne

adversario prodesset, contentus victoriae, nae ultro possum et in totum contentionem hanc praeterisse. [11] Simpliciori responso prae manu erit esse huius aevi dominum diabolum interpretari, qui dixerit, propheta referente, Ero similis altissimi, ponam in nubibus thronum meum; sicut et tota huius aevi superstitio illi mancipata est qui excaecet infidelium corda et inprimis apostatae Marcionis. Denique non vidit occurrentem sibi clausulam sensus: Quoniam deus, qui dixit ex tenebris lucem lucescere, relaxit in cordibus nostris ad illuminationem agnitionis suae in persona Christi. [12] Quis dixit, Fiat lux? Et de illuminatione mundi quis Christo ait, Posui te in lumen nationum, sedentium scilicet in tenebris et in umbra mortis? Cui respondet spiritus in psalmo ex providentia futuri: Significatum est, inquit, super nos lumen personae tuae, domine. Persona autem dei Christus dominus. Unde et apostolus supra, Qui est imago, inquit, dei. Igitur si Christus persona creatoris dicentis, Fiat lux, et Christus et apostoli et evangelium et velamen et Moyses et tota series, secundum testimonium clausulae creatoris est, dei huius aevi, certe non eius qui nunquam dixit, Fiat lux. Praetereo hic et de alia epistula, quam nos ad Ephesios praescriptam habemus, haeretici vero ad Laodiceos. [13] Ait enim meminisse nationes quod illo in tempore cum essent sine Christo, alieni ab Israele, sine conversatione et testamentis et spe promissionis, etiam sine deo essent, in mundo utique, etsi de creatore. Ergo si nationes sine deo dixit esse, deus autem illis diabolus est, non creator, apparet dominum aevi huius eum intellegendum quem nationes pro deo receperunt, non creatorem, quem ignorant. [14] Quale est autem ut non eiusdem habeatur thesaurus in fictilibus vasis nostris cuius et vasa sunt? Nam si gloria dei est in fictilibus vasis tantum thesauri haberi, vasa autem fictilia creatoris sunt, ergo et gloria creatoris est, cuius vasa eminentiam virtutis dei sapiunt, et virtus ipsa; quia propterea in vasa fictilia commissa sunt, ut eminentia eius probaretur. [15] Ceterum iam non erit alterius dei gloria ideoque nec virtus, sed magis dedecus et infirmitas, cuius eminentiam fictilia et quidem aliena ceperunt. Quodsi haec sunt fictilia vasa, in quibus tanta nos pati dicit, in quibus etiam mortificationem circumferimus dei, satis ingratus deus et iniustus, si non et hanc substantiam resuscitaturus est, in qua pro fide eius tanta tolerantur, in qua et mors Christi circumfertur, in qua et eminentia virtutis consecratur. Sed enim proponit, Ut et vita Christi manifestetur in corpore nostro, scilicet sicut et mors eius circumfertur in corpore. De qua ergo Christi vita dicit? qua nunc

vivimus in illo? [16] Et quomodo in sequentibus non ad visibilia nec ad temporalia, sed ad invisibilia et ad aeterna, id est non ad praesentia, sed ad futura exhortatur? Quodsi de futura vita dicit Christi, in corpore eam dicens apparituram, manifeste carnis resurrectionem praedicavit, exteriorem quidem hominem nostrum corrumpi dicens, et non quasi aeterno interitu post mortem, verum laboribus et incommodis, de quibus praemisit adiciens, Et non deficiemus. Nam et interiorem hominem nostrum renovari de die in diem dicens hic utrumque demonstrat, et corporis corruptionem ex vexatione temptationum et animi renovationem ex contemplatione promissionum.

12. [1] Terreni domicilii nostri non sic ait habere nos domum aeternam, non manu factam, in caelo, quia quae manu facta sit creatoris intreat in totum dissoluta post mortem. Haec enim ad mortis metum et ad ipsius dissolutionis contristationem consolandam retractans etiam per sequentia manifestius, cum subicit ingemere nos de isto tabernaculo corporis terreni, quod de caelo est superindui cupientes; siquidem et despoliati non inveniemur nudi, id est recipiemus quod despoliati sumus, id est corpus. Et rursus: Etenim qui sumus in isto tabernaculo corporis, ingemimus quod gravemur, nolentes exui sed superindui. [2] Hic enim expressit quod in prima epistula strinxit: Et mortui resurgent incorrupti, qui iam obierunt, et nos mutabimur, qui in carne fuerimus deprehensi a deo. Et illi enim resurgent incorrupti, recepto scilicet corpore, et quidem integro, ut ex hoc sint incorrupti; et hi propter temporis ultimum iam momentum et propter merita vexationum antichristi compendium mortis, sed mutati, consequentur superinduti magis quod de caelo est quam exuti corpus. [3] Ita si hi super corpus induent caeleste illud, utique et mortui recipient corpus, super quod et ipsi induant incorruptelam de caelo; quia et de illis ait, Necesse est corruptivum istud induere incorruptelam et mortale istud immortalitatem. Illi induunt cum receperint corpus, isti superinduunt quia non amiserint corpus, et ideo non temere dixit nolentes exui corpore sed superindui, id est nolentes mortem experiri sed vita praeveniri, uti devoretur mortale hoc a vita, dum eripitur morti per superindumentum demutationis. [4] Ideo quia ostendit hoc melius esse, ne contristemur mortis si forte praeventu, et arrabonem nos spiritus dicit a deo habere, quasi pignoratos in eandem spem superindumenti, et abesse a domino, quamdiu in carne sumus, ac propterea debere boni ducere abesse potius a corpore et esse cum domino, ut et mortem libenter excipiamus. Atque adeo omnes ait nos oportere

manifestari ante tribunal Christi, ut recipiat unusquisque quae per corpus admisit sive bonum sive malum. [5] Si enim tunc retributio meritorum, quomodo iam aliqui cum deo poterunt deputari? Et tribunal autem nominando et disputationem boni ac mali operis utriusque sententiae iudicem ostendit, et corporum omnium repraesentationem confirmavit. Non enim poterit quod corpore admissum est non corpore iudicari. Iniquus enim deus, si non per id punitur quis aut iuvatur per quod operatus est. [6] Si qua ergo conditio nova in Christo, vetera transierunt, ecce nova facta sunt omnia, impleta est Esaiæ prophetia. Si etiam iubet ut mundemus nos ab inquinamento carnis et sanguinis, non substantiam <negat, sed opera substantiae> capere regnum dei. Si et virginem sanctam destinat ecclesiam adsignare Christo, utique ut sponsam sponso, non potest imago coniungi inimico veritatis rei ipsius. Si et pseudapostolos dicit operarios dolosos transfiguratores sui, per hypocrisin scilicet, conversationis non praedicationis adulteratae reos taxat. [7] Adeo de disciplina, non de divinitate dissidebatur. Si transfiguratur satanas in angelum lucis, non potest hoc dirigi in creatorem. Deus enim non angelus creator; in deum lucis, non in angelum, transfigurare se dictus esset, si non eum satanan significaret quem et nos et Marcion angelum novimus. [8] De paradiso suus stilus est ad omnem quam patitur quaestionem. Hic illud forte mirabor, si proprium potuit habere paradysum deus nullius terrenae dispositionis, nisi si etiam paradiso creatoris precario usus est, sicut et mundo. Et tamen hominem tollere ad caelum creatoris exemplum est in Helia. Magis vero mirabor dominum optimum, percutiendi et saeviendi alienum, nec proprium saltem sed creatoris angelum satanae colaphizando apostolo suo applicuisse, et ter ab eo obsecratum non concessisse. Emendat igitur et deus Marcionis secundum creatorem elatos aemulantem, ut deponentem scilicet de solio dynastas. Aut numquid ipse est qui et in corpus Iob dedit satanae potestatem, ut virtus in infirmitate 9 comprobaretur? Quid et formam legis adhuc tenet Galatarum castigatores, in tribus testibus praeфинiens staturum omne verbum? Quid et non parsurum se peccatoribus comminatur, lenissimi dei praedicator? Immo et ipsam durius agendi in praesentia potestatem a domino datam sibi affirmat. Nega nunc, haeretice, timeri deum tuum, cuius apostolus timebatur!

13. DE EPISTULA AD ROMANOS. [1] Quanto opusculum profligatur, breviter iam retractanda sunt quae rursus occurrunt, quaedam vero tramittenda, quae saepius occurrerunt. Piget de lege adhuc congregari, qui

totiens probaverim concessionem eius nullum argumentum praestare diversi dei in Christo, praedicatam scilicet et repromissam in Christum apud creatorem, quatenus et ipsa epistula legem plurimum videtur excludere. [2] Sed et iudicem deum ab apostolo circumferri saepe iam ostendimus et in iudice ultorem et creatorem in ultore. Itaque et hic, cum dicit, Non enim me pudet evangelii, virtus enim dei est in salutem omni credenti, Iudaeo et Graeco, quia iustitia dei in eo revelatur ex fide in fidem, sine dubio et evangelium et salutem iusto deo deputat, non bono, ut ita dixerim secundum haeretici distinctionem, transferenti ex fide legis in fidem evangelii, suae utique legis et sui evangelii. Quoniam et iram dicit revelari de caelo super impietatem et iniustitiam hominum qui veritatem in iniustitia detineant. [3] Cuius dei ira? Utique creatoris. Ergo et veritas eius erit cuius et ira quae revelari habet in ultionem veritatis. Etiam adiciens, Scimus autem iudicium dei secundum veritatem esse, et iram ipsam probavit, ex qua venit iudicium pro veritate, et veritatem rursus eiusdem dei confirmavit cuius iram probavit probando iudicium. Aliud est si veritatem dei alterius in iniustitia detentam creator iratus ulciscitur. [4] Quantas autem foveas in ista vel maxime epistula Marcion fecerit, auferendo quae voluit, de nostri instrumenti integritate parebit. Mihi sufficit, quae proinde eradenda non vidit, quasi neglegentias et caecitates eius accipere. Si enim iudicabit deus occulta hominum, tam eorum qui in lege deliquerunt quam eorum qui sine lege, quia et hi legem ignorant et natura faciunt quae sunt legis, utique is deus iudicabit cuius sunt et lex et ipsa natura, quae legis est instar ignorantibus legem. Iudicabit autem quomodo? [5] Secundum evangelium, inquit, per Christum. Ergo et evangelium et Christus illius sunt cuius et lex et natura, quae per evangelium et Christum vindicabuntur a deo illo iudicio dei quod et supra, secundum veritatem. Ergo qua defendenda reveletur de caelo ira, non nisi a deo irae, ita et hic sensus pristino cohaerens, in quo iudicium creatoris edicitur, non potest in alium deum referri, qui nec iudicat nec irascitur, sed in illum cuius dum haec sunt, iudicium dico et iram, etiam illa ipsius sint necesse est per quae haec habent transigi, evangelium et Christus. [6] Et ideo vehitur in transgressores legis, docentes non furari et furantes, ut homo dei legis, non ut creatorem ipsum his modis tangens, qui et furari vetans fraudem mandaverit in Aegyptios auri et argenti, quemadmodum et cetera in illum retorquent. Scilicet apostolus verebatur convicium deo palam facere, a quo non verebatur divertisse? [7]

Adeo autem Iudaeos incesserat, ut ingesserit prophetica increpationem: Propter vos nomen dei blasphematur. Quam ergo perversum, ut ipse blasphemaret eum cuius blasphemandi causa malos exprobrat! Praefert et circumcisionem cordis praeputationi; apud deum legis est facta circumcisio cordis, non carnis, spiritu, non littera. Quodsi haec est circumcisio Hieremiae: Et circumcidemini praeputia cordis, sicut et Moyses: Circumcidemini duricordiam vestram, eius erit spiritus circumcidens cor cuius et littera metens carnem, eius et Iudaeus qui in occulto cuius et Iudaeus in aperto, quia nec Iudaeum nominare vellet apostolus non Iudaeorum dei servum. [8] Tunc lex, nunc iustitia dei per fidem Christi. Quae est ista distinctio? Servivit deus tuus dispositioni creatoris, dans ei tempus et legi eius: an eius tunc cuius et nunc? Eius lex cuius et fides Christi; distinctio dispositionum est, non deorum. [9] Monet iustificatos ex fide Christi, non ex lege, pacem ad deum habere. Ad quem? Cuius nusquam fuimus hostes, an cuius legi et naturae rebellavimus? Nam si in eum competit pax cum quo fuit bellum, ei et iustificabimur, et eius erit Christus ex cuius fide iustificabimur, ad cuius pacem competit redigi hostes eius aliquando. [10] Lex autem, inquit, subintroivit, ut abundaret delictum. Quare? ut superabundaret, inquit, gratia. Cuius dei gratia, si non cuius et lex? Nisi si creator ideo legem intercalavit, ut negotium procuraret gratiae dei alterius et quidem aemuli, ne dixerim ignoti, ut, quemadmodum apud ipsum regnaverat peccatum in mortem, ita et gratia regnaret in iustitia in vitam per Iesum Christum, adversarium ipsius. [11] Propter hoc omnia concluderat lex creatoris sub delictum, et totum mundum deduxerat in reatum, et omne os obstruxerat, ne qui gloriaretur per illam, ut gratia servaretur in gloriam Christi, non creatoris, sed Marcionis? [12] Possum et hic de substantia Christi praestruere ex prospectu quaestionis subsecuturæ. Mortuos enim nos inquit legi <per corpus Christi>. Ergo corpus Christi, et potest corpus contendere, non statim caro. Sed et quaecunque substantia sit, cum eius nominat corpus quem subicit ex mortuis surrexisse, non potest aliud corpus intellegi quam carnis, in quam lex mortis est dicta. [13] Ecce autem et testimonium perhibet legi, et causa delicti eam excusat. Quid ergo dicemus? quia lex peccatum? absit. Erubescere, Marcion. Absit. Abominatur apostolus criminationem legis. Sed ego delictum non scio nisi per legem. [14] O summum ex hoc praeconium legis, per quam <non> licuit delictum latere! Non ergo lex seduxit, sed peccatum per praecepti occasionem. Quid deo imputas legis quod

legi eius apostolus imputare non audet? Atquin et accumulat: Lex sancta, et praeceptum eius iustum et bonum. [15] Si taliter veneratur legem creatoris, quomodo ipsum destruat nescio. Quis discernit duos deos, iustum alium, bonum alium, cum is utrumque debeat credi cuius praeceptum et bonum et iustum est? Si autem et spiritalem confirmat legem, utique et propheticam, utique et figuratam. Debeo enim et hinc constituere Christum in lege figurate praedicatum, quo nec a Iudaeis omnibus potuerit agnosci.

14. [1] Hunc si pater misit in similitudinem carnis peccati, non ideo phantasma dicitur caro quae in illo videbatur. Peccatum enim carni supra adscripsit, et illam fecit legem peccati habitantem in membris suis et adversantem legi sensus. Ob hoc igitur missum filium in similitudinem carnis peccati, ut peccati carnem simili substantia redimeret, id est carnea, quae peccatrici carni similis esset, cum peccatrix ipsa non esset. Nam et haec erit dei virtus in substantia pari perficere salutem. [2] Non enim magnum, si spiritus dei carnem remediaret, sed si caro consimilis peccatrici, dum caro est, sed non peccati. Ita similitudo ad titulum peccati pertinebit, non ad substantiae mendacium. Nam nec addidisset Peccati, si substantiae similitudinem vellet intellegi, ut negaret veritatem; tantum enim Carnis posuisset, non et Peccati. Cum vero tunc sic struxit, Carnis peccati, et substantiam confirmavit, id est carnem, et similitudinem ad vitium substantiae retulit, id est ad peccatum. [3] Puta nunc similitudinem substantiae dictam, non ideo negabitur substantiae veritas. Cur ergo similis vera? Quia vera quidem sed non ex semine: de statu similis et vera: de censu non vero dissimilis. Ceterum similitudo in contrariis nulla est. Spiritus non diceretur carnis similitudo, quia nec caro similitudinem spiritus caperet; sed phantasma diceretur, si id quod non erat videbatur. Similitudo autem dicitur, cum est quod videtur. Est enim, dum alterius par est. Phantasma autem, qua hoc tantum est, non est similitudo. [4] Et hic autem ipse edisserens quomodo nolit esse nos in carne, cum simus in carne, ut scilicet non simus in operibus carnis, ostendit hac ratione scripsisse, Caro et sanguis regnum dei consequi non possunt, non substantiam damnans sed opera eius; quae quia possunt non admitti a nobis in carne adhuc positae, non ad reatum substantiae sed ad conversationis pertinebunt. Item si corpus quidem mortuum propter delictum, adeo non animae, sed corporis mors est; spiritus autem vita propter iustitiam cui mors obvenit propter delictum, id est corpori. [5] Non enim alicui restituitur nisi qui illud amisit; et ita erit resurrectio mortuorum

dum est corporum. Nam subiungit: Qui suscitavit Christum a mortuis, vivificabit et mortalia corpora vestra. Adeo et carnis resurrectionem confirmavit, absque qua nec corpus aliud dici capit nec mortale aliud intellegi, et Christi substantiam corporalem probavit; siquidem proinde vivificabuntur et mortalia corpora nostra, quemadmodum et ille resuscitatus est, non alias proinde nisi quia in corpore. [6] Salio et hic amplissimum abruptum intercisae scripturae, sed apprehendo testimonium perhibentem apostolum Israeli, quod zelum dei habeant, sui utique, non tamen per scientiam. Deum enim, inquit, ignorantes, et suam iustitiam sistere quaerentes, non subiecerunt se iustitiae dei; finis etenim legis Christus in iustitia omni credenti. [7] Hic erit argumentatio haeretici, quasi deum superiorem ignoravcrint Iudaei, qui adversus eum iustitiam suam, id est legis suae, constituerint, non recipientes Christum, finem legis. Cur ergo zelo eorum erga deum proprium testimonium perhibet, si non et inscitiam erga eundem deum eis exprobrat? quod zelo quidem dei agerentur, sed non per scientiam, ignorantes scilicet eum, dum dispositiones eius in Christo ignorant consummationem legi staturo, atque ita suam iustitiam tuentur adversus illum. [8] Atque adeo ipse creator et ignorantiam erga se eorum contestatur: Israel me non agnovit et populus me non intellexit; et quod iustitiam suam magis sisterent, docentes doctrinas praecepta hominum, nec non et congregati essent adversus dominum et adversus Christum ipsius, ex inscitia scilicet. Nihil igitur potest in alium deum exponi quod competit in creatorem, quia et alias immerito apostolus Iudaeos de ignorantia suggillasset erga deum ignotum. [9] Quid enim deliquerant, si iustitiam dei sui adversus eum sistebant quem ignorabant? Atquin exclamat: O profundum divitiarum et sapientiae dei, et investigabiles viae eius! Unde illa eruptio? Ex recordatione scilicet scripturarum quas retro revolverat, ex contemplatione sacramentorum quae supra disseruerat in fidem Christi ex lege venientem. Haec si Marcion de industria erasit, quid apostolus eius exclamat, nullas intuens divitias dei, tam pauperis et egeni quam qui nihil condidit, nihil praedicavit, nihil denique habuit, ut qui in aliena descendit? Sed enim et opes et divitiae creatoris olim absconditae, nunc reseratae. Sic enim repromiserat: Et dabo illis thesauros occultos, invisibiles aperiam eis. [10] Inde ergo exclamatum est: O profundum divitiarum et sapientiae dei! cuius iam thesauri patebant. Id Esaiae: et sequentia de eiusdem prophetae instrumento: Quis enim cognovit sensum domini, aut quis consiliarius eius fuit? quis porrexit ei,

et retribuetur illi? Qui tanta de scripturis ademisti, quid ista servasti, quasi non et haec creatoris? ^[11] Plane novi dei praecepta videamus. Odio, inquit, habentes malum, et bono adhaerentes. Aliud est enim apud creatorem, Auferte malum de vobis, et, Declina a malo et fac bonum? Amore fraternitatis invicem affectuosi; non enim id ipsum est, Diliges proximum tanquam te? Spe gaudentes, utique dei; Bonum est enim sperare in dominum, quam sperare in magistratus. Pressuram sustinentes: Exaudiet enim te dominus in die pressurae. Habes psalmum. Benedicite, et nolite maledicere: quis hoc docebit quam qui omnia benedictionibus condidit? ^[12] Non altum sapientes, sed humilibus assentantes, ne sitis apud vos sapientes: Vae enim audiunt per Esaiam. Malum pro malo nemini retribueritis: Et malitiae fratris tui ne memineris. Nec vosmet ipsos ulciscetes: Mihi enim vindictam et ego vindicabo, dicit dominus. ^[13] Pacem cum omnibus hominibus habetote: ergo et legalis talio non retributionem iniuriae permittebat, sed inceptionem metu retributionis comprimebat. Merito itaque totam creatoris disciplinam principali praecepto eius conclusit, Diliges proximum tanquam te. Hoc legis supplementum si ex ipsa lege est, quis sit deus legis iam ignoro. Metuo ne deus Marcionis. Si vero evangelium Christi hoc praecepto adimpletur, Christi autem non est creatoris, quo iam contendimus? ^[14] Dixerit Christus an non, Ego non veni legem dissolvere sed implere, frustra de ista sententia neganda Pontus laboravit. Si evangelium legem non adimplevit, ecce lex evangelium adimplevit. Bene autem quod et in clausula tribunal Christi comminatur, utique iudicis et ultoris, utique creatoris, illum certe constituens promerendum quem intentat timendum, etiamsi alium praedicaret.

15. DE EPISTULA AD THESSALONICENSES PRIMA. ^[1] Brevioribus quoque epistulis non pigebit intendere. Est sapor et in paucis. Occiderant Iudaei prophetas suos. Possum dicere, Quid ad apostolum dei alterius, et quidem optimi, qui nec suorum delicta damnare dicatur, quique et ipse prophetas eosdem destruendo quodammodo perimat? Quid enim mali admisit apud illum Israel, si occidit quos et ille reprobavit, si prior inimicam in eos sententiam statuit? Deliquit autem apud deum ipsorum. Is exprobrabit iniquitatem ad quem pertinet laesus; certe quivis alius quam adversarius laesi. Sed nec onerasset illos imputando etiam domini necem, Qui et dominum interfecerunt, dicendo, et prophetas suos; licet Suos adiectio sit haeretici. ^[2] Quid enim tam acerbum, si alterius dei praedicatorem Christum interemerunt

qui sui dei prophetas contrucidaverunt? Status autem exaggerationis, quod et dominum et famulos eius peremissent. Denique si alterius dei Christum, alterius prophetas peremerunt, aequavit impietates, non exaggeravit. Aequanda autem non fuit; ergo exaggerari non potuit nisi in eundem dominum commissa ex utroque titulo. Ergo eiusdem. dei Christus et prophetae. [3] Quam autem sanctitatem nostram voluntatem dei dicat, ex contrariis quae prohibet agnosceres. Abstinere enim, inquit, a stupro, non a matrimonio: scire unumquemque suum vas in honore tractare. Quomodo? dum non in libidine, qua gentes. Libido autem nec apud gentes matrimonio adscribitur, sed extraordinariis et non naturalibus et portentuosis luxuriae . . . <Sanctitas> est turpitudini quoque et immunditiae contraria, quae non matrimonium excludat sed libidinem, quae vas nostrum in honore matrimonii tractet. Hunc autem locum salva alterius, id est plenioris, sanctitatis praelatione tractaverim, continentiam et virginitatem nuptiis anteponens, sed non prohibitis. Destructores enim dei nuptiarum, non sectatores castitatis retundo. [4] Ait eos qui remaneant in adventum Christi cum eis qui mortui in Christo primi resurgent, quod in nubibus auferentur in aerem obviam domino. Agnosco his iam tunc prospectis mirari substantias caelestes ipsam Hierusalem quae sursum est, et per Esaïam pronuntiare, Quinam huc velut nubes volant, tanquam columbae cum pullis ad me? Hunc ascensum si Christus nobis praeparavit, ille erit Christus de quo Amos: Qui ascensum suum aedificat in caelos, utique sibi et suis. Exinde a quo sperabo nunc, nisi a quo haec audiui? [5] Quem spiritum prohibet extinguere, et quas prophetias vetat nihil haberi? Utique non creatoris spiritum, nec creatoris prophetias, secundum Marcionem: quae enim destruit, ipse iam extinxit et nihil fecit, nec potest prohibere quae nihil fecit. Ergo incumbit Marcioni exhibere hodie apud ecclesiam suam exinde spiritum dei sui qui non sit extinguendus, et prophetias quae non sint nihil habendae. Et si exhibuit quod putat, sciat nos quodcunque illud ad formam spiritualis et propheticæ gratiae atque virtutis provocaturos, ut et futura praenuntiet et occulta cordis revelet et sacramenta edisserat. [6] Cum nihil tale protulerit ac probarit, nos proferemus et spiritum et prophetias creatoris secundum ipsum praedicantes. Atque ita constabit apostolus de quibus dixerit, de eis scilicet quae futura erant in ecclesia eius dei qui dum est, spiritus quoque eius operatur et promissio celebratur. [7] Age nunc, qui salutem carnis abnuitis, et si quando corpus in huiusmodi praeominatur, aliud nescio

quid interpretamini illud quam substantiam carnis, quomodo apostolus omnes in nobis substantias certis nominibus distinxit et omnes in uno voto constituit salutis, optans ut spiritus noster et corpus et anima sine querela in adventu domini et salutificatoris nostri Christi conserventur? [8] Nam et animam posuit et corpus, tam duas res quam diversas. Licet enim et anima et corpus sit aliquod suae qualitatis, sicut et spiritus, cum tamen et corpus et anima distincte nominantur, habet anima suum vocabulum proprium, non egens communi vocabulo corporis; id relinquitur carni, quae non nominata proprio, communi utatur necesse est. Etenim aliam substantiam in homine non video post spiritum et animam cui vocabulum corporis accommodetur praeter carnem, hanc totiens in corporis nomine intellegens quotiens non nominatur; multo magis hic, cum quae dicitur corpus suo nomine appellatur.

16. DE EPISTULA AD THESSALONIGENSES SECUNDA. [1] Cogimur quaedam identidem iterare, ut cohaerentia eis confirmemus. Dominum et hic retributorem utriusque meriti dicimus circumferri ab apostolo, aut creatorem aut, quod nolit Marcion, parem creatoris, apud quem iustum sit afflictatoribus nostris rependi afflictationem, et nobis qui afflictemur requietem, in revelatione domini Iesu venientis a caelo cum angelis virtutis suae et in flamma ignis. Sed flammam et ignem delendo haereticus extinxit, ne scilicet nostratem deum faceret. Lucet tamen vanitas liturae. [2] Cum enim ad ultionem venturum scribat apostolus dominum exigendam de eis qui deum ignorent et qui non obaudiant evangelio, quos ait poenam luituros exitialem, aeternam, a facie domini et a gloria valentiae eius, sequitur ut flammam ignis inducat, scilicet veniens ad puniendum. Ita et in hoc, nolente Marcione, crematoris dei Christus, et in illo creatoris est, quod etiam de ignorantibus dominum ulciscitur, id est de ethnicis. [3] Seorsum enim posuit, Evangelio non obaudientes, sive Christianos peccatores, sive Iudaeos. Porro de ethnicis exigere poenas, qui evangelium forte non norint, non est dei eius qui naturaliter sit ignotus, nec usquam nisi in evangelio sit revelatus, non omnibus scibilis. Creatori autem etiam naturalis agnitio debetur, ex operibus intellegendo et exinde in plenioram notitiam requirendo. Illius est ergo etiam ignorantes deum plectere, quem non liceat ignorare. Ipsum quod ait, A facie domini et a gloria valentiae eius, verbis usus Esaiiae, ex ipsa causa eundem sapit dominum consurgentem ut comminuat terram. [4] Quis est autem homo delicti, filius perditionis, quem revelari prius oportet ante domini adventum,

extollens se super omne quod deus dicitur et omnem religionem, consessurus in templo dei et deum se iactaturus? Secundum nos quidem antichristus, ut docent veteres ac novae prophetiae, ut Ioannes apostolus, qui iam antichristos dicit processisse in mundum praecursores antichristi spiritus, negantes Christum in carne venisse, et solventes Iesum, scilicet in deo creatore: secundum vero Marcionem nescio ne sit Christus creatoris. Nondum venit apud illum. Quisquis est autem ex duobus, quaero cur veniat in omni virtute et signis et ostentis mendacii? [5] Propterea, inquit, quod dilectionem veritatis non susceperint ut salvi essent, et propter hoc erit eis <in> instinctum fallaciae, ut iudicentur omnes qui non crediderunt veritati sed consenserunt iniquitati. Igitur si antichristus, et secundum creatorem, deus erit creator qui eum mittit ad impingendos eos in errorem qui non crediderunt veritati ut salvi fierent, eiusdem erit veritas et salus qui eas summissu erroris ulciscitur, id est creatoris, cui et competit zelus ipse errore decipere quos veritate non cepit. Si vero non est antichristus secundum nos, ergo Christus est creatoris secundum Marcionem. [6] Et quale erit ut ad ulciscendam veritatem suam Christum creatoris summittat? Sed et si de antichristo consentit, proinde dixerim, Quale est ut illi satanas, angelus creatoris, sit necessarius, et occidatur ab eo, habens fallaciae operatione fungi creatori? In summa, si indubitatum est eius esse et angelum et veritatem et salutem cuius et ira et aemulatio et fallaciae immisio adversus contemptores et desultores, etiam adversus ignorantes (ut iam et Marcion de gradu cedat, deum quoque suum zeloten concedens), quis dignius irascetur? [7] Puto, qui a primordio rerum naturam operibus beneficiis plagis praedicationibus, testibus ad agnitionem sui praestruxit, nec tamen agnitus est: an qui semel unico evangelii instrumento, et ipso incerto, nae palam alium deum praedicante, productus est? Ita cui competit vindicta, ei competit materia vindictae, evangelium dico et veritas et salus. Iubere autem operari eum qui velit manducare eius disciplina est qui bovi tritुरanti os liberum iussit.

17. DE EPISTULA AD LAODICENOS. [1] Ecclesiae quidem veritate epistolam istam ad Ephesios habemus emissam, non ad Laodiceos; sed Marcion ei titulum aliquando interpolare gestiit, quasi et in isto diligentissimus explorator. Nihil autem de titulis interest, cum ad omnes apostolus scripserit dum ad quosdam, certe tamen eum deum praedicans in Christo cui competunt quae praedicantur. Cui ergo competit secundum boni

existimationem, quam proposuerit in sacramento voluntatis suae, in dispensationem adimpletionis temporum (ut ita dixerim, sicut verbum illud in Graeco sonat) recapitulare (id est ad initium redigere vel ab initio recensere) omnia in Christum quae in caelis et quae in terris, nisi cuius omnia erunt ab initio, etiam ipsum initium, a quo et tempora et temporum adimpletionis dispensatio, ob quam omnia ad initium recensentur in Christo? [2] Alterius autem dei quod initium, id est unde, cuius opus nullum? quae tempora sine initio? quae adimpletio sine temporibus? quae dispensatio sine adimplerione? Denique quid in terris egit iam olim, ut longa aliqua temporum adimplendorum dispensatio reputetur, ad recensenda omnia in Christo, etiam quae in caelis? [3] Nec in caelis autem res ab altero actas existimabimus, quaecunque sunt, quam ab eo a quo et in terris actas omnibus constat. Quodsi non capit alterius omnia ista deputari ab initio quam creatoris, quis credet ab alio ea recenseri in Christum alium, et non a suo auctore et in suum Christum? Si creatoris sunt, diversa sint necesse est a diverso deo; si diversa, utique contraria. Quomodo ergo contraria recenseantur in eum a quo denique destruuntur? Nam et sequentia quem renuntiant Christum, cum dicit, Ut simus in laudem gloriae nos qui praesperavimus in Christum? Qui enim praesperasse potuerunt, id est ante sperasse in deum quam venisset, nisi Iudaei, quibus Christus praenuntiabatur ab initio? [4] Qui ergo praenuntiabatur, ille et praesperabatur. Atque adeo hoc ad se, id est ad Iudaeos, refert, ut distinctionem faciat conversus ad nationes: In quo et vos, cum audissetis sermonem veritatis, evangelium, in quo credidistis et signati estis spiritu promissionis eius sancto. Cuius promissionis? factae per Ioelem: In novissimis diebus effundam de meo spiritu in omnem carnem, id est et in nationes. Ita et spiritus et evangelium in eo erit Christo qui praesperabatur, dum praedicabatur. [5] Sed et pater gloriae ille est cuius Christus rex gloriae canitur in psalmo ascendens: Quis est iste rex gloriae? dominus virtutum ipse est rex gloriae. Ab illo spiritus sapientiae optatur apud quem haec quoque spiritualium species enumeratur inter septem spiritus per Esaïam. Ille dabit illuminatos cordis oculos qui etiam exteriores oculos luce ditavit, cui displicet caecitas populi: Et quis caecus nisi pueri mei? et, Excaecati sunt famuli dei. [6] Apud illum sunt et divitiae haereditatis in sanctis qui eam haereditatem ex vocatione nationum repromisit: Postula de me, et dabo tibi gentes haereditatem tuam. Ille inoperatus est in Christum valentiam suam, suscitando

eum a mortuis, et collocando eum ad dexteram suam, et subiciendo omnia, qui et dixit, Sede ad dexteram meam, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum; quia et alibi spiritus ad patrem de filio, Omnia subiecisti sub pedibus eius. Si ex his alius deus et alius Christus infertur quae recognoscuntur in creatore, quaeramus iam creatorem. [7] Plane puto invenimus, cum dicit illos delictis mortuos in quibus ingressi erant secundum aevum mundi huius, secundum principem potestatis aeris qui operatur in filiis incredulitatis. Sed mundum non potest et hic pro deo mundi Marcion interpretari. Non enim simile est creatum creatori, factum factori, mundus deo. Sed nec princeps potestatis aeris dicitur qui est princeps potestatis saeculorum. [8] Nunquam enim praeses superiorum de inferioribus notatur, licet et inferiora ipsi deputentur. Sed nec incredulitatis operator videri potest, quam ipse potius et a Iudaeis et a nationibus patitur. Sufficit igitur si haec non cadunt in creatorem. Si autem et est in quem magis competant, utique magis hoc apostolus sciit. Quis iste? Sine dubio ille qui ipsi creatori filios incredulitatis obstitit, aere isto potitus, sicut dicere eum propheta refert: Ponam in nubibus thronum meum, ero similis altissimo. [9] Hic erit diabolus, quem et alibi (si tamen ita et apostolum legi volunt) deum aevi huius agnosceremus. Ita enim totum saeculum mendacio divinitatis implevit. Qui plane si non fuisset, tunc haec in creatorem spectasse potuissent. Sed et in Iudaismo conversatus fuerat apostolus. Non quia interposuit de delictis in quibus et nos omnes conversati sumus, ideo delictorum dominum et principem aeris huius creatorem praestat intellegi, sed quia in Iudaismo unus fuerat de filiis incredulitatis, diabolum habens operatorem, cum persequeretur ecclesiam et Christum creatoris, propter quod et, Iracundiae filii fuimus, inquit; [10] sed natura, ne quia filios appellavit Iudaeos creator, argumentetur haereticus dominum irae creatorem. Cum enim dicit, Fuimus natura filii iracundiae, creatoris autem non natura sunt filii Iudaei sed allectione patrum, irae filios ad naturam retulit non ad creatorem, ad summam subiungens, Sicut et ceteri, qui utique filii dei non sunt. Apparet communi naturae omnium hominum et delicta et concupiscentias carnis et incredulitatem et iracundiam reputari, diabolo tamen captante naturam, quam et ipse iam infecit delicti semine illato. [11] Ipsius, inquit, sumus factura, conditi in Christo. Aliud est facere, aliud condere. Sed utrumque uni dedit. Homo autem factura creatoris est. Idem ergo condidit in Christo qui et fecit. Quantum enim ad substantiam,

fecit; quantum ad gratiam, condidit. [12] Inspice et cohaerentia. Memores vos aliquando nationes in carne, qui appellamini praeputium ab ea quae dicitur circumcisio in carne manu facta, quod essetis illo in tempore sine Christo, alienati a conversatione Israelis et peregrini testamentorum et promissionis eorum, spem non habentes, et sine deo, in mundo. Sine quo autem deo fuerunt nationes, et sine quo Christo? Utique eo cuius erat conversatio Israelis et testamenta et promissio. At nunc, inquit, in Christo vos qui eratis longe facti estis prope in sanguine eius. A quibus erant retro longe? A quibus supra dicit, a Christo creatoris, a conversatione Israelis, a testamentis, a spe promissionis, a deo ipso. [13] Si haec ita sunt, ergo his prope fiunt nunc nationes in Christo a quibus tunc longe fuerant. Si autem conversationi Israelis, quae est in religione dei creatoris, et testamentis et promissioni et ipsi deo eorum proximi sumus facti in Christo, ridiculum satis si nos alterius dei Christus de longinquo admovit creatori. [14] Meminerat apostolus ita praedicatum de nationum vocatione ex longinquo vocandarum: Qui longe erant a me, appropinquaverunt iustitiae meae. Tam enim iustitia quam et pax creatoris in Christo annuntiabatur, ut saepe iam ostendimus. Itaque ipse est, inquit, pax nostra, qui fecit duo unum, Iudaicum scilicet populum et gentilem, quod prope et quod longe, soluto medio pariete inimicitiae, in carne sua. Sed Marcion abstulit Sua, ut inimicitiae daret carnem, quasi carnali vitio, non Christo aemulae. Sic uti alibi dixi, et hic, non Marrucine sed Pontice, cuius supra sanguinem confessus es hic negas carnem. [15] Si legem praeceptorum sententiis vacuam fecit, adimplendo certe legem (vacat enim iam, Non adulterabis, cum dicitur, Nec videbis ad concupiscendum; vacat, Non occides, cum dicitur, Nec maledices) adversarium legis de adiutore non potes facere. Ut duos conderet in semetipso (qui fecerat idem condens secundum quod et supra: Ipsius enim factura sumus, conditi in Christo) in unum novum hominem, faciens pacem (si vere novum, vere et hominem, non phantasma, novum autem et nove natum ex virgine dei spiritu), ut reconciliet ambos deo, et deo quem utrumque genus offenderat, et Iudaicum et gentilem populum in uno corpore, inquit, cum interfecisset inimicitiam in eo per crucem. Ita et hic caro corpus in Christo, quod crucem pati potuit. [16] Hoc itaque annuntiante pacem eis qui prope et eis qui longe, accessum consecuti simul ad patrem, iam non sumus peregrini nec advenae, sed concives sanctorum, sed domestici dei (utique eius a quo supra ostendimus alienos fuisse nos et longe constitutos),

superaedificati super fundamentum apostolorum. Abstulit haereticus, Et prophetarum, oblitus dominum posuisse in ecclesia, sicut apostolos, ita et prophetas. Timuit scilicet ne et super veterum prophetarum fundamenta aedificatio nostra constaret in Christo, cum ipse apostolus ubique nos de prophetis exstruere non cesset. Unde enim accepit summum lapidem angularem dicere Christum, nisi de psalmi significatione: Lapis quem repronaverunt aedificantes, iste factus est in summo anguli?

18. [1] De manibus haeretici praecedentis non miror si syllabas subtrahit, cum paginas totas plerumque subducit. Datam inquit sibi apostolus gratiam novissimo omnium, illuminandi omnes quae dispensatio sacramenti occulti ab aevis in deo qui omnia condidit. Rapuit haereticus In praepositionem, et ita legi facit: Occulti ab aevis deo qui omnia condidit. Sed emicat falsum. [2] Infert enim apostolus, Ut nota fiat principatibus et potestatibus in supercaelestibus per ecclesiam multifaria sapientia dei. Cuius dicit principatibus et potestatibus? Si creatoris, quale est ut principatibus et potestatibus eius ostendi voluerit deus ille sapientiam suam, ipsi autem non, quando nec potestates sine suo principe potuissent quid cognoscere? Aut si ideo deum non nominavit hic, quasi in illis et princeps ipse reputetur, ergo et occultatum sacramentum principatibus et potestatibus eius qui omnia condidit pronuntiasset, proinde in illis deputans ipsum. [3] Quod si illis dicit occultatum, illi debebat dixisse manifestum. Ergo non deo erat occultatum, sed in deo omnium conditore, occultum autem principatibus et potestatibus eius: Quis enim cognovit sensum domini, aut quis consiliarius ei fuit? Hic captus haereticus fortasse mutabit, ut dicat deum suum suis potestatibus et principatibus notam facere voluisse dispensationem sui sacramenti, quam ignorasset deus conditor omnium. Et quo competebat praetendere ignorantiam creatoris extranei et longa separatione discreti, cum domestici quoque superioris dei nescissent? [4] Tamen et creatori notum erat futurum. An non utique notum quod sub caelo et in terra eius habebat revelari? Ergo ex hoc confirmatur quod supra struximus. Si enim creator cogniturus erat quandoque occultum illud dei superioris sacramentum, et ita scriptura habebat: Occulti deo qui omnia condidit; sic inferre debuerat, Ut nota fiat illi multifaria sapientia dei, tunc et potestatibus et principatibus cuiuscunque dei, cum quibus sciturus esset creator. Adeo subtractum constat quod et sic veritati suae salvum est. [5] Volo nunc et ego tibi de allegoriis apostoli controversiam

nectere. Quas novus in prophetis habuisset formas? Captivam, inquit, duxit captivitatem. Quibus armis? quibus proeliis? de cuius gentis vastatione? de cuius civitatis eversione? quas feminas quos pueros quosve regulos catenis victor inseruit? Nam et cum apud David Christus canitur succinctus gladio super femur, aut apud Esaïam spolia accipiens Samariae et virtutem Damasci, vere cum et visibilem extundis proeliatorem. [6] Agnosce igitur iam et armaturam et militiam eius spiritalem, si iam didicisti esse captivitatem spiritalem, ut et hanc illius agnoscas, vel quia et captivitatis huius mentionem de prophetis apostolus sumpsit, a quibus et mandata. Deponentes mendacium loquimini veritatem ad proximum quisque, et Irascimini et nolite delinquere (ipsis verbis quibus psalmus exponeret sensus eius), sol ut non occidat super iracundiam vestram. Nolite communicare operibus tenebrarum. Cum iusto enim iustus eris, et cum perverso perverteris, et, Auferte malum de medio vestrum, et, [7] Exite de medio eorum, et, Immundum ne attigeritis; separamini, qui fertis vasa domini. Sic et, Inebriari vino dedecori, inde est ubi sanctorum inebriatores increpantur: Et potum dabatis sanctis meis vinum; quod prohibitus erat potare et Aaron sacerdos et filii eius, cum adirent ad sancta. Et psalmis et hymnis deo canere docere illius est qui cum tympanis potius et psalteriis vinum bibentes incusari a deo norat. Ita cuius invenio praecepta et semina praeceptorum vel augmenta, eius apostolum agnosco. [8] Ceterum mulieres viris subiectas esse debere unde confirmat? Quia vir, inquit, caput est mulieris. Dic mihi, Marcion, de opere creatoris deus tuus legi suae astruit auctoritatem? Hoc iam plane minus est, cum et ipsi Christo suo et ecclesiae eius inde statum sumit: Sicut et Christus caput est ecclesiae. Similiter et cum dicit, Carnem suam diligit qui uxorem suam diligit, sicut et Christus ecclesiam: vides comparari operi creatoris Christum tuum et ecclesiam tuam. Quantum honoris carni datur in ecclesiae nomine! [9] Nemo, inquit, carnem suam odio habet (nisi plane Marcion solus), sed et nutrit et fovet eam, sicut et Christus ecclesiam. At tu solus eam odisti, auferens illi resurrectionem. Odisse debebis et ecclesiam, quia proinde diligitur a Christo. At enim Christus amavit et carnem sicut ecclesiam. Nemo non diligit imaginem quoque sponsae, immo et servabit illam et honorabit et coronabit. Habet similitudo cum veritate honoris consortium. Laborabo ego nunc eundem deum probare masculi et Christi, mulieris et ecclesiae, carnis et spiritus, ipso apostolo sententiam creatoris adhibente, immo et disserente:

Propter hanc relinquet homo patrem et matrem, et erunt duo in carne una: sacramentum hoc magnum est? [10] Sufficit inter ista si creatoris magna sunt apud apostolum sacramenta, minima apud haereticos. Sed ego autem dico, inquit, in Christum et ecclesiam. Habes interpretationem, non separationem, sacramenti. Ostendit figuram sacramenti ab eo praeministratam cuius erat utique sacramentum. Quid videtur Marcioni? Creator quidem ignoto deo figuras praeministrare non potuit, etiam quia adversario, si noto. Deus superior ab inferiore et ad destruendum potius mutuari nihil debuit. [11] Obaudiant et parentibus filii. Nam etsi Marcion abstulit, Hoc est enim primum in promissione praeceptum, lex loquitur, Honora patrem et matrem, et, Parentes enutrite filios in disciplina et correptione donaini. Audisti enim et veteribus dictum, Narrabitis haec in auribus filiorum vestrorum, et filii vestri aequae in auribus filiorum suorum. Quo iam mihi duos deos, si una est disciplina? Etsi duo sunt, illum sequar qui prior docuit. Sed adversus munditenentes luctatio si nobis, o quanti iam dii creatores! [12] Cur enim non et hoc vindicem, unum munditenentem nominari debuisse, si creatorem significabat cuius essent quas praemisit potestates? Porro cum supra quidem induere nos iubeat armaturam in qua stemus ad machinationes diaboli, iam ostendit diaboli esse quae diabolo subiungit, potestates et munditenentes tenebrarum istarum, quae et nos diabolo deputamus. Aut si diabolus creator est, quis erit diabolus apud creatorem? An sicut duo dii, ita et duo diaboli, et pluraliter potestates et munditenentes? [13] Sed quomodo creator et diabolus et deus idem, cum diabolus non idem et deus et diabolus? Aut enim ambo et dei, si ambo iam diaboli, aut qui deus hic et non diabolus, sicut nec diabolus deus. Ipsum vocabulum diaboli quaero ex qua delatura competat creatori. Fortasse detulit aliquam dei superioris intensionem, quod ipse ab archangelo passus est, et quidem mentito: non ideo enim interdixerat illius arbusculae gustum ne dei fierent, sed ne de transgressione morerentur. Nec spiritalia autem nequitiae ideo creatorem significabunt quia adiecit, In caelis: [14] sciebat enim et apostolus in caelis operata esse spiritalia nequitiae, angelorum scandalizantium in filias hominum. Et quale erat ut ambiguitatibus et per aenigmata nescio quae creatorem taxaret, qui in catenis iam constitutus ob libertatem praedicationis constantiam manifestandi sacramenti in apertione oris, quam ibi expostulare a deo mandabat, ecclesiae utique praestabat?

19. DE EPISTULA AD COLOSSENSES. [1] Soleo in praescriptione

adversus haereses omnes de testimonio temporum compendium figere, priorem vindicans regulam nostram omni haeretica posteritate. Hoc nunc probabit et apostolus dicens, De spe reposita in caelis, quam audistis in sermone veritatis evangelii, quod pervenit ad vos, sicut et in totum mundum. Nam si iam tum traditio evangelica ubique manaverat, quanto magis nunc? [2] Porro si nostra est quae ubique manavit, magis quam omnis haeretica, nedum Antoniniani Marcionis, nostra erit apostolica. Marcionis autem cum totum impleverit mundum, ne tunc quidem se defendere poterit de apostolica. Eam enim et sic constabit esse quae prior mundum replevit, illius scilicet dei evangelio qui et haec cecinit de praedicationibus eius: In omnem terram exiit sonus eorum, et in terminos orbis verba eorum. [3] Invisibilis dei imaginem ait Christum. Sed nos enim invisibilem dicimus patrem Christi, scientes filium semper retro visum, si quibus visus est, in dei nomine, ut imaginem ipsius; ne quam et hinc differentiam scindat dei visibilis et invisibilis, cum olim dei nostri sit definitio: Dominum nemo videbit et vivet. [4] Si non est Christus primogenitus conditionis, ut sermo creatoris per quem omnia facta sunt et sine quo nihil factum est, si non in illo condita sunt universa in caelis et in terris, visibilia et invisibilia, sive throni sive dominationes sive principatus sive potestates, si non cuncta per illum et in illo sunt condita (haec enim Marcioni displicere oportebat), non utique tam nude posuisset apostolus, Et ipse est ante omnes. Quomodo enim ante omnes, si non ante omnia? Quomodo ante omnia, si non primogenitus conditionis, si non sermo creatoris? Unde ante omnes probabitur fuisse qui post omnia apparuit? Quis scit priorem fuisse quem esse nesciit? [5] Quomodo item boni duxit omnem plenitudinem in semetipso habitare? Primo enim, quae est ista plenitudo, nisi ex illis quae Marcion detraxit, conditis in Christo, in caelis et in terris, angelis et hominibus, nisi ex illis invisibilibus et visibilibus, nisi ex thronis et dominationibus et principatibus et potestatibus? Aut si haec pseudapostoli nostri et Iudaici evangelizatores de suo intulerint, edat plenitudinem dei sui Marcion, qui nihil condidit. Ceterum quale est ut plenitudinem creatoris aemulus et destructor eius in suo Christo habitare voluerit? Cui denique reconciliat omnia in semetipsum, pacem faciens per crucis suae sanguinem, nisi quem offenderant universa, adversus quem rebellaverant per transgressionem, cuius novissime fuerant? Conciliari enim extraneo possent, reconciliari vero non alii quam suo. [6] Ita et nos quondam alienatos et inimicos sensu in malis operibus creatori

redigit in gratiam, cuius admiseramus offensam, colentes conditionem adversus creatorem. Sicubi autem et ecclesiam corpus Christi dicit esse, ut hic ait adimplere se reliqua pressurarum Christi in carne pro corpore eius, quod est ecclesia, non propterea et in totum mentionem corporis transferes a substantia carnis. Nam et supra reconciliari nos ait in corpore eius per mortem; utique in eo corpore, in quo mori potuit per carnem, mortuus est, non per ecclesiam, plane propter ecclesiam, corpus commutando pro corpore, carnale pro spiritali. [7] At cum monet cavendum a subtililoquentia et philosophia, ut inani seductione, quae sit secundum elementa mundi, non secundum caelum aut terram dicens, sed secundum litteras saeculares et secundum traditionem, scilicet hominum subtililoquorum et philosophorum, longum est quidem et alterius operis ostendere hac sententia omnes haereses damnari, quod omnes ex subtililoquentiae viribus et philosophiae regulis constant. Sed Marcion principalem suae fidei terminum de Epicuri schola agnoscat, dominum inferens hebetem, ne timeri dicat eum, collocans et cum deo creatore materiam de porticu Stoicorum, negans carnis resurrectionem, de qua proinde nulla philosophia consentit. [8] Cuius ingeniis tam longe abest veritas nostra, ut et iram dei excitare formidet, et omnia illum ex nihilo protulisse confidat, et carnem eandem restitutum repromittat, et Christum ex vulva virginis natum non erubescat, ridentibus philosophis et haeticis et ethnicis ipsis. Stulta enim mundi elegit deus, ut confundat sapientes, ille sine dubio qui ex respectu huius suae dispositionis perditurum se sapientiam sapientum praeminabatur. Hac simplicitate veritatis contraria subtililoquentiae et philosophiae nihil perversi possumus sapere. [9] Denique si nos deus cum Christo vivificat, donans delicta nobis, non possumus credere ab eo delicta donari in quem admissa non fuerint, ut retro ignotum. Age iam, cum dicit, Nemo vos iudicet in cibo et potu et in parte diei festi et neomeniae et sabbati, quae est umbra futurorum, corpus autem Christi, quid tibi videtur, Marcion? De lege iam non retractamus, nisi quod et hic quemadmodum exclusa sit edocet, dum scilicet de umbra transfertur in corpus, id est de figuris ad veritatem, quod est Christus. Ergo et umbra eius cuius et corpus, id est et lex eius <cuius> et Christus. Segrega alii deo legem, et alii deo Christum, si potes aliquam umbram ab eo corpore cuius umbra est separare. Manifeste legis est Christus, si corpus est umbrae. [10] Si autem et aliquos taxat qui ex visionibus angelicis dicebant cibis abstinendum (ne attigeris ne

gustaveris), volentes in humilitate sensus incedere, non tenentes caput, non ideo legem et Moysen pulsant, quasi de angelica superstitione constituerit interdictionem quorundam edulium. [11] Moysen enim a deo accepisse legem constat. Denique hanc disciplinam, Secundum praecepta, inquit, et doctrinam hominum, deputavit in eos qui caput non tenerent, id est ipsum in quo omnia recensentur, in Christum ad initium revocata etiam indifferentia escarum. Cetera praeceptorum, ut eadem, satis sit iam alibi docuisse quam a creatore manarint, qui cum vetera praedicaret transitura, nova facturus universa, mandans etiam, Novate vobis novamen novum, iam tum docebat exponere veterem hominem et novum induere.

20. DE EPISTULA AD PHILIPPENSES. [1] Cum praedicationis enumerat varietatem, quod alii ex fiducia vinculorum eius audentius sermonem enuntiarent, alii per invidiam et contentionem, quidam vero et per sermonis existimationem, plerique ex dilectione, nonnulli ex aemulatione, iam aliqui et ex similitudine Christum praedicarent, erat utique vel hic locus taxandae ipsius praedicationis de diversitate sententiae, quae tantam efficeret etiam animorum varietatem. Sed causas solas animorum, non regulas sacramentorum, in diversitate proponens unum tamen Christum et unum eius deum quocunque consilio praedicatum confirmat, et ideo, Nihil mea, inquit, sive causatione sive veritate Christus annuntietur, quia unus annuntiabatur sive ex causatione sive ex veritate fidei. [2] Ad fidem enim praedicationis retulit mentionem veritatis, non ad regulae ipsius, quia una quidem erat regula, sed fides praedicantium quorundam vera, id est simplex, quorundam nimis docta. Quod cum ita sit, apparet eum Christum praedicatum qui semper annuntiabatur. Nam si alius longe ab apostolo induceretur, fecisset diversitatem novitas rei. Nec enim defuissent qui praedicationem evangelicam nihilominus in Christum creatoris interpretarentur, cum et hodie maior pars sit omnibus in locis sententiae nostrae quam haereticae. Quo nec hic apostolus de diversitatis denotatione et increpatione tacuisset. Ita cum diversitas ne taxatur quidem, novitas non probatur. [3] Plane de substantia Christi putant et hic Marcionitae suffragari apostolum sibi, quod phantasma carnis fuerit in Christo, cum dicit quod in effigie dei constitutus non rapinam existimavit parari deo, sed exhaust semetipsum accepta effigie servi, non veritate, et in similitudine hominis, non in homine, et figura inventus homo, non substantia, id est non carne; [4] quasi non et figura et similitudo et effigies substantiae quoque accedant. Bene

autem quod et alibi Christum imaginem dei invisibilis appellat. Numquid ergo et hic, qua in effigie eum dei collocat, aequè non erit deus Christus vere, si nec homo vere fuit in effigie hominis constitutus? Utrobique enim veritas necesse habebit excludi, si effigies et similitudo et figura phantasmati vindicabitur. Quodsi in effigie et in imagine, qua filius patris, vere deus, praeiudicatum est etiam in effigie et imagine hominis, qua filius hominis, vere hominem inventum. [5] Nam et inventum ratione posuit, id est certissime hominem. Quod enim invenitur, constat esse. Sic et deus inventus est per virtutem, sicut homo per carnem, quia nec morti subditum pronuntiasset non in substantia mortali constitutum. Plus est autem quod adiecit, Et mortem crucis. Non enim exaggeraret atrocitatem extollendo virtutem subiectionis, quam imaginariam phantasmate scisset, frustrato potius eam quam experto, nec virtute functo in passione sed lusu. [6] Quae autem retro lucri duxerat, quae et supra numerat, gloriam carnis, notam circumcisionis, generis Hebraei ex Hebraeo censum, titulum tribus Benjamin, pharisaeae candidae dignitatem, haec modo detrimento sibi deputat, non deum, sed stuporem, Iudaeorum. Haec ac si stercora existimat prae comparatione agnitionis Christi, non prae reiectione dei creatoris, habens iustitiam non suam iam quae ex lege, sed quae per ipsum, scilicet Christum, ex deo. Ergo, inquis, hac distinctione lex non ex deo erat Christi. Subtiliter satis. Accipe itaque subtilius. Cum enim dicit, Non quae ex lege, sed quae per ipsum, non dixisset Per ipsum de alio quam cuius fuit lex. [7] Noster, inquit, municipatus in caelis. Agnosco veterem ad Abraham promissionem creatoris: Et faciam semen tuum tanquam stellas in caelo. Ideo et stella a stella differt in gloria. Quodsi Christus adveniens de caelis transfigurabit corpus humilitatis nostrae conformale corpori gloriae suae, resurget ergo corpus hoc nostrum, quod humiliatur in passionibus, et in ipsa lege mortis in terram deiectum. Quomodo enim transfigurabitur, si nullum erit? Aut si de eis dictum qui in adventu dei deprehensi in carne demutari habebunt, quid facient qui primi resurgent? Non habebunt de quo transfigurentur? Atquin, Cum illis, dicit, simul rapiemur in nubibus obviam domino. Si cum illis sublati, utique cum illis et transfigurati.

21. DE EPISTULA AD PHILEMONEM. [1] Soli huic epistulae brevitatis sua profuit ut falsarias manus Marcionis evaderet. Miror tamen, cum ad unum hominem litteras factas receperit, quod ad Timotheum duas et unam ad Titum de ecclesiastico statu compositas recusaverit. Affectavit, opinor, etiam

numerum epistularum interpolare. [2] Memento, inspector, quod ea quae praetractata sunt retro de apostolo quoque probaverimus, et si qua in hoc opus dilata erant expunxerimus, ne aut hic supervacuam existimes iterationem qua confirmavimus spem pristinam, aut illic suspectam habeas dilationem qua eruimus tempore ista. Si totum opusculum inspexeris, nec hic redundantiam nec illic diffidentiam iudicabis.

De Anima (On the Soul)

Q. SEPTIMII FLORENTIS TERTVLLIANI CARTHAGINENSIS DE ANIMA LIBER. DE IMMORTALITATE ANIMAE. Si substantia animae, et an corporalis, et an effigiata, unum esse animam et spiritum, non separari animam et animum, an sit, ubi sit quod dicitur hegemonicon, de quinque sensibus corporalibus, quod philosophi et haeretici distinguunt inter sensualia et intellectualia. Intellectum semper animae inesse, De caeteris naturalibus animae, Vnde anima aduersus haereticos qui eam de coelis deferunt: Aduersus argumentum Platonis, quod discentias reminiscentias dicat: De contemptu animae aduersus eos qui post partum corpori eam inducunt: Aduersus Platonicum dogma, quod non ex mortuis fiant uiui: Ad Pythagorae et Empedoclis opiniones de metempsychosi et metensomatismo: Aduersus Simonis opinionem et Carpocratis haeticorum: De sexu animae et carnis, quod simul in utero formentur, in eum: De aetate carnis et animae: De cibis, quomodo ad animam pertinere uideantur: Nullam pene animam sine daemonio esse: Quomodo caro peccatrix dicatur: De bono et malo animae: De morte: De somno pertinente ad tractatum mortis: Et de anima Hermotimi: De Hermotimo: De somniis, quomodo ea patiatur anima, et unde eueniant: De ui mortis, et de Menandro haeretico: Nihil animae in corpore manere post mortem, ut uidetur quibusdam: De animae excessu, De receptu, De inferis, et an illuc omnes animae compellentur: An commorentur hic animae post mortem, uel ab inferis commeent, An aliquid interim animae patiantur apud inferos.

I. [1] De solo censu animae congressus Hermogeni, quatenus et istum ex materiae potius suggestu quam ex dei flatu constitisse praesumpsit, nunc ad reliquas conuersus quaestiones plurimum uidebor cum philosophis dimicaturus. [2] Etiam in carcere Socratis de animae statu uelitatum est, nescio iam hoc primum, an oportuno in tempore magistri, etsi nihil de loco interest. Quid enim liquido saperet anima tunc Socratis, iam sacro nauigio regresso, iam cicutis damnationis exhaustis, iam morte praesente utique consternata ad aliquem motum secundum naturam, aut exsternata, si non secundum naturam? Quamuis enim placida atque tranquilla, quam nec coniugis fletus statim uiduae nec liberorum conspectus exinde pupillorum lege pietatis inflexerat, uel in hoc tamen mota, ne moueretur, ipsa constantia concussa est aduersus

inconstantiae concussionem. Quid autem aliud saperet uir quilibet iniuria damnatus praeter iniuriae solamen, nedum philosophus, gloriae animal, cui nec consolanda est iniuria, sed potius insultanda? [3] Denique post sententiam obuiam coniugi et muliebriter inclamanti: ‘iniuste damnatus es, Socrates!’ iam et de gratulatione responderat: ‘uolebas autem iuste?’ Quo nihil mirandum, si et in carcere inuiscatas Anyti et Meliti palmas gestiens infringere ipsa morte coram immortalitate uindicat animae necessaria praesumptione ad iniuriae frustrationem. [4] Adeo omnis illa tunc sapientia Socratis de industria uenerat consultae aequanimitatis, non de fiducia compertae ueritatis. Cui enim ueritas comperta sine deo? Cui deus cognitus sine Christo? Cui Christus exploratus sine spiritu sancto? Cui spiritus sanctus accommodatus sine fidei sacramento? Sane Socrates facilius diuerso spiritu agebatur, siquidem aiunt daemonium illi a puero adhaesisse, pessimum reuera paedagogum, etsi post deos et cum deis daemonia deputantur penes poetas et philosophos. [5] Nondum enim Christianae potestatis documenta processerant, quae uim istam perniciosissimam nec unquam bonam, atquin omnis erroris artificem, omnis ueritatis auocatricem sola traducit. Quodsi idcirco sapientissimus Socrates secundum Pythii quoque daemonis suffragium scilicet negotium nauantis socio suo, quanto dignior atque constantior Christianae sapientiae adsertio, cuius adflatui tota uis daemonum cedit? [6] Haec sapientia de schola caeli deos quidem saeculi negare liberior, quae nullum Aesculapio gallinaceum reddi iubens praeuaricetur, nec noua inferens daemonia, sed uetera depellens, nec adulescentiam uitians, sed omni bono pudoris informans, ideoque non unius urbis, sed uniuersi orbis iniquam sententiam sustinens pro nomine ueritatis tanto scilicet et perosioris quanto plenioris, ut et mortem non de poculo per habitum iocunditatis absorbeat, sed de patibulo et uiuicomburio per omne ingenium crudelitatis exhauriat, interea in isto tenebrosiore carcere saeculi inter suos Cebetas et suos Phaedonas, si quid de anima examinandum est, ad dei regulas diriget, certa nullum alium potiolem animae demonstratorem quam auctorem. A deo discat quod a deo habeat, aut nec ab alio, si nec a deo. Quis enim reuelabit quod deus textit? Vnde sciscitandum est? Vnde et ignorare tutissimum est. Praestat per deum nescire, quia non reuelauerit, quam per hominem scire, quia ipse praesumpserit.

II. [1] Plane non negabimus aliquando philosophos iuxta nostra sensisse; testimonium est etiam ueritatis euentus ipsius. Nonnunquam et in procella

confusis uestigiis caeli et freti aliqui portus offenditur prospero errore, nonnunquam et in tenebris aditus quidam et exitus deprehenduntur caeca felicitate, sed et natura pleraque suggeruntur quasi de publico sensu, quo animam deus dotare dignatus est. [2] Hunc nacta philosophia ad gloriam propriae artis inflauit prae studio (non mirum, si istud ita dixerim) eloqui quiduis struere atque destruere eruditi magisque dicendo persuadentis quam docendo. Formas rebus imponit, eas nunc peraequat, nunc priuat, de certis incerta praeiudicat, prouocat ad exempla, quasi comparanda sint omnia, omnia praescribit, proprietatibus etiam inter similia diuersis, nihil diuinae licentiae seruat, leges naturae opiniones suas fecit; ferrem, si naturalis ipsa, ut compos naturae de condicionis consortio probaretur. [3] Visa est quidem sibi et ex sacris, quas putant, litteris hausisse, quia plerosque auctores etiam deos existimauit antiquitas, nedum diuos, ut Mercurium Aegyptium, cui praecipue Plato adsueuit, ut Silenum Phrygem, cui a pastoribus perducto ingentes aures suas Midas tradidit, ut Hermotimum, cui Clazomenii mortuo templum contulerunt, ut Orpheum, ut Musaeum, ut Pherecydem Pythagorae magistrum. Quid autem, si philosophi etiam illa incursauerunt, quae penes nos apocryphorum confessione damnantur, certos nihil recipiendum quod non conspiret germanae et ipso iam aeuo pronatae prophetae paraturae, quando et pseudoprophetarum meminerimus et multo prius apostatarum spirituum, qui huiusmodi quoque ingeniorum calliditate omnem faciem saeculi instruxerint? [4] Postremo si etiam ad ipsos prophetas adisse credibile est indagatorem quemque sapientiae ex negotio curiositatis, tamen plus diuersitatis inuenias inter philosophos quam societatis, cum et in ipsa societate diuersitas eorum deprehendatur, siquidem uera quaeque et consonantia prophetis aut aliunde commendant aut aliorum subornant cum maxima iniuria ueritatis, quam efficiunt aut adiuuari falsis aut patrocinari. [5] Hoc itaque commiserit nos et philosophos in ista praesertim materia, quod interdum communes sententias propriis argumentationibus uestiant, contrariis alicubi regulae nostrae, interdum sententias proprias communibus argumentationibus muniant, consentaneis alicubi regulae illomm, ut prope exclusa sit ueritas a philosophia per ueneficia in illam sua; et ideo utroque titulo societatis aduersario ueritatis urgemur et communes sententias ab argumentationibus philosophorum liberare et communes argumentationes a sentiis eorum separare, reuocando quaestiones ad dei litteras, exceptis

plane quae sine laqueo alicuius praeiudicii ad simplex testimonium licebit adsumere, quia et ex aemulis nonnunquam testimonium necessarium, si non aemulis prosit. [6] Nec ignoro, quanta sit silua materiae istius apud philosophos pro numero etiam ipsorum commentatorum, quot uarietates sententiarum, quot palaestrae opinionum, quot propagines quaestionum, quot implicationes expeditionum. Sed et medicinam inspexi, sororem, ut aiunt, philosophiae, sibi quoque hoc negotium uindicantem. Quidni? ad quam magis animae ratio pertinere uideatur per corporis curam. Vnde et plurimum sorori refragatur, quod animam quasi coram in domicilio suo tractando magis norit. Sed uiderit utriusque praestantiae ambitio. Habuit et philosophia libertatem ingenii et medicina necessitatem artificii ad extendendos de anima retractatus: late quaeruntur incerta, latius disputantur praesumpta. Quanta difficultas probandi, tanta operositas suadendi, ut merito Heraclitus ille tenebrosus uastiores caligines animaduertens apud examinatores animae taedio quaestionum pronuntiari terminos animae nequaquam inuenisse omnem uiam ingrediendo. [7] Christiano autem paucis ad scientiam huius rei opus est. Nam et certa semper in paucis, et amplius illi quaerere non licet quam quod inueniri licet; infinitas enim quaestiones apostolus prohibet. Porro non amplius inueniri licet quam quod a deo discitur; quod autem a deo discitur, totum est.

III. [1] Atque utinam nullas haereses oportuisset existere, ut probabiles quique emicarent. Nihil omnino cum philosophis super anima quoque experiremur, patriarchis, ut ita dixerim, haereticorum, siquidem et ab apostolo iam tunc philosophia concussio ueritatis prouidebatur; Athenis enim expertus linguatam ciuitatem cum omnes illic sapientiae atque facundiae caupones degustasset, inde concepit praemonitorium illud edictum. [2] Proinde enim et animae ratio <concussa est> per philosophatas doctrinas hominum miscentes aquas uino: alii immortalem negant animam, alii plus quam immortalem adfirmant, alii de substantia, alii de forma, alii de unaquaque dispositione disceptant; hi statum eius aliunde <de>ducunt, hi exitum aliorum abducunt, prout aut Platonis honor aut Zenonis uigor aut Aristotelis tenor aut Epicuri stupor aut Heracliti maeror aut Empedoclis furor persuaserunt. [3] Deliquit, opinor, diuina doctrina ex Iudaea potius quam ex Graecia oriens. Errauit et Christus piscatores citius quam sophistam ad praeconium emittens. Si qua igitur in hunc modum de nidoribus philosophiae candidum et purum aerem ueritatis infuscant, ea erunt Christianis enubilanda et percutientibus

argumentationes originales, id est philosophicas, et opponentibus definitiones caelestes, id est dominicas, ut et illa quibus ethnici a philosophia capiuntur, destruantur, et haec quibus fideles ab haeresi concutiuntur, retundantur. [4] Vna iam congressione decisa aduersus Hermogenen, ut praefati sumus, quia animam ex dei flatu, non ex materia uindicamus, muniti et illic diuinae determinationis inobscurabili regula: et flauit, inquit, deus flatum uitae in faciem hominis, et factus est homo in animam uiuam, utique ex dei flatu, de isto nihil amplius reuoluendum; habet suum titulum et suum haereticum. Ceteris hinc exordium inducam.

IV. DE INNATA. [1] Post definitionem census quaestionem status patitur. Consequens enim est, ut ex dei flatu animam professi initium ei deputaremus. Hoc Plato excludit innatam et infectam animam uolens. Et natam autem docemus et factam ex initii constitutione. Nec statim erramus utrumque dicentes, quia scilicet aliud sit natum, aliud factum utpote <istud inanimalibus>, illud animalibus competens. Differentiae autem sua habendo loca et tempora habent aliquando et passiuitatis commercia. Capit itaque et facturam pro in esse poni, siquidem omne quod quoque modo accipit esse generatur. Nam et factor ipse parens facti potest dici; sic et Plato utitur. Igitur quantum ad fidem nostram factae nataeue animae, depulsa est philosophi opinio, auctoritate prophetiae quoque.

V. [1] Accerseri<n>t Eubulum aliquem et Critolaum et Xenocraten et isto in loco amicum Platonis Aristotelen. Fortassean extruentur magis ad auferendam animae corpulentiam, si non alios e contrario inspexerint, et quidem plures, corpus animae uindicantes. [2] Nec illos dico solos qui eam de manifestis corporalibus effingunt, ut Hipparchus et Heraclitus ex igni, ut Hippon et Thales ex aqua, ut Empedocles et Critias ex sanguine, ut Epicurus ex atomis (si et atomi corpulentias de coitu suo cogunt), ut Critolaus et Peripatetici eius ex quinta nescio qua substantia (si et illa corpus, quia corpora includit), sed etiam Stoicos allego, qui spiritum praedicantes animam paene nobiscum, qua proxima inter se flatus et spiritus, tamen corpus animam facile persuadebunt. [3] Denique Zeno consitum spiritum definiens animam hoc modo instruit. Quo, inquit, digresso animal emoritur, corpus est; consito autem spiritu digresso animal emoritur, ergo consitus spiritus corpus est; ergo corpus est anima. [4] Vult et Cleanthes non solum corporis lineamentis, sed et animae notis similitudinem parentibus in filiis respondere, de speculo scilicet morum et

ingeniorum et adfectuum, corporis autem similitudinem et dissimilitudinem capere et animam, <animam> itaque corpus similitudini uel dissimilitudini obnoxium. [5] Item corporalium et incorporalium passiones inter se non communicare; porro et animam compati corpori, cui laeso ictibus uulneribus ulceribus condolescit, et corpus animae, cui afflictæ cura angore amore coaegrescit per detrimentum socii uigoris, cuius pudorem et pauorem rubore atque pallore testetur. Igitur anima corpus ex corporalium passionum communione. [6] Sed et Chrysippus manum ei porrigit constituens corporalia ab incorporalibus derelinqui omnino non posse, quia nec contingantur ab eis (unde et Lucretius: tangere enim et tangi nisi corpus nulla potest res), derelicto autem corpore ab anima affici morte. Igitur corpus anima, quæ nisi corporalis corpus non derelinquet.

VI. [1] Haec Platonici subtilitate potius quam ueritate conturbant. Omne, inquiunt, corpus aut animale sit necesse est aut inanimale. Et si quidem inanimale est, extrinsecus mouebitur, si uero animale, intrinsecus. Anima autem nec extrinsecus mouebitur, ut quæ non sit inanimalis, nec intrinsecus, ut quæ ipsa potius moueat corpus. Itaque non uideri eam corpus, quæ non corporalium forma ex aliqua regione moueatur. [2] Ad hoc nos mirabimur incongruentiam primo definitionis prouocantis ad ea quæ in animam non conueniunt. Non enim potest anima animale corpus dici aut inanimale, cum ipsa sit quæ aut faciat corpus animale, si adsit, aut inanimale, si absit ab illo. Itaque quod facit non potest esse ipsa, ut dicatur animale uel inanimale. Anima enim dicitur substantiæ suæ nomine. (3.) Quodsi non capit animale corpus dici aut inanimale, quod est anima, quomodo prouocabitur ad animalium et inanimalium corporum formam? [3] Dehinc si corporis est moueri extrinsecus ab aliquo, ostendimus autem supra moueri animam et ab alio, cum uaticinatur, cum furit, utique extrinsecus, cum ab alio, merito quod mouebitur extrinsecus ab alio secundum exempli propositionem corpus agnoscam. Enimuero si ab alio moueri corporis est, quanto magis mouere aliud? Anima autem mouet corpus, et conatus eius extrinsecus foris parent. Ab illa est enim impingi et pedes in incessum et manus in contactum et oculos in conspectum et linguam in effatum, uelut sigillario motu superficiem intus agitante. Vnde haec uis incorporalis animæ? Vnde uacuae rei solida propellere? [4] Sed quomodo diuisi uidentur in homine sensus corporales et intellectuales? Corporalium aiunt rerum qualitates, ut terræ, ut ignis,

corporalibus sensibus renuntiari, ut tactui, ut uisui, incorporalium uero intellectualibus conueniri, ut benignitatis, ut malignitatis. Itaque incorporalem esse animam constat cuius qualitates non corporalibus, sed intellectualibus sensibus comprehendantur. [5] Plane, si non huius definitionis gradum exclusero. Ecce enim incorporalia ostendo corporalibus sensibus subici, sonum auditui, colorem conspectui, odorem odoratui, quorum exemplo etiam anima corpori accedit, ne dicas idcirco ea per corporales renuntiari sensus, quia corporalibus accedant. Igitur si constat incorporalia quoque a corporalibus comprehendendi, cur non et anima, quae corporalis, ab incorporalibus renuntietur? Certe definitio exclusa sit. [6] De insignioribus argumentationibus erit etiam illa, quod omne corpus corporalibus ali iudicant, animam uero, ut incorporalem, incorporalibus, sapientiae scilicet studiis. Sed nec hic gradus stabit etiam Sorano methodicae medicinae instructissimo auctore respondente animam corporalibus quoque ali, denique deficientem a cibo plerumque fulciri. Quidni? quo adempto in totum dilabitur ex corpore. Ita etiam ipse Soranus plenissime super anima commentatus quattuor uoluminibus et cum omnibus philosophorum sententiis expertus corporalem animae substantiam uindicat, etsi illam immortalitate fraudauit. Non enim omnium est credere quod Christianorum est. [7] Sicut ergo Soranus ipse rebus ostendit animam corporalibus ali, proinde et philosophus exhibeat illam incorporalibus pasci. Sed nemo unquam cunctanti de exitu animae mulsam aquam de eloquio Platonis infudit aut micas de minutiloquio Aristotelis infersit. Quid autem facient tot ac tantae animae rupicum et barbarorum, quibus alimenta sapientiae desunt, et tamen indoctae prudentia pollent, et sine academiis et porticibus Atticis et carceribus Socratis, denique ieiunantes a philosophia, nihilominus uiuunt? Non enim substantiae ipsi alimenta proficiunt studiorum, sed disciplinae, quia nec opimiolem animam efficiunt, sed ornatiorem. Bene autem quod et artes Stoici corporales affirmant. Adeo sic quoque anima corporalis, si et artibus ali creditur. [8] Sed enormis intentio philosophiae solet plerumque nec prospicere pro pedibus (sic Thales in puteum), solet et sententias suas non intellegendo ualetudinis corruptelam suspicari (sic Chrysippus ad elleborum). Tale aliquid, opinor, ei accidit, cum duo in unum corpora negauit, alienata a prospectu et recogitatu praegnantum, quae non singula cotidie corpora, sed et bina et terna in unius uteri ambitu perferunt. Inuenitur etiam in iure ciuili Graeca quaedam quinionem enixa,

filiorum semel omnium mater, unici fetus parens multiplex, unici uteri puerpera numerosa, quae tot stipata corporibus, paene dixerim populo, sextum ipsa corpus fuit. [9] Vniuersa conditio testabitur corpora de corporibus processura iam illic esse unde procedunt. Secundum sit necesse est quod ex alio est. Nihil porro ex alio est, nisi, dum gignitur, duo sunt.

VII. [1] Quantum ad philosophos satis haec, quia quantum ad nostros ex abundanti; quibus corporalitas animae in ipso euangelio relucebit. Dolet apud inferos anima cuiusdam et punitur in flamma et cruciatur in lingua et de digito animae felicioris implorat solacium roris. [2] Imaginem existimas exitum illum pauperis laetantis et diuitis maerentis? Et quid illic Eleazari nomen, si non in ueritate res est? Sed et si imago credenda est, testimonium erit ueritatis. Si enim non haberet anima corpus, non caperet imago animae imaginem corporis, nec mentiretur de corporalibus membris scriptura, si non erant. [3] Quid est autem illud quod ad inferna transfertur post diuortium corporis, quod detinetur illic, quod in diem iudicii reseruatur, ad quod et Christus moriendo descendit (puto, ad animas patriarcharum), si nihil anima sub terris? Nihil enim, si non corpus; incorporalitas enim ab omni genere custodiae libera est, immunis et a poena et a fouella. Per quod enim punitur aut fouetur, hoc erit corpus; reddam de isto plenius et oportunius. [4] Igitur si quid tormenti siue solacii anima praecerpit in carcere seu deuersorio inferum, in igni uel in sinu Abrahae, probata erit corporalitas animae. Incorporalitas enim nihil patitur, non habens per quod pati possit; aut si habet, hoc erit corpus. In quantum enim omne corporale passibile est, in tantum quod passibile est corporale est.

VIII. [1] Abruptum alioquin et absurdum idcirco quid de corporalium eximere censu, quia ceteris corporalibus exemplis non adaequet. Et ubi proprietatum priuata discrimina, per quae magnificentia auctoris ex operum eorundem diuersitate signatur, ut sint tam discreta quam paria, tam amica quam et aemula? Siquidem et ipsi philosophi ex contrariis uniuersa constare condicunt secundum amicitiam et inimicitiam Empedoclis. [2] Sic igitur etsi corporalia incorporalibus obiacent, ipsa quoque ita inter se differunt, ut differentia species eorum ampliet, non genus mutet, ut sint corporalia, sic multa in dei gloria, dum uaria, sic uaria, dum diuersa, sic diuersa, dum his alii qualitatum sensus, alii illis, dum his alia alimenta, alia illis, dum haec inuisibilia, illa uisibilia, dum haec graua, illa leuia. [3] Aiunt enim et idcirco animam incorporalem renuntiandam, quia digressa ea grauiora efficiantur

corpora defunctorum, cum leuiora esse deberent, unius corporis pondere exempto, si anima corpus. Quid enim, inquit Soranus, si mare negent corpus, quia extra mare immobilis et grauis naus efficitur? Quanto ergo ualidius corpus animae, quod tanti postea ponderis corpus leuissima mobilitate circumfert! [4] Ceterum etsi inuisibilis anima, et pro condicione corporis sui et proprietate substantiae et pro natura etiam eorum quibus inuisibilis esse sortita est. Solem noctuae nesciunt oculis; aquilae ita sustinent, ut natorum suorum generositatem de pupillarum audacia iudicent; alioquin non educabunt, ut degenerem, quem solis radius auerterit. [5] Est adeo alteri quid inuisibile, alteri non, quod non ideo incorporale sit, quia non ex aequo uis ualeat. Sol enim corpus, siquidem ignis; sed quod aquila confiteatur, neget noctua, non tamen praeiudicans aquilae. Tantundem et animae corpus inuisibile carni, si forte, spiritui uero uisibile est. Sic Iohannes in spiritu dei factus animas martyrum conspicit.

IX. DE EFFIGIE. [1] Cum animae corpus adserimus propriae qualitatis et sui generis, iam haec condicio proprietatis de ceteris accidentibus corpulentiae praeiudicabit aut haec adesse, quam corpus ostendimus, sed et ipsa sui generis pro corporis proprietate, aut etsi non adsint, hoc esse proprietatis, non adesse corpori animae quae corporibus ceteris adsint. Et tamen non inconstanter profitebimur sollemniora quaeque et omnimodo debita corpulentiae adesse animae quoque, ut habitum, ut terminum, ut illud trifariam distantium, longitudinem dico et latitudinem et sublimitatem, quibus metantur corpora philosophi. [2] Quid nunc, quod et effigiem animae damus, Platone nolente, quasi periclitetur de animae immortalitate? Omne enim effigiatum compositum et structile affirmat; dissolubile autem omne compositicium et structile; sed animam immortalem, igitur indissolubilem, qua immortalem, et ineffigiatam, qua indissolubilem, ceterum compositiciam et structilem, si effigiatam, tamquam alio eam modo effigians intellectualibus formis, pulchram iustitia et disciplinis philosophiae, deformem uero contrariis artibus. [3] Sed nos corporales quoque illi inscribimus lineas, non tantum ex fiducia corporalitatis per aestimationem, uerum et ex constantia gratiae per reuelationem. Nam quia spiritalia charismata agnoscimus, post Iohannem quoque prophetiam meruimus consequi. [4] Est hodie soror apud nos reuelationum charismata sortita, quas in ecclesia inter dominica sollemnia per ecstasin in spiritu patitur; conuersatur cum angelis, aliquando etiam cum

domino, et uidet et audit sacramenta et quorundam corda dinoscit et medicinas desiderantibus sumit. Iam uero prout scripturae leguntur aut psalmi canuntur aut allocutiones proferuntur aut petitiones delegantur, ita inde materiae uisionibus subministrantur. Forte nescio quid de anima disserueramus, cum ea soror in spiritu esset. Post transacta sollemnia dimissa plebe, quo usu solet nobis renuntiare quae uiderit (nam et diligentissime digeruntur, ut etiam probentur), ‘inter cetera’, inquit, ‘ostensa est mihi anima corporaliter, et spiritus uidebatur, sed non inanis et uacuae qualitatis, immo quae etiam teneri repromitteret, tenera et lucida et aerii coloris, et forma per omnia humana. Hoc uisio’. Et deus testis et apostolus charismatum in ecclesia futurorum idoneus sponsor; tunc et si res ipsa de singulis persuaserit, credas. [5] Si enim corpus anima, sine dubio inter illa quae supra sumus professi, proinde et coloris proprietas omni corpori aderit. Quem igitur alium animae aestimabis colorem quam aerium ac lucidum? Non, ut aer sit ipsa substantia eius, etsi hoc Aenesidemo uisum est et Anaximeni, puto secundum quosdam et Heraclito, nec ut lumen, etsi hoc placuit Pontico Heraclidi [6] — nam et cerauniis gemmis non ideo substantia ignita est, quod coruscent rutilato rubore, nec berullis ideo aquosa materia est, quod fluctuent colato nitore (quanta enim et alia color sociat, natura dissociat) — , sed quoniam omne tenue atque perlucidum aeris aemulum est, hoc erit anima, qua flatus et spiritus tradux, siquidem prae ipsa tenuitatis subtilitate de fide corporalitatis periclitatur. [7] Sic et effigiem de sensu iam tuo concipe non aliam animae humanae deputandam praeter humanam, et quidem eius corporis quod unaquaeque circumtulit. Hoc nos sapere interim primordii contemplatio inducat. Recogita enim, cum deus flasset in faciem homini flatum uitae, et factus esset homo in animam uiuam, totus utique, per faciem statim flatum illum in interiora transmissum et per uniuersa corporis spatia diffusum simulque diuina aspiratione densatum omni intus linea expressum esse, quam densatus impleuerat, et uelut in forma gelasse. [8] Inde igitur et corpulentia animae ex densatione solidata est et effigies ex impressione formata. Hic erit homo interior, alius exterior, dupliciter unus, habens et ille oculos et aures suas, quibus populus dominum audire et uidere debuerat, habens et ceteros artus, per quos et in cogitationibus utitur et in somniis fungitur. Sic et diuiti apud inferos lingua est, et pauperi digitus, et sinus Abrahae. Per has lineas et animae martyrum sub altari intelleguntur. A primordio enim in Adam concreta et configurata corpori

anima, ut totius substantiae, ita et condicionis istius semen effecit.

X. DE SIMPLICITATE SVBSTANTIAE QVOD ET SPIRITVS IPSA SIT.

[1] Pertinet ad statum fidei simplicem animam determinare secundum Platonem, id est uniformem, dumtaxat substantiae nomine. Viderint artes et disciplinae, uiderint et effigies. [2] Quidam enim uolunt aliam illi substantiam naturalem inesse spiritum, quasi aliud sit uiuere, quod uenit ab anima, aliud spirare, quod fiat a spiritu. Nam et animalibus non omnibus utrumque adesse; pleraque enim uiuere solummodo, non etiam spirare, eo quod non habeant organa spiritus, pulmones et arterias. [3] Quale est autem in examinatione humanae animae culicis atque formicae argumenta respicere, quando et uitalia pro cuiusque generis dispositione omnibus propria animalibus temperauerit artifex deus, ut nulla inde coniectura captanda sit? Nam neque homo, si pulmonibus et arteriis structus est, idcirco aliunde spirabit, aliunde uiuet, neque formica, si membris huiusmodi caret, idcirco negabitur spirare, quasi solummodo uiuens. [4] Cui uero tantum patuit in dei opera, ut alicui haec deesse praesumpserit? Herophilus ille medicus aut Iulianus, qui sexcentos exsecuit, ut naturam scrutaretur, qui hominem odiit, ut nosset, nescio an omnia interna eius liquido explorarit, ipsa morte mutante quae uixerant, et morte non simplici, sed ipsa inter artificia exsectionis errante. [5] Philosophi pro certo renuntiauerunt culicibus et formicis et tineis deesse pulmones et arterias. Dic mihi, inspector curiosissime, oculos habent ad uidendum? Atquin et pergunt quo uolunt, et uitant et appetunt quae uidendo sciunt: designa oculos, denota pupulas. Sed et exedunt tineae: demonstra mandibulas, deprome genuinos. Sed et personant culices, ne in tenebris quidem aurium caeci: tubam pariter et lanceam oris illius ostende. Quoduis animal, unius licet puncti, aliquo alatur necesse est: exhibe pabuli transmittendi decoquendi defaecandique membra. (6.) Quid ergo dicemus? Si per haec uiuitur, erunt haec in omnibus utique quae uiuent, etsi non uidentur, etsi non apprehenduntur pro mediocritate. Hoc magis credas, si deum recogites tantum artificem in modicis quantum et in maximis. [6] Si uero non putas capere tam minuta corpuscula dei ingenium, sic quoque magnificentiam eius agnoscas, quod modicis animalibus sine necessariis membris nihilominus uiuere instruxerit, saluo etiam uisu sine oculis et esu sine denticulis et digestu sine alueis, quemadmodum et incedunt quaedam sine pedibus manante impetu, quod angues, et insurgente conatu, quod uermes, et spumante reptatu, quod

limaces. [7] Ita et spirari cur non putes sine pulmonum follibus et sine fistulis arteriarum, ut pro magno amplectaris argumento idcirco animae humanae spiritum accedere, quia sint quae spiritu careant, et idcirco ea spiritu carere, quia de flaturalibus artibus structa non sint? Viuere sine spiritu existimas aliquid, spirare sine pulmonibus non putas? Quid est, oro te, spirare? Flatum, opinor, ex semetipso agere. Quid est uiuere? Flatum, opinor, ex semetipso non agere. Hoc enim respondere debebo, si non idem est spirare quod uiuere. Sed mortui erit non agere flatum: ergo uiuentis est agere flatum. Sed et spirantis est agere flatum: ergo et spirare uiuentis est. Vtrumque si sine anima decurrere potuisset, non fuisset animae spirare, sed solummodo umere. At enim uiuere spirare est et spirare uiuere est. Ergo totum hoc et spirare et uiuere eius est cuius et uiuere, id est animae. [8] Denique si separas spiritum natura, separa et opera: agant in discreto aliquid ambo, seorsum anima, seorsum spiritus; anima sine spiritu uiuat, spiritus sine anima spiret; alterum relinquat corpora, alterum remaneat, mors et uita conueniant. Si enim duo sunt anima et spiritus, diuidi possunt, ut diuisione eorum alterius discedentis, alterius inmanentis, mortis et uitae concursus eueniat. Sed nullo modo eueniet; ergo duo non erunt, quae diuidi non possunt, quae diuidi possent, si fuissent. [9] ‘Sed licet et duo esse concreta’. Sed non erunt concreta, si aliud est uiuere, aliud spirare: distinguunt substantias opera. Et quanto nunc firmitus est, ut unum credas, cum distantiam non das, ut ipsa sit anima spiritus, dum ipsius est spirare cuius et uiuere? Quid enim, si diem aliud haberi uelis, aliud lucem, quae accedat diei, cum dies ipsa lux sit? Plane erunt et alia genera lucis, ut ex ignium ministerio. Erunt enim et aliae spiritus species, ut ex deo, ut ex diabolo. Ita cum de anima et spiritu agitur, ipsa erit anima spiritus, sicut ipsa dies lux. Ipsum est enim quid, per quod est quid.

XI. [1] Sed ut animam spiritum dicam, praesentis quaestionis ratio compellit, quia spirare alii substantiae adscribitur. Hoc dum animae uindicamus, quam uniformem et simplicem agnoscimus, spiritum necesse est certa condicione dicamus, non status nomine, sed actus, nec substantiae titulo, sed operae, quia spirat, non quia spiritus proprie est. Nam et flare spirare est. Ita et animam, quam flatum ex proprietate defendimus, spiritum nunc ex necessitate pronuntiamus, ceterum aduersus Hermogenen, qui eam ex materia, non ex dei flatu contendit, flatum proprie tuemur. [2] Ille enim aduersus ipsius scripturae fidem flatum in spiritum uertit, ut, dum incredibile

est spiritum dei in delictum et mox in iudicium deuenire, ex materia potius anima credatur quam ex dei spiritu. Idcirco nos et illic flatum eam defendimus, non spiritum, secundum scripturam et secundum spiritus distinctionem, et hic spiritum ingratis pronuntiamus secundum spirandi et flandi communionem. Illic de substantia quaestio est; spirare enim substantiae actus est. [3] Nec diutius de isto, nisi propter haereticos, qui nescio quod spiritale semen infulciunt animae de Sophiae matris occulta liberalitate conlatum ignorante factore, cum scriptura factoris magis dei sui conscia nihil amplius promulgauerit quam deum flantem in faciem hominis flatum uitae et hominem factum in animam uiuam, per quam exinde et uiuat et spiret, satis declarata differentia spiritus et animae in sequentibus instrumentis, ipso deo pronuntiante: spiritus ex me prodiit, et flatum omnem ego feci. Et anima enim flatus factus ex spiritu. Et rursus: qui dedit flatum populo super terram et spiritum calcantibus eam. Prirno enim anima, id est flatus, populo in terra incedenti, id est in carne carnaliter agentis, postea spiritus eis qui terram calcant, id est opera carnis subigunt, quia et apostolus non primum quod spiritale, sed quod animale, postea spiritale. [4] Nam etsi Adam statim prophetauit magnum illud sacramentum in Christum et ecclesiam: hoc nunc os ex ossibus meis et caro ex carne mea; propter hoc relinquet homo patrem et matrem et agglutinabit se mulieri suae, et erunt duo in unam carnem, accidentiam spiritus passus est: cecidit enim ecstasis super illum, sancti spiritus uis operatrix prophetiae. [5] Nam et malus spiritus accidens res est. Denique Saulem tam dei spiritus postea uertit in alium uirum, id est in propheten, cum dictum est: quid hoc filio Cis? an et Saul in prophetis? quam et mali spiritus postea uertit in alium uirum, in apostatam scilicet. Iudam quoque aliquamdiu cum electis deputatum usque ad loculorum officium, etsi iam fraudatorem, traditorem tamen nondum, postea diabolus intrauit. [6] Igitur si neque dei neque diaboli spiritus ex natiuitate conseritur animae, solam eam constat ante euentum spiritus utriusque; si solam, et simplicem et uniformem substantiae nomine, atque ita non aliunde spirantem quam ex substantiae suae sorte.

XII. DE ANIMO. [1] Proinde et animum siue mens est *nou-j* apud Graecos, non aliud quid intellegimus quam suggestum animae ingenitum et insitum et natiuitus proprium, quo agit, quo sapit, quem secum habens ex semetipsa secum moueat in semetipsa, atque ita moueri uideatur ab illo tamquam

substantia alio, ut uolunt qui etiam uniuersitatis motatorem animum decernunt, illum deum Socratis, illum Valentini Vnigenitum ex patre *BYΘΩI* et matre *ΣΙΓΗΙ*. [2] Quam Anaxagorae turbata sententia est! Initium enim omnium commentatus animum et uniuersitatis oscillum de illius axe suspendens purumque eum affirmans et simplicem et incommiscibilem, hoc uel maxime titulo segregat ab animae commixtione et tamen eundem alibi animam edicit. [3] Hoc etiam Aristoteles denotauit, nescio an sua paratior implere quam aliena inanire. Denique et ipse definitionem animi cum differret, interim alterum animi genus pronuntiauit, illum diuinum, quem rursus et impassibilem subostendens abstulit et ipse eum a consortio animae. Cum enim animam passibilem constet eorum quae sortita est pati, aut per animum et cum animo patietur, si concreta est animo, non poterit animus impassibilis induci, aut si non per animum nec cum animo patietur anima, non erit concreta illi, cum quo nihil et cui nihil patitur. Porro si nihil per illum et cum illo anima patietur, iam nec sentiet nec sapiet nec mouebitur per illum, ut uolunt. [4] Nam et sensus passiones facit Aristoteles. Quidni? Et sentire enim pati est, quia pati sentire est. Proinde et sapere sentire est et moueri sentire est. Ita totum pati est. Videmus autem nihil istorum animam experiri, ut non et animo deputetur, quia per illum et cum illo transigatur. [5] Iam ergo et commiscibilis est animus aduersus Anaxagoran et passibilis aduersus Aristotelen. Ceterum si discretio admittitur, ut substantia duae res sint animus atque anima, alterius erit et passio et sensus et sapor omnis et actus et motus, alterius autem otium et quies et stupor et nulla iam causa, et aut animus uacabit aut anima. [6] Quodsi constat ambobus haec omnia reputari, ergo unum erunt utrumque et Democritus obtinebit differentiam tollens et quaeretur, quomodo unum utrumque, ex duarum substantiarum confusione, an ex unius dispositione. Nos autem animum ita dicimus animae concretum, non ut substantia alium, sed ut substantiae officium.

XIII. [1] Ad hoc dispicere superest, principalitas ubi sit, id est, quid cui praeest, ut cuius principalitas apparuerit, illa sit substantiae massa, id autem, cui massa substantiae praeerit, in officium naturale substantiae deputetur. Enimuero quis non animae dabit summam omnem, cuius nomine totius hominis mentio titulata est? [2] Quantas animas pasco, ait diues, non ait animos, et animas saluas optat gubernator, non animos, et rusticus in opere et in proelio miles animam se, non animum, ponere affirmat. Cuius nominatiora

pericula aut uota sunt, animi an animae? Quid autem agere dicuntur moribundi, animum an animam? Ipsi postremo philosophi ipsique medici, quamuis de animo quoque disputaturi, faciem tamen operis frontemque materiae de anima unusquisque proscripsit. [3] Vt autem et a deo discas, animam semper deus alloquitur, animam compellat atque aduocat, ut animum sibi aduertat. Illam saluam uenit facere Christus, illam perdere in gehennam comminatur, illam pluris fieri uetat, illam et ipse bonus pastor pro pecudibus suis ponit. Habes animae principalitatem, habes in illa et substantiae unionem, cuius intellegas instrumentum esse animum, non patrocinium.

XIV. [1] Singularis alioquin et simplex et de suo tota est, non magis structilis aliunde quam diuisibilis ex se, quia nec dissolubilis. Si enim structilis et dissolubilis, iam non immortalis. Itaque quia non mortalis, neque dissolubilis neque diuisibilis. Nam et diuidi dissolui est et dissolui mori est. [2] Diuiditur autem in partes, nunc in duas a Platone, nunc in tres a Zenone, nunc in quinque ab Aristotele et in sex a Panaetio, in septem a Sorano, etiam in octo penes Chrysippum, etiam in nouem penes Apollophanen, sed et in duodecim apud quosdam Stoicorum, et in duas amplius apud Posidonium, qui a duobus exorsus titulis, principali, quod aiunt *h(gemoniko&n*, et a rationali, quod aiunt *logiko&n*, in decem septem exinde prosequit; ita aliae ex aliis species diuidunt animam. [3] Huiusmodi autem non tam partes animae habebuntur quam uires et efficaciae et operae, sicut de quibusdam et Aristoteles iudicauit. Non enim membra sunt substantiae animalis, sed ingenia, ut motorium, ut actorium, ut cogitatorium, et si qua in hunc modum distinguunt, ut et ipsi illi quinque notissimi sensus, uisus auditus gustus tactus odoratus. Quibus omnibus etsi certa singulis domicilia in corpore determinauerunt, non idcirco haec quoque distributio animae ad animae sectiones pertinebit, quando ne ipsum quidem corpus ita diuidatur in membra, ut isti uolunt animam. [4] Atquin ex multitudine membrorum unum corpus efficitur, ut concretio sit potius ipsa diuisio. Specta portentosissimam Archimedis munificentiam, organum hydraulicum dico, tot membra, tot partes, tot compagines, tot itinera uocum, tot compendia sonorum, tot commercia modorum, tot acies tibiarum, et una moles erunt omnia. Sic et spiritus, qui illic de tormento aquae anhelat, non ideo separabitur in partes, quia per partes administratur, substantia quidem solidus, opera uero diuisus. [5] Non longe hoc exemplum est a Stratone et Aenesidemo et Heraclito; nam et ipsi unitatem animae tuentur, quae in totum

corpus diffusa et ubique ipsa, uelut flatus in calamo per cauernas, ita per sensualia uariis modis emicet, non tam concisa quam dispensata. Haec omnia quibus titulis nuncupentur et quibus ex se diuisionibus detineantur et quibus in corpore metationibus sequestrentur, medici potius cum philosophis considerabunt; nobis pauca conuenient.

XV. DE HEGEMONICO. [1] Inprimis an sit aliqui summus in anima gradus uitalis et sapientialis, quod *h(gemoniko&n* appellant, id est principale, quia si negetur, totus animae status periclitatur. Denique qui negant principale, ipsam prius animam nihil censuerunt. [2] Messenius aliqui Dicaearchus, ex medicis autem Andreas et Asclepiades ita abstulerunt principale, dum in animo ipso uolunt esse sensus, quorum uindicatur principale. Asclepiades etiam illa argumentatione uectatur, quod pleraque animalia ademptis eis partibus corporis, in quibus plurimum existimatur principale consistere, et insuper uiuant aliquatenus et sapiant nihilominus, ut muscae et uespae et lucustae, si capita decideris, ut caprae et testudines et anguillae, si corda detraxeris; itaque principale non esse, quo, si fuisset, amisso cum suis sedibus uigor animae non perseueraret. [3] Sed plures et philosophi aduersus Dicaearchum, Plato Strato Epicurus Democritus Empedocles Socrates Aristoteles, et medici aduersus Andream et Asclepiaden, Herophilus Erasistratus Diocles Hippocrates et ipse Soranus, iamque omnibus plures Christiani, qui apud deum de utroque deducimur, et esse principale in anima et certo in corporis recessu consecratum. [4] Si enim scrutatorem et dispectorem cordis deum legimus, si etiam prophetae eius occulta cordis traducendo probatur, si deus ipse recogitatus cordis in populo praeuenit: quid cogitatis in cordibus uestris nequam? si et Dauid: cor mundum conde in me deus, et Paulus corde ait credi in iustitiam, et Iohannes corde ait suo unumquemque reprehendi, si postremo qui uiderit feminam ad concupiscendum, iam adulterauit in corde, simul utrumque dilucet, et esse principale in anima, quod intentio diuina conueniat, id est uim sapientialem atque uitalem (quod enim sapit, uiuidum est), et in eo thesauro corporis haberi, ad quem deus respicit, [5] ut neque extrinsecus agitari putes principale istud secundum Heraclitum, neque per totum corpus uentilari secundum Moschionem, neque in capite concludi secundum Platonem, neque in uertice potius praesidere secundum Xenocraten, neque in cerebro cubare secundum Hippocraten, sed nec circa cerebri fundamentum, ut Herophilus, nec in membranulis, ut Strato et Erasistratus, nec in superciliorum

meditullio, ut Strato Physicus, nec in tota lorica pectoris, ut Epicurus, sed quod et Aegyptii renuntiauerunt et qui diuinarum commentatores uidebantur, ut et ille uersus Orphei uel Empedoclis: namque homini sanguis circumcordialis est sensus. [6] Etiam Protagoras, etiam Apollodorus et Chrysippus haec sapiunt, ut uel ab istis retusus Asclepiades capras suas quaerat sine corde balantes et muscas suas abigat sine capite uolitantes, et omnes iam sciant se potius sine corde et cerebro uiuere, qui dispositionem animae humanae de condicione bestiarum praeiudicarint.

XVI. [1] Est et illud ad fidem pertinens, quod Plato bifariam partitur animam, per rationale et inrationale. Cui definitioni et nos quidem applaudimus, sed non ut naturae deputetur utrumque. Naturale enim rationale credendum est, quod animae a primordio sit ingenitum, a rationali uidelicet auctore. Quid enim non rationale, quod deus iussu quoque ediderit, nedum id quod proprie afflatu suo emiseric? Inrationale autem posterius intellegendum est, ut quod acciderit ex serpentis instinctu, ipsum illud transgressionis admissum, atque exinde inoleuerit et coadoleuerit in anima ad instar iam naturalitatis, quia statim in naturae primordio accidit. [2] Ceterum cum idem Plato <naturale> solum rationale dicat, ut in anima dei ipsius, si nos etiam inrationale naturae adscribimus, quam a deo anima nostra sortita est, aequae inrationale de deo erit, utpote naturale, quia naturae deus auctor est. Sed enim a diabolo immissio delicti, inrationale autem omne delictum; igitur a diabolo inrationale, a quo et delictum, extraneum a deo, a quo est inrationale alienum. Proinde delicti diuersitas horum ex distantia auctorum. [3] Proinde cum Plato soli deo segregans rationale duo genera subdiuidit ex inrationali, indignatium, quod appellant *gumiko&n*, et concupiscentium, quod uocant *eOpikumhtiko&n*, ut illud quidem commune sit nobis et leonibus, istud uero cum muscis, rationale porro cum deo, uideo et de hoc mihi esse retractandum propter ea quae in Christo deprehenduntur. [4] Ecce enim tota haec trinitas et in domino: et rationale, quo docet, quo disserit, quo salutis uias sternit, et indignatium, quo inuehitur in scribas et Pharisaeos, et concupiscentium, quo pascha cum discipulis suis edere concupiscit. [5] Igitur apud nos non semper ex inrationali censenda sunt indignatium et concupiscentium, quae certi sumus in domino rationaliter decucurrisse. Indignabitur deus rationaliter, quibus scilicet debet, et concupiscet deus rationaliter, quae digna sunt ipso. Nam et malo indignabitur et bono concupiscet salutem. [6] Dat et apostolus

nobis concupiscentiam: si quis episcopatum concupiscit, bonum opus concupiscit; et bonum opus dicens rationalem concupiscentiam ostendit. Concedit et indignationem. Quidni, quam et ipse suscepit? Vtinam et praecedantur, inquit, qui uos subuertunt. Rationalis et indignatio quae ex affectu disciplinae est. [7] At cum dicit: fuimus aliquando natura filii irae, irrationale indignatuum suggillat, quod non sit ex ea natura quae a deo est, sed ex illa quam diabolus induxit, dominus et ipse dictus sui ordinis: non potestis duobus dominis seruire, pater et ipse cognominatus: uos ex diabolo patre estis, ne timeas et illi proprietatem naturae alterius adscribere, posterioris et adulterae, quem legis auenarum superseminatorem et frumentariae segetis nocturnum interpolatorem.

XVII. DE QVINQVE SENSIBVS. [1] Contingit nos illorum etiam quinque sensuum quaestio, quos in primis litteris discimus, quoniam et hinc aliquid haereticis procuratur. Visus est et auditus et odoratus et gustus et tactus. [2] Horum fidem Academici durius damnant, secundum quosdam et Heraclitus et Diocles et Empedocles, certe Plato in Timaeo irrationalem pronuntians sensualitatem et opinioni coimplicitam. Itaque mendaciam uisui obicitur, quod remos in aqua inflexos uel infractos adseuerat aduersus conscientiam integritatis, quod turrem quadrangulatam de longinquo rotundam persuadeat, quod aequalissimam porticum angustiores in ultimo infamet, quod caelum tanta sublimitate suspensum mari iungat. [3] Perinde auditus fallaciae reus, ut cum caeleste murmur putamus et plaustrum est, uel tonitru meditante pro certo de plastro credimus sonitum. Sic et odoratus et gustus arguuntur, siquidem eadem unguenta eademque uina posteriore quoque usu depretiantur. Sic et tactus reprehenditur, siquidem eadem pauimenta manibus asperiora, pedibus leuiores creduntur, et in lauacris idem calidae lacus feruentissimus primo, dehinc temperatissimus renuntiatur. [4] Adeo, inquiunt, sic quoque fallimur sensibus, dum sententias uertimus. Moderantius Stoici non omnem sensum, nec semper, de mendacio onerant. Epicurei constantius parem omnibus atque perpetuam defendunt ueritatem, sed alia uia. Non enim sensum mentiri, sed opinionem. Sensum enim pati, non opinari; animam enim opinari. Absciderunt et opinionem a sensu et sensum ab anima. [5] Et unde opinio, si non a sensu? Denique nisi uisus rotundam senserit turrem, nulla opinio rotunditatis. Et unde sensus, si non ab anima? Denique carens anima corpus carebit et sensu. Ita et sensus ex anima est et opinio ex sensu et anima

totum. Ceterum optime proponetur esse utique aliquid quod efficiat aliter quid a sensibus renuntiari quam sit in rebus. Porro si potest id renuntiari quod non sit in rebus, cur non perinde possit per id renuntiari quod non sit in sensibus, sed in eis rationibus quae interueniant suo nomine? [6] Atque adeo licebit eas recognosci. Nam ut in aqua remus inflexus uel infractus appareat, aqua in causa est; denique extra aquam integer uisui remus. Teneritas autem substantiae illius, qua speculum ex lumine efficitur, prout icta seu mota est, ita et imaginem uibrans euertit lineam recti. Item ut turris habitus eludat, interualli condicio compellit in aperto; aequalitas enim circumfusi aeris pari luce uestiens angtilos obliterat lineas. Sic et uniformitas porticus acuitur in fine, dum acies in concluso stipata illic tenuatur, quo et extenditur. Sic et caelum mari unitur, ubi uisio absumitur, quae quamdiu uiget, tamdiu diuidit. [7] Auditum uero quid aliud decipiet quam sonorum similitudo? Et si postea minus spirat unguentum et minus sapit uinum et minus lacus feruet, in omnibus ferme prima uis tota est. Ceterum de scabro ac leui merito manus ac pedes tenera scilicet et callosa membra dissentiunt. [8] Igitur hoc modo nulla sensuum frustratio causa carebit. Quodsi causae fallunt sensus et per sensus opiniones, iam nec in sensibus constituenda fallacia est, qui causas sequuntur, nec in opinionibus, quae a sensibus diriguntur sequentibus causas. [9] Qui insaniunt, alios in aliis uident, ut Orestes matrem in sorore et Ajax Vlixen in armento, ut Athamas et Agaue in filiis bestias. Oculisne hoc mendacium exprobrabis, an furiis? Qui redundantia fellis auruginant, amara sunt omnia. Num ergo gustui praeuaricationem exprobrabis, an uoletudini? Omnes itaque sensus euertuntur uel circumueniuntur ad tempus, ut proprietate fallaciae careant. [10] Immo iam ne ipsis quidem causis adscribendum est fallaciae elogium. Si enim ratione haec accidunt, ratio fallacia perhiberi non meretur. Quod sic fieri oportet, mendacium non est. Itaque si et ipsae causae infamia liberantur, quanto magis sensus, quibus iam et causae libere praeunt, cum hinc potissimum et ueritas et fides et integritas sensibus uindicanda sit, quod non aliter renuntient quam quod illa ratio mandauit, quae efficiat aliter quid a sensibus renuntiari quam sit in rebus! [11] Quid agis, Academia procacissima? Totum uitae statum euertis, omnem naturae ordinem turbas, ipsius dei prouidentiam excaecas, qui cunctis operibus suis intellegendis incolendis dispensandis fruendisque fallaces et mendaces dominos praefecerit sensus. An non istis uniuersa conditio subministratur? An non per istos secunda quoque

mundo instructio accessit, tot artes, tot ingenia, tot studia negotia officia commercia remedia consilia solacia uictus cultus ornatus, quae omnia totum uitae saporem condierunt, dum per hos sensus solus omnium homo animal rationale dinoscitur intellegentiae et scientiae capax, et ipsius Academiae? [12] Sed enim Plato, ne quod testimonium sensibus signet, propterea et in Phaedro ex Socratis persona negat se cognoscere posse semetipsum, ut monet Delphica inscriptio, et in Theaeteto adimit sibi scire atque sentire et in Phaedro post mortem differt sententiam ueritatis, postumam scilicet; et tamen nondum mortuus philosophabatur. [13] Non licet, non licet nobis in dubium sensus istos deuocare, ne et in Christo de fide eorum deliberetur, ne forte dicatur quod falso satanan prospectarit de caelo praecipitatum aut falso uocem patris audierit de ipso testificatam aut deceptus sit, cum Petri socrum tetigit, aut alium postea unguenti senserit spiritum, quod in sepulturam suam acceptauit, alium postea uini saporem, quod in sanguinis sui memoriam consecrauit. [14] Sic enim et Marcion phantasma eum maluit credere, totius corporis in illo dedignatus ueritatem. Atquin ne in apostolis quidem eius ludificata natura est; fidelis fuit et uisus et auditus in monte, fidelis et gustus uini illius, licet aquae ante, in nuptiis Galilaeae, fidelis et tactus exinde creduli Thomae. Recita Iohannis testationem: quod uidimus, inquit, quod audiuius, oculis nostris uidimus, et manus nostrae contrectauerunt de sermone uitae. Falsa utique testatio, si oculorum et aurium et manuum sensus natura mentitur.

XVIII. DE INTELLECTUALIBVS. [1] Conuertor ad intellectualium partem, quemadmodum illam Plato a corporalibus separatam haereticis commendauerit agnitionem ante mortem consecutus. Ait enim in Phaedone: 'Quid tum erga ipsam prudentiae possessionem? Vtrumne impedimentum erit corpus, an non, si quis illud socium assumpserit in quaestionem? Tale quid dico: habetne ueritatem aliquam uisio et auditio hominibus? An non etiam poetae haec nobis semper obmussant, quod neque audiamus certum neque uideamus?' Meminerat scilicet et Epicharmi Comici: animus cernit, animus audit, reliqua surda et caeca sunt. [2] Itaque rursus illum ergo ait supersapere qui mente maxime sapiat, neque uisionem proponens neque ullum eiusmodi sensum attrahens animo, sed ipsa mente sincera utens in recogitando ad capiendum sincerum quodque rerum, si egressus potissimum ab oculis et auribus et, quod dicendum sit, a toto corpore ut turbante et non permittente animae possidere ueritatem atque prudentiam, quando communicat. [3]

Videmus igitur aduersus sensus corporales aliam portendi paraturam ut multo idoniorum, uires scilicet animae, intellectum operantes eius ueritatis, cuius res non sint coram nec subiaceant corporalibus sensibus, sed absint longe a communi conscientia in arcano et in superioribus et apud ipsum deum. Vult enim Plato esse quasdam substantias inuisibiles incorporeales supermundiales, diuinas et aeternas, quas appellat ideas, id est formas, exempla et causas naturalium istorum manifestorum et subiacentium corporalibus sensibus, et illas quidem esse ueritates, haec autem imagines earum. [4] Relucentne iam haeretica semina Gnosticorum et Valentinianorum? Hinc enim arripiunt differentiam corporalium sensuum et intellectualium uirium, quam etiam parabola decem uirginum adtemperant, ut quinque stultae sensus corporales figurauerint, stultos uidelicet, quia deceptui faciles, sapientes autem intellectualium uirium notam expresserint, sapientium scilicet, quia contingentium ueritatem illam arcanam et supernam et apud pleroma constitutam, haeticarum idearum sacramenta; hoc enim sunt et aones et genealogiae illorum. [5] Itaque et sensum diuidunt et intellectualibus quidem a spiritali suo semine, sensualibus uero ab animali, quia spiritalia nullo modo capiat; et illius quidem esse inuisibilia, huius uero uisibilia et humilia et temporalia, quae sensu conueniantur in imaginibus constituta. Ob haec ergo praestruximus neque animum aliud quid esse quam animae suggestum et structum, neque spiritum extraneum quid quam quod et ipsa per flatum, ceterum accessioni deputandum quod aut deus postea aut diabolus adspiraret. [6] Et nunc ad differentiam sensualium et intellectualium non aliud admittimus quam rerum diuersitates, corporalium et spiritalium, uisibilium et inuisibilium, publicatarum et arcanarum, quod illae sensui, istae intellectui attribuantur, apud animam tamen et istis et illis obsequio deputatis, quae perinde per corpus corporalia sentiat, quemadmodum per animum incorporealia intellegat, saluo eo, ut etiam sentiat, dum intellegit. [7] Non enim et sentire intellegere est et intellegere sentire est? Aut quid erit sensus, nisi eius rei quae sentitur intellectus? Quid erit intellectus, nisi eius rei quae intellegitur sensus? Vnde ista tormenta cruciandae simplicitatis et suspendendae ueritatis? Quis mihi exhibebit sensum non intellegentem quod sentit aut intellectum non sentientem quod intellegit, ut probet alterum sine altero posse? [8] Si corporalia quidem sentiuntur, incorporealia uero intelleguntur, rerum genera diuersa sunt, non domicilia sensus et intellectus, id

est, non anima et animus. Denique a quo sentiuntur corporalia? Si ab animo, ergo iam et sensibilis est animus, non tantum intellectualis, nam dum intellegit, sentit, quia si non sentit, nec intellegit; si uero ab anima corporalia sentiuntur, iam ergo et intellectualis est uis animae, non tantum sensibilis, nam dum sentit, intellegit, quia si non intellegit, nec sentit. Proinde a quo intelleguntur incorporalia? Si ab animo, ubi erit anima? Si ab anima, ubi erit animus? Quae enim distant, abesse inuicem debent, cum suis muneribus operantur. [9] Putabis quidem abesse animum ab anima, si quando, nam ita effici, ut nesciamus uidisse quid uel audisse, quia alibi fuerit animus. Adeo contendam immo ipsam animam nec uidisse nec audisse, quia alibi fuerit cum sua ui, id est animo. Nam et cum dementit homo, anima dementit non peregrinante, sed conpatiente tunc animo — ceterum animae principaliter casus est. [10] Hoc unde firmatur? Quod anima digressa nec animus in homine inueniatur; ita illam ubique sequitur, a qua nec in fine subremanet. Cum uero sequitur et addicitur, perinde intellectus animae addicitur quam sequitur animus, cui addicitur intellectus. Sit nunc et potior sensu intellectus et potior cognitor sacramentorum, dummodo et ipse propria uis animae, quod et sensus. Nihil mea interest, nisi cum idcirco praefertur sensui intellectus, ut ex hoc quoque separatio habeatur quo potior affirmatur. Tunc mihi post differentiam etiam praelatio retundenda est peruentura quoque usque ad potioris dei persuasionem. [11] Sed de deo suo quoque campo experiemur cum haereticis. Nunc de anima titulus et de intellectu non insidiosae praeferendo locus. Nam etsi potiora sunt quae intellectu attinguntur ut spiritalia quam quae sensu ut corporalia, rerum erit praelatio, sublimiorum scilicet aduersus humiliores, non intellectus aduersus sensum. Quomodo enim praeferatur sensui intellectus, a quo informatur ad cognitionem ueritatum? [12] Si enim ueritates per imagines apprehenduntur, id est inuisibilia per uisibilia noscuntur, quia et apostolus nobis scribit: inuisibilia enim eius a conditione mundi de factamentis intellecta uisuntur, et Plato haereticis: facies occultorum ea quae apparent, et: necesse est omnino hunc mundum imaginem quandam esse alterius alicuius, ecquid tibi uidetur intellectus duce uti sensu et auctore et principali fundamento nec sine illo ueritates posse contingi? Quomodo ergo potior erit eo per quem est, quo eget, cui debet totum quod attingit? [13] Ita utrumque concluditur, neque praefendum sensui intellectum (per quod enim quid constat, inferius ipso est) neque separandum a sensu (per quod enim quid est,

cum ipso est).

XIX. INTELLECTVM SEMPER ANIMAE INESSE. [1] Sed ne illi quidem praetereundi qui uel modico temporis uiduant animam intellectu. Proinde enim uiam sternunt postea inducendi eius, sicut et animi, a quo scilicet proueniat intellectus. [2] Volunt infantiam sola anima contineri, qua tantummodo vivat, non ut pariter sapiat, quia nec omnia sapiant quae umant. Denique arbores uiuere nec tamen sapere secundum Aristotelen et si quis alius substantiam animalem in unmersa communicat, quae apud nos in homine priuata res est, non modo ut dei opus, quod et cetera, sed ut dei flatus, quod haec sola, quam dicimus cum omni instructu suo nasci. [3] Et si ad arbores prouocamur, amplexemur exemplum, siquidem et illis necdum arbusculis, sed stipitibus adhuc et surculis etiamnunc, simul de scrobibus oriuntur, inest propria uis animae. Verum pro temporis ratione remoratur coalescens et coadulescens robori suo, donec aetas adimpleat habitum, quo natura fungatur. Aut unde mox illis et frutices inoculantur et folia formantur et germina inflantur et flosculi inornantur et succi condiuntur, si non in ipsis omnis paratura generis quiescit et partibus promota grandescit? [4] Inde igitur et sapiunt unde uiuunt, tam uiuendi quam sapiendi proprietate, et quidem ab infantia et ipsae sua. Video enim et uitem adhuc teneram et inpuberem intellegentem tamen iam opera sua et uolentem alicui adhaerere, cui innixa et innexa proficiat. Denique non expectata rustica disciplina, sine arundine, sine ceruo, si quid attigerit, ultro amabit, et quidem uirosius amplexabitur de suo ingenio quam de tuo arbitrio. Properat esse secura. [5] Video et hederas, quantum uelis premas, statim ad superna conari et nullo praeuente suspendi, quod malint parietibus inuehi textili silua quam humi teri uoluntaria iniuria. Contra quibus de aedificio male est, ut crescendo recedunt, ut refugiunt? Sentias ramos aliorum destinatos, et animationem arboris de diuortio parietis intellegas. Contenta est paruitate quam ex primordio prouidentissimi fructicis edidit, timens etiam ruinam. [6] Has ego sapientias et scientias arborum cur non contendam? Viuant ut philosophi uolunt, sapiant ut philosophi nolunt, intellegat et infantia ligni, quo magis hominis, cuius anima uelut surculus quidam ex matrice Adam in propaginem deducta et genitalibus feminae foueis commendata cum omni sua paratura pullulauit tam intellectu quam et sensu. [7] Mentior, si non statim infans, ut uitam uagitu salutauit, hoc ipsum se testatur sensisse atque intellexisse quod natus est, omnes simul ibidem dedicans

sensus, et luce uisum et sono auditum et umore gustum et aere odoratum et terra tactum. Ita prima illa uox de primis sensuum motibus et de primis intellectuum pulsibus cogitur. [8] Plus est quod de prospectu lacrimabilis uitae quidam augurem incommodorum uocem illam flebilem interpretantur, quod etiam praesciens habenda sit ab ingressu natiuitatis, nedum intellegens. Exinde et matrem spiritu probat et nutricem spiritu examinat et gerulam spiritu agnoscit, fugiens extranea ubera et recusans ignota cubilia, neminem appetens nisi ex usu. [9] Vnde illi iudicium nouitatis et moris, si non sapit? Vnde illi et offendi et demulceri, si non intellegit? Mirum satis, ut infantia naturaliter animosa sit non habens animum et naturaliter affectiosa sit non habens intellectum. At enim Christus ex ore lactantium et paruulorum experiendo laudem nec pueritiam nec infantiam hebetes pronuntiauit, quarum altera cum suffragio occurrens testimonium ei potuit offerre, altera pro ipso trucidata utique uim sensit.

XX. DE NATVRALIBVS. [1] Et hic itaque concludimus omnia naturalia animae ut substantia eius ipsi inesse et cum ipsa procedere atque proficere, ex quo ipsa censetur. Sicut et Seneca saepe noster: insita sunt nobis omnium artium et aetatum semina, magisterque ex occulto deus producit ingenia, ex seminibus scilicet insitis et occultis per infantiam, quae sunt et intellectus. Ex his enim producuntur ingenia. [2] Porro et frugum seminibus una generis cuiusque forma est, processus tamen uarii: alia integro statu euadunt, alia etiam meliora respondent, alia degenerant pro condicione caeli et soli, pro ratione operis et curae, pro temporum euentu, pro licentia casuum; ita et animam licebit semine uniformem, fetu multiformem. Nam et hic etiam de locis interest. [3] Thebis hebetes et brutos nasci relatum est, Athenis sapiendi dicendique acutissimos, ubi penes Colyttum pueri mense citius eloquuntur praecoca lingua, siquidem et Plato in Timaeo Mineruam affirmat, cum urbem illam moliretur, nihil aliud quam regionis naturam prospexisse talia ingenia pollicitam; unde et ipse in Legibus Megillo et Cliniae praecipit condendae ciuitati locum procurare. Sed Empedocles causam argutae indolis et obtusae in sanguinis qualitate constituit, perfectum ac profectum de doctrina disciplinaque deducit. Tamen uulgata iam res est gentilium proprietatum. Comici Phrygas timidos inludunt, Sallustius uanos Mauros et feroces Dalmatus pulsatur, mendaces Cretas etiam apostolus inurit. [4] Fortassean et de corpore et uoletudine aliquid accedat. Opimitas sapientiam impedit, exilitas

expedit, paralysis mentem prodigit, pthisis seruat. Quanto magis de accidentibus habebuntur quae citra corpulentiam et ualentiam uel acuunt uel obtundunt! Acuunt doctrinae disciplinae artes et experientiae negotia studia; obtundunt inscitiae ignauiae desidiaelibidines inexperientiae otia uitia, super haec, si et aliquae praesunt potestates. [5] Enimuero praesunt, secundum nos quidem deus dominus et diabolus aemulus, secundum communem autem opinionem prouidentia et fatum et necessitas et fortuna et arbitrii libertas. Nam haec et philosophi distinguunt, et nos secundum fidem disserenda suo iam uouimus titulo. [6] Apparet quanta sint quae unam animae naturam uarie collocarint, ut uulgo naturae deputentur, quando non species sint, sed sortes naturae et substantiae unius, illius scilicet quam deus in Adam contulit et matricem omnium fecit; atque adeo sortes erunt, non species substantiae unius, id est uarietas ista moralis, quanta nunc est, tanta non fuerit in ipso principe generis Adam. Debuerant enim fuisse haec omnia in illo ut in fonte naturae atque inde cum tota uarietate manasse, si uarietas naturae fuisset.

XXI. [1] Quodsi uniformis natura animae ab initio in Adam ante tot ingenia, ergo non multiformis, quia uniformis, per tot ingenia, nec triformis, ut adhuc trinitas Valentiniana caedatur, quae nec ipsa in Adam recognoscitur. [2] Quid enim spiritale in illo? Si quia prophetauit magnum illud sacramentum in Christum et ecclesiam: hoc os ex ossibus meis et caro ex carne mea uocabitur mulier; propterea relinquet homo patrem et matrem et agglutinabitur mulieri suae et erunt duo in carnem unam, hoc postea obuenit, cum in illum deus amentiam immisit, spiritalem uim, qua constat prophetia. [3] Si et malum eo in apparuit transgressionis admissum, nec hoc naturale deputandum est, quod instinctu serpentis operatus est, tam non naturale quam nec materiale, quia et materiae fidem iam exclusimus. Quodsi nec spiritale nec quod dicitur materiale proprium in illo fuit (etsi ex materia fuisset mali semen), superest, ut solum in illo et unicum fuerit naturale quod censetur animale, quod statu simplex et uniforme defendimus. [4] De hoc plane relinquitur quaeri, an demutabile debeat credi, quod naturale dicatur. Idem enim conuertibilem negant naturam, ut trinitatem suam in singulis proprietatibus figant, quia arbor bona malos non ferat fructus nec mala bonos, et nemo de spinis metat ficus et de tribulis uuas. Ergo si ita est, neque de lapidibus filios Abrahae suscitare poterit deus nec genimina uiperarum facere paenitentiae fructus et errauit apostolus scribens: eratis et uos aliquando tenebrae et: fuimus et nos

aliquando natura filii irae et: in his uos quoque fuistis, sed abluti estis. [5] Sed nunquam discordabunt sententiae sanctae. Non dabit enim arbor mala bonos fructus, si non inseratur, et bona malos dabit, si non colatur, et lapides filii Abrahae fient, si in fidem Abrahae formentur, et genimina uiperarum fructum paenitentiae facient, si uenena malignitatis expuerint. [6] Haec erit uis diuinæ gratiae, potentior utique natura, habens in nobis subiacentem sibi liberam arbitrii potestatem quod *au)tecou&sion* dicitur, quae cum sit et ipsa naturalis atque mutabilis, quoquo uertitur, natura conuertitur. Inesse autem nobis *to au)tecou&sion* naturaliter iam et Marcioni ostendimus et Hermogeni. [7] Quid nunc, si et naturae condicio sic erit definienda, ut duplex determinetur, natorum et innatorum, factorum et infectorum? Atque ita quod natum factumque constiterit, eius natura capiet demutationem: et renasci enim poterit et refici. Innatum autem et infectum immobile stabit. Quod cum soli deo conpetat, ut soli innato et infecto et idcirco immortalis et inconuertibili, absolutum est ceterorum omnium natorum atque factorum conuertibilem et demutabilem esse naturam, ut, etsi trinitas animae adscribenda esset. ex mutatione accidentiae, non ex institutione naturae deputaretur.

XXII. [1] Cetera animae naturalia iam a nobis audiit Hermogenes cum ipsorum defensione et probatione, per quae dei potius quam materiae propinqua cognoscitur. Hic solummodo nominabuntur, ne praeterita uideantur. Dedimus enim illi et libertatem arbitrii, ut supra scripsimus, et dominationem rerum et diuinationem interdum, seposita quae per dei gratiam obuenit ex prophetia. Itaque iam ab isto dispositionis retractatu recedam, ut ordinem eius expungam. [2] Definimus animam dei flatu natam, immortalem, corporalem, effigiatam, substantia simplicem, de suo sapientem, uarie procedentem, liberam arbitrii, accidentis obnoxiam, per ingenia mutabilem, rationalem, dominatricem, diuinatricem, ex una redundantem. Sequitur nunc ut quomodo ex una redundet consideremus, id est, unde et quando et qua ratione sumatur.

XXIII. VNDE ANIMA. [1] Quidam de caelis deuenisse se credunt tanta persuasionem quanta et illuc indubitate regressuros repromittunt, ut Saturninus Menandri Simoniani discipulus induxit, hominem affirmans ab angelis factum primoque opus futile et inualidum et instabile in terra uermis instar palpitasse, quod consistendi uires deessent, dehinc ex misericordia summae potestatis, ad cuius effigiem, nec tamen plene perspectam, temere structus fuisset, scintillulam uitae consecutum, quae illud exsuscitarit et erexerit et

constantius animarit et post decessum uitae ad matricem relatura sit. [2] Sed et Carpocrates tantundem sibi de superioribus uindicat, ut discipuli eius animas suas iam et Christo, nedum apostolis, et peraequent et cum uolunt praeferant, quas perinde de sublimi uirtute conceperint despectrices mundipotentium principatuum. [3] Apelles sollicitas refert animas terrenis escis de supercaelestibus sedibus ab igneo angelo, deo Israelis et nostro, qui exinde illis peccatricem circumfinxit carnem. [4] Examen Valentini semen Sophiae infulcit animae, per quod historias atque milesias aeonum suorum ex imaginibus uisibilium recognoscunt. [5] Doleo bona fide Platonem omnium haereticorum condimentarium factum. Illius est enim et in Phaedone, quod animae hinc euntes sint illuc, et inde huc ; item in Timaeo, quod genimina dei delegata sibi mortalium genitura accepto initio animae immortalis mortale ei circumgelauerint corpus; tum, quod mundus hic imago sit alterius alicuius. [6] Quae omnia ut fidei commendet, et animam retro in superioribus cum deo egisse in commercio idearum et inde huc transuenire et hic quae retro norit de exemplaribus recensere, nouum elaborauit argumentum, *maq̃h&seij a)namnh&seij*, id est discentias reminiscentias esse; uenientes enim inde huc animas obliuisci eorum in quibus prius fuerint, dehinc ex his uisibilibus edoctas recordari. Cum igitur huiusmodi argumento illa insinuentur a Platone quae haeretici mutantur, satis haeticos reprecutiam, si argumentum Platonis elidam.

XXIV. ADVERSVS PLATONIS *maq̃h&seij kai\ a)namnh&seij*. [1] Primo quidem obliuionis capacem animam non cedam, quia tantam illi concessit diuinitatem, ut deo adaequetur. Innatam eam facit, quod et solum armare potuissem ad testimonium plenae diuinitatis; adicit immortalem, incorruptibilem, incorporalem, quia hoc et deum credidit, inuisibilem, ineffigibilem, uniformem, principalem, rationalem, intellectualem. Quid amplius proscriberet animam, si eam deum nuncuparet? [2] Nos autem, qui nihil deo adpendimus, hoc ipso animam longe infra deum expendimus, quod natam eam agnoscimus ac per hoc dilutioris diuinitatis et exilioris felicitatis, ut flatum, non ut spiritum; et si immortalem, ut hoc sit diuinitatis, tamen passibilem, ut hoc sit natiuitatis, ideoque et a primordio exorbitationis capacem et inde etiam obliuionis affinem. Satis de isto cum Hermogene. [3] Ceterum quae, ut haberi merito possit ex peraequatione omnium proprietatum deus, nulli passioni subiacebit, ita nec obliuioni, cum tanta sit iniuria obliuio

quanta est gloria eius cuius iniuria est, memoria scilicet, quam et ipse Plato sensuum et intellectuum salutem et Cicero thesaurum omnium studiorum praedicauit. Nec hoc iam in dubium deducetur, an tam diuina anima memoriam potuerit amittere, sed an quam amiserit recuperare denuo possit. Quae enim non debuit obliuisci, si oblita sit, nescio an ualeat recordari. Ita utrumque meae animae, non Platonicae congruet. [4] Secundo gradu opponam: natura compotem animam facis idearum illarum, an non? ‘Immo natura’, inquis. Nemo ergo concedet naturalem scientiam naturalium excidere; artium excidet, studiorum; excidet doctrinarum, disciplinarum; excidet fortasse et ingeniorum et affectuum, quae naturae uidentur, non tamen sunt, quia, ut praemisimus, et pro locis et pro institutionibus et pro corpulentis ac uoletudinibus et pro potestatibus dominatricibus et pro libertatibus arbitrii ex accidentibus constant. [5] Naturalium uero scientia ne in bestiis quidem deficit. Plane obliuiscetur feritatis leo mansuetudinis eruditione praeuentus et cum toto suggestu iubarum delictum fiet Berenices alicuius reginae lingua genas eius emaculans. Mores bestiam relinquent, scientia naturalium permanebit. Non obliuiscetur idem naturalium pabulorum, naturalium remediorum, naturalium terrorum; et si de piscibus et si de placentis regina ei obtulerit, carnem desiderabit, et si languenti theriacam composuerit, simiam leo requirit, et si nullum illi uenabulum obfirmabit, gallum tamen formidabit. [6] Perinde et homini omnium forsitan obliuiosissimo inoblitterata perseuerabit sola scientia naturalium, ut sola scilicet naturalis, memor semper manducandi in esurie et bibendi in siti, et oculis uidendum et auribus audiendum et naribus odorandum et ore gustandum et manu contrectandum. Hi sunt certe sensus, quos philosophia depretiat intellectualium praelatione. [7] Igitur si naturalis scientia sensualium permanet, quomodo intellectualium, quae potior habetur, interciderit? Vnde nunc ipsa uis obliuionis antecedentis recordationem? ‘Ex multitudine’, ait, ‘temporis’. Satis improspecte! Quantitas enim temporis non pertinebit ad eam rem quae innata dicatur ac per hoc potissimum aeterna credatur. Quod enim aeternum est, eo quia et innatum est, neque initium neque finem temporis admittendo nullum modum temporis patitur; cui temporis modus nullus est, nec ulla demutatione temporis subest nec ea de multitudine temporis uis est. [8] Si tempus in causa est obliuionis, cur ex quo anima corpori inducitur, memoria delabatur, quasi exinde tempus anima sustineat, quae sine dubio prior corpore non fuit utique sine tempore? Ingressa

uero corpus statimne obliuiscitur, an aliquanto post? Si statim, et quae erit temporis nondum subputandi multitudo? [Infantia scilicet.] Si aliquanto post, ergo illo in spatio ante tempora obliuionis memor adhuc aget anima. Et quale est, ut postea obliuiscatur et rursus postea recordetur? Quoque autem tempore illam obliuio inruerit, quantus hic etiam habebitur modus temporis? Tota, opinor, uitae decursio satis non erit ad euertendam memoriam tanti ante corpus aevi. [9] Sed rursus Plato causam demutat in corpus, quasi et hoc fide dignum, ut nata substantia innatae uim extinguat. Magnae autem ac multae differentiae corporum pro gentilitate, pro magnitudine, pro habitudine, pro aetate, pro ualetudine. Num ergo et obliuionum differentiae aestimabuntur? Sed uniformis obliuio est; ergo non erit corporalitas multiformis in causa exitus uniformis. [10] Multa item documenta teste ipso Platone diuinationem animae probauerunt, quae proposuimus iam Hermogeni. Sed nec quisquam hominum non et ipse aliquando praesagam animam suam sentit, aut ominis aut periculi aut gaudii augurem. Si diuinationi non obstreperet corpus, nec memoriae, opinor, officiet. In eodem certe corpore et obliuiscuntur animae et recordantur. Si qua corporis ratio incutit obliuionem, quomodo contrariam eius admittet recordationem (quia et ipsa post obliuionem recordatio memoria recidiua est)? Quod primae memoriae aduersatur, cur non et secundae refragatur? [11] Postremo, qui magis reminiscerentur quam pueruli, ut recentiores animae, ut nondum immersae domesticis ac publicis curis, ut ipsis solis debitae studiis, quorum discentiae reminiscentiae fiunt? Immo cur non ex aequo omnes recordamur, cum ex aequo omnes obliuiscamur? Sed tantummodo philosophi; ne hi quidem omnes. Plato scilicet solus in tanta gentium silua, in tanto sapientium prato, idearum et oblitus et recordatus est. [12] Igitur et si nullo modo consistit argumentatio ista praecipua, totum illud pariter euersum est, cui accommodata est, ut animae et innatae et in caelestibus conuersatae et consciae diuinorum illic et inde delatae et hic recordatae crederentur, ad occasiones plane haereticis subministrandas.

XXV. ANIMAM ET CARNEM SIMVL CONCIPI. [1] Iam nunc regrediar ad causam huius excessus, uti reddam, quomodo animae ex una redundant, quando et ubi et qua ratione sumantur; de qua specie nihil refert, a philosopho an ab haeretico an a uulgo quaestio occurrat. [2] Nulla interest professoribus ueritatis de aduersariis eius, maxime tam audacibus quam sunt primo isti, qui praesumunt non in utero concipi animam nec cum carnis figulatione compingi

atque produci, sed et effuso iam partu nondum uiuo infanti extrinsecus inprimi; ceteram semen ex concubitu muliebribus locis sequestratum motuque naturali uegetatum compingescere in solam substantiam carnis; eam editam et de uteri fornace fumantem et calore solutam, ut ferrum ignitum et ibidem frigidae immersum, ita aeris rigore percussam et uim animalem rapere et uocalem sonum reddere. Hoc Stoici cum Aenesidemo et ipse interdum Plato, cum dicit perinde animam extraneam alias et extorrem uteri prima adspiratione nascentis infantis adduci, sicut expiratione nouissima educi. Videbimus an ex sententia finxerit. Ne ex medicis quidem defuit Hicesius, et naturae et artis suae praeuaricator. [3] Pudit, opinor, illos id statuere quod feminae agnoscerent. Et quanto ruborator exitus a feminis reuinci quam probari! In ista namque specie nemo tam idoneus magister arbiter testis quam sexus ipsius. Respondete, matres, uos quae praegnantes, uos quae puerperae, steriles et masculi taceant, uestrae naturae ueritas quaeritur, uestrae passionis fides conuenitur, an aliquam in fetu sentiatis uiuacitatem alienam de uestro, de quo palpitent ilia, micent latera, tota uentris ambitio pulsetur, ubique ponderis regio mutetur; an hi motus gaudia uestra sint et certa securitas, quod ita infantem et uiuere confidatis et ludere; an si desierit iniquies eius, illi prius pertimescatis; an et audiat iam in uobis, cum ad nouum sonum excutitur; an et ciborum uanitates illi desideretis, illi etiam fastidiatis; an et ualetudinibus inuicem communicetis, ille quidem usque et contusionibus uestris, quibus et ipse intus per eadem membra signatur, rapiens sibi iniurias matris. [4] Si liuor ac rubor sanguinis passio est, sine anima non erit sanguis; si ualetudo omnis accessio est, sine anima non erit ualetudo; si alimonia inedia crementa decrementa pauor motus tractatio est animae, his qui fungitur uiuet. Denique desinit uiuere qui desinit fungi. Denique et mortui eduntur; quomodo, nisi et uiui? Qui autem et mortui, nisi qui prius uiui? Atquin et in ipso adhuc utero infans trucidatur necessaria crudelitate, cum in exitu obliquatus denegat partum, matricida, ni moriturus. [5] Itaque est inter arma medicorum et cum organo, ex quo prius patescere secreta coguntur tortili temperamento, cum anulocultro, quo intus membra caeduntur anxio arbitrio, cum hebetate unco, quo totum facinus extrahitur uiolento puerperio. Est etiam aeneum spiculum, quo iugulatio ipsa dirigitur caeco latrocinio; *e0mbruosfa&kthn* appellant de infanticidii officio, utique uiuentis infantis peremptorium. Hoc et Hippocrates habuit et Asclepiades et Erasistratus et maiorum quoque prosector Herophilus

et mitior ipse Soranus, certi animal esse conceptum atque ita miserti infelicissimae huiusmodi infantiae, ut prius occidatur, ne uiua lanietur. [6] De qua sceleris necessitate nec dubitabat, credo, Hicesius, iam natis animam superducens ex aeris frigidi pulsu, quia et ipsum uocabulum animae penes Graecos de refrigeratione respondens. Num ergo barbarae Romanaeque gentes aliter animantur, quia animam aliud quid quam *yuxh&n* cognominauerunt? Quantae uero nationes sub feruentissimo axe censentur colorem quoque excoctae? Vnde illis animam, quibus aeris rigor nullus? Taceo cubiculares aestus et omnem illic caloris paraturam enitentibus necessariam, quas afflari uel maxime periculum est. In ipsis paene balneis fetus elabitur, et statim uagitus auditur. [7] Ceterum si aeris rigor thesaurus est animae, extra Germanias et Scythias et Alpes et Argaeos nemo debuit nasci. Atquin et populi frequentiores apud orientalem et meridiam temperaturam et ingenia expeditiora, omnibus Sarmatis etiam mente torpentibus. Et animi enim de rigoribus scitiores prouenirent, si animae de frigusculis euenirent; cum substantia enim et uis. [8] His ita praestructis possumus illos quoque recogitare qui exsecto matris utero uiui aerem hauserunt, Liberi aliqui et Scipiones. Quodsi qui, ut Plato, perinde non putat duas animas in unum conuenire, sicut nec corpora, ego illi non modo duas animas in unum congestas ostendissem, sicut et corpora, in fetibus, uerum et alia multa cum anima conserta, daemonis scilicet <substantiam>, nec unius, ut in Socrate ipso, uerum et septenarii spiritus, ut in Magdalena, et legionarii numeri, ut in Geraseno, quo facilius anima cum anima conseretur ex societate substantiae quam spiritus nequam ex diuersitate naturae. [9] At idem in sexto Legum monens cauere, ne uitatio seminis ex aliqua uilitate concubitus labem corpori et animae supparet, nescio de pristina magis an de ista sententia sibi exciderit. Ostendit enim animam de semine induci, quod curari monet, non de prima aspiratione nascentis. Vnde, oro, similitudine animae quoque parentibus de ingeniis respondemus secundum Cleanthis testimonium, si non et ex animae semine educimur? Cur autem et ueteres astrologi genituram hominis ab initio conceptus dirigebant, si non exinde et anima est, ad quam aeque pertinet, si quid est, flatus?

XXVI. [1] Sed omnis inaequalitas sententiae humanae usque ad dei terminos. In nostras iam lineas gradum colligam, ut quod philosophis medicisque respondi, Christiano probem. De tuo, frater, fundamento fidem aedifica; aspice uiuentes uteros sanctissimarum feminarum nec modo

spirantes iam illic infantes, uerum etiam prophetantes. [2] Ecce uiscera Rebeckae inquietantur et longe adhuc partus et aeris nullus impulsus. Ecce duplex fetus in locis matris tumultuatur et nusquam adhuc populi duo. Portentosa forsitan petulantia infantiae ante certantis quam umentis, ante animosae quam animatae, si tantummodo matrem subsultando turbasset. At cum partus aperitus et numerus inspicitur et auguratus recognoscitur, puto, iam non animae solummodo probantur infantum, sed et pugnae. [3] Detinebatur qui praeuenerat nasci a praeuento necdum plenius edito, tantum manu nato. Et si ipse animam de prima aspiratione potabat Platonico more aut de aeris rigore carpebat Stoica forma, quid ille qui expectabatur, qui adhuc intus detinebatur et foris iam detinebat? Nondum, opinor, spirans plantam fratris inuaserat, etiamnunc calens matre se priorem prodisse cupiebat. O infantem et aemulum et ualidum et olim contentiosum, credo, quia uiuum. [4] Aspice etiam singulares conceptus et quidem monstrosiores, sterilis et uirginis, quae uel hoc ipso imperfectos edere potuissent pro euersione naturae, ut altera seminis stupida, altera intacta. Decebat, si forte, sine anima nasci, qui fuerant non rite concepti, sed et illi uiuunt in suo quisque utero. Exsultat Elizabeth, Johannes intus impulerat; glorificat dominum Maria. Christus intus instinxerat. Agnoscunt matres suos inuicem fetus, agnitae mutuo ab ipsis utique uiuentibus, qui non tantum animae erant, uenim et spiritus. [5] Sic et ad Hieremiam legis dei uocem: priusquam te in utero fingerem, noui te. Si fingit deus in utero, et afflat ex primordii forma: et finxit deus hominem et flauit in eum flatum uitae. Nec nosset autem hominem deus in utero nisi totum: et priusquam exires de uulua, sanctificaui te. Et mortuum adhuc corpus? Vtique nequaquam: deus enim uiuorum, non mortuorum.

XXVII. [1] Quomodo igitur animal conceptum? Simulne conflata utriusque substantia corporis animaeque an altera earum praecedente? Immo simul ambas et concipi et confici, perfici dicimus, sicut et promi, nec ullum interuenire momentum in conceptu quo locus ordinetur. [2] Recogita enim de nouissimis prima: si mors non aliud determinatur quam disiunctio corporis animaeque, contrarium morti uita non aliud definietur quam coniunctio corporis animaeque; si disiunctio simul utrique substantiae accidit per mortem, hoc debet coniunctionis forma mandasse pariter obuientis per uitam utrique substantiae. [3] Porro uitam a conceptu agnoscimus, quia animam a conceptu uindicamus; exinde enim uita, quo anima. Pariter ergo in uitam

compinguntur quae pariter in mortem separantur. Tunc si alteri primatum damus, alteri secundatum, seminis quoque discernenda sunt tempora pro statu ordinis. Et quando collocabitur corporis semen, quando animae? [4] Immo si tempora seminum diuidentur, et materiae diuersae habebuntur ex distantia temporum. Nam etsi duas species confitebimur seminis, corporalem et animalem, indiscretas tamen uindicamus et hoc modo contemporales eiusdemque momenti. Ne itaque pudeat necessariae interpretationis. Natura ueneranda est, non erubescenda. Concubitum libido, non condicio foedauit. Excessus, non status est impudicus, siquidem benedictus status apud deum: crescite et in multitudinem proficite, excessus uero maledictus, adulteria et stupra et lupanaria. [5] In hoc itaque sollemni sexuum officio quod marem ac feminam miscet, in concubitu dico communi, scimus et animam et carnem simul fungi, animam concupiscentia, carnem opera, animam instinctu, carnem actu. Vnico igitur impetu utriusque toto homine concusso despumatur semen totius hominis habens ex corporali substantia humorem, ex animali calorem. Et si frigidum nomen est anima Graecorum, quare corpus exempta ea friget? [6] Denique ut adhuc uerecundia magis pericliter quam probatione, in illo ipso uoluptatis ultimae aestu quo genitale uinis expellitur, nonne aliquid de anima quoque sentimus exire atque adeo marcescimus et deuigescimus cum lucis detrimento? Hoc erit semen animale, protinus ex animae destillatione, sicut et uirus illud corporale semen ex carnis defaecatione. [7] Fidelissima primordii exempla. De limo caro in Adam. Quid aliud limus quam liquor optimus? Inde erit genitale uirus. Ex afflatu dei anima. Quid aliud afflatus dei quam uapor spiritus? Inde erit quod per uirus illud efflamus. [8] Cum igitur in primordio duo diuersa atque diuisa, limus et flatus, unum hominem coegissent, confusae substantiae ambae iam in uno semina quoque sua miscuerunt atque exinde generi propagando formam tradiderunt, ut et nunc duo, licet diuersa, etiam unita pariter effluent pariterque insinuata sulco et aruo suo pariter hominem ex utraque substantia effruticent, in quo rursus semen suum insit secundum genus, sicut omni condicioni genitali praestitutum est. [9] Igitur ex uno homine tota haec animarum redundantia, obseruante scilicet natura dei edictum: crescite et in multitudinem proficite. Nam et in ipsa praefatione operis unius, faciamus hominem, uniuersa posteritas pluraliter praedicata est: et praesint piscibus maris. Nihil mirum repromissio segetis in semine.

XXVIII. ADVERSVS PLATONEM, NON EX MORTVIS FIERI VIVOS.

[1] Quis ille nunc uetus sermo apud memoriam Platonis de animarum reciproco discursu, quod hinc abeuntes sint illuc et rursus huc ueniant et fiant et dehinc ita habeat rursus ex mortuis effici umos? Pythagoricus, ut uolunt quidam; diuinum Albinus existimat, Mercurii forsitan Aegyptii. Sed nullus sermo diuinus nisi dei unius, quo prophetae, quo apostoli, quo ipse Christus intonuit. Multo antiquior Moyses etiam Saturno, nongentis circiter annis, nedum pronepotibus eius, certe diuinior multo, qui decursus generis humani ab exordio mundi quoque per singulas natiuitates nominatim temporatimque digessit, satis probatus diuinitatem operis ex diuinatione uocis. [2] Si uero Samius sophista Platoni auctor est de animarum recidiuatu reuolubili semper ex alterna mortuorum atque uiuentium suffectione, certe ille Pythagoras, etsi bonus cetera, tamen ut hanc sententiam exstrueret, non turpi modo, uerum etiam temerario mendacio incubuit. Cognosce, qui nescis, et crede nobiscum. Mortem simulat, subterraneo latitat, septennio illic patientiam damnat; interea quae de posteris defunctis ad fidem rerum esset relaturus ab unica conscia et ministra matre cognoscit. Vt satis sibi uisus est corpulentiam interpolasse ad omnem mortui ueteris horrorem, de adytis fallaciae emergit ut ab inferis redditus. [3] Quis non crederet reuixisse quem crediderat obisse, audiens praesertim ab eo, quae de posteris mortuis nisi apud inferos non uideretur cognoscere potuisse? Sic ex mortuis uiuos effici senior sermo est. Quid enim, si et iunior? Neque ueritas desiderat uetustatem neque mendacium deuitat nouellitatem. Teneo plane falsum, antiquitate generosum; quidni falsum, cuius testimonium quoque ex falso est? Quomodo credam non mentiri Pythagoran, qui mentitur, ut credam? Quomodo mihi persuadebit Aethalidem et Euphorbum et Pyrrhum piscatorem et Hermotimum se retro ante Pythagoran fuisse, ut persuadeat uiuos ex mortuis effici, qui iterum se Pythagoran peierauit? Quanto enim credibilius ipse ex semetipso semel redisset in uitam quam totiens alius atque alius, tanto et in durioribus fefellit, qui molliora mentitus est. [4] ‘Sed clipeum Euphorbi olim Delphis consecratum recognouit et suum dixit et de signis uulgo ignotis probauit’. Respice ad hypogeum eius et, si capit, crede. Nam qui talem commentus est stropham, cum iniuria bonae uoletudinis, cum fraude (uitae septennio excruciatæ infra terram inedia ignauia umbra, cui tanti fuit fastidium caeli, quam non accesserit temeritatem, quam non temptauerit curiositatem, ut ad notam clipei illius perueniret? [5] Quid autem, si in historiis aliquibus occultioribus repperit? Quid, si defectae

iam traditionis superstites aliquas famae aurulas hausit? Quid, si ab aedituo redempta clam inspectione cognouit? Scimus etiam magiae licere explorandis occultis per catabolicos et paredros et pythonicos spiritus. Non enim et Pherecydes, Pythagorae magister, his forsitan artibus diuinabat, ne dicam somniabat? Quid, si idem daemon in illo fuit qui et in Euphorbo res sanguinis gessit? Denique qui se Euphorbum ex argnmento clipei probarat, cur neminem Troianorum commilitonum aequae recognouit? Nam et illi iam reuixissent, si uiui ex mortuis fierent.

XXIX. [1] Mortuos quidem ex uiuis effici constat, non ideo tamen et ex mortuis uiuos. Ab initio enim uiui priores, unde ab initio aequae mortui posteriores, non aliunde quam ex uiuis. Illi habuerunt unde potius orirentur, dum ne ex mortuis. Isti non habuerunt unde magis deducerentur, nisi ex uiuis. [2] Igitur si ab initio uiui non ex mortuis, cur postea ex mortuis? Defecerat ille, quicumque est origini fons? An formae paenituit? Et quomodo in mortuis salua est? Non, quia ab initio mortui ex uiuis, idcirco semper ex uiuis? Aut enim in utraque parte forma initii perseuerasset aut in utraque mutasset, ut si uiuos ex mortuis postea fieri oportuerat, perinde oporteret etiam non ex uiuis effici mortuos. [3] Si non peraequare deberet fides institutionis, (3.) non usquequaque contraria ex contrariis reformari alternant. Et nos enim opponemus contrarietates nati et innati, uisualitatis et caecitatis, iuuentae et senectae, sapientiae et insipientiae; nec tamen ideo innatum de nato prouenire, quia contrarium ex contrario fiat, nec uisualitatem iterum ex caecitate, quia de uisualitate caecitas accadat, nec iuuentam rursus de senecta reuiuescere, quia ex iuuenta senecta marcescat, nec insipientiam ex sapientia denuo obtundi, quia de insipientia sapientia acuatur. [4] Haec et Albinus Platoni suo ueritus subtiliter quaerit contrarietatum genera distinguere, quasi non et haec tam absolute in contrarietatibus posita sint quam et illa quae ad sententiam magistri sui interpretatur, uitam dico et mortem. Nec tamen ex morte uita reddatur, quia ex uita mors deferatur.

XXX. [1] Quid autem ad cetera respondebimus? Primo enim, si ex mortuis uiui, sicut mortui ex uiuis, unus omnino et idem numerus semper haesisset omnium hominum, ille scilicet numerus qui primus uitam introisset. Priores enim mortuis uiui, dehinc mortui ex uiuis et rursus ex mortuis uiui. Et dum hoc semper ex iisdem, ita totidem semper, qui ex iisdem. Nam neque plures aut pauciores exissent quam redirent. [2] Inuenimus autem apud commentarios

etiam humanarum antiquitatum paulatim humanum genus exuberasse, dum Aborigines uel uagi uel extorres uel gloriosi quique occupant terras, ut Scythae Parthicas, ut Temenidae Peloponnesum, ut Athenienses Asiam, ut Phryges Italiam, ut Phoenices Africam, dum sollemnes etiam amigrationes, quas *a)poiki/aj* uocant, consilio exonerandae popularitatis in alios fines examina gentis eractant. Nam et origines nunc in suis sedibus permanent et alibi amplius gentilitatem fenerauerunt. [3] Certe quidem ipse orbis in promptu est cultior de die et instructor pristino. Omnia iam peruia, omnia nota, omnia negotiosa, solitudines famosas retro fundi amoenissimi oblitterauerunt, siluas arua domuerunt, feras pecora fugauerunt, harenae seruntur, saxa panguntur, paludes eliquantur, tantae urbes quantae non casae quondam. Iam nec insulae horrent nec scopuli terrent; ubique domus, ubique populus, ubique respublica, ubique uita. [4] Summum testimonium frequentiae humanae: onerosi sumus mundo, uix nobis elementa sufficiunt, et necessitates artiores, et querellae apud omnes, dum iam nos natura non sustinet. Reuera lues et fames et bella et uoragines ciuitatum pro remedio deputanda, tamquam tonsura insolescentis generis humani; et tamen, cum eiusmodi secures maximam mortalium uim semel caedant, nunquam restitutionem eius uiuos ex mortuis reducentem post mille annos semel orbis expauit. Et hoc enim sensibile fecisset aequa uis amissionis et restitutionis, si uiui ex mortuis fierent. [5] Cur autem mille annis post et non statim ex mortuis uiui, cum, si non statim supparetur quod erogatum, in totum absumi periclitetur praeueniente restitutionem defectione, quia nec pariasset commeatus hic uitae miliario tempori longe scilicet breuior et idcirco facilior ante extinguere quam redaccendi? Igitur quae hoc modo intercidisset, si uiui ex mortuis fierent, quando non intercidit, non erit credendum uiuos ex mortuis fieri.

XXXI. [1] Iam uero si ex mortuis uiui, utique singuli ex singulis. Singulorum ergo corporum animas ut singulas in singula corpora reuerti oportuerat. Porro si et binae et trinae et quinae usque uno utero resumuntur, non erunt ex mortuis uiui, quia non singuli ex singulis. Et hoc autem modo primordii forma signatur, cum et nunc plures animae de una proferuntur. [2] Item cum uaria aetate discedant animae, cur una reuertuntur? Omnes enim ab infantia imbuuntur, qua infans reuertatur. Quale est autem, ut senex defunctus infans reuertatur? Si decrescit foris anima retrograda aetate, quanto magis erat ut progressior reuerteretur mille post annis, certe uel coaetanea suae mortis, ut

aeuum quod reliquisset iterum recepisset? [3] Sed etsi eadem semper reuoluerentur, licet non corporum quoque formas easdem, licet non factorum quoque sortes easdem, tamen uel ingeniorum et studiorum et affectionum pristinas proprietates secum referre deberent, quoniam temere eadem haberentur carentes his per quae eadem probarentur. Vnde scias, inquis, an ita quidem fiat occulte, sed condicio miliarii aeui interimat facultatem recensendi, quia ignotae tibi reuertuntur? Atquin scio non ita fieri, cum Pythagoran Euphorbum mihi opponis. [4] Ecce enim Euphorbum militarem et bellicam animam satis constat uel de ipsa gloria clipeorum consecratorum. Pythagoran uero tam residem et inbellem, ut proelia tunc Graeciae uitans Italiae maluerit quietem geometriae et astrologiae et musicae deuotus, alienus studio et affectu Euphorbi. Sed et Pyrrhus ille fallendis piscibus agebat, Pythagoras contra nec edendis, ut animalibus abstinens. Aethalides autem et Hermotimus fabam quoque in pabulis communibus inruerat, Pythagoras uero ne per fabalia quidem transeundum discipulis suis tradidit. [5] Quomodo ergo eadem animae recuperantur, quae nec ingeniis nec institutis iam nec uictibus eadem probantur? Iam nunc de tanto Graeciae censu quattuor solae animae recensentur. Sed et quid utique de solo Graeciae censu, ut non ex omni gente et ex omni aetate ac dignitate, ex omni denique sexu, et metempsychosis et metensomatosis cotidie existant, cur solus Pythagoras alium atque alium se recognoscat, non et ego? [6] Aut si priuilegium philosophorum est, et utique Graecorum, quasi non et Scythae et Indi philosophentur, cur neminem se retro meminit Epicurus, neminem Chrysippus, neminem Zeno, ne ipse quidem Plato, quem forsitan Nestorem credidissemus ob mella facundiae?

XXXII. AD METEMPSYCHOSIS ET METENSOMATOSIS. [1] Sed enim Empedocles, quia se deum delirarat, idcirco, opinor, dedignatus aliquem se heroum recordari, thamnus et piscis fui, inquit. Cur non magis et pepo, tam insulsus, et chamaeleon, tam inflatus? Plane ut piscis, ne aliqua sepultura conditiore putesceret, assum se maluit in Aetnam praecipitando. Atque exinde in illo finita est metensomatosis, ut aestiua cena post assum. [2] Perinde igitur et hic dimicemus necesse est aduersus portentosiorem praesumptionem bestias ex hominibus et homines ex bestiis reuoluentem. Viderint thamni, licebit et lapathi, ne plus ridere quam docere cogamur. Dicimus animam humanam nullo modo in bestias posse transferri, etiamsi secundum philosophos ex elementiciis substantiis censetur. [3] Siue enim ignis anima, siue aqua, siue

sanguis, siue spiritus, siue aer, siue lumen, recogitare debemus contraria quaeque singulis speciebus animalia; igni quidem ea quae rigent, colubros stelliones salamandras, etiam quaecumque de aemulo producentur elemento, de aqua scilicet; perinde contraria aquae illa quae arida et exsuccida: denique siccitatibus gaudent lucustae papiliunculi chamaeleontes; item contraria sanguini quae carent purpura eius, cochleas uermiculos et maiorem piscium censuum; spiritui uero contraria quae spirare non uidentur, carentia pulmonibus et arteriis, culices formicas tineas et hoc genus minutalia; item aeri contraria quae semper subterraneum et subaquaneum uiuentia carent haustu eius (res magis quam nomina noueris); item contraria lumini quae caeca in totum uel solis tenebris habent oculos, talpas uesperugines noctuas. Haec ut ex apparentibus et manifestis substantiis doceam. [4] Ceterum si et atomos Epicuri tenerem et numeros Pythagorae uiderem et ideas Platonis offenderem et entelechias Aristotelis occuparem, inuenirem fors his quoque speciebus animalia quae nomine contrarietatis opponerem. Contendo enim ex quacumque substantia supra dicta constitisset humana anima, non potuisse eam in tam contraria unicuique substantiae animalia reformari et censum eis de sua translatione conferre, a quibus excludi ac respui magis haberet quam admitti et capi nomine huius primae contrarietatis, quae substantiui status diuersitatem committit, tunc et reliquae per consequentem ordinem cuiusque naturae. [5] Nam et sedes alias humana anima sortita est et uictus et instructus et sensus et affectus et concubitus et fetus, item ingenia, tum opera gaudia taedia uitia cupides uoluptates uoletudines medicinas, suos postremo et uitae modos et exitus mortis. [6] Quomodo igitur illa anima quae terris inhaerebat, nullius sublimitatis, nullius profunditatis intrepida, ascensu etiam scalarum fatigabilis, submersu etiam piscinarum strangulabilis, aeri postea insultabit in aquila aut mari postea desultabit in anguilla? Quomodo item pabulis liberalibus et delicatis atque curatis educata, non dico paleas, sed spinas et agrestes amaritudines frondium et bestias sterquilinioram [uermium], etiam uenena ruminabit, si in capram transierit uel in coturnicem, immo et cadauerinam, immo et humanam, sui utique memor, in urso et leone? Sic et cetera ad incongruentiam rediges. Ne singulis perorandis immoremur, ipsius animae humanae quisquis modus, quaecumque mensura, quid faciet in amplioribus longe uel minutoribus animalibus? Necesse est enim et corpus omne anima compleri et animam omnem corpore obduci. Quomodo ergo

anima hominis complebit elephantum? Quomodo item obducetur in culice? Si tantum extendetur aut contrahetur, profecto periclitabitur. [7] Et ideo adicio: si nulla ratione capax est huiusmodi translationis in animalia nec modulis corporum nec ceteris naturae suae legibus adaequantia, numquid ergo demutabitur secundum qualitates generum et uitam eorum contrariam humanae uitae, facta et ipsa contraria humanae per demutationem? Enimvero si demutationem capit amittens quod fuit, non erit quae fuit; et si quae fuit non erit, soluta est metensomatosi, non adscribenda scilicet ei animae quae, si demutabitur, non erit. Illius enim metensomatosi dicitur quaecumque eam in suo statu permanendo pateretur. [8] Igitur si nec mutari potest, ne non sit ipsa, nec permanere in statu, quia contraria non capit, quaero adhuc causam aliquam fide dignam huiusmodi translationis. Nam etsi quidam homines bestiis adaequantur pro qualitatibus morum et ingeniorum et affectuum, quia et deus: assimilatus est, inquit, homo irrationalibus iumentis, non ideo milui ex rapacibus fient et canes ex spurcis et pantherae ex acerbis aut oues ex probis et hirundines ex garrulis et columbae ex pudicis, quasi eadem substantia animae ubique naturam suam in animalium proprietatibus repetat. Aliud est autem substantia, aliud natura substantiae, siquidem substantia propria est rei cumsque, natura uero potest esse communis. [9] Suscipe exemplum. Substantia est lapis, ferrum; duritia lapidis et ferri natura substantiae est. Duritia communicat, substantia discordat. Mollitia lanae, mollitia plumae: pariant naturalia earum, substantia non pariant. Sic et, si saeua bestia uel proba uocetur homo, sed non eadem anima: nam et tunc naturae similitudo notatur, cum substantiae dissimilitudo conspicitur. Ipsum enim quod hominem similem bestiae iudicas, confiteris animam non eandem, similem dicendo, non ipsam. [10] Sic et diuina pronuntiatio sapit, pecudibus adaequans hominem natura, non substantia. Ceterum nec deus hominem hoc modo notasset et ipse, si pecudem de substantia nosset.

XXXIII. [1] Etiam cum iudicii nomine uindicatur hoc dogma, quod animae humanae pro uita et meritis genera animalium sortiantur, iugulandae quaeque in occisoriis et subigendae quaeque in famulatoriis et fatigandae in operariis et foedandae in immundis, perinde honorandae et diligendae et curandae et appetendae in speciosissimis et probissimis et utilissimis et delicatissimis, et hic dicam: si demutantur, non ipsae dispungentur quae merebuntur. [2] Euacuabitur ratio iudicii, si meritorum deerit sensus. Deerit autem sensus

meritorum, si status uerterit animarum. Vertit autem status animarum, si non eadem perseuerauerint. Aequae si perseuerauerint in iudicium, quod et Mercurius Aegyptius nouit, dicens animam digressam a corpore non refundi in animam uniuersi, sed manere determinatam, uti rationem, inquit, patri reddat eorum quae in corpore gesserit, uolo iudicii utique diuini iustitiam grauitatem maiestatem dignitatem recensere, si non sublimiore fastigio praesidet humana censura, pleniorutriusque sententiae honore, poenarum et gratiarum, seuerior in ulciscendo et liberalior in largiendo. [3] Quid putas futuram animam homicidae? Aliquod, credo, pecus lanienae et macello destinatum, ut perinde iuguletur, quia et ipsa iugulauerit, perinde decorietur, quia et ipsa despoliauerit, perinde in pabulum proponatur, quia et ipsa bestiis fecerit eos quos in siluis et auis trucidauerit. [4] Si ita iudicabitur, nonne illa anima plus solacii quam supplicii relatura est, quod funus inter cocos pretiosissimos inuenit, quod condimentis Apicianis et Lurconianis humatur, quod mensis Ciceronianis infertur, quod lancibus splendidissimis Sullanis effertur, quod exsequias conuiuium patitur, quod a coaequalibus deuoratur potius quam a miluis et lupis, ut in hominis corpore tumultata et in suum genus regressa resurrexisse uideatur, exultans aduersus humana iudicia, si ea experta est? [5] Namque illa sicarium uariis et exquisitis et iam praeter naturam eruditis feris dissipant, et quidem uiuentem, immo facile nec morientem curata mora finis ad plenitudinem poenae. Sed et si anima praefugerit ultimo gladio, ne corpus quoque euaserit ferrum, nihilominus iugulo utroque confossis costisque transfixis compensatio proprii facinoris exigitur. Inde in ignem datur, ut et sepultura puniatur. Aliter denique non licet. Nec tamen tanta est rogi cura, ut reliquias aliae bestiae inueniant; certe nec ossibus parcitur nec cineribus indulgetur nuditate plectendis. [6] Tanta est apud homines homicidii uindicta quanta ipsa quae uindicatur natura. Quis non praeferat saeculi iustitiam, quam et apostolus non frustra gladio armatam contestatur, quae pro homine saeuendo religiosa est? Si ceterorum quoque scelerum mercedem cogitemus, patibula et uiuicomburia et culleos et uncas et scopulos, cui non expediat apud Pythagoran et Empedoclen sententiam pati? [7] Nam et qui laboribus atque seruitiis puniendi in asinos utique et mulos recorporabuntur, quantum sibi de pistrinis et aquilegis rotis gratulabuntur, si metallorum et ergastulorum et operum publicorum ipsorumque carcerum, licet otiosorum, recordentur! Perinde qui integre morati commendauerint iudici

uitam, quaero praemia, sed potius inuenio supplicia. Nimirum magna merces bonis in animalia quaecumque restitui. [8] Pauum se meminit Homerus Ennio somniantes; sed poetis nec uigilantibus credam. Et si pulcherrimus pauus et quo uelit colore cultissimus, sed tacent pennae, sed displicet uox, et poetae nihil aliud quam cantare malunt. Damnatus est igitur Homerus in pauum, non honoratus. Plus de saeculi remuneratione gaudebit, pater habitus liberalium disciplinarum, ut malit famae suae ornamenta quam caudae. [9] Age nunc, ut poetae in pauos uel in cynos transeant, si uel cynis decora uox est, quod animal indues uiro iusto Aeaco? Quam bestiam integrae feminae Didoni? Quam uolucrum patientia, quam pecudem sanctimonia, quem piscem innocentia sortientur? Omnia famula sunt hominis, omnia subiecta, omnia mancipata. Si quid horum futurus est, diminoratur illic ille cui ob merita uitae imagines, statuae et tituli, honores publici, priuilegia rependuntur, cui curia, cui populus suffragiis immolat. [10] O iudicia diuina post mortem humanis mendaciora, contemptibilia de poenis, fastidibilia de gratiis, quae nec pessimi metuant nec optimi cupiant, ad quae magis scelesti quam sancti quique properabunt, illi, ut iustitiam saeculi citius euadant, isti, ut tardius eam capiant! Bene philosophi docetis, utiliter suadetis leuiora post mortem supplicia uel praemia, cum, si quod iudicium animas manet, grauius debet credi in dispunctione uitae quam in administratione, quia nihil plenius quam quod extremius, nihil autem extremius quam quod diuinius. [11] Deus itaque iudicabit plenius, quia extremius, per sententiam aeternam tam supplicii quam refrigerii nec in bestias, sed in sua corpora reuertentibus animabus, et hoc semel et in eum diem quem solus pater nouit, ut pendula expectatione sollicitudo fidei probetur, semper diem obseruans, dum semper ignorat, cotidie timens, quod cotidie sperat.

XXXIV. ADVERSVS OPINIONEM SIMONIS HERETICI. [1] Nulla quidem in hodiernum dementiae huiusmodi sententia erupit sub nomine haeretico, quae humanas animas refingat in bestias, sed necessarie hanc quoque speciem intulimus et exclusimus ut superioribus cohaerentem, quo perinde in pauo retunderetur Homerus sicut in Pythagora Euphorbus atque ita hac etiam metempsychosi siue metensomatosi repercussa illa rursus caederetur quae aliquid haeticis sumministravit. [2] Nam et Simon Samaritanus in actis apostolorum redemptor spiritus sancti, posteaquam damnatus ab ipso cum pecunia sua in interitum frustra fleuit, conuersus ad ueritatis

expugnationem quasi pro solacio ultionis, fultus etiam artis suae uiribus, ad praestrigias uirtutis alicuius Helenam quandam Tyriam de loco libidinis publicae eadem pecunia redemit, dignam sibi mercedem pro spiritu sancto; [3] et se quidem fingit summum patrem, illam uero iniectionem suam primam, qua iniecerat angelos et archangelos condere; huius eam propositi compotem exilisse de patre et in inferiora desultasse atque illic praeuento patris proposito angelicas potestates genuisse ignaras patris, artifices mundi huius; ab his non perinde animo retentam, ne digressa ea alterius genimina uiderentur, et idcirco omni contumeliae addictam, ut nusquam discedere depretiatam liberet, humanae quoque formae succidisse uelut uinculis carnis coercendam; [4] ita multis aeuis per alios atque alios habitus femininos uolutatam etiam illam Helenam fuisse exitiosissimam Priamo et Stesichori postea oculis, quem excaecasset ob conuicium carminis, dehinc reluminasset ob satisfactionem laudis; proinde migrantem eam de corporibus in corpora postrema dedecoratione sub titulo prostitisse Helenam uiuiorem. Hanc igitur esse ouem perditam, ad quam descenderit pater summus, Simon scilicet, et primum recuperata ea et reuecta, nescio umeris an feminibus, exinde ad hominum respexerit salutem quasi per uindicatam liberandorum ex illis angelicis potestatibus, quibus fallendis et ipse configuratus aequae et hominibus hominem ementitus in Iudaea quidem filium, in Samaria uero patrem gesserit. [5] O Helenam inter poetas et haereticos laborantem, tunc adulterio, nunc stupro infamen, nisi quod de Troia gloriosius eruitur quam de lupanari, mille nauibus de Troia, nec mille denariis forsitan de lupanari. Erubescere, Simon, tardior in requirendo, inconstantior in retrahendo. At Menelaus statim insequitur amissam, statim repetit ereptam, decenni proelio extorquet, non latens, non fallens, non cauillabundus. Vereor, ne ille magis pater fuerit qui circa Helenae recuperationem et uigilantius et audentius et diutius laborauerit.

XXXV. AD CARPOCRATIS OPINIONEM. [1] Sed non tibi soli metempsychosis hanc fabulam instruxit: inde etiam Carpocrates utitur, pariter magus, pariter fornicarius, etsi Helena minus. Quidni? cum propter omnimodam diuinae et humanae disciplinae euersionem constituendam reincorporari animas asseuerauerit; nulli enim uitam istam rato fieri, nisi uniuersis quae arguunt eam expunctis, quia non natura quid malum habeatur, sed opinione. Itaque metempsychosin necessarie imminere, si non in primo quoque uitae huius commeatu omnibus illicitis satisfiat (scilicet facinora

tributa sunt uitae!), ceterum totiens animam reuocari habere quotiens minus quid intulerit, reliquatricem delictorum, donec exsoluat nouissimum quadrantem detrusa identidem in carcerem corporis. [2] Huc enim temperat totam illam allegoriam domini certis interpretationibus relucens et primo quidem simpliciter intellegendam. Nam et ethnicus homo aduersarius noster est, incedens in eadem uia uitae communis. Ceterum oportebat nos de mundo exire, si cum illis conuersari non liceret. Huic ergo boni animi praestes iubet (diligite enim inimicos uestros, inquit, et orate pro maledicentibus uos), ne aliquo commercio negotiorum iniuria prouocatus abstrahat te ad suum iudicem, et ad custodiam delegatus ad exsolutionem totius debiti arteris. [3] Tum si in diabolum transfertur aduersarii mentio ex obseruatione comitante, cum illo quoque moneris eam inire concordiam quae deputetur ex fidei conuentione; pactus es enim renuntiasse ipsi et pompae et angelis eius. Conuenit inter uos de isto. Haec erit amicitia obseruatione sponsionis, ne quid eius postea resumas ex his quae eierasti, quae illi reddidisti, ne te ut fraudatorem, ut pacti transgressorem iudici deo obiciat, sicut eum legimus alibi sanctorum criminatorem et de ipso etiam nomine diaboli delatorem, et iudex te tradat angelo executionis, et ille te in carcerem mandet infernum, unde non dimittaris nisi modico quoque delicto mora resurrectionis expenso. Quid his sensibus aptius? Quid his interpretationibus uerius? [4] Ceterum ad Carpocraten: si omnium facinorum debetrix anima est, quis erit inimicus et aduersarius eius intellegendus? Credo, mens melior, quae illam in aliquid innocentiae inieperit adigendam rursus ac rursus in corpus, donec in nullo rea deprehendatur bonae uitae. Hoc est ex malis fructibus bonam arborem intellegi, id est, ex pessimis praeceptis doctrinam ueritatis agnosci. [5] Spero huiusmodi haereticos Heliae quoque inuadere exemplum, tamquam in Iohanne sic repraesentati, ut metempsychosi patrocinetur pronuntiatio domini: Helias iam uenit, et non cognouerunt eum, et alibi: et si uultis audire, hic est Helias, qui uenturus est. Numquid ergo et Iudaei ex opinione Pythagorica consulebant Iohannem: tu es Helias? et non ex praedicatione diuina: et ecce mittam uobis Helian Thesbiten? [6] Sed enim metempsychosis illorum reuocatio est animae iam pridem morte functae et in aliud corpus iteratae, (6) Helias autem non ex decessione uitae, sed ex translatione uenturus est, nec corpori restituendus, de quo non est exemptus, sed mundo reddendus, de quo est translatus, non ex postliminio uitae, sed ex supplemento prophetiae, idem

et ipse, et sui nominis et sui hominis. Sed quomodo Helias Johannes? Habes angeli uocem: et ipse, inquit, praecedet coram populo in uirtute et in spiritu Heliae, non in anima eius nec in carne. Hae enim substantiae sui cuiusque sunt hominis, spiritus uero et uirtus extrinsecus conferuntur ex dei gratia; ita et transferri in alteram possunt ex dei uoluntate, ut factum est retro de Mosei spiritu.

XXXVI. DE SEXU ANIMAE ET CARNIS PARITER ORIENTE. [1] In has quaestiones inde, opinor, excessimus quo nunc reuertendum est. Constitueramus animam in ipso et ex ipso seri homine et unum esse a primordio semen, sicut et carnis, in totum generis examen, propter aemulas scilicet opiniones philosophorum et haereticorum et illum sermonem Platonis ueternosum. Nunc ordinem sequentium exinde tractatum teximus. [2] Anima in utero seminata pariter cum carne pariter cum ipsa sortitur et sexum, ita pariter, ut in causa sexus neutra substantia teneatur. Si enim in seminibus utriusque substantiae aliquam intercapedinem eorum conceptus admitteret, ut aut caro aut anima prior seminaretur, esset etiam sexus proprietatem alteri substantiae adscribere per temporalem intercapedinem seminum, ut aut caro animae aut anima carni insculperet sexum, [3] quoniam et Apelles, non pictor, sed haereticus, ante corpora constituens animas uiriles ac muliebres, sicut a Philumena didicit, utique carnem ut posteriorem ab anima facit accipere sexum. Et qui animam post partum carni superducunt utique ante formatae, marem aut feminam de carne sexum praeiudicant animae. [4] Vtriusque autem substantiae indiscreta semina et unita suffusio eorum communem subeunt generis euentum, qua lineas duxerit quaecumque illa est ratio naturae. Certe et hic se primordiorum forma testatur, cum masculus temperius effingitur (prior enim Adam), femina aliquanto serius (posterior enim Eua). Ita diu caro informis est, qualis ex Adae latere decerpta est, animal tamen et ipsa iam, quia et illam tunc Adae portionem animam agnoscam. Ceterum et ipsam dei afflatus animasset, si non ut carnis, ita et animae ex Adam tradux fuisset in femina.

XXXVII. DE AETATE ANIMAE. [1] Omnem autem hominis in utero serendi struendi fingendi paraturam aliqua utique potestas diuinae uoluntatis ministra modulatur, quamcumque illam rationem agitare sortita. Haec aestimando etiam superstitio Romana deam finxit Alemonam alendi in utero fetus et Nonam et Decimam a sollicitioribus mensibus et Partulam, quae

partum gubernet, et Lucinam, quae producat in lucem. Nos officia diuina angelos credimus. [2] Ex eo igitur fetus in utero homo, a quo forma completa est. Nam et Mosei lex tunc aborsus reum talionibus iudicat, cum iam hominis est causa, cum iam illi uitae et mortis status deputatur, cum et fato iam inscribitur, etsi adhuc in matre uiuendo cum matre plurimum communicat sortem. [3] Dicam aliquid et de temporibus animae nascentis, ut ordinem decurram. Legitima natiuitas ferme decimi mensis ingressus est. Qui numeros ratiocinantur, et decuriam numerum ut exinde reliquorum parentem colunt, denique perfectorem natiuitatis humanae. [4] Ego ad deum potius argumentabor hunc modum temporis, ut decem menses decalogo magis inaugurent hominem, ut tanto temporis numero nascamur quanto disciplinae numero renascimur. Sed et cum septimo mense natiuitas plena est facilius quam octauo, honorem sabbati agnoscam, ut quo die dedicata est dei conditio, eo mense interdum producatur dei imago. Concessum est properare natiuitati et tamen idonee occurrere in hebdomadem, in auspicia resurrectionis et requietis et regni. Ideo ogdoas nos non creat; tunc enim nuptiae non erunt. [5] Societatem carnis atque animae iamdudum commendauimus a congregatione seminum ipsorum usque ad figmenti perfectionem; perinde nunc et a natiuitate defendimus, imprimis quod simul crescunt, sed diuisa ratione pro generum condicione, caro modulo, anima ingenio, caro habitu, anima sensu. Ceterum animam substantia crescere negandum est, ne etiam decrescere substantia dicatur atque ita et defectura credatur; sed uis eius, in qua naturalia peculia consita retinentur, saluo substantiae modulo, quo a primordio inflata est, paulatim cum carne producit. [6] Constitue certum pondus auri uel argenti, rudem adhuc massam: collectus habitus est illi et futuro interim minor, tamen continens intra lineam moduli totum quod natura est auri uel argenti. Dehinc cum in laminam massa laxatur, maior efficitur initio suo per dilatationem ponderis certi, non per adiectionem, dum extenditur, non, dum augetur; etsi sic quoque augetur, dum extenditur: licet enim habitu augeri, cum statu non licet. [7] Tunc et splendor ipse prouehitur auri uel argenti, qui fuerat quidem et in massa, sed obscurior, non tamen nullus. Tunc et alii atque alii habitus accedunt pro facilitate materiae, qua duxerit eam qui aget, nihil conferens modulo nisi effigiem. Ita et animae crementa reputanda, non substantiua, sed prouocatiua.

XXXVIII. DE CIBIS QVOMODO AD ANIMAM PERTINEANT. [1]

Quamquam autem et retro praestruxerimus, omnia naturalia animae ipsi substantiae inesse pertinentia ad sensum et intellectum ex ingenito animae censu, sed paulatim per aetatis spatia procedere et uarie per accidentia euadere pro artibus, pro institutis, pro locis, pro dominatricibus potestatibus, quod tamen faciat ad carnis animaeque propositam nunc societatem, pubertatem quoque animalem cum carnali dicimus conuenire pariterque et illam suggestu sensuum et istam processu membrorum exsurgere a quarto decimo fere anno, non quia Asclepiades inde sapientiam supputat, nec quia iura ciuilia abhinc agendis rebus attemperant, sed quoniam et haec a primordio ratio est. [2] Si enim Adam et Eua ex agnitione boni et mali pudenda tegere senserunt, ex quo id ipsum sentimus, agnitionem boni et mali profiteamur. Ab his autem annis et suffusior et uestitior sexus est, et concupiscentia oculis arbitris utitur et communicat placitum et intellegit quae sint et fines suos ad instar ficulneae contagionis prurigine accingit et hominem de paradiso integritatis educit, exinde scabida etiam in ceteras culpas et delinquendi non naturales, cum iam non ex instituto naturae, sed ex uitio. [3] Ceterum proprie naturalis concupiscentia unica est alimentorum solummodo, quam deus et in primordio contulit: ex omni ligno, inquit, edetis, et secundae post diluuium geniturae supermensus est: ecce dedi uobis omnia in escam tamquam olera faeni, prospectam non tam animae quam carni, etsi propter animam. Auferenda est enim argumentatoris occasio, qui quod anima desiderare uideatur alimenta, hinc quoque mortalem eam intellegi cupit, quae cibis sustineatur, denique derogatis eis euigescat, postremo subtractis intercitat. [4] Porro non solum proponendum est quisnam ea desideret, sed et cui; et si propter se, sed et cur et quando et quonam usque; tum quod aliud natura desideret, aliud necessitate, aliud secundum proprietatem, aliud in causam. Desiderabit igitur cibos anima sibi quidem ex causa necessitatis, carni uero ex natura proprietatis. Certe enim domus animae caro est, et inquilinus carnis anima. [5] Desiderabit itaque inquilinus ex causa et necessitate huius nominis profutura domui toto inquilinatus sui tempore, non ut ipse substruendus nec ut ipse loricandus nec ut ipse tibicinandus, sed tantummodo continendus, quia non aliter contineri possit quam domo fulta. [6] Alioquin licebit animae dilapsa domo ex destitutione priorum subsidiorum incolumi abire, habenti sua firmamenta et propriae condicionis alimenta, immortalitatem rationalitatem sensualitatem intellectualitatem arbitrii

libertatem.

XXXIX. [1] Quae omnia natiuitus animae conlata idem, qui in primordio inuidit, nunc quoque obumbrat atque deprauat, quominus aut ultro prospiciantur aut qua oportet administrentur. [NVLLAM FERE ANIMAM SINE DAEMONIO ESSE.] Cui enim hominum non adhaerebit spiritus nequam ab ipsa etiam ianua natiuitatis animas aucupabundus, uel qua inuitatus tota illa puerperii superstitione? [2] Ita omnes idololatria obstetrice nascuntur, dum ipsi adhuc uteri infulis apud idola confectis redimiti genimina sua daemoniorum candidata profitentur, dum in partu Lucinae et Dianae eiulatur, dum per totam hebdomadem Iunoni mensa proponitur, dum ultima die Fata Scribunda aduocantur, dum prima etiam constitutio infantis super terram Statinae deae sacrum est. [3] Quis non exinde aut totum filii caput reatui uouet aut aliquem excipit crinem aut totum nouacula prosecat aut sacrificio obligat aut sacro obsignat, pro gentica, pro auita, pro publica aut priuata deuotione? Sic igitur et Socraten puerum adhuc spiritus daemonicus inuenit; sic et omnibus genii deputantur, quod daemonum nomen est. Adeo nulla ferme natiuitas munda est, utique ethnicorum. [4] Hinc enim et apostolus ex sanctificato alterutro sexu sanctos procreari ait, tam ex seminis praerogatiua quam ex institutionis disciplina. Ceterum, inquit, immundi nascerentur, quasi designatos tamen sanctitatis ac per hoc etiam salutis intellegi uolens fidelium filios, ut huius spei pignore matrimoniis, quae retinenda censuerat, patrocineretur. Alioquin meminerat dominicae definitionis: nisi quis nascetur ex aqua et spiritu, non inibit in regnum dei, id est, non erit sanctus.

XL. QVOMODO CARO PECCATRIX DICATVR. [1] Ita omnis anima eo usque in Adam censetur, donec in Christo recenseatur, tamdiu immunda, quamdiu recenseatur, peccatrix autem, quia immunda, recipiens ignominiam et carnis ex societate. [2] Nam etsi caro peccatrix, secundum quam incedere prohibemur, cuius opera damnantur concupiscentis aduersus spiritum, ob quam carnales notantur, non tamen suo nomine caro infamis. Neque enim de proprio sapit quid aut sentit ad suadendam uel imperandam peccatellam. Quidni? quae ministerium est, et ministerium non quale seruus uel minor amicus, animalia nomina, sed quale calix uel quid aliud eiusmodi corpus, non anima. Nam et calix ministerium sitientis est; nisi tamen qui sitit calicem sibi accommodarit, nihil calix ministrabit. [3] Adeo nulla proprietas hominis in choico, nec ita caro homo tamquam alia uis animae et alia persona, sed res est

alterius plane substantiae et alterius condicionis, addicta tamen animae ut suppellex, ut instrumentum in officia uitae. Caro igitur increpatur in scripturis, quia nihil anima sine carne in operatione libidinis gulae uinulentiae saeuitiae idololatriae ceterisque carnalibus non sensibus, sed effectibus. [4] Denique sensus delictorum etiam sine effectibus imputari solent animae. Qui uiderit ad concupiscentiam, iam adulterauit in corde. Ceterum quid caro sine anima perinde in operatione probitatis iustitiae tolerantiae pudicitiae? Porro quale est, ut cui nec bona documenta propria subscribas, ei crimina adpingas? Sed ea per quam delinquitur conuenitur, ut illa a qua delinquitur oneretur, etiam in ministerii accusationem. Grauior inuidia est in praesidem, cum officia pulsantur; plus caeditur qui iubet, quando nec qui obsequitur excusatur.

XLI. DE MALO ET BONO ANIMAE. [1] Malum igitur animae, praeter quod ex obuentu spiritus nequam superstruitur, ex originis uitio antecedit, naturale quodammodo. Nam, ut diximus, naturae corruptio alia natura est, habens suum deum et patrem, ipsum scilicet corruptionis auctorem, ut tamen insit et bonum animae, illud principale, illud diuinum atque germanum et proprie naturale. [2] Quod enim a deo est, non tam extinguitur quam obumbratur. Potest enim obumbrari, quia non est deus, extinguere non potest, quia a deo est. Itaque sicut lumen aliquo obstaculo impeditum manet, sed non comparet, si tanta densitas obstaculi fuerit, ita et bonum in anima a malo oppressum pro qualitate eius aut in totum uacat occulta salute aut qua datur radiat inuenta libertate. [3] Sic pessimi et optimi quidam, et nihilominus unum omnes animae genus; sic et in pessimis aliquid boni et in optimis nonnihil pessimi. Solus enim deus sine peccato et solus homo sine peccato Christus, quia et deus Christus. Sic et diuinitas animae in praesagia erumpit ex bono priore et conscientia dei in testimonium prodit: ‘deus bonus’ et ‘deus uidet’ et ‘deo commendo’. Propterea nulla anima sine crimine, quia nulla sine boni semine. [4] Proinde cum ad fidem peruenit reformata per secundam natiuitatem ex aqua et superna uirtute, detracto corruptionis pristinae aulaeo totam lucem suam conspicit. Excipitur etiam a spiritu sancto, sicut in pristina natiuitate a spiritu profano. Sequitur animam nubentem spiritui caro, ut dotale mancipium, et iam non animae famula, sed spiritus. O beatum conubium, si non admiserit adulterium!

XLII. DE MORTE. [1] De morte iam superest, ut illic materia ponat, ubi ipsa anima consummat. Quamquam Epicurus uulgari satis opinione negarit

mortem ad nos pertinere. Quod enim dissoluitur, inquit, sensu caret; quod sensu caret, nihil ad nos. Dissoluitur autem et caret sensu non ipsa mors, sed homo qui eam patitur. At ille ei dedit passionem, cuius est actio. Quodsi hominis est pati mortem dissolutricem corporis et perempricem sensus, quam ineptum, ut tanta uis ad hominem non pertinere dicatur! [2] Multo coactius Seneca post mortem, ait, omnia finiuntur, etiam ipsa. Hoc si ita est, iam et mors ad semetipsam pertinebit, si et ipsa finitur; eo magis ad hominem, in quo inter omnia finiendo et ipsa finitur. Mors nihil ad nos, ergo et uita nihil ad nos. Si enim quo dissoluimur praeter nos, etiam quo compingimur extra nos. Si ademptio sensus nihil ad nos, nec adeptio sensus quicquam ad nos. [3] Sed mortem quoque interimat qui et animam; a nobis ut de postuma uita et de alia prouincia animae, ita de morte tractabitur, ad quam uel ipsi pertinemus, si ad nos illa non pertinet. Denique nec speculum eius somnus aliena materia est.

XLIII. DE SOMNO. [1] De somno prius disputemus, post, mortem qualiter anima decurrat. Non utique extranaturale est somnus, ut quibusdam philosophis placet, cum ex his eum deputant causis quae praeter naturam haberi uidentur. [2] Stoici somnum resolutionem sensualis uigoris affirmant, Epicurei deminutionem spiritus animalis, Anaxagoras cum Xenophane defetiscentiam, Empedocles et Parmenides refrigerationem, Strato segregationem consati spiritus, Democritus indigentiam spiritus, Aristoteles marcorem circumcordialis caloris. Ego me nunquam ita dormisse praesumo, ut ex his aliquid agnoscam. Neque enim credendum est defetiscentiam esse somnum, contrarium potius defetiscentiae, quam scilicet tollit, siquidem homo somno magis reficitur quam fatigatur. Porro nec semper ex fatigatione concipitur somnus, et tamen cum ex illa est, illa iam non est. [3] Sed nec refrigerationem admittam aut marcorem aliquem caloris, cum adeo corpora somno concalescant et dispensatio ciborum per somnum non facile procederet calore properabili et rigore tardabili, si somno refrigeraremur. Plus est, quod etiam sudor digestionis aestuantis est index. Denique concoquere dicimur, quod caloris, non frigoris operatio est. [4] Perinde deminutionem animalis spiritus aut indigentiam spiritus aut segregationem consati spiritus immortalitas animae non sinit credi. Perit anima, si minoratur. [5] Superest, si forte, cum Stoicis resolutionem sensualis uigoris somnum determinemus, quia corporis solius quietem procuret, non et animae. Animam enim ut semper mobilem et semper exercitam nunquam succidere quieti, alienae scilicet a

statu immortalitatis; nihil enim immortale finem operis sui admittit, somnus autem finis est operis. Denique corpori, cui mortalitas competit, ei soli quies finem operis adulator. [6] Qui ergo de somni naturalitate dubitabit, habet quidem dialecticos in dubium deducentes totam naturalium et extranaturalium discretionem, ut et quae putauerit citra naturam esse naturae uindicari sciat posse, a qua ita esse sortita sunt, ut citra eam haberi uideantur, et utique aut natura omnia aut nulla natura; apud nos autem id poterit audiri quod dei contemplatio suggerit, auctoris omnium de quibus quaeritur. [7] Credimus enim, si quid est natura, rationale aliquod opus dei esse. Porro somnum ratio praeit, tam aptum, tam utilem, tam necessarium, ut absque illo nulla anima sufficiat, recreatorem corporum, redintegratorem uirium, probatorem uoletudinum, pacatorem operum, medicum laborum, cui legitime fruendo dies cedit, nox legem facit auferens rerum etiam colorem. Quodsi uitale salutare auxiliare somnus, nihil eiusmodi non rationale, nihil non naturale, quod rationale. [8] Sic et medici omne contrarium uitali salutare auxiliari extra naturales cardines relegant. Nam et aemulas somno uoletudines, phreneticam atque cardiacam, praeter naturam iudicando naturalem somnum praeiudicauerint; etiam in lethargo non naturalem notantes testimonio naturali respondent, cum in suo temperamento est. Omnis enim natura aut defraudatione aut enormitate rescinditur, proprietate mensurae conseruatur. Ita naturale erit statu, quod non naturale effici potest decessu uel excessu. [9] Quid, si et esum et potum de naturae sortibus eximas? Nam et in his plurima somni praeparatura est. Certe his a primordio naturae suae homo inbutus est. Si apud deum discas, ille fons generis, Adam, ante ebibit soporem quam sitiit quietem, ante dormiit quam laborauit, immo quam et edit, immo quam et profatus est, ut uideant naturalem indicem somnum omnibus naturalibus principaliozem. [10] Inde deducimur etiam imaginem mortis iam tunc eum recensere. Si enim Adam de Christo figuram dabat, somnus Adae mors erat Christi dormituri in mortem, ut de iniuria perinde lateris eius uera mater uiuentium figuraretur ecclesia. Ideo et somnus tam salutaris, tam rationalis etiam in publicae et communis iam mortis effingitur exemplar. [11] Voluit enim deus, et alias nihil sine exemplaribus in sua dispositione molitus, paradigmate Platonico plenius humani uel maxime initii ac finis lineas cotidie agere nobiscum, manum porrigens fidei facilius adiuuandae per imagines et parabolas sicut sermonum, ita et rerum. Proponit igitur tibi corpus amica ui

soporis elisum, blanda quietis necessitate prostratum, immobile situ, quale ante uitam iacuit et quale post uitam iacebit, ut testationem plasticae et sepulturae, expectans animam quasi nondum conlatam et quasi iam ereptam. [12] Sed et illa sic patitur, ut alibi agere uideatur, dissimulatione praesentiae futuram absentiam ediscens (de Hermotimo sciemus), et tamen interim somniat: unde tunc somnia? Nec quiescit nec ignauescit omnino nec naturam immortalitatis seruam soporis addicit. Probat se mobilem semper; terra mari peregrinatur negotiatur agitur laborat ludit dolet gaudet, licita atque illicita persequitur, ostendit quod sine corpore etiam plurimum possit, quod et suis instructa sit membris, sed nihilominus necessitatem habeat rursus corporis agitandi. Ita cum euigilauerit corpus, redditum officiis eius resurrectionem mortuorum tibi affirmat. Haec erit somni et ratio naturalis et natura rationalis. Etiam per imaginem mortis fidem initiaris, spem meditaris, discis mori et uiuere, discis uigilare, dum dormis.

XLIV. DE HERMOTIMO. [1] Ceterum de Hermotimo. Anima, ut aiunt, in somno carebat, quasi per occasionem uacaturi hominis proficiscente de corpore. Vxor hoc prodidit. Inimici dormientem nacti pro defuncto cremauerunt. Regressa anima tardius, credo, homicidium sibi imputauit. Ciues Clazomenii Hermotimum templo consolantur. Mulier non adit ob notam uxoris. [2] Quorsum istud? Ne, quia facile est uulgo existimare secessionem animae esse somnum, hoc quoque Hermotimi argumento credulitas subornetur. Genus fuerat grauioris aliquanto soporis, ut de incubone praesumptio est uel de ea ualetudinis labe quam Soranus opponit excludens incubonem, aut tale quid uitii quod etiam Epimeniden in fabulam impegit quinquaginta paene annos somniculosum. Sed et Neronem Suetonius et Thrasymeden Theopompus negant unquam somniasse, nisi uix Neronem in ultimo exitu post pauores suos. [3] Quid, si et Hermotimus ita fuit, ut otium animae nihil operantis in somnis diuortium crederetur? Omnia magis coniectes quam istam licentiam animae sine morte fugitiuae, et quidem ex forma continuam. Si enim tale quid semel accidere dicatur, ut deliquium solis aut lunae, ita et animae, sane persuaderer deuinitus factum; congruere enim hominem seu moneri seu terreri a deo, uelut fulgure rapido, momentaneae mortis ictu — si non magis [in proximo esset somnium credi, quod uigilanti potius accidere deberet, si non somnium magis credi oporteret.

XLV. DE SOMNIS. [1] Tenemur hic de somniis quoque Christianam

sententiam expromere, ut de accidentibus somni et non modicis iactationibus animae, quam ediximus negotiosam et exercitam semper ex perpetuitate motationis, quod diuinitatis et immortalitatis est ratio. Igitur cum quies corporibus euenit, quorum solacium proprium est, uacans illa a solacio alieno non quiescit et, si caret opera membrorum corporalium, suis utitur. [2] Concipe gladiatorem sine armis uel aurigam sine curriculis, gesticulantes omnem habitum artis suae atque conatum: pugnatur, certatur, sed uacua iactatio est. Nihilominus tamen fieri uidentur quae fieri tamen non uidentur; actu enim fiunt, effectu uero non fiunt. [3] Hanc uim ecstasin dicimus, excessum sensus et amentiae instar. Sic et in primordio somnus cum ecstasi dedicatus: et misit deus ecstasin in Adam et dormiit. Somnus enim corpori prouenit in quietem, ecstasis animae accessit aduersus quietem, et inde iam forma somnum ecstasi miscens et natura de forma. [4] Denique et oblectamur et contristamur et conterremur in somniis, quam affecte et anxie, passibiliter, cum in nullo permoueremur, a uacuis scilicet imaginibus, si compotes somniaremus. Denique et bona facta gratuita sunt in somnis et delicta secura; non magis enim ob stupri uisionem damnabimur quam ob martyrii coronabimur. [5] Et quomodo, inquis, memor est somniorum anima, scilicet quam compotem esse non licet? Hoc erit proprietas amentiae huius, quia non fit ex corruptela bonae ualetudinis, sed ex ratione naturae; nec enim exterminat, sed auocat mentem. Aliud est concutere, aliud mouere, aliud euertere, aliud agitare. [6] Igitur quod memoria suppetit, sanitas mentis est; quod sanitas mentis salua memoria stupet, amentiae genus est. Ideoque non dicimur furere, sed somniare; ideo et prudentes, si quando, sumus. Sapere enim nostnim licet obumbretur, non tamen extinguitur, nisi quod et ipsum potest uideri uacare tunc, ecstasin autem hoc quoque operari de suo proprio, ut sic nobis sapientiae imagines inferat, quemadmodum et erroris.

XLVI. [1] Ecce rursus urgemur etiam de ipsorum somniorum retractatu quibus anima iactatur exprimere. Et quando perueniemus ad mortem? Et hic dixerim: cum deus dederit; nullae longae morae eius quod eueniet. [2] Vana in totum somnia Epicurus iudicauit liberans a negotiis diuinitatem et dissoluens ordinem rerum et in passiuitate omnia spargens, ut euentui exposita et fortuita. Porro si ita est, ergo erit aliquis et ueritatis euentus, quia non capit solam eam euentui omnibus debito eximi. Homerus duas portas diuisit somniis, corneam ueritatis, fallaciae eburneam; respicere est enim, inquiunt, per cornu, ebur

autem caecum est. [3] Aristoteles maiorem partem mendacio reputans agnoscit et uerum. Telmessenses nulla somnia euacuant, imbecillitatem coniectationis incusant. Quis autem tam extraneus humanitatis, ut non aliquam aliquando uisionem fidelem senserit? Pauca de insignioribus perstringens Epicuro pudorem imperabo. [4] Astyages Medorum regnator quod filiae Mandanae adhuc uirginis uesicam in diluuium Asiae fluxisse somnio uiderit, Herodotus refert; item anno post nuptias eius ex isdem locis uitem exortam toti Asiae incubasse. Hoc etiam Charon Lampsacenus Herodoto prior tradit. Qui filium eius tanto operi interpretati sunt, non fefellerunt, siquidem Asiam Cyrus et mersit et pressit. [5] Philippus Macedo nondum pater Olympiadis uxoris naturam obsignasse uiderat anulo: leo erat signum; crediderat praeclusam genituram, opinor, quia leo semel pater est. Aristodemus uel Aristophon coniectans immo nihil uacuum obsignari, filium, et quidem maximi impetus, portendi. Alexandrum qui sciunt, leonem anuli recognoscunt. Ephorus scribit. [6] Sed et Dionysii Siciliae tyrannidem Himeraea quaedam somniauit. Heraclides prodidit. Et Seleuco regnum Asiae Laodice mater nondum eum enixa praeuidit. Euphorion pro mulgauit. Mithridaten quoque ex somnio Ponti potitum a Strabone cognosco, et Baraliren Illyricum a Molossis usque Macedoniam ex somnio dominatum de Callisthene disco. [7] Nouerunt et Romani ueritatis huiusmodi somnia. Reformatorem imperii, puerulum adhuc et priuatum loci, et Iulium Octauium tantum et sibi ignotum Marcus Tullius iam et Augustum et ciuiliu turbinum sepulcrem de somnio norat. In Vitelliis commentariis conditum est. [8] Nec haec sola species erit summarum praedicatrix potestatum, sed et periculorum et exitiorum: ut cum Caesar in praelio perduellium Bruti et Cassii Philippis aeger, alias maius tamen discrimen ab hostibus relaturus, de Artorii uisione destituto tabernaculo euadit; ut cum Polycrati Samio filia crucem prospicit de solis unguine et lauacro Iouis. [9] Reuelantur et honores et ingenia per quietem, praestantur et medellae, produntur et furta, conferuntur et thesauri. Ciceronis denique dignitatem paruuli etiamnunc gerula iam sua inspexerat. Cynus de sinu Socratis demulcens homines discipulus Plato est. Leonymus pycetes ab Achille curatur in somniis. Coronam auream cum ex arce Athenae perdidissent, Sophocles tragicus somniando redinuenit. Neoptolemus tragoedus apud Rhoeteum Troiae sepulcrum Aiakis monitus in somnis ab ipso ruina liberat, et cum lapidum senia deponit, diues inde auro redit. [10] Quanti

autem commentatores et affirmatores in hanc rem? Artemon Antiphon Strato Philochorus Epicharmus Serapion Cratippus Dionysius Rhodius Hermippus, tota saeculi litteratura. Solum, si forte, ridebo qui se existimauit persuasurum, quod prior omnibus Saturnus somniarit, nisi si et prior omnibus uixit. Aristoteles, ignosce ridenti. [11] Ceterum Epicharmus etiam summum apicem inter diuinationes somniis extulit cum Philochoro Atheniensi. Nam et oraculis hoc genus stipatus est orbis, ut Amphiarai apud Oropum, Amphilochoi apud Mallum, Sarpedonis in Troade, Trophonii in Boeotia, Mopsi in Cilicia, Hermionae in Macedonia, Pasiphae in Laconica. Cetera cum suis et originibus et ritibus et relatoribus, cum omni deinceps historia somniorum, Hermippus Berytensis quinione uoluminum satiatissime exhibebit. Sed et Stoici deum malunt prouidentissimum humanae institutioni inter cetera praesidia diuinatricum artium et disciplinarum somnia quoque magis indidisse, peculiare solacium naturalis oraculi. [12] Haec quantum ad fidem somniorum a nobis quoque consignandam et aliter interpretandam. Nam de oraculis etiam ceteris, apud quae nemo dormitat, quid aliud pronuntiabimus quam daemonicam esse rationem eorum spirituum qui iam tunc in ipsis hominibus habitauerint uel memorias eorum affectauerint ad omnem malitiae suae scenam, in ista aequae speciei diuinitatem mentientes eademque industria etiam per beneficia fallentes medicinarum et admonitionum, praenuntiationum, quo magis laedant iuuando, dum per ea quae iuuant ab inquisitione uerae diuinitatis abducunt ex insinuatione falsae? [13] Et utique non clausa uis est nec sacrariorum circumscribitur terminis; uaga et peruoluta et interim libera est. Quo nemo dubitauerit domus quoque daemoniis patere nec tantum in adytis, sed in cubiculis homines imaginibus circumueniri.

XLVII. [1] Definimus enim a daemoniis plurimum incuti somnia, etsi interdum uera et gratiosa, sed, de qua industria diximus, affectantia atque captantia, quanto magis uana et frustratoria et turbida et ludibriosa et immunda. Nec mirum, si eorum sunt imagines quorum et res. [2] A deo autem, pollicito scilicet et gratiam spiritus sancti in omnem carnem et sicut prophetaturos, ita et somniaturos seruos suos et ancillas suas, ea deputabuntur quae ipsi gratiae comparabuntur, si qua honesta sancta prophetica reuelatoria aedificatoria uocatoria, quorum liberalitas soleat et in profanos destillare, imbres etiam et soles suos peraequante deo iustis et iniustis, siquidem et

Nabuchodonosor diuinitus somniat et maior paene uis hominum ex uisionibus deum discunt. Sicut ergo dignatio dei et in ethnicos, ita et temptatio mali et in sanctos, a quibus nec interdiu absistit, ut uel dormientibus obrepat qua potest, si uigilantibus non potest. [3] Tertia species erunt somnia quae sibimet ipsa anima uidetur inducere ex intentione circumstantiarum. Porro quam non est ex arbitrio somniare (nam et Epicharmus ita sentit), quomodo ipsa erit sibi causa alicuius uisionis? Num ergo haec species naturali formae relinquenda est seruans animae etiam in ecstasi res suas perpeti? [4] Ea autem, quae neque a deo neque a daemone neque ab anima uidebuntur accidere, et praeter opinionem et praeter interpretationem et praeter enarrationem facultatis, ipsi proprie ecstasi et rationi eius separabuntur.

XLVIII. [1] Certiora et colatiora somnari affirmant sub extimis noctibus, quasi iam emergente animarum uigore prodacto sopore. Ex temporibus autem anni uerno magis quieta, quod aestas dissoluat animas et hiems quodammodo obduret et autumnus, temptator alias uoletudinum, succis pomorum uinosissimis diluat. [2] Item ex ipsius quietis situ, si neque resupina neque dextero latere decumbat neque conresupinatis internis, quasi refusis oculis, statio sensuum fluitet aut compressa iecoris sagina <sedes turbata> sit mentis. Sed haec ingeniose aestimari potius quam constanter probari putem, etsi Plato est qui ea aestimauit; et fortasse casu procedant. Alioquin ex arbitrio erunt somnia, si dirigi poterunt. [3] Nam quod et de cibis distinguendis uel derogandis nunc praesumptio nunc superstitio disciplinam somniis praescribit, examinandum est: superstitio, ut cum apud oracula incubaturis ieiunium indicitur, ut castimoniam inducat, praesumptio, ut cum Pythagorici ob hanc quoque speciem fabam respuunt onerosum et inflatui pabulum. Atquin trina illa cum Daniele fraternitas legumine solo contenti, ne regiis ferculis contaminarentur, praeter sapientiam reliquam somniorum praecipue gratiam a deo redemerunt et impetrandorum et disserendorum. [4] Ieiunus autem nescio an ego solus plurimum ita somniem, ut me somniasse non sentiam. Nihil ergo sobrietas, inquis, ad hanc partem? Immo tanto magis ad hanc, quantum et ad omnem; si et ad superstitionem, multo amplius ad religionem. Sic enim et daemones expostulant eam a suis somniatoribus ad lenocinium scilicet diuinitatis, quia familiarem dei norunt, quia et Daniel rursus trium hebdomadam statione aruit uictu, sed ut deum inliceret humiliationis officiis, non ut animae somniaturae sensum et sapientiam strueret, quasi non in ecstasi

acturae. Ita non ad ecstasin summouendam sobrietas proficiet, sed ad ipsam ecstasin commendandam, ut in deo fiat.

XLIX. [1] Infantes qui non putant somniare, cum omnia animae pro modo aetatis expungantur in uita, animaduertant succussus et nutus et reidentias eorum per quietem, ut ex re comprehendant motus animae somniantis facile per carnis teneritatem erumpere in superficiem. [2] Sed et quod Libyca gens Atlantes caeco somno transigere dicuntur, animae utique natura taxantur. Porro aut Herodoto fama mentita est nonnunquam in barbaros calumniosa aut magna uis eiusmodi daemonum in illo climate dominatur. Si enim et Aristoteles heroem quendam Sardiniae notat incubatores fani sui uisionibus priuantem, erit et hoc in daemonum libidinibus, tam auferre somnia quam inferre, ut Neronis quoque seri somniatoris et Thrasymedis insigne inde processerit. [3] Sed et a deo deducimus somnia. Quid ergo nec a deo Atlantes somniant, uel quia nulla iam gens dei extranea est in omnem terram et in terminos orbis euangelio coruscante? Num ergo aut fama mentita est Aristoteli aut daemonum adhuc ratio est? Dum ne animae aliqua natura credatur immunis somniorum.

L. DE MORTIS VI ET DE MENANDRO HAERETICO. [1] Satis de speculo mortis, id est de somno, cum etiam de negotiis somni, id est de somniis; nunc ad originem huius excessus, id est ad ordinem mortis, quia nec ipsam sine quaestionibus, licet finem omnium quaestionum. [2] Publica totius generis humani sententia mortem naturae debitum pronuntiamus. Hoc stipulata est dei uox, hoc spondit omne quod nascitur, ut iam hinc non Epicuri stupor suffundatur negantis debitum istud ad nos pertinere, sed haeretici magi Menandri Samaritani furor conspuatur dicentis mortem ad suos non modo non pertinere, uerum nec peruenire: in hoc scilicet se a superna et arcana potestate legatum, ut immortales et incorruptibiles et statim resurrectionis compotes fiant, qui baptismus eius induerint. [3] Legimus quidem pleraque aquarum genera miranda, sed aut ebriosos reddit Lyncestarum uena uinosa aut lymphaticos efficit Colophonis scaturigo daemonica aut Alexandrum occidit Nonacris Arcadiae uenenata. Fuit et Iudaeae lacus medicus ante Christum. Plane Stygias paludes poeta tradidit mortem diluentes, sed et Thetis filium planxit. Quamquam si et Menander in Stygem mergit, moriendum erit nihilominus, ut ad Stygem uenias; apud inferos enim dicitur. [4] Quenam et ubinam ista felicitas aquarum, quas nec Iohannes

baptizator praeministravit nec Christus ipse discipulis demonstravit? Quod hoc Menandri balneum? Comicum credo. Sed cur tam infrequens, tam occultum, quo paucissimi lauant? Suspectam enim faciam tantam raritatem securissimi atque tutissimi sacramenti, apud quod nec pro deo ipso mori lex est, cum contra omnes iam nationes ascendant in montem domini et in aedem dei Iacob mortem per martyrium quoque flagitantis, quam de Christo etiam suo exegit. Nec magiae tantum dabit quisquam, ut eximat mortem aut repastinet uitis modo uitam aetate renouata. Hoc enim ne Medae quidem licuit in hominem, etsi licuit in ueruecem. [5] Translatus est Enoch et Helias nec mors eorum reperta est, dilata scilicet; ceterum morituri reseruantur, ut antichristum sanguine suo extinguant. Obiit et Iohannes, quem in aduentum domini remansurum frustra fuerat spes. Fere enim haereses ad nostra exempla prosiliunt inde sumentes praesidia quo pugnant. Postremo compendium est: ubi sunt illi quos Menander ipse perfudit, quos in Stygem suam mersit? Apostoli perennes ueniant, adsistant; uideat illos meus Thomas, audiat contrectet et credidit.

LI. NIHIL ANIMAE IN CORPORE SVBREMNERE. [1] Opus autem mortis in medio est, discretio corporis animaeque. Sed quidam ad immortalitatem animae, quam quidem non a deo edocti infirme tuentur, ita argumentationes emendicant, ut uelint credi etiam post mortem quasdam animas adhaerere corporibus. [2] Ad hoc enim et Plato, etsi quas uult animas ad caelum statim expedit, in Politia tamen cuiusdam insepulti cadauer opponit longo tempore sine ulla labe prae animae scilicet indiuiduitate seruatum. Ad hoc et Democritus crementa unguium et comarum in sepulturis aliquanti temporis denotat. [3] Porro et aeris qualitas corpori illi potuit tutela fuisse. Quid enim, si aridior aer et solum salsius? Quid, si et ipsius corporis substantia exsuccior? Quid, si et genus mortis ante iam corruptelae materias erogarat? Vngues autem cum exodia neruorum sint, merito neruis resolutione porrectis prouectiores et cotidie deficiente carne expelli uidentur. Comae quoque alimenta de cerebro, quod aliquamdiu durare praestat secreta munitio. Denique in uiuentibus etiam pro cerebri ubertate uel affluit capillago uel deserit. Habes medicos. [4] Sed nec modicum quid animae subsidere in corpore est decessurum quandoque et ipsum, cum totam corporis scenam tempus aboleuerit. Et hoc enim in opinione quorundam est; propterea nec ignibus funerandum aiunt parcentes superfluo animae. Alia est autem ratio pietatis

istius, non reliquiis animae adulatrix, sed crudelitatis etiam corporis nomine auersatrix, quod et ipsum homo non utique mereatur poenali exitu impendi. [5] Ceterum anima indiuisibilis, ut immortalis, etiam mortem indiuisibilem exigit credi, non quasi immortalis, sed quasi indiuisibili animae indiuisibiliter accidentem. Diuidetur autem et mors, si et anima, superfluo scilicet animae quandoque morituro; ita portio mortis cum animae portione remanebit. [6] Nec ignoro aliquod esse uestigium opinionis istius. De meo didici. Scio feminam quandam uernaculam ecclesiae, forma et aetate integra functam, post unicum et breue matrimonium cum in pace dormisset et morante adhuc sepultura interim oratione presbyteri componeretur, ad primum halitum orationis manus a lateribus dimotas in habitum supplicem conformasse rursumque condita pace situi suo reddidisse. [7] Est et illa relatio apud nostros, in coemeterio corpus corpori iuxta collocando spatium accessui communicasse. Si et apud ethnicos tale quid traditur, ubique deus potestatis suae signa proponit, suis in solacium, extraneis in testimonium. Magis enim credam in testimonium ex deo factum quam ex ullis animae reliquiis, quae si inessent, alia quoque membra mouissent, et si manus tantum, sed non in causam orationis. Corpus etiam illud non modo fratri cessisset, uerum et alias mutatione situs sibimet ipsi refrigerasset. [8] Certe undeunde sunt ista, signis potius et ostentis deputanda, naturam facere non possunt. Mors, si non semel tota est, non est; si quid animae remanserit, uita est; non magis uitae miscebitur mors quam diei et nox.

LII. [1] Hoc igitur opus mortis: separatio carnis atque animae; seposita quaestione factorum et fortuitorum bifariam distinxit humanus affectus, in ordinariam et extraordinariam formam, ordinariam quidem naturae deputans, placidae cuiusque mortis, extraordinariam uero praeter naturam iudicans, uiolenti cuiusque finis. [2] Qui autem primordia hominis nouimus, audenter determinamus mortem non ex natura secutam hominem, sed ex culpa, ne ipsa quidem naturali; facile autem usurpari naturae nomen in ea quae uidentur a natiuitate ex accidentia adhaesisse. Nam si homo in mortem directo institutus fuisset, tunc demum mors naturae adscriberetur. Porro non in mortem institutum eum probat ipsa lex condicionali comminatione suspendens et arbitrio hominis addicens mortis euentum. Denique si non deliquisset, nequaquam obisset. Ita non erit natura quod ex oblationis potestate accidit per uoluntatem, non ex instituti auctoritate per necessitatem. [3] Proinde etsi uarii

exitus mortis, ut est multimoda condicio causarum, nullum ita dicimus lenem, ut non ui agatur. Ipsa illa ratio operatrix mortis, simplex licet, uis est. Quid enim? quae tantam animae et carnis societatem, tantam a conceptu concretionem sororum substantiarum diuellit ac dirimit. Nam etsi prae gaudio quis spiritum exhalet, ut Chilon Spartanus, dum uictorem Olympiae filium amplectitur, etsi prae gloria, ut Clidemus Atheniensis, dum ob historici stili praestantiam auro coronatur, etsi per somnium, ut Plato, etsi per risum, ut P. Crassus, multo uiolentior mors quae per aliena grassatur, quae animam per commoda expellit, quae tunc mori affert, cum iocundius uiuere est in exultatione in honore in requie in uoluptate. [4] Vis est et illa nauigiis, cum longe a Caphereis saxis, nullis depugnata turbinibus, nullis quassata decumanis, adulante flatu, labente cursu, laetante comitatu, intestino repente percussu cum tota securitate desidunt. Non secus naufragia sunt uitae etiam tranquillae mortis euentus. Nihilo refert integram abire corporis nauem an dissipatam, dum animae nauigatio euertatur.

LIII. DE ANIMARVM EXCESSV. [1] Sed quo deinde anima nuda et explosa deuertit, sine dubio prosequemur ex ordine; prius tamen quod est loci huius explebimus, ne, quia uarios exitus mortis ediximus, expectet quis a nobis rationes singulorum medicis potras relinquendas, propriis arbitris omnium letalium rerum siue causarum et ipsarum corporalium condicionum. [2] Plane ad immortalitatem animae hic quoque protegendam in mentione mortis aliquid de eiusmodi exitu interstruam, in quo paulatim ac minutatim anima dilabitur; habitum enim sustinens defectionis abducitur, dum absumi uidetur, et coniecturam praestat interitus de excessus temperatura. Tota autem in corpore et ex corpore est ratio. Nam quisquis ille exitus mortis, sine dubio aut materialium aut regionum aut uiarum uitalium euersio est: materialium, ut fellis, ut sanguinis; regionum, ut cordis, ut iecoris; uiarum, ut uenarum, ut arteriarum. [3] Dum igitur haec ex propria quaque iniuriae causa uastantur in corpore ad usque ultimam euersionem et rescissionem uitalium, id est naturalium, finium situum officiorum, necessario et anima dilabentibus paulatim instrumentis et domiciliis et spatiis suis paulatim et ipsa migrare compulsa deducitur in deminutionis effigiem, non alio modo quam quo et aurigam ipsum quoque defecisse praesumitur, cum uires equorum defatigatio denegauit, quantum de dispositione destituti hominis, non de passionis ueritate. Perinde auriga corporis, spiritus animalis, deficiens uectaculi nomine, non suo

deficit, opere decedens, non uigore, actu elanguens, non statu, constantiam, non substantiam decoquens, quia comparere cessat, non quia esse. [4] Sic et rapida quaeque mors, ut ceruicum messis, semel ac tantam ianuam pandens, ut ruinae uis semel omnia uitalia elidens, ut apoplexis, interior ruina, nullam animae moram praestat nec discessum eius in momenta discruciat, at ubi longa mors, prout deseritur anima, ita et deserit; non tamen conciditur hac facie, sed extrahitur, et dum extrahitur, postremitatem suam partem uideri facit. Non omnis autem pars statim et abscisa est, quia postera est, nec quia exigua est, statim et ipsa peritura est. Sequitur seriem suus finis et mediocritas trahitur a summa et reliquiae uniuersitati cohaerentes expectantur ab illa, non derelinquuntur. Atque ita ausim dicere: totius ultimum totum est, quia, licet minus atque posterius sit, ipsius est. [5] Hinc denique euenit saepe animam in ipso diuortio potentius agitari sollicitiore obtutu, extraordinaria loquacitate, dum ex maiore suggestu iam in libero constituta per superfluum quod adhuc cunctatur in corpore enuntiat quae uidet, quae audit, quae incipit nosse. Si enim corpus istud Platonica sententia carcer, ceterum apostolica dei templum, cum in Christo est, sed interim animam consepito suo obstruit et obscurat et concretionem carnis infaecat, unde illi, uelut per corneum specular, obsoletior lux rerum est. [6] Procul dubio cum ui mortis exprimitur de concretionem carnis et ipsa expressione colatur, certe de oppanso corporis erumpit in apertum ad meram et puram et suam lucem, statim semetipsam in expeditione substantiae recognoscit et in diuinitatem ipsa libertate respiscit, ut de somnio emergens ab imaginibus ad ueritates. Tunc et enuntiat et uidet, tunc exultat aut trepidat, prout paraturam deorsum sui sentit, de ipsius statim angeli facie, euocatoris animarum, Mercurii poetarum.

LIV. DE RECEPTV. [1] Quo igitur deducetur anima, iam hinc reddimus. Omnes ferme philosophi, qui immortalitatem animae, qualiterqualiter uolunt, tamen uindicant, ut Pythagoras, ut Empedocles, ut Plato, quique aliquod illi tempus indulgent ab excessu usque in conflagrationem uniuersitatis, ut Stoici, suas solas, id est sapientium, animas in supernis mansionibus collocant. [2] Plato quidem non temere philosophorum animabus hoc praestat, sed eorum qui philosophiam scilicet exornauerint amore puerorum. Adeo etiam inter philosophos magnum habet priuilegium impuritas. Itaque apud illum in aetherem sublimantur animae sapientes, apud Arium in aerem, apud Stoicos sub lunam. [3] Quos quidem miror, quod imprudentes animas circa terram

prosternant, cum illas a sapientibus multo superioribus erudiri affirmant. Vbi erit scholae regio in tanta distantia deuersiorum? Qua ratione discipulae ad magistras conuentabunt tanto discrimine absentes? Quis autem illis postumae eruditionis usus ac fructus iamiam conflagratione perituris? [4] Reliquas animas ad inferos deiciunt. Hos Plato uelut gremium terrae describit in Phaedone, quo omnes labe mundialium sordium confluendo et ibi desidendo exhalent et quasi caeno immunditiarum suarum grossiorem haustum et priuatum illic aerem stipent.

LV. [1] Nobis inferi non nuda cauositas nec subdualis aliqua mundi sentina creduntur, sed in fossa terrae et in alto uastitas et in ipsis uisceribus eius abstrusa profunditas, siquidem Christo in corde terrae triduum mortis legimus expunctum, id est in recessu intimo et interno et in ipsa terra operto et intra ipsam clauso et inferioribus adhuc abyssis superstructo. [2] Quodsi Christus deus, quia et homo, mortuus secundum scripturas et sepultus secundum easdem, huic quoque legi satisfecit forma humanae mortis apud inferos functus, nec ante ascendit in sublimiora caelorum quam descendit in inferiora terrarum, ut illic patriarchas et prophetas compotes sui faceret, habes et regionem inferum subterraneam credere et illos cubito pellere qui satis superbe non putent animas fidelium inferis dignas, serui super dominum et discipuli super magistrum, aspernati, si forte, in Abrahae sinu expectandae resurrectionis solacium capere. [3] ‘Sed in hoc’, inquiunt, ‘Christus inferos adiit, ne nos adiremus. Ceterum quod discrimen ethnicorum et Christianorum, si carcer mortuis idem?’ Quo ergo animam exhalabis in caelum Christo illic adhuc sedente ad dexteram patris, nondum dei iussu per tubam archangeli audito, nondum illis quos domini aduentus in saeculo inuenerit, obuiam ei ereptis in aerem, cum his qui mortui in Christo primi resurgent? Nulli patet caelum terra adhuc salua, ne dixerim clausa. Cum transactione enim mundi reserabuntur regna caelorum. [4] Sed in aethere dormitio nostra cum puerariis Platonis aut in aere cum Ario aut circa lunam cum Endymionibus Stoicorum? Immo, inquis, in paradiso, quo iam tunc et patriarchae et prophetae appendices dominicae resurrectionis ab inferis migrauerint. Et quomodo Iohanni in spiritu paradisi regio reuelata, quae subicitur altari, nullas alias animas apud se praeter martyrum ostendit? Quomodo Perpetua, fortissima martyr, sub die passionis in reuelatione paradisi solos illic martyras uidit, nisi quia nullis romphaea paradisi ianitrix cedit nisi qui in Christo decesserint, non

in Adam? [5] Noua mors pro deo et extraordinaria pro Christo alio et priuato excipitur hospitio. Agnosce itaque differentiam ethnici et fidelis in morte, si pro deo occumbas, ut paracletus monet, non in mollibus febribus et in lectulis, sed in martyriis, si crucem tuam tollas et sequaris dominum, ut ipse praecepit. Tota paradisi clauis tuus sanguis est. Habes etiam de paradiso a nobis libellum, quo constituimus omnem animam apud inferos sequestrari in diem domini.

LVI. AN COMMORENTVR HIC ANIMAE POST MORTEM. [1] Occurrit disceptatio, an hoc ab excessu statim fiat, an quasdam animas aliqua ratio detineat hic interim, an etiam receptas liceat postea ab inferis ex arbitrio uel ex imperio interuenire. [2] Nec harum enim opinionum suasoriae desunt. Creditum est insepultos non ad inferos redigi quam iusta perceperint, secundum Homericum Patroclum funus in somniis de Achille flagitantem, quod non alias adire portas inferum posset arcentibus eum longe animabus sepulorum. Nouimus autem praeter poeticae iura pietatis quoque Homericae industriam. Tanto magis enim curam sepulturae collocauit, quanto etiam moram eius iniuriosam animabus incusauit, simul et ne quis defunctum domi detinens ipse amplius cum illo maceretur enormitate solacii dolore nutriti. Ita querellas animae insepultae ad utrumque confinxit, ut instantia funeris et honor corporum seruetur et memoria affectuum temperetur. [3] Ceterum quam uanum, ut anima corporis iusta sustineat, quasi aliquid ex illis ad inferos auehat? Multo uanius, si iniuria deputabitur animae cessatio sepulturae, quam pro gratia deberet amplecti. Vtique enim tardius ad inferos abstrahi malet, quae nec mori uoluit: amabit impium heredem, per quem adhuc pascitur luce. Aut si qua pro certo iniuria est tardius sub terram detrudi, titulus autem iniuriae cessatio est sepulturae, perquam iniquum eam iniuria affici, cui non imputabitur cessatio sepulturae ad proximos scilicet pertinens. [4] Aiunt et immatura morte praeuentas eo usque uagari istic, donec reliquatio compleatur aetatum, quacum peruixissent, si non intempestiue obissent. Porro aut constituta sunt tempora unicuique, et constituta praeripi posse non credam, aut si constituta sunt quidem, dei tamen uoluntate uel aliqua potestate mutilantur, frustra mutilantur, si iam impleri sustinentur, aut si non sunt constituta, nulla erit reliquatio temporum non constitutorum. [5] Adhuc addam: ecce obiit uerbi gratia infans sub uberum fontibus, puta nunc puer inuestis, puta uesticeps, qui tamen octoginta annos uicturus fuisset. Hos praereptos ut anima eius hic post

mortem transigat, quale est? Aetatem enim non potest capere sine corpore, quia per corpora operantur aetates. Nostri autem illud quoque recogitent, corpora eadem recepturas in resurrectione animas in quibus discesserunt. [6] Idem ergo sperabuntur et corporum modi et eadem aetates, quae corporum modos faciunt. Quo ergo pacto potest infantis anima hic transigere praerepta tempora, ut octogenaria resurgat in corpore mensis unius? Aut si hic necesse erit ea tempora impleri quae fuerant destinata, num et ordinem uitae, quem sortita sunt tempora pariter cum illis hic destinatum, pariter hic anima decurret, ut et studeat ab infantia pueritiae delegata et militet ab adolescentia iuuentae excitata et censeat a iuuenta senectae ponderata, et fenus exprimat et agrum urgeat, nauiget litiget nubat laboret aegritudines obeat et quaecumque illam cum temporibus manebant tristitia ac laeta? [7] Sed haec sine corpore quomodo transigentur? Vita sine uita? Sed uacua erunt tempora solo decursu adimplenda. Quid ergo prohibet apud inferos ea impleri, ubi perinde nullus est usus illorum? Ita dicimus omnem animam quaquā aetate decesserit, in ea stare ad eum diem usque, quo perfectum illud repromittitur ad angelicae plenitudinis mensuram temperatum. [8] Proinde extorres inferum habebuntur quas uī ereptas arbitrantur, praecipue per atrocitates suppliciorum, crucis dico et securis et gladii et ferae; nec isti porro exitus uiolenti quos iustitia decernit, uiolentiae uindex. Et ideo, inquires, scelestae quaeque animae inferis exulant. Alteram ergo constituas, compello, aut bonos aut malos inferos: si malos placet, etiam praecipitari illuc animae pessimae debent; si bonos, cur idem animas immaturas et innuptas et pro condicione aetatis puras et innocuas interim indignas inferis iudicas?

LVII. [1] Aut optimum est hic retineri secundum ahoros aut pessimum secundum biaethanatos, ut ipsis iam uocabulis utar quibus auctrix opinionum istarum magia sonat, Ostanes et Typhon et Dardanus et Damigeron et Nectabis et Berenice. [2] Publica iam litteratura est quae animas etiam iusta aetate sopitas, etiam proba morte disiunctas, etiam prompta humatione dispunctas euocaturam se ab inferum incolatu pollicetur. Quid ergo dicemus magian? Quod omnes paene, fallaciam. Sed ratio fallaciae solos non fugit Christianos, qui spiritalia nequitiae, non quidem socia conscientia, sed inimica scientia nouimus, nec inuitatoria operatione, sed expugnatoria dominatione tractamus multiformem luem mentis humanae, totius erroris artificem, salutis pariter animaeque uastatorem; sic etiam magiae, secundae scilicet idololatriae,

in qua se daemones perinde mortuos fingunt, quemadmodum in illa deos. Quidni? cum et dii mortui. [3] Itaque inuocantur quidem ahoi et biaeoathanati sub illo fidei argumento, quod credibile uideatur eas potissimum animas ad uim et iniuriam facere quas per uim et iniuriam saeuus et immaturus finis extorsit, quasi ad uicem offensae. [4] Sed daemones operantur sub ostentu earum, et hi uel maxime qui in ipsis tunc fuerunt, cum adiuuerent, quique illas in huiusmodi impegerant exitus. Nam et suggessimus nullum paene hominem carere daemonio, et pluribus notum est daemoniorum quoque opera et immaturas et atroces effici mortes, quas incursibus deputant. [5] Hanc quoque fallaciam spiritus nequam sub personis defunctorum delitescens, nisi fallor, etiam rebus probamus, cum in exorcismis interdum aliquem se ex parentibus hominis sui affirmat, interdum gladiatorem uel bestiarium, sicut et alibi deum, nihil magis curans quam hoc ipsum excludere quod praedicamus, ne facile credamus animas uniuersas ad inferos redigi, ut et iudicii et resurrectionis fidem turbent. Et tamen ille daemon, postquam circumstantes circumuenire temptauit, instantia diuinae gratiae uictus id quod in uero est inuitus confitetur. [6] Sic et in illa alia specie magiae, quae iam quiescentes animas euellere ab inferis creditur et conspectui exhibere, non alia fallaciae uis est: operatior plane, quia et phantasma praestatur, quia et corpus affingitur; nec magnum illi exteriores oculos circumscribere, cui interiorem mentis aciem excaecare perfacile est. [7] Corpora denique uidebantur Pharaoni et Aegyptiis magicarum uirgarum dracones; sed Mosei ueritas mendacium deuorat. Multa utique et aduersus apostolos Simon et Elymas magi; sed plaga caecitatis de praestigiis non fuit. Quid noui aemulatio ueritatis a spiritu immundo? Ecce hodie eiusdem Simonis haeretici tanta praesumptio se artis extollit, ut etiam prophetarum animas ab inferis mouere se spondeant. [8] Et credo, quia mendacio possunt; nec enim pythonico tunc spiritui minus licuit animam Samuelis effingere post deum mortuos consulente Saule. Absit alioquin, ut animam cuiuslibet sancti, nedum prophetae, a daemonio credamus extractam, edocti quod ipse satanas transfiguretur in angelum lucis, nedum in hominem lucis, etiam deum se asseueraturus in fine signaque portentosiora editurus ad euertendos, si fieri possit, electos. Dubitauit, si forte, tunc prophetam se dei asseuerare et utique Sauli, in quo iam ipse morabatur, [9] ne putes alium fuisse qui phantasma administrabat, alium qui commendabat, sed eundem spiritum et in pseudoprophetide et in apostata facile mentiri quod fecerat credi, per

quem Sauli thesaurus illic erat ubi et cor ipsius, ubi scilicet deus non erat. Et ideo per quem uisurum se credidit uidit, quia per quem uidit et credidit. [10] Si et de nocturnis imaginibus opponitur saepe non frustra mortuos uisos (nam et Nasamonas propria oracula apud parentum sepulcra mansitando captare, ut Heraclides scribit uel Nymphodorus uel Herodotus, et Celtas apud uirorum fortium busta eadem de causa abnoctare, ut Nicander affirmat), non magis mortuos uere patimur in somnis quam uiuos, sed eadem ratione mortuos quae et uiuos et omnia quae uidentur. Non enim quia uidentur uera sunt, sed quia adimplentur. Fides somniorum de effectu, non de conspectu renuntiatur. [11] Nulli autem animae omnino inferos patere satis dominus in argumento illo pauperis requiescentis et diuitis ingemiscentis ex persona Abrahae sanxit, non posse inde relegari renunziatorem dispositionis infernae, quod uel tunc licere potuisset, ut Moysi et prophetis crederetur. [12] Sed etsi quasdam reuocauit in corpora dei uirtus in documenta iuris sui, non idcirco communicabitur fidei et audaciae magorum et fallaciae somniorum et licentiae poetarum. Atquin in resurrectionis exemplis, cum dei uirtus siue per prophetas siue per Christum siue per apostolos in corpora animas repraesentat, solida et contrectabili et satiata ueritate praeiudicatum est hanc esse formam ueritatis, ut omnem mortuorum exhibitionem incorporalem praestrigias iudices.

LVIII. AN PVNIANTVR APVD INFEROS ANIMAE. [1] Omnis ergo anima penes inferos? inquis. Velis ac nolis, et supplicia iam illic et refrigeria: habes pauperem et diuitem. Et quia distuli nescio quid ad hanc partem, iam oportune in clausula reddam. [2] Cur enim non putes animam et puniri et foueri in inferis interim sub expectatione utriusque iudicii in quadam usurpatione et candida eius? Quia saluum debet esse, inquis, in iudicio diuino negotium suum sine ulla praelibatione sententiae; tum quia et carnis opperienda est restitutio ut consortis operarum atque mercedum. [3] Quid ergo fiet in tempore isto? Dormiemus? At enim animae nec in uiuentibus dormiunt; corporum enim est somnus, quorum et ipsa mors cum speculo suo somno. Aut nihil uis agi illic, quo uniuersa humanitas trahitur, quo spes omnis sequestratur? Delibari putas iudicium an incipi? Praecipitari an praeministrari? Iam uero quam iniquissimum otium apud inferos, si et nocentibus adhuc illic bene est et innocentibus nondum! Quid amplius uis esse post, mortem confusa spe et incerta expectatione ludentem an uitae recensum iam et ordinationem iudicii inhorrentem? [4] Semper autem expectat anima corpus, ut doleat aut gaudeat?

Nonne et de suo sufficit sibi ad utrumque titulum passionis? Quotiens inlaeso corpore anima sola torquetur bile ira taedio plerumque nec sibi noto? Quotiens item corpore afflicto furtiuum sibi anima gaudium exquirat et a corporis tunc importuna societate secedit? [5] Mentior, si non de ipsis cruciatibus corporis et gloriari et gaudere sola consuevit. Respice ad Mucii animam, cum dexteram suam ignibus soluit; respice ad Zenonis, cum illam Dionysii tormenta praetereunt. Morsus ferarum ornamenta sunt iuuentutis, ut in Cyro ursi cicatrices. Adeo nouit et apud inferos anima et gaudere et dolere sine carne, quia et in carne et inlaesa si uelit dolet et laesa si uelit gaudet. Hoc si ex arbitrio suo in uita, quanto magis ex iudicio dei post mortem? [6] Sed nec omnia opera [optima] cum carnis ministerio anima partitur; nam et solos cogitatus et nudas uoluntates censura diuina persequitur. Qui uiderit ad concupiscendum, iam adulterauit in corde. Ergo uel propter haec congruentissimum est animam, licet non expectata carne, puniri, quod non sociata carne commisit. Sic et ob cogitatus pios et beniuolos, in quibus carne non eguit, sine carne recreabitur. [7] Quid nunc, si et in carnalibus prior est quae concipit, quae disponit, quae mandat, quae impellit? Et si quando inuita, prior tamen tractat quod per corpus actura est; nunquam denique conscientia posterior erit facto. Ita huic quoque ordini competit eam priorem pensare mercedes cui priori debeantur. [8] In summa, cum carcerem illum, quem euangelium demonstrat, inferos intellegimus et nouissimum quadrantem modicum quoque delictum mora resurrectionis illic luendum interpretamur, nemo dubitabit animam aliquid pensare penes inferos salua resurrectionis plenitudine per carnem quoque. Hoc etiam paracletus frequentissime commendauit, si qui sermones eius ex agnitione promissorum charismatum admiserit. [9] Ad omnem, ut arbitror, humanam super anima opinionem ex doctrina fidei congressi iustae dumtaxat ac necessariae curiositati satisfacimus; enormi autem et otiosae tantum deerit discere quantum libuerit inquirere.

De Carne Christi (On the Flesh of Christ)

I. [1] Qui fidem resurrectionis ante istos Sadducaeorum propinquos sine controversia moratam ita student inquietare ut eam spem negent etiam ad carnem pertinere, merito Christi quoque carnem quaestionibus distrahunt, tanquam aut nullam omnino aut quoquo modo aliam praeter humanam, ne si humanam constiterit fuisse praeiudicatum sit adversus illos eam resurgere omni modo, quae in Christo resurrexerit. igitur unde illi destruunt carnis vota, inde nobis erunt praestruenda. [2] examinemus corporalem substantiam domini: de spiritali enim certum est. caro quaeritur: veritas et qualitas eius retractatur, an fuerit et unde et cuiusmodi fuerit. renuntiatio eius dabit legem nostrae resurrectioni. Marcion ut carnem Christi negaret negavit etiam nativitatem, aut ut nativitatem negaret negavit et carnem, scilicet ne invicem sibi testimonium responderent nativitas et caro, quia nec nativitas sine carne nec caro sine nativitate: [3] quasi non eadem licentia haeretica et ipse potuisset aut admissa carne nativitatem negare ut Apelles discipulus et postea desertor ipsius, aut et carnem et nativitatem confessus aliter illas interpretari ut condiscipulus et condesertor eius Valentinus. [4] sed et, qui carnem Christi putativam introduxit, aequè potuit nativitatem quoque phantasma confingere, ut et conceptus et praegnatus et partus virginis, et ipsius exinde infantis ordo, tw~| dokei=n haberentur: eosdem oculos eosdemque sensus fefellissent quos carnis opinio elusit.

II. [1] Plane nativitas a Gabriele adnuntiatur: quid illi cum angelo creatoris? et in virginis utero conceptus inducitur: quid illi cum [Esaia] propheta creatoris? odit moras, qui subito Christum de caelo deferebat. aufer hinc, inquit, molestos semper Caesaris census et diversoria angusta et sordidos pannos et dura praesepia: viderit angelica multitudo deum suum noctibus honorans: servent potius pecora pastores, et magi ne fatigentur de longinquo: dono illis aurum suum: [2] melior sit et Herodes ne Hieremias gloriatur: sed nec circumcidatur infans, ne doleat, nec ad templum deferatur, ne parentes suos oneret sumptu oblationis, nec in manus tradatur Simeoni, ne senem moriturum exinde contristet: taceat et anus illa, ne fascinet puerum. his opinor consiliis tot originalia instrumenta Christi delere, Marcion, ausus es, ne caro eius probaretur. [3] ex quo, oro te: exhibe auctoritatem: si propheta es praenuntia aliquid, si apostolus praedica publice, si apostolicus cum. apostolis

senti, si tantum Christianus es crede quod traditum est: si nihil istorum es, merito dixerim, morere. [4] nam et mortuus es, qui non es Christianus, non credendo quod creditum Christianos facit: et eo magis mortuus es quo magis non es Christianus qui cum fuisses excidisti rescindendo quod retro credidisti, sicut et ipse confiteris in quadam epistula et tui non negant et nostri probant. [5] igitur rescindens quod credidisti iam non credens rescidisti: non tamen quia credere desisti recte rescidisti, atquin rescindendo quod credidisti probas ante quam rescinderes aliter fuisse: quod credidisti aliter, illud ita erat traditum. porro quod traditum erat id erat verum, ut ab eis traditum quorum fuit tradere: ergo quod erat traditum rescindens, quod erat verum rescidisti. nullo iure fecisti. [6] sed plenius eiusmodi praescriptionibus adversus omnes haereses alibi iam usi sumus: post quas nunc ex abundanti retractamus, desiderantes rationem qua non putaveris natum esse Christum.

III. [1] Necesse est, quatenus hoc putas arbitrio tuo licuisse, ut aut impossibilem aut inconvenientem deo existimaveris nativitatem. sed deo nihil impossibile nisi quod non vult. an ergo voluerit nasci (quia si voluit, et potuit et natus est) consideremus. ad compendium decurro. si enim nasci se deus noluisset, quacunque de causa, nec hominem se videri praestitisset: nam quis, hominem videns eum, negaret natum? ita quod noluisset esse nec videri omnino voluisset. [2] omnis rei displicentis etiam opinio reprobat, quia nihil interest utrum sit quid an non sit, si cum non sit esse praesumitur: plane interest illud ut falsum non patiatur quod vere non est. ‘Sed satis erat illi, inquis, conscientia sua: viderint homines si natum putabant quia hominem videbant.’ [3] quanto ergo dignius, quo constantius, humanam sustinuisset existimationem vere natus, eandem existimationem etiam non natus subiturus cum iniuria conscientiae suae. quantum ad fiduciam reputas ut non natus adversus conscientiam suam natum se existimari sustineret? quid tanti fuit, edoce, quod sciens Christus quid esset id se quod non erat exhiberet? [4] non potes dicere, ‘Ne si natus fuisset et hominem vere induisset deus esse desisset, amittens quod erat dum fit quod non erat’: periculum enim status sui deo nullum est. ‘Sed ideo, inquis, nego deum in hominem vere conversum, ita ut et nasceretur et carne corporaretur, quia qui sine fine est etiam inconvertibilis sit necesse est: converti enim in aliud finis est pristini: [5] non competit ergo conversio cui non competit finis.’ plane natura convertibilium ea lege est ne permaneant in eo quod convertitur in eis, et ita non permanendo pereant dum

perdunt convertendo quod fuerunt. sed nihil deo par est: natura eius ab omnium rerum conditione distat. si ergo quae a deo distant, a quibus et deus distat, cum convertuntur amittunt quod fuerunt, ubi erit diversitas divinitatis a ceteris rebus nisi ut contrarium obtineat, id est ut deus et in omnia converti possit et qualis est perseverare? [6] alioquin par erit eorum quae conversa amittunt quod fuerunt, quorum utique deus in omnibus par non est: sic nec in exitu conversionis. angelos creatoris conversos in effigiem humanam aliquando legisti et credidisti, et tantam corporis gestasse veritatem ut et pedes eis laverit Abraham et manibus ipsorum ereptus sit Sodomitis Loth, conluctatus quoque homini angelus toto corporis pondere dimitti desideraverit, adeo detinebatur. [7] quod ergo angelis inferioris dei licuit conversis in corpulentiam humanam, ut angeli nihilominus permanerent, hoc tu potentiori deo auferes, quasi non valuerit Christus eius vere hominem indutus deus perseverare? aut numquid et angeli illi phantasma carnis apparuerunt? sed non audebis hoc dicere: nam si sic apud te angeli creatoris sicut et Christus, eius dei erit Christus cuius angeli tales qualis et Christus. [8] si scripturas opinioni tuae resistentes non de industria alias reiecisses alias corrupisses, confudisset te in hac specie evangelium Iohannis praedicans spiritum columbae corpore lapsum desedis super dominum. qui spiritus cum [hoc] esset, tam vere erat et columba quam et spiritus, nec interfecerat substantiam propriam assumpta substantia extranea. [9] sed quaeris corpus columbae ubi sit, resumpto spiritu in caelum. aequae et angelorum, eadem ratione interceptum est qua et editum fuerat. si vidisses cum de nihilo proferebatur, scisses et cum in nihilum subducebatur. si non fuit initium visibile, nec finis. tamen corporis soliditas erat quoquo momento corpus videbatur: non potest non fuisse quod scriptum est.

IV. [1] Igitur si neque ut impossibilem neque ut periculosam deo repudias corporationem, superest ut quasi indignam reicias et accuses. ab ipsa quidem exorsus odio habita nativitate perora, age iam spurcitas genitalium in utero elementorum, humoris et sanguinis foeda coagula, carnis ex eodem caeno alendae per novem menses. describe uterum de die in diem insolescentem, gravem, anxium, nec somno tutum, incertum libidinibus fastidii et gulae. invehere iam et in ipsum mulieris enitentis pudorem, vel pro periculo honorandum, vel pro natura religiosum. [2] horres utique et infantem cum suis impedimentis profusum, utique et oblitum. dedignaris quod pannis dirigitur,

quod unctionibus formatur, quod blanditiis deridetur. hanc venerationem naturae, Marcion, despis, et quomodo natus es? odisti nascentem hominem, et quomodo diligis aliquem? te quidem plane non amasti cum ab ecclesia et fide Christi recessisti. sed videris si tibi displices aut si aliter es natus: [3] certe Christus dilexit hominem illum in immunditiis in utero coagulatum, illum per pudenda prolatum, illum per ludibria nutritum. propter eum descendit, propter eum praedicavit, propter eum omni se humilitate deiecit usque ad mortem, et mortem crucis. amavit utique quem magno redemit. si Christus creatoris est, suum merito amavit: si ab alio deo est, magis adamavit, quando alienum redemit. amavit ergo cum homine etiam nativitatem, etiam carnem eius: nihil amari potest sine eo per quod est id quod est. [4] aut aufer nativitatem et exhibe hominem, adime carnem et praesta quem deus redemit. si haec sunt homo quem deus redemit, tu haec erubescenda illi facis qui redemit, et indigna, quae nisi dilexisset non redemisset? nativitatem reformat a morte regeneratione caelesti, carnem ab omni vexatione restituit: leprosam emaculat, caecam reluminat, paralyticam redintegrat, demoniacam expiat, mortuam resuscitat: et nasci in illam erubescit? [5] si revera de lupa aut suae aut vaccae prodire voluisset, et ferae aut pecoris corpore indutus regnum caelorum praedicaret, tua opinor illi censura praescriberet turpe hoc deo et indignum hoc dei filio, et stultum propterea qui ita credat. sit plane stultum: de nostro sensu iudicemus deum. sed circumspice, Marcion, si tamen non delesti: Stulta mundi elegit deus, ut confundat sapientia. [6] quaenam haec stulta sunt? conversio hominum ad culturam veri dei, reiectio erroris, disciplina iustitiae pudicitiae misericordiae patientiae, innocentiae omnis? haec quidem stulta non sunt. quaere ergo de quibus dixerit: et si te praesumpseris invenisse, num erit tam stultum quam credere in deum natum, et quidem ex virgine, et quidem carneum, qui per illas naturae contumelias volutatus sit? [7] dicat haec aliquis stulta non esse, et alia sint quae deus in aemulationem elegerit sapientiae saecularis: et tamen apud illam facilius creditur Iuppiter taurus factus aut cygnus, quam vere homo Christus penes Marcionem.

V. [1] Sunt plane et alia tam stulta, quae pertinent ad contumelias et passiones dei: aut prudentiam dicant deum crucifixum. aufer hoc quoque, Marcion, immo hoc potius. quid enim indignius deo, quid magis erubescendum, nasci an mori, carnem gestare an crucem, circumcidi an suffigi, educari an sepeliri, in praesepe deponi an in monumento recondi?

sapientior eris si nec ista credideris. sed non eris sapiens nisi stultus in saeculo fueris, dei stulta credendo. [2] an ideo passiones a Christo non rescidisti quia ut phantasma vacabat a sensu earum? diximus retro aequae illum et nativitatis et infantiae imaginariae vacua ludibria subire potuisse. sed iam hic responde, interfector veritatis: nonne vere crucifixus est deus? nonne vere mortuus est ut vere crucifixus? nonne vere resuscitatus ut vere scilicet mortuus? [3] falso statuit inter nos scire Paulus tantum Iesum crucifixum, falso sepultum ingessit, falso resuscitatum inculcavit? falsa est igitur et fides nostra, et phantasma erit totum quod speramus a Christo, scelestissime hominum, qui interemptores excusas dei: nihil enim ab eis passus est Christus, si nihil vere est passus. parce unicae spei totius orbis: quid destruis necessarium dedecus fidei? quodcunque deo indignum est mihi expedit: salvus sum si non confundar de domino meo: Qui me, inquit, confusus fuerit, confundar et ego eius. [4] alias non invenio materias confusionis quae me per contemptum ruboris probent bene impudentem et feliciter stultum. crucifixus est dei filius: non pudet, quia pudendum est. et mortuus est dei filius: prorsus credibile est, quia ineptum est. et sepultus resurrexit: certum est, quia impossibile. [5] sed haec quomodo vera in illo erunt si ipse non fuit verus, si non vere habuit in se quod figeretur quod moreretur quod sepeliretur et resuscitaretur, carnem scilicet hanc sanguine suffusam ossibus substructam nervis intextam venis implexam, quae nasci et mori novit, humanam sine dubio ut natam de homine? ideoque mortalis haec erit in Christo quia Christus homo et filius hominis. [6] aut cur homo Christus et hominis filius si nihil hominis et nili ex homine, nisi si aut aliud est homo quam caro, aut aliunde caro hominis quam ex homine, aut aliud est Maria quam homo, aut homo deus Marcionis? aliter non diceretur homo Christus sine carne, nec hominis filius sine aliquo parente homine, sicut nec deus sine spiritu dei nec dei filius sine deo patre. [7] ita utriusque substantiae census hominem et deum exhibuit, hinc natum inde non natum, hinc carneum inde spiritalem, hinc infirmum inde praefortem, hinc morientem inde viventem. quae proprietas conditionum, divinae et humanae, aequa utique naturae cuiusque veritate dispuncta est, eadem fide et spiritus et carnis: virtutes spiritus dei deum, passiones carnem hominis probaverunt. [8] si virtutes non sine spiritu, perinde et passiones non sine carne: si caro cum passionibus ficta, et spiritus ergo cum virtutibus falsus. quid dimidias mendacio Christum? totus veritas fuit. [9] maluit, credo, nasci quam ex aliqua

parte mentiri, et quidem in semetipsum, ut carnem gestaret sine ossibus duram, sine musculis solidam, sine sanguine cruentam, sine tunica vestitam, sine fame esurientem, sine dentibus edentem, sine lingua loquentem, ut phantasma auribus fuerit sermo eius per imaginem vocis. fuit itaque phantasma etiam post resurrectionem cum manus et pedes suos discipulis inspiciendos offert, Aspicite, dicens, quod ego sum, quia spiritus ossa non habet sicut me habentem videtis — ^[10] sine dubio manus et pedes et ossa quae spiritus non habet, sed caro. quomodo hanc vocem interpretaris, Marcion, qui a deo optimo et simplici et bono tantum infers Iesum? ecce fallit et decipit et circumvenit omnium oculos, omnium sensus, omnium accessus et contactus. ergo iam Christum non de caelo deferre debueras sed de aliquo circulatorio coetu, nec deum praeter hominem sed magum hominem, nec salutis pontificem sed spectaculi artificem, nec mortuorum resuscitorem sed vivorum advocatorem: nisi quod et si magus fuit, natus est.

VI. ^[1] Sed quidam iam discentes Pontici illius, supra magistrum sapere compulsi, concedunt Christo carnis veritatem, sine praeiudicio tamen renuendae nativitatis: ‘Habuerit, inquit, carnem, dum omnino non natam.’ pervenimus igitur de calcaria quod dici solet in carbonariam, a Marcione ad Apellen, qui posteaquam a disciplina Marcionis in mulierem carne lapsus et dehinc in virginem Philumenen spiritu eversus est, solidum Christi corpus sed sine nativitate suscepit ab ea praedicare. ^[2] et angelo quidem illi Philumenes eadem voce apostolus respondebit qua ipsum illum iam tunc praecinebat dicens, Etiamsi angelus de caelis aliter evangelizaverit vobis quam nos evangelizavimus, anathema sit: his vero quae insuper argumentantur, nos resistemus. ^[3] confitentur vere corpus habuisse Christum. unde materia si non ex ea qualitate in qua videbatur? unde corpus si non caro corpus? unde caro si non nata? quia nasci haberet, ea futura quae nascitur. De sideribus, inquit, et de substantiis superioris mundi mutuatus est carnem: et utique proponunt non esse mirandum corpus sine nativitate, cum et apud nos angelis licuerit nulla uteri opera in carne processisse. ^[4] agnoscimus quidem ita relatum: sed tamen quale est ut alterius regulae fides ab ea fide quam impugnat instrumentum argumentationibus suis mutuetur? quid illi cum Moyse qui deum Moysi reicit? si alius deus est, aliter sint res eius. sed utantur haeretici omnes scripturis eius cuius utuntur etiam mundo — erit illis hoc quoque in testimonium iudicii quod de exemplis ipsius blasphemias suas instruunt — facile est veritati etiam

nihil tale adversus eos praescribenti obtinere. [5] igitur qui carnem Christi ad exemplum. proponunt angelorum, non natam dicentes licet carnem, comparent velim et causas tam Christi quam et angelorum ob quas in carne processerint. nullus unquam angelus ideo descendit ut crucifigeretur, ut mortem experiretur, ut a morte suscitaretur. si nunquam eiusmodi fuit causa angelorum corporandorum, habes causam cur non nascendo acceperint carnem: non venerant mori, ideo nec nasci. [6] at vero Christus mori missus nasci quoque necessario habuit ut mori posset. non enim mori solet nisi quod nascitur: mutuum debitum est nativitati cum mortalitate: forma moriendi causa nascendi est. [7] si propter id quod moritur mortuus est Christus, id autem moritur quod et nascitur, consequens erat, immo praecedens, ut aequae nasceretur propter id quod nascitur, quia propter id ipsum mori habebat quod quia nascitur moritur: non competebat non nasci pro quo mori competebat. atquin tunc quoque inter angelos illos ipse dominus apparuit Abrahae sine nativitate, cum carne scilicet, pro eadem causae diversitate: [8] sed vos hoc non recipitis, non eum Christum recipientes qui iam tunc et adloqui et liberare et iudicare humanum genus ediscebat in carnis habitu, non natae adhuc quia nondum moriturae nisi prius et nativitas eius et mortalitas annuntiarentur. igitur probent angelos illos carnem de sideribus concepisse: [9] si non probant, quia nec scriptum est, nec Christi caro inde erit, cui angelorum accommodant exemplum. constat angelos carnem non propriam gestasse utpote naturae substantiae spiritalis — etsi corporis alicuius, sui tamen generis — in carnem autem humanam transfigurabiles ad tempus videri et congregari cum hominibus posse. [10] igitur cum relatum non sit unde sumpserint carnem, relinquitur intellectui nostro non dubitare hoc esse proprium angelicae potestatis, ex nulla materia corpus sibi sumere. Quanto magis, inquis, ex aliqua. certum est: sed nihil de hoc constat, quia scriptura non exhibet. [11] ceterum qui valent facere semetipsos quod natura non sunt, cur non valeant ex nulla substantia facere? si fiunt quod non sunt, cur non ex eo fiant quod non est? quod autem non est, cum fit, ex nihilo est. propterea nec requiritur nec ostenditur quid postea factum sit corporibus illorum: quod de nihilo fuit, nihil factum est. possunt nihil ipsum convertere in carnem qui semetipsos potuerunt convertere in carnem: plus est naturam demutare quam facere materiam. [12] sed et si de materia necesse fuit angelos sumpsisse carnem, credibilis utique est de terrena materia quam de ullo genere caelestium substantiarum, cum adeo

terrenae qualitatibus extiterit ut terrenis pabulis pasta sit. fuerit: sit nunc quoque siderea eodem modo terrenis pabulis pasta quando terrena non esset, quo terrena caelestibus pasta est quando caelestis non esset — legimus enim manna esui populo fuisse: Panem, inquit, angelorum edit homo — non tamen infringitur semel separata condicio dominicae carnis ex causa alterius dispositionis. [13] homo vere futurus usque ad mortem, eam carnem oportebat indueret cuius et mors: eam porro carnem cuius est mors nativitas antecedit.

VII. [1] Sed quotiens de nativitate contenditur omnes qui respuunt eam ut praeiudicantem de carnis in Christo veritate ipsum dominum volunt negare esse <se> natum quia dixerit, Quae mihi mater et qui mihi fratres? audiat igitur et Apelles quid iam responsum sit a nobis Marcioni eo libello quo ad evangelium ipsius provocavimus, considerandam scilicet materiam pronuntiationis istius. [2] primo quidem nunquam quisquam adnuntiasset illi matrem et fratres eius foris stantes qui non certus esset et habere illum matrem et fratres et ipsos esse quos tunc nuntiabat, vel retro cognitos vel tunc ibidem compertos: licet propterea abstulerint haereses ista de evangelio quod et creditum patrem eius Ioseph fabrum et matrem Mariam et fratres et sorores eius optime notos sibi esse dicebant qui mirabantur doctrinam eius. [3] ‘Sed temptandi gratia nuntiaverant ei matrem et fratres quos non habebat.’ hoc quidem scriptura non dicit, alias non tacens cum quid temptationis gratia factum est erga eum: Ecce, inquit, surrexit legis doctor temptans eum: et alibi, Et accesserunt ad eum pharisaei temptantes eum: quod nemo prohibebat hic quoque significari temptandi gratia factum. non recipio quod extra scripturam de tuo infers. [4] dehinc materia temptationis debet subesse. quid temptandum putaverint in illo? ‘ Utique natusne esset annon: si enim hoc negavit responsio eius, hoc captavit nuntiatio temptatoris.’ sed nulla temptatio tendens ad agnitionem eius de quo dubitando temptat ita subito procedit ut non ante praecedat quaestio quae dubitationem inferens cogat temptationem. [5] porro si nusquam de nativitate Christi volutatum est, quid tu argumentaris voluisse illos per temptationem sciscitari quod nunquam produxerunt in quaestionem? eo adicimus, etiam si temptandus esset de nativitate, non utique hoc modo temptaretur, earum personarum adnuntiatione quae poterant etiam nato Christo non fuisse. omnes nascimur, et tamen non omnes aut fratres habemus aut matrem: [6] adhuc potest <quis> et patrem magis habere quam matrem et avunculos magis quam fratres. adeo non competit temptatio nativitatis, quam

licebat et sine matris et sine fratrum nominatione constare. facilius plane est ut certi illum et matrem et fratres habere divinitatem potius temptaverint eius quam nativitatem, an intus agens sciret quid foris esset mendacio petitus praesentiae adnuntiatae eorum qui in praesentia non erant. nisi quod et sic vacuisset temptationis ingenium: [7] poterat enim evenire ut quos illi nuntiabant foris stare, ille eos sciret absentes esse vel valetudinis vel negotii vel peregrinationis nota ei iam necessitate. nemo temptat eo modo quo sciat posse se ruborem temptationis referre. [8] nulla igitur materia temptationis competente liberatur simplicitas nuntiatoris, quod vere mater et fratres eius supervenissent. sed quae ratio responsi matrem et fratres ad praesens negantis discat etiam Apelles. [9] fratres domini non crediderant in illum, sicut et in evangelio ante Marcionem edito continetur: mater aequae non demonstratur adhaesisse illi, cum Martha et Mariae aliae in commercio eius frequententur. hoc denique in loco apparet incredulitas eorum: cum Iesus doceret viam vitae, cum dei regnum praedicaret, cum languoribus et vitiis medendis operaretur, extraneis defixis in illum tam proximi aberant: [10] denique superveniunt et foris subsistunt nec introeunt, non computantes scilicet quid intus ageretur, nec sustinent saltem, quasi necessarius aliquid afferrent eo quod ille cum maxime agebat, sed amplius interpellant et a tanto opere revocatum volunt. oro te Apelle, vel tu Marcion, si forte tabula ludens vel de histrionibus aut aurigis contendens tali nuntio avocareris nonne dixisses, Quae mihi mater aut qui fratres? [11] deum praedicans et probans Christus, legem et prophetas adimplens, tanti retro aevi caliginem dispergens, indigne usus est hoc dicto ad percutiendam incredulitatem foris stantium vel ad excutiendam importunitatem ab opere revocantium? ceterum ad negandam nativitatem alius fuisset ei locus et tempus et ordo sermonis, non eius qui possit pronuntiari etiam ab eo cui et mater esset et fratres: cum indignatio parentes negat, non negat sed obiurgat. [12] denique potiores fecit alios, et meritum praelationis ostendens, audientiam scilicet verbi, demonstrat qua condicione negaverit matrem et fratres: qua enim alios sibi adoptavit qui ei adhaerebant, ea abnegavit illos qui ab eo absistebant. solet etiam adimplere Christus quod alios docet. [13] quale ergo erat si docens non tanti facere matrem aut patrem aut fratres quanti dei verbum ipse dei verbum adnuntiata matre et fraternitate desereret? negavit itaque parentes quomodo docuit negandos, pro dei opere. sed et alias figura est synagogae in matre abiuncta, et Iudaeorum in fratribus

incredulis. foris erat in illis Israel: discipuli autem novi, intus audientes et credentes, cohaerentes Christo ecclesiam deliniabant, quam potiore matrem et digniorem fraternitatem recusato carnali genere nuncupavit. eodem sensu denique et illi exclamationi respondit, non matris uterum et ubera negans sed feliciores designans qui verbum dei audiunt.

VIII. [1] Solis istis capitulis quibus maxime instructi sibi videntur Marcion et Apelles secundum veritatem integri et incorrupti evangelii interpretatis, satis esse debuerat ad probationem carnis humanae in Christo per defensionem nativitatis. [2] sed quoniam et isti Apelleiaci carnis ignominiam praetendunt maxime, quam volunt ab igneo illo praeside mali sollicitatis animabus adstructam et idcirco indignam Christo et idcirco de sideribus illi substantiam competisse, debeo eos de sua paratura repercutere. angelum quendam inclitum nominant qui mundum hunc instituerit et instituto eo paenitentiam admiserit. [3] et hoc suo loco tractavimus — nam est nobis et ad illos libellus — an qui spiritum et voluntatem et virtutem Christi habuerit ad ea opera dignum aliquid paenitentia fecerit. eum angelum etiam de figura erratae ovis interpretantur. teste igitur paenitentia institutoris sui peccatum erit mundus, siquidem omnis paenitentia confessio est delicti quia locum non habet nisi in delicto. [4] si mundus delictum est, qua corpus et membra delictum erit perinde et caelum et caelestia cum caelo: si caelestia, et quicquid inde conceptum prolatumque est. mala arbor malos fructus edat necesse est. caro igitur Christi de caelestibus structa de peccati constat elementis, peccatrix de peccatorio censu, et pars iam erit eius substantiae, id est nostrae, quam ut peccatricem Christo dedignantur inducere. [5] ita si nihil de ignominia interest, aut aliquam purioris notae materiam excogitent Christo quibus displicet nostra, aut eam agnoscant qua etiam caelestis melior esse non potuit. legimus plane, Primus homo de terrae limo, secundus homo de caelo: [6] non tamen ad materiae differentiam spectat, sed tantum terrenae retro substantiae carnis primi hominis, id est Adae, caelestem de spiritu substantiam opponit secundi hominis, id est Christi. et adeo ad spiritum, non ad carnem, caelestem hominem refert, ut quos ei comparat constet in hac carne terrenae caelestes fieri, spiritu scilicet: [7] quodsi secundum carnem quoque caelestis Christus, non compararentur illi non secundum carnem caelestes. si ergo qui fiunt caelestes, qualis et Christus, terrenam carnis substantiam gestant, hinc quoque confirmatur ipsum etiam Christum in carne terrena fuisse caelestem sicut ii

sunt qui ei adaequantur.

IX. [1] Praetendimus adhuc nihil quod ex alio acceptum sit, ut aliud sit quam id de quo sit acceptum, ita aliud esse ut non suggerat unde sit acceptum. omnis materia sine testimonio originis suae non est, etsi demutetur in novam proprietatem. [2] ipsum certe corpus hoc nostrum, quod de limo figulatum etiam ad fabulas nationum veritas transmisit, utrumque originis elementum confitetur, carne terram, sanguine aquam. nam licet alia sit species qualitatis, hoc est quod ex alio aliud fit. ceterum quid est sanguis quam rubens humor, quid caro quam terra conversa in figuras suas? [3] considera singulas qualitates, musculos ut glebas, ossa ut saxa, etiam circum papillas calculos quosdam: aspice nervorum tenaces conexus ut traduces radicum et venarum ramosos discursus ut ambages rivorum et lanugines ut muscos et comam ut caespitem et ipsos medullarum in abdito thesauros ut metalla carnis. [4] haec omnia terrenae originis signa et in Christo fuerunt, et haec sunt quae illum dei filium celaverunt, non alias tantummodo hominem existimatum quam humana extantem substantia corporis. aut edite aliquid in illo caeleste de Septentrionibus et Virgiliis et Suculis emendicatum: nam quae enumeravimus adeo terrenae testimonia carnis sunt ut et nostrae. sed nihil novum nihilque peregrinum deprehendo. [5] denique verbis et factis tantum, doctrina et virtute sola, Christum hominem obstupescebant: notaretur autem etiam carnis in illo novitas miraculo habita. sed carnis terrenae non mira condicio ipsa erat quae cetera eius miranda faciebat cum dicerent, Unde huic doctrina et signa ista? [6] etiam despicientium formam eius haec erat vox: adeo nec humanae honestatis corpus fuit, nedum caelestis claritatis. tacentibus apud vos quoque prophetis de ignobili aspectu eius, ipsae passiones ipsaeque contumeliae loquuntur: passiones quidem humanam carnem, contumeliae vero inhonestam probaverunt. [7] an ausus esset aliqui ungue summo perstringere corpus novum, sputaminibus contaminare faciem nisi merentem? quid dicis caelestem carnem quam unde caelestem intellegas non habes, quid terrenam negas quam unde terrenam agnoscas habes? esurit sub diabolo, sitit sub Samaritide, lacrimatur super Lazarum, trepidat ad mortem — Caro enim inquit infirma — sanguinem fundit postremo: [8] haec sunt opinor signa caelestia. sed quomodo, inquam, contemni et pati posset sicut et dixit, si quid in illa carne de caelesti generositate radiasset? ex hoc ergo convincimus nihil in illa de caelis fuisse, propterea ut contemni et pati posset.

X. [1] Converter ad alios aequē sibi prudentes qui carnem Christi animalem adfirmant, quod anima caro sit facta: ergo et caro anima, et sicut caro animalis ita et anima carnalis. et hic itaque causas requiro. si ut animam salvam faceret in semetipso suscepit animam Christus, quia salva non esset nisi per ipsum dum in ipso, non video cur eam carnem fecerit animalem induendo carnem, quasi aliter animam salvam facere non posset nisi carnem factam. [2] cum enim nostras animas non tantum non carneas sed etiam a carne disiunctas salvas praestet, quanto magis illam quam ipse suscepit etiam non carneam redigere potuit in salutem. item cum praesumant non carnis sed animae nostrae solius liberandae causa processisse Christum, primo quam absurdum est ut animam solam liberaturus id genus corporis eam fecerit quod non erat liberaturus. [3] deinde si animas nostras per illam quam gestavit liberare suscepit, illam quoque quam gestavit nostram gestasse debuerat, id est nostrae formae, cuiuscunque formae est in occulto anima nostra, non tamen carnae. ceterum non nostram animam liberavit si carneam habuit: nostra enim carnea non est. [4] porro si non nostram liberavit quia carneam liberavit, nihil ad nos, quia non nostram liberavit. sed nec liberanda erat quae non erat nostra, ut scilicet carnea: non enim periclitabatur si non erat nostra, id est non carnea. sed liberatam constat illam. ergo non fuit carnea, et fuit nostra, si ea fuit quae liberaretur, quoniam periclitabatur. iam ergo si anima non fuit carnalis in Christo, nec caro potest animalis fuisse.

XI. [1] Sed aliam argumentationem eorum convenimus, exigentes cur animalem carnem subeundo Christus animam carnalem videatur habuisse. ‘Deus enim inquit gestivit animam visibilem hominibus exhibere faciendo eam corpus quae retro invisibilis extiterit, natura nihil sed nec semetipsam videns prae impedimento carnis huius, ut etiam disceptaretur nata sit anima an non, mortalis an non: itaque animam corpus effectam in Christo ut eam nascentem et morientem et, quod sit amplius, resurgentem videremus.’ [2] et hoc autem quale erit, ut per carnem demonstraretur anima sibi aut nobis, quae per carnem non poterat agnosci, ut sic ostenderetur dum id fit cui latebat, id est caro? tenebras videlicet accepit ut lucere possit. denique ad hoc prius retractemus an isto modo ostendenda fuerit anima, dehinc an in totum invisibilem eam retro allegent, utrum quasi incorporealem an etiam habentem aliquod genus corporis proprii. [3] et tamen cum invisibilem dicant corporealem constituunt, habentem quod invisibile sit: nihil enim habens invisibile

quomodo potest invisibilis dici? sed nec esse quidem potest, nihil habens per quod sit: cum autem sit, habeat necesse est aliquid per quod est. [4] si habet aliquid per quod est, hoc erit corpus eius. omne quod est corpus est sui generis: nihil est incorporale nisi quod non est. habente igitur anima invisibile corpus, qui visibilem eam facere suscepit utique dignius id eius visibile fecisset quod invisibile habebatur, quia nec hic mendacium aut infirmitas deo competit, mendacium si aliud animam quam quod erat demonstravit, infirmitas si id quod erat demonstrare non valuit. [5] nemo ostendere volens hominem cassidem aut personam ei inducit: hoc autem factum est animae si in carne conversa alienam induit superficiem. sed et si incorporealis anima deputetur, ut aliqua vi rationis occulta sit quidem anima, corpus tamen non sit quicquid est anima, proinde et impossibile deo non erat, et proposito eius congruentius competeat, nova aliqua corporis specie eam demonstrare quam ista communi omnium, alterius iam notitiae, ne sine causa visibilem ex invisibili facere gestisset animam, istis scilicet quaestionibus opportunam per carnis in illam humanae defensionem. [6] ‘Sed non poterat Christus inter homines nisi homo videri.’ redde igitur Christo fidem suam, ut qui homo voluit incedere animam quoque humanae condicionis ostenderit, non faciens eam carnem sed induens eam carne.

XII. [1] Ostensa sit nunc anima per carnem, si constiterit illam ostendendam quoquo modo fuisse, id est incognitam sibi et nobis: quanquam in hoc vana distinctio est, quasi nos seorsum ab anima simus, cum totum quod sumus anima sit. denique sine anima nihil sumus, ne hominis quidem sed cadaveris nomen. si ergo ignoramus animam, ipsa se ignorat. [2] ita superest hoc solummodo inspicere, an se anima sic ignorarit ut nota quoquo modo fieret. opinor sensualis est animae natura: adeo nihil animale sine sensu, nihil sensuale sine anima, et ut impressius dixerim animae anima sensus est. [3] igitur cum omnibus anima sentire praestet et ipsa sentiat omnium etiam sensus, nedum qualitates, cui verisimile est ut ipsa sensum sui ab initio sortita non sit? unde illi scire quod interdum sibi sit necessarium ex naturalium necessitate, si non scit suam qualitatem, cui quid necessarium est? hoc quidem in omni anima recognoscere est, notitiam sui dico, sine qua notitia sui nulla anima se ministrare potuisset. [4] puto autem magis hominem, animal solum rationale, compotem et animam esse sortitum quae illum faciat animal rationale, ipsa in primis rationalis. porro quomodo rationalis quae efficit

hominem rationale animal, si ipsa rationem suam nescit ignorans semetipsam? sed adeo non ignorat, ut auctorem et arbitrum et statum suum norit. [5] nihil adhuc de deo discens deum nominat: nihil adhuc de iudicio eius admittens deo commendare se dicit: nihil magis audiens quam spem nullam esse post mortem et bene et male defuncto cuique imprecatur. plenius haec prosequitur libellus quem scripsimus DE TESTIMONIO ANIMAE. [6] alioquin si anima semetipsam ignorans erat ab initio, nihil a Christo cognovisse debuerat nisi qualis esset. nunc autem non effigiem suam didicit a Christo sed salutem. propterea filius dei descendit et animam subiit, non ut ipsa se anima cognosceret in Christo sed Christum in semetipsa: non enim se ignorando de salute periclitabatur sed dei verbum. [7] Vita inquit manifestata est, non anima: et Veni inquit animam salvam facere, non dixit ostendere. ignorabamus nimirum animam, licet invisibilem, nasci et mori, nisi corporaliter exhiberetur. ignoravimus plane resurrectionem cum carne. hoc erit quod Christus manifestavit: sed et hoc non aliter in se quam in Lazaro aliquo, cuius caro non erat animalis, ita nec anima carnalis. quid ergo amplius innotuit nobis de animae ignoratae retro dispositione? quid invisibile eius fuit quod visibilitatem per carnem desideraret?

XIII. [1] ‘Caro facta est anima ut anima ostenderetur.’ numquid ergo et caro anima facta est ut caro manifestaretur? si caro anima est, iam non anima est sed caro: si anima caro est, iam non caro est sed anima. ubi ergo caro, et ubi anima, si alterutro alterutrum facta sunt, immo si neutrum sunt dum alterutro alterutrum fiunt? certe perversissimum ut carnem nominantes animam intellegamus et animam significantes carnem interpretemur. [2] omnia periclitabuntur aliter accipi quam sunt, et amittere quod sunt dum aliter accipiuntur, si aliter quam sunt cognominantur. fides nominum salus est proprietatum. etiam cum demutantur qualitates accipiunt vocabulorum possessiones. verbi gratia, argilla excocta testae vocabulum suscipit, nec communicat cum vocabulo pristini generis quia nec cum ipso genere. [3] proinde et anima Christi caro facta non potest non id esse quod facta est et id non esse quod fuerat, aliud scilicet facta. et quoniam proximum adhibuimus exemplum plenius eo utemur. certe enim testa ex argilla unum est corpus, unumque vocabulum unius scilicet corporis: [4] nec potest testa dici et argilla, quia quod fuit non est, quod autem non est et [nomen] non adhaeret. ergo et anima caro facta uniformis soliditas et singularitas tota est, et indiscreta

substantia. in Christo vero invenimus animam et carnem simplicibus et nudis vocabulis editas, id est animam animam et carnem carnem, nusquam animam-carnem aut carnem-animam, quando ita nominari debuissent si ita fuissent, sed etiam sibi quamque substantiam divise pronuntiatas ab ipso, utique pro duarum qualitatum distinctione, seorsum animam et seorsum carnem. [5] quid? Anxia est, inquit, anima mea usque ad mortem: et, Panis quem ego dedero pro salute mundi caro mea est. porro si anima caro fuisset, unum esset in Christo carnea anima aut caro animalis: at cum dividit species, carnem et animam, duo ostendit. [6] si duo, iam non unum: si non unum, iam nec anima carnalis nec caro animalis: unum enim est anima-caro aut caro-anima. nisi si et seorsum aliam gestabat animam praeter eam quae caro erat, et aliam circumferebat carnem praeter illam quae anima erat. quodsi una caro et una anima, illa tristis usque ad mortem et illa panis pro mundi salute, salvus est numerus duarum substantiarum in suo genere distantium, excludens carnea animae unicam speciem.

XIV. [1] ‘Sed et angelum,’ aiunt, ‘gestavit Christus.’ qua ratione? ‘Qua et hominem.’ eadem ergo est et causa. ut hominem gestaret Christus salus hominis fuit causa, scilicet ad restituendum quod perierat. homo perierat, hominem restitui oportuerat. ut angelum gestaret Christus nihil tale de causa est. [2] nam etsi angelis perditio reputatur in ignem praeparatum diabolo et angelis eius, nunquam tamen illis restitutio repromissa est: nullum mandatum de salute angelorum suscepit Christus a patre. quod pater neque repromisit neque mandavit, Christus administrare non potuit. cui igitur rei angelum quoque gestavit nisi ut satellitem forte cum quo salutem hominis operaretur? [3] idoneus enim non erat dei filius qui solus hominem liberaret, a solo et singulari serpente deiectum? ergo iam non unus deus nec unus salustificator, sed duo salutis artifices, et utique alter altero indigens. an vero ut per angelum liberaret hominem? cur ergo ipse descendit, ad id quod per angelum erat expediturus? si per angelum, quid et ipse? si per se, quid et angelus? dictus est quidem magni consilii angelus, id est nuntius, officii non naturae vocabulo: magnum enim cogitatum patris, super hominis scilicet restitutionem, adnuntiaturus saeculo erat. non ideo tamen sic angelus intellegendus ut aliqui Gabriel aut Michael. [4] nam et filius a domino vineae mittitur ad vinitores, sicut et famuli, de fructibus petito: sed non propterea unus ex famulis deputabitur filius quia famulorum successit officio. facilius ergo dicam, si

forte, ipsum filium angelum (id est nuntium) patris, quam angelum in filio. sed cum de [filio] ipso sit pronuntiatum, Minuisti eum modicum quid citra angelos, quomodo videbitur angelum induisse, sic infra angelos deminutus dum homo fit, qua caro et anima, et filius hominis? [5] qua autem spiritus dei et virtus altissimi non potest infra angelos haberi, deus scilicet et dei filius. quanto ergo, dum hominem gestat, minor angelis factus est, tanto non, dum angelum gestat. poterit haec opinio Hebioni convenire qui nudum hominem et tantum ex semine David, id est non et dei filium, constituit Iesum — plane prophetis aliquo gloriosiore — ut ita in illo angelum fuisse dicatur quemadmodum in aliquo Zacharia: [6] nisi quod a Christo nunquam est dictum, Et ait mihi angelus qui in me loquebatur. sed nec quotidianum illud omnium prophetarum, Haec dicit dominus: ipse enim erat dominus, coram et ex sua auctoritate pronuntians, Ego autem dico vobis. quid ultra ad haec? Esaiam exclamantem audi, Non angelus neque legatus sed ipse dominus salvos eos fecit.

XV. [1] Licuit et Valentino ex privilegio haeretico carnem Christi spiritalem comminisci. quidvis eam fingere potuit quisquis humanam credere noluit, quando, quod ad omnes dictum sit, si humana non fuit nec ex homine non video ex qua substantia ipse Christus et hominem se et filium hominis pronuntiarit: Nunc autem vultis occidere hominem veritatem ad vos locutum: et, Dominus est sabbati filius hominis. de ipso enim Esaias, Homo in plaga et sciens ferre imbecillitatem: et Hieremias, Et homo est et quis cognovit illum? et Daniel, Et ecce super nubes tanquam filius hominis: etiam. Paulus apostolus, Mediator dei et hominum homo Christus Iesus: item Petrus in actis apostolorum, Iesum Nazarenum virum vobis a deo destinatum, utique hominem. [2] haec sola sufficere vice praescriptionis debuerunt ad testimonium carnis humanae et ex homine sumptae et non spiritalis sicut nec animalis nec sidereae nec imaginariae, si sine studio et artificio contentionis haereses esse potuissent. [3] nam, ut penes quendam ex Valentini factiuncula legi, primo non putant terrenamet humanam Christo substantiam informatam ne deterior angelis dominus deprehendatur qui non terrena carnis extiterunt, dehinc quod oporteret similem nostrae carnem similiter nasci, non de spiritu nec de deo, sed ex viri voluntate. ‘Et cur, Non de corruptela sed de incorruptela? et quare non, sicut et illa resurrexit et in caelo resumpta est, ita et nostra par eius statim adsumitur? aut cur illa par nostrae non aequae in terram dissoluta est?’ [4] talia

et ethnici volutabant: ‘Ergo dei filius in tantum humilitatis exhaustus?’ et, ‘Si resurrexit in exemplum spei nostrae cur niliil tale de nobis probatum est?’ merito ethnici talia: sed merito et haeretici. numquid enim inter illos distat nisi quod ethnici non credendo credunt at haeretici credendo non credunt? [5] legunt denique, Minorasti eum modico citra angelos, et negant inferiorem substantiam Christi nec hominem se sed vermem pronuntiantis, qui nec formam habuit nec speciem, sed forma eius ignobilis, defecta citra omnes homines, homo in plaga et sciens ferre imbecillitatem. [6] agnoscunt hominem deo mixtum, et negant hominem: mortuum credunt, et quod est mortuum ex incorruptela natum esse contendunt, quasi corruptela aliud sit a morte. ‘Sed et nostra caro statim resurgere debebat.’ exspecta: nondum inimicos suos Christus oppressit, ut cum amicis de inimicis triumphet.

XVI. [1] Insuper argumentandi libidine ex forma ingenii haeretici locum sibi fecit Alexander ille quasi nos affirmemus idcirco Christum terreni census induisse carnem ut evacuaret in semetipso carnem peccati. quod etsi diceremus, quacunque ratione muniremus sententiam nostram, dum ne tanta amentia qua putavit tanquam ipsam carnem Christi opiriemur ut peccatricem evacuatam in ipso, cum illam et ad dexteram patris in caelis praesidere meminerimus et venturam inde in suggestu paternae claritatis praedicemus. [2] adeo, ut evacuatam non possumus dicere <quae in caelis est>, ita nec peccatricem in qua dolus non fuit. defendimus autem non carnem peccati evacuatam esse in Christo sed peccatum carnis, non materiam sed naturam, nec substantiam sed culpam, secundum apostoli auctoritatem dicentis, Evacuavit peccatum in carne. [3] nam et alibi in similitudine inquit carnis peccati fuisse Christum, non quod similitudinem carnis acceperit quasi imaginem corporis et non veritatem, sed similitudinem peccatricis carnis vult intellegi quod ipsa non peccatrix caro Christi eius fuit par cuius erat peccatum, genere non vitio Adae aequanda. [4] hinc etiam confirmamus eam fuisse carnem in Christo cuius natura est in homine peccatrix, et sic in illa peccatum evacuatum, dum in Christo sine peccato habetur quae in homine sine peccato non habebatur. at neque ad propositum Christi faceret evacuantis peccatum carnis non in ea carne evacuare illud in qua erat natura peccati, neque ad gloriam: quid enim magnum si in carne meliore et alterius (id est non peccatricis) naturae naevum peccati peremit? ‘Ergo, inquires, si nostram induit, peccatrix fuit caro Christi.’ [5] noli constringere explicabilem sensum:

nostram enim induens suam fecit, suam faciens non peccatricem eam fecit. ceterum, quod ad omnes dictum sit qui ideo non putant carnem nostram in Christo fuisse quia non fuit ex viri semine, recordentur Adam ipsum in hanc carnem non ex semine viri factum: sicut terra conversa est in hanc carnem sine viri semine, ita et dei verbum potuit sine coagulo in eiusdem carnis transire materiam.

XVII. [1] Sed remisso Alexandro cum suis syllogismis quos in argumentationibus torquet, etiam cum psalmis Valentini quos magna impudentia quasi idonei alicuius auctoris interserit, ad unam iam lineam congressionem dirigamus an carnem Christus ex virgine acceperit, ut hoc praecipue modo humanam eam constet si ex humana matrice substantiam traxit: quanquam licuit iam et de nomine hominis et de statu qualitatis et de sensu tractationis et de exitu passionis humanam constituisse. [2] ante omnia autem commendanda erit ratio quae praefuit ut dei filius de virgine nasceretur: nove nasci debebat novae nativitatis dedicator de qua signum daturus dominus ab Esaia praedicabatur. quod est istud signum? Ecce virgo concipiet in utero et pariet filium. concepit igitur virgo et peperit Emmanuelem, nobiscum deum. [3] haec est nativitas nova, dum homo nascitur in deo, ex quo in homine deus natus est carne antiqui seminis suscepta sine semine antiquo, ut illam novo semine, id est spiritali, reformaret exclusis antiquitatis sordibus expiatam. sed tota novitas ista, sicut et in omnibus, de veteri figurata est, rationali per virginem dispositione homine domino nascente. virgo erat adhuc terra, nondum opere compressa, nondum sementi subacta: ex ea hominem factum accipimus a deo in animam vivam. [4] igitur si primus Adam ita traditur, merito sequens vel novissimus Adam, ut apostolus dixit, proinde de terra (id est carne) nondum generationi resignata in spiritum vivificantem a deo est prolatus. et tamen ne mihi vacet incursus nominis Adae, unde Christus Adam ab apostolo dictus est si terreni non fuit census homo eius? sed et hic ratio defendit, quod deus imaginem et similitudinem suam a diabolo captam aemula operatione recuperavit. [5] in virginem enim adhuc Evam irreperat verbum aedificatorium mortis: in virginem aequae introducendum erat dei verbum exstructorium vitae, ut quod per eiusmodi sexum abierat in perditionem per eundem sexum redigeretur in salutem. crediderat Eva serpenti, credidit Maria Gabrieli: quod illa credendo deliquit haec credendo delevit. ‘Sed Eva nihil tunc concepit in utero ex diaboli verbo.’ [6] immo

concepit. nam exinde ut abiecta pareret et in doloribus pareret verbum diaboli semen illi fuit: enixa est denique diabolum fratricidam. contra Maria eum edidit qui carnalem fratrem Israel interemptorem suum salvum quandoque praestaret. in vulvam ergo deus verbum suum detulit bonum fratrem, ut memoriam mali fratris eraderet: inde prodeundum fuit Christo ad salutem hominis quo homo iam damnatus intraverat.

XVIII. [1] Nunc et simplicius respondeamus. non competebat ex semine humano dei filium nasci, ne si totus esset filius hominis non esset et dei filius nihilque haberet amplius Salomone et amplius Iona, ut de Hebionis opinione credendus erat. ergo iam dei filius ex patris dei semine, id est spiritu, [2] ut esset et hominis filius caro ei sola erat ex hominis carne sumenda sine viri semine: vacabat enim semen viri apud habentem dei semen. itaque sicut nondum natus ex virgine patrem deum habere potuit sine homine matre, aequè cum de virgine nasceretur potuit matrem habere hominem sine homine patre: [3] sic denique homo cum deo dum caro hominis cum spiritu dei, caro sine semine ex homine, spiritus cum semine ex deo. igitur si fuit dispositio rationis super filium dei ex virgine proferendum, cur non ex virgine acceperit corpus quod de virgine protulit, quia aliud est quod a deo sumpsit? ‘Quoniam, inquiunt, verbum caro factum est.’ [4] vox ista quid caro sit factum contestatur et declarat, nec tamen periclitatur quasi statim aliud sit factum caro et non verbum, si ex carne factum est verbum caro: aut si ex semetipso factum est, scriptura dicat. cum scriptura non dicat nisi quod sit factum, non et unde sit factum, ergo ex alio, non ex semetipso, suggerit factum. [5] si non ex semetipso sed ex alio, iam hinc tracta ex quo magis credere congruat carnem factum verbum nisi ex carne in qua et factum est, vel quia ipse dominus sententialiter et definitive pronuntiavit, Quod in carne natum est caro est quia ex carne natum est. sed si de homine tantummodo dixit, non et de semetipso, plane nega hominem Christum et ita defende non et in ipsum competisse. ‘Atquin subicit, Et quod de spiritu natum est spiritus est, quia Deus spiritus est, et De deo natus est: [6] hoc utique vel eo magis in ipsum tendit si et in credentes eius.’ si ergo et hoc ad ipsum, cur non et illud supra? neque enim dividere potes, hoc ad ipsum, illud supra ad ceteros homines, qui utramque substantiam Christi et carnis et spiritus non negas. [7] ceterum si tam carnem habuit quam spiritum, cum de duarum substantiarum pronuntiat conditione quas in semetipso gestabat non potest videri de spiritu quidem suo de carne vero non

sua determinasse. ita cum sit ipse de spiritu dei (et spiritus deus est) ex deo natus, ipse est et ex carne hominis et homo in carne generatus.

XIX. [1] ‘Quid est ergo, Non ex sanguine nec ex voluntate carnis nec ex voluntate viri sed ex deo natus est?’ hoc quidem capitulo ego potius utar, cum adulteratores eius obduxero: sic enim scriptum esse contendunt, Non ex sanguine nec ex carnis voluntate nec ex viri sed ex deo nati sunt, quasi supradictos credentes in nomine eius designet, ut ostendant esse semen illud arcanum electorum et spiritalium quod sibi imbuunt. [2] quomodo autem ita erit, cum omnes qui credunt in nomine domini pro communi lege generis humani ex sanguine et ex carnis et ex viri voluntate nascantur, etiam Valentinus ipse? adeo singulariter ut de domino scriptum est, Sed ex deo natus est. merito, quia verbum dei, et cum verbo dei spiritus, et in spiritu dei virtus, et quicquid dei est Christus. qua caro autem, non ex sanguine nec ex carnis et viri voluntate, quia ex dei voluntate verbum caro factum est: [3] ad carnem enim, non ad verbum, pertinet negatio formalis nostrae nativitatis, quia caro sic habebat nasci, non verbum. ‘Negans autem ex carnis quoque voluntate natum, cur non negavit etiam ex substantia carnis?’ neque enim quia ex sanguine negavit substantiam carnis renuit, sed materiam seminis quam constat sanguinis esse calorem ut despumatione mutatum in coagulum sanguinis feminae: [4] nam ex coagulo in caseo eius <vis> est substantiae quam medicando constringit, id est lactis. intellegimus ergo ex concubitu nativitatem domini negatam, quod sapit voluntas viri et carnis, non ex vulvae participatione. et quid utique tam exaggeranter inculcavit non ex sanguine nec ex carnis aut viri voluntate natum, nisi quia ea erat caro quam ex concubitu natam nemo dubitaret? negans porro ex concubitu non negavit ex carne, immo confirmavit ex carne, quia non perinde negavit ex carne sicut ex concubitu negavit. [5] oro vos, si dei spiritus non de vulva carnem participaturus descendit in vulvam, cur descendit in vulvam? potuit enim extra eam fieri caro spiritalis simplicius multo quam intra vulvam [fieret extra vulvam]. sine causa eo se intulit unde nihil extulit. sed non sine causa descendit in vulvam. ergo ex illa accepit, quia si non ex illa accepit sine causa in illam descendit, maxime eius qualitatis caro futurus quae non erat vulvae, id est spiritalis.

XX. [1] Qualis est autem tortuositas vestra, ut ipsam EX syllabam praepositionis officio adscriptam auferre quaeratis et alia magis uti quae in hac specie non invenitur penes scripturas sanctas? per virginem dicitis natum,

non ex virgine, et in vulva, non ex vulva, quia. et angelus in somnis ad Ioseph — Nam quod in ea natum est, inquit, de spiritu sancto est — non dixit ex ea. [2] nempe tamen etsi ex ea dixisset in ea dixerat: in ea enim erat quod ex ea erat. tantundem ergo et cum dicit in ea, ex ea consonat, quia ex ea erat quod in ea erat. sed bene quod idem dicit Matthaeus originem domini decurrens ab Abraham usque ad Mariam, Iacob autem generavit, inquit, Ioseph virum Mariae ex qua nascitur Christus. sed et Paulus grammaticis istis silentium imponit: Misit, inquit, deus filium suum factum ex muliere. numquid per mulierem aut in muliere? [3] hoc quidem impressius, quod factum potius dicit quam natum. simplicius enim enuntiasset natum: factum autem dicendo, et Verbum caro factum est consignavit et carnis veritatem ex virgine factae adseveravit. nobis quoque ad hanc speciem psalmi patrocinantur, non quidem apostatae et haeretici et platonici Valentini sed sanctissimi et receptissimi prophetae David: ille apud nos canit Christum, per quem se cecinit ipse Christus. [4] accipe vicesimum primum et audi dominum patri deo colloquentem: Quia tu es qui avulsisti me ex utero matris meae: ecce unum. Et spes mea ab uberibus matris meae, super te sum proiectus ex vulva: ecce aliud. Et ab utero matris meae deus meus es tu: ecce aliter. nunc et ad sensus ipsos decertemus. [5] Avulsisti, inquit, ex utero. quid avellitur nisi quod inhaeret, quod infixum, quod innexum est ei a quo ut auferatur avellitur? si non adhaesit utero, quomodo avulsus est? si adhaesit qui avulsus est, quomodo adhaesisset nisi dum ex utero est per illum nervum umbilicarem quasi folliculi sui traducem adnexus origini vulvae? etiam cum quid extraneum extraneo adglutinator, ita concarnatur et convisceratur cum eo cui adglutinator ut cum avellitur rapiat secum ex corpore [aliquid] a quo avellitur [quasi] sequelam quandam abruptae unitatis et producem mutui coitus. [6] ceterum cum et ubera matris suae nominat — sine dubio quae hausit — respondeant obstetrices et medici et physici de uberum natura, an aliter manare soleant sine vulvae genitali passione, suspendentibus inde venis sentinam illam inferni sanguinis in mamillam et ipsa translatione decoquentibus in materiam lactis laetiolem: inde adeo fit ut uberum tempore menses sanguinum vacent. quodsi verbum caro ex se factum est, non ex vulvae communicatione, nihil operata vulva, nihil functa, nihil passa, quomodo fontem suum transfudit in ubera quae nisi *pariendo* non mutat? habere autem sanguinem non potuit lacti subministrando si non haberet et

causas sanguinis ipsius, avulsionem scilicet suae carnis. [7] quid fuerit novitatis in Christo ex virgine nascendi palam est: solum hoc scilicet, quod ex virgine secundum rationem quam edidimus, et uti virgo esset regeneratio nostra spiritualiter, ab omnibus inquinamentis sanctificata per Christum virginem et ipsum etiam carnaliter ut ex virginis carne.

XXI. [1] Si ergo contendunt hoc competisse novitati ut quemadmodum non ex viri semine ita nec ex virginis carne caro fieret dei verbum, quare non hoc sit tota novitas, ut caro non ex semine nata ex carne <semine nata> processerit? [2] accedant adhuc comminius ad congressum. Ecce, inquit, virgo concipiet in utero. quidnam? utique dei verbum, non viri semen. certe ut pareret filium: nam Et pariet, inquit, filium. ergo ut ipsius fuit parere, quia ipsius fuit concepisse, ita ipsius est quod peperit, licet non ipsius fuerit quod concepit. contra si verbum ex se caro factum est, iam ipsum se concepit et peperit, et vacat prophetia: [3] non enim virgo concepit neque peperit, si non quod peperit ex verbi conceptu caro ipsius est. sola haec autem prophetae vox evacuabitur? an et angeli conceptum et partum virginis annuntiantis? an et omnis iam scriptura quaecunque matrem pronuntiat Christi? quomodo enim mater nisi quia in utero eius fuit? <ut quid in utero> si nihil ex utero eius accepit quod matrem eam faceret in cuius utero fuit? hoc nomen non debet caro extranea: matris uterum non appellat nisi filia uteri caro; filia porro uteri non est, si sibi nata est. [4] tacebit igitur et Elisabeth, prophetam portans iam domini sui conscium infantem et insuper spiritu sancto adimpleta: sine causa enim dicit, Et unde mihi ut mater domini mei veniat ad me? si Maria non filium sed hospitem in utero gestabat Iesum, quomodo dicit, Benedictus fructus uteri tui? quis hic fructus uteri qui non ex utero germinavit, qui non in utero radicem egit, qui non eius est cuius est uterus? et qui utique fructus uteri Christus? [5] an quia ipse est flos de virga profecta ex radice Iesse, radix autem Iesse genus David, virga ex radice Maria ex David, flos ex virga filius Mariae qui dicitur Iesus Christus, ipse erit et fructus? [6] flos enim fructus, quia per florem et ex flore omnis fructus eruditur in fructum. quid ergo? negant et fructui suum florem et flori suam virgam et virgae suam radicem, quominus suam radicem sibi vindicet per virgam proprietatem eius quod ex virga est, floris et fructus: [7] siquidem omnis gradus generis ab ultimo ad principalem recensetur, ut iam nunc carnem Christi non tantum Mariae sed et David per Mariam et Iesse per David sciant adhaerere. adeo hunc fructum ex lumbis

David, id est ex posteritate carnis eius, iurat illi deus consessurum in throno ipsius. si ex lumbis David, quanto magis ex lumbis Mariae ob quam in lumbis David.

XXII. [1] Deleant igitur et testimonia daemonum filium David proclamantia ad Iesum, sed testimonia apostolorum delere non poterunt, si daemonum indigna sunt. ipse imprimis Matthaeus, fidelissimus evangelii commentator ut comes domini, non aliam ob causam quam ut nos originis Christi carnalis compotes faceret ita exorsus est: Liber generaturae Iesu Christi filii David filii Abrahae. [2] his originis fontibus genere manante cum gradatim ordo deducitur ad Christi nativitatem, quid aliud quam caro ipsa Abrahae et David per singulos traducem sui faciens in virginem usque describitur inferens Christum — immo ipse Christus prodit — de virgine? [3] sed et Paulus, utpote eiusdem evangelii et discipulus et magister et testis, quia eiusdem apostolus Christi, confirmat Christum ex semine David secundum carnem, utique ipsius. ergo ex semine David caro Christi. sed secundum Mariae carnem ex semine David: ergo ex Mariae carne est dum ex semine est David. [4] quocumque detorseris dictum, aut ex carne est Mariae quod ex semine est David, aut ex David semine est quod ex carne est Mariae. totam hanc controversiam dirimit idem apostolus ipsum definiens esse Abrahae semen: cum Abrahae, utique multo magis David, quasi recentioris. [5] retexens enim promissionem benedictionis nationum in semine Abrahae, Et in semine tuo benedicentur omnes nationes, Non, inquit, dixit seminibus tanquam de pluribus, sed semine, de uno, quod est Christus. [6] qui haec nihilominus legimus et credimus, quam debemus et possumus agnoscere in Christo carnis qualitatem? utique non aliam quam Abrahae, siquidem semen Abrahae Christus: nec aliam quam Iesse, siquidem ex radice Iesse flos Christus: nec aliam quam David, siquidem fructus ex lumbis David Christus: nec aliam quam Mariae, siquidem ex Mariae utero Christus: et adhuc superius nec aliam quam Adae, siquidem secundus Adam Christus. consequens ergo est ut aut illos spiritalem carnem habuisse contendat, quo eadem conditio substantiae deducatur in Christum, aut concedant carnem Christi spiritalem non fuisse, quae non de spiritali stirpe censetur.

XXIII. [1] Sed agnoscimus adimpleri propheticam vocem Simeonis super adhuc recentem infantem dominum pronuntiatam, Ecce hic positus est in ruinam et suscitationem multorum in Israel et in signum quod contradicatur.

signum enim nativitatis Christi secundum Esaïam: Propterea dabit vobis dominus ipse signum: ecce virgo concipiet in utero et pariet filium. [2] agnoscimus ergo signum contradicibile conceptum et partum virginis Mariae, de quo Academici isti, ‘Peperit et non peperit virgo et non virgo.’ quasi non, et si ita dicendum esset, a nobis magis dici conveniret: peperit enim quae ex sua carne, et non peperit quae non ex viri semine, et virgo quantum a viro, non virgo quantum a partu — [3] non tamen, ut ideo non peperit quae peperit quia non ex sua carne, et ideo virgo quae non virgo quia non de visceribus suis mater. sed apud nos nihil dubium, nec retortum in ancipitem defensionem: lux lux et tenebrae tenebrae et est est et non non: quod amplius hoc a malo est. peperit quae peperit, et si virgo concepit in partu suo nupsit: [4] nam nupsit ipsa patefacti corporis lege, in quo nihil interfuit de vi masculi admissi an emissi: idem illud sexus resignavit. haec denique vulva est propter quam et de aliis scriptum est, Omne masculinum adaperiens vulvam sanctum vocabitur domino. quis vere sanctus quam sanctus ille dei filius? quis proprie vulvam adaperuit quam qui clausam patefecit? [5] ceteris omnibus nuptiae patefaciunt. itaque magis patefacta est quia magis erat clausa. utique magis non virgo dicenda est quam virgo, saltu quodam mater antequam nupta. et quid ultra de hoc retractandum est? cum hac ratione apostolus non ex virgine sed ex muliere editum filium dei pronuntiavit agnovit adaptatae vulvae nuptialem passionem. [6] legimus quidem apud Ezechielem de vacca illa quae peperit et non peperit: sed videte ne vos iam tunc providens spiritus sanctus notarit hac voce disceptaturos super uterum Mariae. ceterum non contra illam suam simplicitatem pronuntiasset dubitative, Esaia dicente Concipiet et pariet.

XXIV. [1] Quod enim et alias [Esaïas] iaculatur in suggillatione haereticorum ipsorum, et imprimis Vae qui faciunt dulce amarum et tenebras lucem, istos scilicet notat qui nec vocabula ipsa in luce proprietatum suarum conservant ut anima non alia sit quam quae vocatur et caro non alia quam quae videtur et deus non alius quam qui praedicatur. [2] ideo etiam Marcionem prospiciens, Ego sum, inquit, deus, et alius absque me non est. et cum alio idipsum modo dicit, Ante me deus non fuit, nescioquas illas Valentinianorum aeonum genealogias pulsat. et Non ex sanguine neque ex carnis aut viri voluntate sed ex deo natus est, Hebioni respondit. aequè Etiamsi angelus de caelis aliter evangelizaverit vobis quam nos anathema sit, ad energema Apelleiacae virginis Philumenes [filium] dirigit. [3] certe Qui negat Christum

in carne venisse hic antichristus est, nudam et absolutam et simplici nomine naturae suae pronuntians carnem, omnes disceptatores eius ferit, sicut et definiens ipsum quoque Christum unum multiformis Christi argumentatores quatit, qui alium faciunt Christum alium Iesum, alium elapsam de mediis turbis alium detentum, alium in secessu montis in ambitu nubis sub tribus arbitris clarum alium ceteris passivum, <alium nobilem alium> ignobilem, alium magnanimum alium vero trepidantem, novissime alium passum alium resuscitatum, per quod suam quoque in aliam carnem resurrectionem adseverant. [4] sed bene quod idem veniet de caelis qui est passus, idem omnibus apparebit qui est resuscitatus, et videbunt et agnoscent qui eum confixerunt, utique ipsam carnem in quam saevierunt, sine qua nec ipse esse poterit nec agnosci: ut et illi erubescant qui adfirmant carnem in caelis vacuum sensu ut vaginam exempto Christo sedere, aut qui carnem et animam tantundem, aut tantummodo animam carnem vero non iam.

XXV. [1] Sed hactenus de materia praesenti. satis iam enim arbitror instructam esse carnis in Christo et ex virgine natae et humanae probationem. quod et solum discussum sufficere potuisset — citra singularum ex diverso opinionum congressionem quam et argumentationibus earum et scripturis quibus utuntur provocavimus ex abundanti — uti cum eo quod probavimus quid et unde fuerit Christi caro, quid non fuerit adversus omnes praeiudicaverimus. [2] ut autem clausula de praefatione commonefaciat, resurrectio nostrae carnis alio libello defendenda hic habebit praestructionem, manifesto iam inde quale fuerit quod in Christo resurrexerit.

De Resurrectione Carnis (On the Resurrection of Flesh)

I. [1] Fiducia Christianorum resurrectio mortuorum: illam credentes hoc sumus. Hoc credere veritas cogit: veritatem deus aperit. [2] Sed vulgus inridet, existimans nihil superesse post mortem: et tamen defunctis parentat, et quidem impensissimo officio pro moribus eorum, pro temporibus esculentorum, ut quos negant sentire quidquam etiam desiderare praesumant. [3] At ego magis ridebo vulgus tunc quoque cum ipsos defunctos atrocissime exurit, quos postmodum gulosissime nutrit, isdem ignibus et promerens et offendens. O pietatem de crudelitate ludentem! sacrificat an insultat cum crematis cremat? [4] Plane cum vulgo interdum et sapientes sententiam suam iungunt. Nihil esse post mortem Epicuri schola est: ait et Seneca omnia post mortem finiri, etiam ipsam. [5] Satis est autem si non minor sententia Pythagorae, et Empedocles et Platonici, immortalem animam e contrario reclamant, immo adhuc proxime etiam in corpora remeabilem adfirmant, etsi non in eadem, etsi non in humana tantummodo, ut Euphorbus in Pythagoram, ut Homerus in pavum recenseantur. [6] Certe recidivatum animae corporalem pronuntiaverunt, tolerabilius mutata quam negata qualitate, pulsata saltem licet non adita veritate. Ita saeculum resurrectionem mortuorum nec cum errat ignorat.

II. [1] Si vero et apud deum aliqua secta est Epicureis magis adfinis quam prophetis, sciemus quid audiant a Christo Sadducaei. Christo enim servabatur omnia retro occulta nudare, dubitata dirigere, praelibata supplere, praedicata repraesentare, mortuorum certe resurrectionem non modo per semetipsum verum etiam in semetipso probare. [2] Nunc autem ad alios Sadducaeos praeparamur, partiaris sententiae illorum: dimidiam agnoscunt resurrectionem, solius scilicet animae, ita aspernati carnem sicut et ipsum dominum carnis. Nulli denique alii salutem corporali substantiae invident quam alterius divinitatis haeretici. [3] Ideoque et Christum aliter disponere coacti, ne creatoris habeatur, in ipsa prius carne eius erraverunt, aut nullius veritatis contendentes eam secundum Marcionem et Basiliden, aut propriae qualitatis secundum heredes Valentini et Apellen. [4] Atque ita sequitur ut salutem eius substantiae excludant cuius Christum consortem negant, certi illam summo praeiudicio resurrectionis instructam si iam in Christo resurrexerit caro. [5] Propterea et nos volumen praemisimus de carne Christi,

quo eam et solidam probamus adversum phantasmatis vanitatem et humanam vindicamus adversus qualitatis proprietatem, cuius condicio Christum et hominem et filium hominis inscripserit. [6] Carneum enim atque corporeum probantes eum, proinde et obducimus praescribendo nullum alium credendum deum praeter creatorem, dum talem ostendimus Christum in quo dinoscitur deus, qualis promittitur a creatore. Obducti dehinc de deo carnis auctore et de Christo carnis redemptore, iam et de resurrectione carnis revincentur, congruente scilicet et deo carnis auctori et Christo carnis redemptori. [7] Hoc ferme modo dicimus ineundam cum haereticis disceptationem: nam et ordo semper a principalibus deduci exposcit, ut de ipso prius constet a quo dicatur dispositum esse quod quaeritur. [8] Atque adeo et haeretici ex conscientia infirmitatis nunquam ordinarie tractant. Certi enim quam laborent in alterius divinitatis insinuatione adversum deum mundi omnibus naturaliter notum de testimoniis operum, certe et in sacramentis priorem et in praedicationibus manifestatiorem, sub obtentu quasi urgentioris causae, id est ipsius humanae salutis ante omnia requirendae, a quaestionibus resurrectionis incipiunt, quia durius creditur resurrectio carnis quam una divinitas. [9] Atque ita tractatum viribus ordinis sui destitutum et scrupulis potius oneratum depretiantibus carnem paulatim ad alterius divinitatis temperant sensum ex ipsa spei concussione et demutatione. [10] Deiectus enim unusquisque vel motus de gradu eius spei quam suscepit apud creatorem, facile iam declinatur ad alterius spei auctorem etiam ultro suspicandum: per diversitatem enim promissionum diversitas insinuat deorum. Sic multos inretitos videmus, dum ante de resurrectione carnis eliduntur quam de unionem divinitatis elidunt. [11] Igitur quantum ad haereticos demonstravimus quo cuneo <oc>currentum sit a nobis. Et occursum est iam suo quoque titulo: de deo quidem unico et Christo eius adversus Marcionem: de carne vero domini adversus quattuor haereses ad hanc maxime quaestionem praestruendam: uti nunc de sola carnis resurrectione ita et digerendum sit tanquam penes nos quoque incerta, id est penes creatorem — nam et multi rudes, et plerique sua fide dubii, et simplices plures, quos instrui dirigi muniri oportebit — quia ex hoc latere unio divinitatis defenditur: sicut enim negata carnis resurrectione concutitur, ita vindicata constabillitur. [12] Animae autem salutem credo retractatu carere: omnes enim fere haeretici eam, quoquo modo volunt, tamen non negant. Viderit unus aliqui Lucanus ne huic quidem substantiae parcens, quam

secundum Aristotelem dissolvens aliud quid pro ea subicit, tertium quiddam resurrecturus, neque anima neque caro, id est non homo, sed ursus forsitan qua Lucanus. [13] Habet et iste a nobis plenissimum de omni statu animae stilum: quam imprimis immortalem tuentes, solius carnis et defectionem agnoscimus et refectionem cum maxime adserimus, redactis in ordinarium materiae corpus si quae et alibi pro causarum incursione praestrieta distulimus. [14] Nam ut quaedam praelibari sollemne est, ita et differri necesse est, dummodo et praelibata suppleantur suo corpore et dilata reddantur suo nomine.

III. [1] Est quidem et de communibus sensibus sapere in dei rebus, sed in testimonium veri, non in adiutorium falsi, quod sit secundum divinam, non contra divinam dispositionem. Quaedam enim et naturaliter nota sunt, ut immortalitas animae penes plures, ut deus noster penes omnes. [2] Vtar ergo et sententia Platonis alicuius pronuntiantis, ‘Omnis anima immortalis’: utar et conscientia populi contestantis deum deorum: utar et reliquis communibus sensibus qui deum iudicem praedicant, ‘Deus videt’ et ‘Deo commendo’. [3] At cum aiunt ‘Mortuum quod mortuum’ et ‘Vive dum vivis’ et ‘Post mortem omnia finiuntur, etiam ipsa’, tunc meminero et cor vulgi cinerem a deo deputatum et ipsam sapientiam saeculi stultitiam pronuntiatam, tunc si haereticus ad vulgi vitia vel saeculi ingenia confugerit, ‘Discede dicam ab ethnico, haeretice: etsi unum estis omnes qui deum fingitis, dum tamen hoc in Christi nomine facis, dum Christianus tibi videris, alius ab ethnico es: redde illi suos sensus, quia nec ille de tuis instruitur: [4] quid caeco duce niteris si vides? Quid vestiris a nudo si Christum induisti? Quid alieno uteris clipeo si ab apostolo armatus es? Ille a te potius discat carnis resurrectionem confiteri quam tu ab illo diffiteri: quia si et a Christianis negari eam oporteret sufficeret illis de sua scientia non de vulgi ignorantia instrui.’ [5] Adeo non erit Christianus qui eam negabit quam confitentur Christiani, et his argumentis negabit quibus utuntur non Christiani. [6] Aufer denique haereticis quae cum ethnicis sapiunt, ut de scripturis solis quaestiones suas sistant, et stare non poterunt. Communes enim sensus simplicitas ipsa commendat et compassio sententiarum et familiaritas opinionum, eoque fideiiores existimantur quia nuda et aperta et omnibus nota definiunt: ratio autem divina in medulla est, non in superficie, et plerumque aemula manifestis.

IV. [1] Itaque haeretici inde statim incipiunt et inde praestruunt, dehinc et

interstruunt, unde sciunt facile capi mentes de communione favorabili sensuum. [2] An aliud prius vel magis audias < tam > ab haeretico quam ab ethnico, et non protenus et non ubique convicium carnis, in originem in materiam in casum, in omnem exitum eius, immundae a primordio ex faecibus terrae, immundioris deinceps ex seminis sui limo, frivolae infirmae criminosaе molestae onerosae, et post totum ignobilitatis elogium caducae in originem terrae et cadaveris nomen, et de isto quoque nomine periturae in nullum inde iam nomen, in omnis iam vocabuli mortem? [3] ‘Hancne ergo, vir sapiens, et visui et contactui et recordatui tuo ereptam persuadere vis quod se receptura quandoque sit in integrum de corrupto, in solidum de casso, in plenum de inanito, in aliquid omnino de nihilo, et utique redhibentibus eam ignibus et undis et alvis ferarum et rumis alitum et lactibus piscium et ipsorum temporum propria gula? [4] Adeone autem eadem sperabitur quae intercidit ut claudus et luscus et caecus et leprosus et paralyticus revertantur, ut redisse non libeat, ad pristinum: an integri, ut iterum talia pati timeant? [5] Quid tum de consequentiis carnis? rursusne omnia necessaria illi, et imprimis pabula atque potacula? Et pulmonibus natandum et intestinis aestuandum et pudendis non pudendum et omnibus membris laborandum? [6] Rursus ulcera et vulnera et febris et podagra et mors readoptanda? nimirum haec erunt vota carnis recuperandae, iterum cupere de ea evadere.’ [7] Et nos quidem haec aliquanto honestius pro stili pudore: ceterum quantum etiam spurciloquio liceat, illorum < est > in congressibus experiri tam ethnicorum quam haeticorum.

V. [1] Igitur quoniam et rudes quique de communibus adhuc sensibus sapiunt, et dubii et simplices per eosdem sensus denuo inquietantur, et ubique primus iste in nos aries temperatur quo carnis condicio quassatur, necessario et a nobis carnis primum condicio muniatur, vituperatione laudatione depulsa: ita nos rhetoricari quoque provocant haeretici, sicut etiam philosophari philosophi. [2] Futtile et frivolum istud corpusculum, quod malum denique appellare non horrent, etsi angelorum fuisset operatio ut Menandro et Marco placet, etsi ignei alicuius extractio aequae angeli ut Apelles docet, sufficeret ad auctoritatem carnis secundae divinitatis patrocinium: angelos post deum novimus. [3] Iam nunc quisquis ille summus deus haeretici cuiusque est, non immerito ab ipso quoque deducere carnis dignitatem a quo voluntas producendae eius adfuisset: utique enim prohibuisset fieri quam fieri scisset, si fieri noluisset. Itaque et secundum illos aequae caro dei res: nihil operis non

eius est qui passus est esse. [4] Bene autem quod et plures et duriores quaeque doctrinae totam hominis figurationem deo nostro cedunt. Quantus hic sit satis nosti qui unicum credidisti. Incipiat iam tibi caro placere cuius artifex tantus est. [5] ‘Sed et mundus iste, inquis, dei opus est, et tamen praeterit habitus mundi huius, apostolo quoque auctore, nec ideo restitutio mundi praeiudicabitur quia dei opus est: et utique si universitas inreformabilis post decessum, quid portio?’ Plane, si portio universitati adaequatur. [6] Ad distantias enim provocamus. Primo quidem, quod omnia sermone dei facta sunt et sine illo nihil, caro autem et sermone dei constitit propter formam, ne quid sine sermone — Faciamus enim hominem ante praemisit — et amplius manu propter praelationem, ne universitati compararetur — Et finxit inquit deus hominem — [7] magnae sine dubio differentiae ratio, pro condicione scilicet rerum: minora enim quae fiebant eo cui fiebant, siquidem homini fiebant cui mox a deo addicta sunt. Merito igitur, ut famula, iussu et imperio et sola vocali potestate universa processerant; contra homo, ut dominus eorum, in hoc ab ipso deo extractus est ut dominus esse possit dum fit a domino. [8] Hominem autem memento carnem proprie dici, quae prior vocabulum hominis occupavit. Et finxit deus hominem limum de terra: iam homo qui adhuc limus: Et insufflavit in faciem eius flatum vitae et factus est homo, id est limus, in animam vivam, et posuit deus hominem quem finxit in paradiso. Adeo homo figmentum primo, dehinc totus. [9] Hoc eo commendarim uti quidquid omnino homini a deo prospectum atque promissum est non soli animae verum et carni scias debitum, ut si non ex consortio generis certe vel ex privilegio nominis.

VI. [1] Persequar itaque propositum, si tamen tantum possim carni vindicare quantum contulit ille qui eam fecit, iam tunc gloriantem quod illa pusillitas limus in manus dei, quaecumque sunt, pervenit, satis beatus etsi solummodo contactus. [2] Quid enim si nullo amplius opere statim figmentum de contactu dei constitisset? Adeo magna res agebatur quod ista materia extruebatur. Itaque totiens honoratur quotiens manus dei patitur, dum tangitur, dum decerpitur, dum deducitur, dum effingitur. [3] Recogita totum illi deum occupatum ac deditum, manu sensu opere consilio sapientia providentia, et ipsa imprimis adfectione quae liniamenta dictabat: quodcumque enim limus exprimebatur, Christus cogitabatur homo futurus quod et limus, et sermo caro quod et terra tunc. [4] Sic enim praefatio patris ad filium, Faciamus hominem

ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram: et fecit hominem deus, id utique quod finxit: ad imaginem dei fecit illum, scilicet Christi. Et sermo enim deus, qui in effigie dei constitutus non rapinam existimavit parari deo. [5] Ita limus ille iam tunc imaginem induens Christi futuri in carne non tantum dei opus erat sed et pignus. Quo nunc facit ad infuscandam originem carnis nomen terrae ventilare ut sordentis ut iacentis elementi, cum et si alia materia excudendo homini competisset artificis fastigium recogitari oporteret qui illam et eligendo dignam iudicasset et tractando fecisset? [6] Phidiae manus Iovem. Olympium ex ebore molitae adorantur: nec iam bestiae et quidem insulsissimae dens est sed summum saeculi numen, non quia elephantus sed quia Phidias tantus: deus vivus et deus verus quamcunque materiae vilitatem nonne de sua operatione purgasset et ab omni infirmitate sanasset? An hoc supererit, ut honestius homo deum quam hominem deus finxerit? [7] Nunc et si scandalum limus, alia iam res est. Carnem iam teneo, non terram: licet et caro audiat, Terra es et in terram redibis, origo recensetur, non substantia revocatur. [8] Datum est esse aliquid origine generosius et demutatione felicius: nam et aurum terra quia de terra, hactenus tamen terra est ex quo aurum, longe alia materia, splendidior atque nobilior, de obsoletiore matrice. Ita et deo licuit carnis aurum de limi quibus putas sordibus excusato censu eliquasse.

VII. [1] Sed ne dilutior videatur auctoritas carnis quia non et ipsam proprie manus divina tractavit sicut limum, quando in hoc tractaverit limum ut postmodum caro fieret ex limo carni utique negotium gessit. [2] Sed adhuc velim discas quando et quomodo caro floruerit ex limo. Neque enim, ut quidam volunt, illae pelliciae tunicae quas Adam et Eva paradysum exuti induerunt, ipsae erunt carnis ex limo reformatio, cum aliquanto prius et Adam substantiae suae traducem in feminae iam carne recognoverit — Hoc nunc os ex ossibus meis et caro ex carne mea — et ipsa delibatio masculi in feminam carne suppleta sit, limo opinor supplenda si Adam adhuc limus. [3] Obliteratus igitur et devoratus est limus in carnem. Quando? Cum factus est homo in animam vivam de dei flatu, vaporeo scilicet et idoneo torrere quodammodo limum in aliam qualitatem, quasi in testam ita et in carnem. [4] Sic et figulo licet argillam temperato ignis adflatu in materiam robustiorem recorporare et aliam ex alia stringere speciem, aptiorem pristina et sui iam generis ac nominis. [5] Nam etsi scriptum est, Numquid argilla dicet figulo, id est homo deo; et si apostolus In testaceis ait vasculis: tamen et argilla homo

quia limus ante, et testa caro quia ex limo per adflatus divini vaporem. [6] Quam postea pelliciae tunicae, id est cutes, superductae vestierunt: usque adeo, si detraxeris cutem nudaveris carnem. Ita quod hodie spoliū efficitur si detrahatur, hoc fuit indumentum cum superstruebatur. Hinc et apostolus circumcisionem despoliationem carnis appellans tunicam cutem confirmavit. [7] Haec cum ita sint, habes et limum de manu dei gloriosum, et carnem de adflatu dei gloriosiore, quo pariter caro et limi rudimenta deposuit et animae ornamenta suscepit. [8] Non es diligentior deo, uti tu quidem Scythicas et Indicas gemmas et rubentis maris grana candentia non plumbo non aere non ferro neque argento quoque oblaquees sed delectissimo et insuper operosissimo de scrobibus auro, vinis item et unguentis pretiosissimis quibusque vasculorum prius congruentiam cures, proinde perspectae ferruginis gladiis vaginarum adaeques dignitatem, deus vero animae suae umbram, spiritus sui auram, oris sui operam, vilissimo alicui commiserit capulo et indigne collocando utique damnaverit. [9] Collocavit autem, an potius inseruit et inmiscuit carni? Tanta quidem concretione ut incertum haberi possit utrumne caro animam an carnem anima circumferat, utrumne animae caro an anima adpareat carni. [10] Sed etsi magis animam invehī atque dominari credendum est ut magis deo proximam, hoc quoque ad gloriam carnis exuberat quod proximam deo et continet et ipsius dominationis compotem praestat. [11] Quem enim naturae usum, quem mundi fructum, quem elementorum saporem non per carnem anima depascitur? Quidni? Per quam omni instrumento sensuum fulta est, visu auditu gustu odoratu contactu: per quam divina potestate respersa est, nihil non sermone prospiciens vel tacite praemisso. Et sermo enim de organo carnis est. [12] Artes per carnem, studia ingenia per carnem, opera negotia officia per carnem, atque adeo vivere totum animae carnis est ut non vivere aliud non sit animae quam a carne divertere. Sic etiam ipsum mori carnis est, cuius et vivere. [13] Porro si universa per carnem subiacent animae, carni quoque subiacent: per quod utaris, cum eo utaris necesse est. Ita caro, dum ministra et famula animae deputatur, consors et coheres invenitur: si temporalium, cur non et aeternorum?

VIII. [1] Et haec quidem velut de publica forma humanae condicionis in suffragium carnis procuraverim. Videamus nunc de propria etiam Christiani nominis forma, quanta huic substantiae frivola ac sordida apud deum praerogativa sit. [2] Etsi sufficeret illi quod nulla omnino anima salutem possit

adipisci nisi dum est in carne crediderit: adeo caro salutis est cardo, de qua cum anima deo alligatur ipsa est quae efficit ut anima eligi possit a deo. [3] Sed et caro abluitur ut anima emaculetur, caro unguitur ut anima consecratur, caro signatur ut et anima muniatur, caro manus impositione adumbratur ut et anima spiritu illuminetur, caro corpore et sanguine Christi vescitur ut et anima de deo saginetur. Non possunt ergo separari in mercede quas opera coniungit. [4] Nam et sacrificia deo grata, conflictationes dico animae, ieiunia et seras et aridas escas et adpendices huius officii sordes, caro de proprio suo incommodo instaurat. Virginitas quoque et viduitas et modesta in occulto matrimonii dissimulatio et una notitia eius de bonis carnis deo adulantur. [5] Age iam, quid de ea sentis cum pro nominis fide in medium extracta et odio publico exposita decertat, cum in carceribus maceratur taeterrimo lucis exilio penuria mundi squalore paedore contumelia victus, ne somno quidem libera, quippe ipsis etiam cubilibus vincta ipsisque stramentis lancinata, cum iam et in luce omni tormentorum machinatione laniatur, cum denique suppliciis erogatur, enisa reddere Christo vicem moriendo pro ipso, et quidem per eandem crucem saepe, nedum per atrociora quoque ingenia poenarum? [6] Ne illa beatissima et gloriosissima, quae potest apud Christum dominum parere debito tanto, ut hoc solum debeat ei quod ei debere desierit, hoc magis vincta quo absoluta.

IX. [1] Igitur, ut retexam, quam deus manibus suis ad imaginem dei struxit, quam de suo adflatu ad similitudinem suae vivacitatis animavit, quam incolatui fructui dominatui totius suae operationis praeposuit, quam sacramentis suis disciplinisque vestivit, cuius munditias amat, cuius castigationes probat, cuius passiones sibi adpretiat, haecine non resurget, totiens dei res? [2] Absit, absit, ut deus manuum suarum operam, ingenii sui curam, adflatus sui vaginam, molitionis suae reginam, liberalitatis suae heredem, religionis suae sacerdotem, testimonii sui militem, Christi sui sororem, in aeternum destituat interitum. [3] Bonum deum novimus: solum optimum a Christo eius addiscimus. Qui dilectionem mandat post suam in proximum, facit et ipse quod praecipit: diligit carnem tot modis sibi proximam; [4] etsi infirmam, sed virtus in infirmitate perficitur; etsi imbecillam, sed medicum non desiderant nisi male habentes; etsi inhonestam, sed inhonestioribus maiorem circumdamus honorem; etsi perditam, sed Ego inquit veni ut quod periit salvum faciam; etsi peccatricem, sed Malo mihi

inquit salutem peccatoris quam mortem; etsi damnatam, sed Ego inquit percutiam et sanabo. [5] Quid ea exprobras carni quae deum expectant, quae in deum sperant? Honorantur ab illo quibus subvenit. Ausim dicere, si haec carni non accidissent, benignitas gratia misericordia, omnis vis dei benefica, vacuisset.

X. [1] Tenes scripturas quibus caro infuscatur: tene etiam quibus illustratur. Legis cum quando deprimitur: adige oculos et cum quando relevatur. [2] Omnis caro foenum: non hoc solum pronuntiavit Esaias, sed et Omnis caro videbit salutare dei. Notatur in Genesi dicens dominus, Non manebit spiritus meus super ipsos homines, quia caro sunt: sed et auditur per Ioelem, Effundam de spiritu meo in omnem carnem. [3] Apostolum quoque ne de uno stilo noris quo carnem plerumque compungit: nam etsi negat habitare quidquam boni in carne sua, etsi adfirmat eos qui in carne sint deo placere non posse, quia caro concupiscat adversum spiritum, et si qua alia ita ponit ut carnis non tamen substantia sed actus oneretur, dicemus quidem alibi nihil proprie carni exprobari oportere nisi in animae suggillationem quae carnem ministerio sibi subigit. [4] Verum interim et in illis litteris Paulus est cum stigmata Christi in corpore suo portat, cum corpus nostrum ut dei templum vitari vetat, cum corpora nostra membra Christi facit, cum monet tollere et magnificare deum in corpore nostro. [5] Itaque si ignominiae carnis resurrectionem eius expellunt, cur non dignitates potius inducent? Quoniam deo magis congruit in salutem redigere quod reprobavit interdum, quam in perditionem dedere quod etiam probavit.

XI. [1] Hucusque de praeconio carnis adversus inimicos et nihilominus amicissimos eius. Nemo enim tam carnaliter vivit quam qui negant carnis resurrectionem: negantes enim et poenam despiciunt et disciplinam. [2] De quibus luculenter et paracletus per prophetidem Priscam ‘Carnes sunt et carnem oderunt’. [3] Quam si tanta auctoritas munit quanta illi ad meritum salutis patrocinari possit, numquid etiam dei ipsius potentiam et potestatem et licentiam recensere debemus, an tantus sit qui valeat dilapsum et devoratum et quibuscumque modis ereptum tabernaculum carnis reaedificare atque restituere? [4] An et aliqua nobis exempla huiusmodi sui iuris in publico naturae promulgavit, ne qui forte adhuc sitiunt deum nosse, qui non alia lege credendus est quam ut omnia posse credatur? [5] Plane apud philosophos habes qui mundum hunc innatum infectumque defendant. Sed multo melius quod

omnes fere haereses natum et factum mundum adnuentes conditionem deo nostro adscribunt. [6] Igitur confide illum totum hoc ex nihilo protulisse, et deum nosti fidendo quod tantum deus valeat. Nam et quidam, infirmiores hoc prius credere, de materia potius subiacenti volunt ab illo universitatem dedicatam secundum philosophos. [7] Porro et si ita in vero haberetur, cum tamen longe alias substantias longeque alias species ex reformatione materiae diceretur protulisse quam fuisset ipsa materia, non minus defenderem ex nihilo eum protulisse si ea protulerat quae omnino non fuerant. [8] Quo enim interest ex nihilo quid proferri an ex aliquo dum quod non fuit fiat, quando etiam non fuisse nihil sit fuisse? sic et fuisse e contrario nonnihil est fuisse. [9] Nunc etsi interest tamen utrumque mihi adplaudit. Sive enim ex nihilo deus molitus est cuncta, poterit et carnem in nihilum productam exprimere de nihilo: sive de materia modulatus est alia, poterit et carnem quocumque dehaustam evocare de alio. [10] Et utique idoneus est reficere qui fecit, quanto plus est fecisse quam refecisse, initium dedisse quam reddidisse. Ita restitutionem carnis faciliorem credas institutione.

XII. [1] Aspice nunc ad ipsa quoque exempla divinae potestatis. Dies moritur in noctem et tenebris usquequaque sepelitur; funestatur mundi honor, omnis substantia denigratur: sordent silent stupent cuncta: ubique iustitium est, quies rerum: ita lux amissa lugetur. [2] Et tamen rursus cum suo cultu cum dote cum sole eadem et integra et tota universo orbi revivescit, interficiens mortem suam noctem, rescindens sepulturam suam tenebras, heres sibimet existens, donec et nox revivescat cum suo et illa suggestu. [3] Redaccenduntur enim et stellarum radii quos matutina succensio extinxerat, reducuntur et siderum absentiae quas temporalis distinctio exemerat, redornantur et specula lunae quae menstruus numerus adtriverat. [4] Revolvuntur hiemes et aestates, verna et autumnus, cum suis viribus moribus fructibus. Quippe etiam terrae de caelo disciplina est, arbores vestire post spolia, flores denuo colorare, herbas rursus imponere, exhibere eadem quae absumpta sunt semina, nec prius exhibere quam absumpta. [5] Mira ratio: de fraudatrice servatrix, ut reddat intercipit, ut custodiat perdit, interficit ut vivificet, ut integret vitiat, ut etiam ampliet prius decoquit, siquidem et uberiora et cultiora restituit quam exterminavit, re vera fenore interitu et iniuria usura et lucro damno. [6] Semel dixerim, universa conditio recidiva est: quodcumque conveneris fuit, quodcumque amiseris erit: nihil non iterum est: omnia in statum redeunt cum

abscesserint, omnia incipiunt cum desierint: ideo finiuntur ut fiant: nihil deperit nisi in salutem. [7] Totus igitur hic ordo revolubilis rerum testatio est resurrectionis mortuorum: operibus eam praescrispsit deus ante quam litteris, viribus praedicavit ante quam vocibus. [8] Praemisit tibi naturam magistram, submissurus et prophetiam, quo facilius credas prophetiae discipulus ante naturae, quo statim admittas cum audieris quod ubique iam videris, nec dubites deum carnis etiam resuscitatore[m] quem omnium noveris restitutorem. [9] Et utique si omnia homini resurgunt cui procurata sunt, porro non homini nisi et carni, quale est ut ipsa depereat in totum propter quam et cui nihil deperit?

XIII. [1] Si parum universitas resurrectionem figurat, si nihil tale conditio signat, quia singula eius non tam mori quam desinere dicantur, nec redanimari sed reformari existimentur, accipe plenissimum atque firmissimum huius spei specimen, siquidem animalis est res, et vitae obnoxia et morti. [2] Illum dico alitem orientis peculiarem, de singularitate famosum, de posteritate monstruosum, qui semetipsum libenter funerans renovat, natali fine decedens atque succedens, iterum phoenix ubi nemo iam, iterum ipse qui non iam, alius idem. [3] Quid expressius atques signatius in hanc causam, aut cui alii rei tale documentum? Deus etiam in scripturis suis, Et florebis enim inquit velut phoenix, id est de morte, de funere, uti credas de ignibus quoque substantiam corporis exigi posse. [4] Multis passeribus antestare nos dominus pronuntiavit: si non et phoenicibus, nihil magnum. Sed homines semel interibunt, avibus Arabiae de resurrectione securis?

XIV. [1] Talia interim divinarum virium liniamenta non minus parabolis operato deo quam locuto, veniamus et ad ipsa edicta atque decreta eius, quo cum maxime divisionem istam materiae ordinamus. [2] Exorsi enim ab auctoritate carnis, an ea sit cui dilapsae salus competat, dehinc prosecuti de potentia dei, an tanta sit quae salutem conferre dilapsae rei soleat, [3] nunc si probavimus utrumque velim etiam de causa requiras, an sit aliqua taten digna quae resurrectionem carnis necessariam et rationi certe omni modo debitam vindicet: quia subest dicere, etsi caro capax restitui, etsi divinitas idonea restituendi, sed causa restitutionis praeesse debebit. [4] Accipe igitur et causam, qui apud deum discis tam optimum quam et iustum, de suo optimum, de nostro iustum. Nisi enim homo deliquisset, optimum solummodo deum nosset ex naturae proprietate: at nunc etiam iustum eum patitur ex causae suae

necessitate, tamen et hoc ipso optimum dum et iustum. [5] Et bono enim iuvando et malo puniendo iustitiam exhibens utramque sententiam bono praestat, hinc vindicans istud inde remunerans illud. [6] Sed cum Marcione plenius discas an hoc sit dei totum. Interim talis est noster, merito iudex quia dominus, merito dominus quia auctor, merito auctor quia deus. [7] Hinc et ille nescio quis haereticorum merito non iudex, non enim *dominus*: merito non dominus, non enim auctor: nescio iam si deus, qui nec auctor quod deus, nec dominus quod auctor. [8] Igitur si deo et domino et auctori congruentissimum est iudicium in hominem destinare de hoc ipso an dominum et auctorem suum agnoscere et observare curarit an non, idque iudicium resurrectio expunget, haec erit tota causa immo necessitas resurrectionis, congruentissima scilicet deo destinatio iudicii. [9] De cuius dispositione dispicias an utrique substantiae humanae diiudicandae censura divina praesideat, tam animae quam et carni: quod enim congruet iudicari, hoc competet etiam resuscitari. [10] Dicimus plenum primo perfectumque credendum iudicium dei, ut ultimum iam atque exinde perpetuum, ut sic quoque iustum dum non in aliquo minus, ut sic quoque deo dignum dum pro tanta eius patientia plenum atque perfectum: itaque plenitudinem perfectionemque iudicii nonnisi de totius hominis repraesentatione constare: [11] totum porro hominem ex utriusque substantiae congregatione parere, idcircoque in utraque exhibendum quem totum oporteat iudicari, qui nisi totus non vixerit: qualis ergo vixerit talem iudicatum iri, quia de eo quod vixerit habeat iudicari. Vita est enim causa iudicii, per tot substantias dispungenda per quot et functa est.

XV. [1] Age iam scindant adversarii nostri carnis animaeque contextum prius in vitae administratione ut ita audeant scindere illud etiam in vitae remuneratione: negent operarum societatem, ut merito possint etiam mercedum negare. [2] Non sit particeps in sententia caro si non fuerat et in causa: sola anima revocetur si sola decedit. At enim non magis sola decedit quam sola decucurrit illud unde decedit, vitam hanc dico. [3] Adeo autem non sola anima transigit vitam ut nec cogitatus, licet solos, licet non ad effectum per carnem deductos, auferamus a collegio carnis, siquidem in carne et cum carne et per carnem agitur ab anima quod agitur in corde. [4] Hanc denique carnis speciem, arcem animae, etiam dominus in suggillatione cogitatum taxat: Quid cogitatis in cordibus vestris nequam? et, Qui conspexerit ad concupiscendum iam adulteravit in corde: adeo et sine opere et sine effectum

cogitatus carnis est actus. [5] Sed etsi in cerebro vel in medio superciliorum discrimine vel ubi ubi philosophis placet principalitas sensuum consecrata est, quod h(gemoniko&n appellatur, caro erit omne animae cogitatorium. Nunquam anima sine carne est quamdiu in carne est: nihil non cum illa agit sine qua non est. [6] Quaere adhuc an cogitatus quoque per carnem administrantur qui per carnem dinoscuntur extrinsecus: volutet aliquid anima, vultus operatur indicium; facies intentionum omnium speculum est. Negent factorum societatem cui negare non possunt cogitatorum. [7] Et illi quidem delinquentias carnis enumerant: ergo peccatrix tenebitur supplicio: nos vero etiam virtutes carnis opponimus: ergo et bene operata tenebitur praemio. Et si anima est quae agit et impellit in omnia, carnis obsequium est. [8] Sed deum non licet aut iniustum iudicem credi aut inertem — iniustum si sociam bonorum operum a praemiis arceat, inertem si sociam malorum a suppliciis secernat — cum humana censura eo perfectior habeatur quo etiam ministros facti cuiusque deposcit, nec parcens nec invidens illis quominus cum auctoribus aut poenae aut gratiae communicent fructum.

XVI. [1] Sed cum imperium animae obsequium carni distribuimus, prospiciendum est ne et hoc alia argumentatione subvertant, ut velint carnem sic in officio animae conlocare, non quasi ministram ne et sociam cogantur agnoscere. [2] Dicent enim ministros et socios habere arbitrium ministrandi atque sociandi, et potestatem suae voluntatis in utrumque, homines scilicet et ipsos: idcirco cum auctoribus merita communicare quibus operam sponte accommodarint: [3] carnem autem nihil sapientem nihil sentientem per semetipsam, non velle non nolle de suo habentem, vice potius vasculi adparere animae, ut instrumentum non ut ministerium: [4] itaque animae solius iudicium praesidere, qualiter usa sit vasculo carnis, vasculum vero ipsum non esse sententiae obnoxium: quia nec calicem damnari si quis eum veneno temperarit, nec gladium ad bestias pronuntiari si quis eo latrocinium fuerit operatus. [5] Iam ergo innocens caro ex ea parte qua non reputabuntur illi operae malae, et nihil prohibet innocentiae nomine salvam eam fieri. Licet enim nec bona opera deputentur illi sicut nec mala, divinae tamen benignitati magis competit innocentes liberare: beneficos enim debet: optimi est autem etiam quod non debetur offerre. [6] Et tamen calicem, non dico venenarium in quem mors aliqua ructuarit, sed frictricis vel archigalli vel gladiatoris aut carnificis spiritu infectum, quaero an minus damnes quam oscula ipsorum.

Nostris quoque sordibus nubilum vel non pro animo temperatum elidere solemus quo magis puero irascamur: [7] gladium vero latrocinii ebrium quis non a domo tota, nedum a cubiculo, nedum a capitis sui officio relegabit, praesumens scilicet nihil aliud se quam invidiam animarum somniaturum urgulentium et inquietantium sanguinis sui concubinum? [8] At enim et calix bene sibi conscius et de diligentia ministri commendatus de coronis quoque potatoris sui inornabitur aut aspergine florum honorabitur, et gladius bene de bello cruentus et melior homicida laudem suam consecratione pensabit. [9] ‘Estne ergo et in vascula et in instrumenta sententiam figere, ut dominorum et auctorum meritis et ipsa communicent?’ [10] Et huic quoque argumentationi satisfecerim, licet ab exemplo vacet diversitas rerum. Omne enim vas vel instrumentum aliunde in usus venit, extranea omnino materia a substantia hominis: caro autem, ab exordio uteri consata conformata congenita animae, etiam in omni operatione miscetur illi. [11] Nam etsi vas vocatur apud apostolum, quod iubet in honore tractari, eadem tamen ab eodem homo exterior appellatur, ille scilicet limus qui prior titulo hominis incisus est, non calicis aut gladii aut vasculi ullius. [12] Vas enim capacitatis nomine dicta est qua animam capit et continet, homo vero de communione naturae quae eam non instrumentum in operationibus praestat sed ministerium. Ita et ministerium tenebitur iudicio, etsi de suo nihil sapiat, quia portio est eius quae sapit, non supellex. [13] Hoc et apostolus sciens, nihil carnem agere per semetipsam quod non animae deputetur, nihilominus peccatricem iudicat carnem, ne eo quod ab anima videatur impelli, iudicio liberata credatur. [14] Sic et cum aliquas laudis operas carni indicit — Glorificate, tollite deum in corpore vestro — certus et hos conatus ab anima agi, idcirco tamen et carni eos mandat quia et illi fructum repromittit. [15] Alioquin nec exprobratio competisset in alienam culpae nec adhortatio in extraneam gloriae: et exprobratio enim et exhortatio vacarent erga carnem si vacaret et merces quae in resurrectione captatur.

XVII. [1] Simplicior quisque fautor sententiae nostrae putabit carnem etiam idcirco repraesentandam esse iudicio quia aliter anima non capiat passionem tormenti seu refrigerii, utpote incorporalis: hoc enim vulgus existimat. [2] Nos autem animam corporalem et hic profiteamur et in suo volumine probavimus, habentem proprium genus substantiae <ac> soliditatis per quam quid et sentire et pati possit: nam et nunc animas torqueri foverique penes inferos, licet

nudas, licet adhuc exules carnis, probabit Lazari exemplum. [3] Dedi igitur adversario dicere, 'Ergo, quae habet corpulentiam propriam, de suo sufficiet ad facultatem passionis et sensus, ut non egeat repraesentatione carnis'. Immo et eatenus egebit, non qua sentire quid sine carne non possit sed qua necesse est illam etiam cum carne sentire: [4] quantum enim ad agendum de suo sufficit, tantum et ad patiendum. Ad agendum autem minus de suo sufficit: habet enim de suo solummodo cogitare velle cupere disponere, ad perficiendum autem operam carnis expectat. [5] Sic itaque ad patiendum societatem carnis expostulat, ut tam plene per eam pati possit quam sine ea plene agere non potuit. Et ideo in quae de suo sufficit, eorum interim sententiam pendit, concupiscentiae et cogitatus et voluntatis. [6] Porro si haec satis essent ad plenitudinem meritorum, ut non requirerentur et facta, sufficeret anima ad perfectionem iudicii, de istis iudicanda in quae agenda sola suffecerat. [7] Cum vero etiam facta devincta sint meritis, facta autem per carnem administrentur, iam non sufficit animam sine carne foveri sive cruciari pro operibus etiam carnis, etsi habet corpus, etsi habet membra, quae proinde illi non sufficiunt ad sentiendum plene quemadmodum nec ad agendum perfecte. [8] Idcirco pro quo modo egit, pro eo et patitur apud inferos, prior degustans iudicium sicut prior induxit admissum, expectans tamen et carnem ut per illam etiam facta compenset cui cogitata mandavit. [9] Denique haec erit ratio in ultimum finem destinati iudicii, ut exhibitione carnis omnis divina censura perfici possit: alioquin non sustineretur in finem quod et nunc animae decerpunt apud inferos, si solis animabus destinaretur.

XVIII. [1] Hucusque praestructionibus egerim ad muniendos sensus omnium scripturarum quae carnis recidivatum pollicentur. Cui cum tot auctoritates iustorum patrocinatorum procurent — honores dico substantiae ipsius, tum vires dei, tum exempla earum, tum rationes iudicii et necessitates ipsius — utique secundum praeiudicia tot auctoritatum scripturas intellegi oportebit, non secundum ingenia haereticorum de sola incredulitate venientia, quia incredibile habeatur restitui substantiam interitu subductam, non quia aut substantiae ipsi inemeribile sit aut deo impossibile aut iudicio inhabile. [2] Plane incredibile, si nec praedicatum divinitus fuerit: nisi quod etsi praedicatum id a deo non fuisset ultro praesumi debuisset, ut propterea non praedicatum quia tot auctoritatibus praeiudicatum. [3] At cum divinis quoque vocibus personat, tanto abest ut aliter intellegatur quam desiderant illa a

quibus etiam sine divinis vocibus persuadetur. [4] Videamus igitur hoc primum, quonam titulo spes ista proscripta sit. Unum opinor apud omnes edictum dei pendet, RESURRECTIO MORTUORUM: duo verba expedita decisa detersa. Ipsa conveniam, ipsa discutiam, cui se substantiae addicant. [5] Cum audio resurrectionem homini imminere, quaeram necesse est quid eius cadere sortitum sit, siquidem nihil resurgere expectabit nisi quod ante succiderit. Qui ignorat carnem cadere per mortem potest eam nec stantem nosse per vitam. [6] Sententiam dei natura pronuntiat, Terra es et in terram ibis: et qui non audit videt: nulla mors non ruina membrorum est. Hanc corporis sortem dominus quoque expressit cum ipsa substantia indutus, Diruite inquit templum istud et ego illud triduo resuscitabo: [7] ostendit enim cuius sit dirui, cuius elidi, cuius et relevari et resuscitari — quanquam et animam circumferret trepidantem usque ad mortem sed non cadentem per mortem — quia et scriptura, De corpore inquit suo dixerat. [8] Atque adeo caro est quae morte subruitur, ut exinde a cadendo cadaver enuntietur. Anima porro nec vocabulo cadit, quia nec habitu ruit: atquin ipsa est quae ruinam corpori infert cum efflata est, sicut ipsa est quae illud de terra suscitavit cum inflata est. Non potest cadere quae suscitavit ingressa: non potest ruere quae elidit egressa. [9] Artius dicam: ne in somnum quidem cadit anima cum corpore, ne tum quidem sternitur cum carne, sedenim agitur in somnis et iactitur: quiesceret autem si iaceret, et iaceret si caderet: ita nec in veritate mortis cadit quae nec in imagine eius ruit. [10] Sequens nunc vocabulum ‘mortuorum’ aequè dispice cui substantiae insideat. Quanquam in hac materia admittamus interdum mortalitatem animae adsignari ab haereticis, ut si anima mortalis resurrectionem consecutura est praeiudicium sit et carni non minus mortali resurrectionem communicaturae, sed nunc proprietas vocabuli vindicanda est suae sorti. [11] Iam quidem eo ipso quod resurrectio caducae rei est, id est carnis, eadem erit et in nomine mortui: quia caducae rei est resurrectio quae dicitur mortuorum. [12] Sic et per Abraham patrem fidei, divinae familiaritatis virum, discimus: postulans enim Sarrae humanae locum de filiis Heth, Date ergo inquit mihi possessionem sepulchri vobiscum et humabo mortuum meum, carnem scilicet: neque enim animae humanae spatium desiderasset, etsi anima mortalis crederetur, etsi ‘mortuus’ dici mereretur. Quodsi ‘mortuus’ corpus est, corporum erit proprie resurrectio, cum dicitur ‘mortuorum’.

XIX. [1] Et haec itaque dispectio tituli et praeconii ipsius, fidem utique

defendens vocabulorum, illuc proficere debebit ut si quid diversa pars turbat obtentu figurarum et aenigmatum manifestiora quaeque praevaleant et de incertis certiora praescribant. [2] Nacti enim quidam sollemnissimam eloquii prophetici formam, allegorici et figurati plerumque, non tamen semper, resurrectionem quoque mortuorum, manifeste adnuntiatam, in imaginariam significationem distorquent, adserentes ipsam etiam mortem spiritaliter intellegendam: [3] non enim hanc esse in vero quae sit in medio, discidium carnis atque animae, sed ignorantiam dei per quam homo mortuus deo non minus in errore iacuerit quam in sepulchro: [4] itaque et resurrectionem eam vindicandam qua quis adita veritate redanimatus et revivificatus deo, ignorantiae morte discussa, velut de sepulchro veteris hominis eruperit, quia et dominus scribas et pharisaeos sepulchris dealbatis adaequaverit: [5] exinde ergo, resurrectionem fide consecutos, cum domino esse quem in baptismo induerint. [6] Hoc denique ingenio etiam in colloquiis saepe nostros decipere consueverunt quasi et ipsi resurrectionem carnis admittant: ‘Vae, inquit, qui non in hac carne surrexerit’, ne statim illos percutiant si resurrectionem statim abnuerint. Tacite autem secundum conscientiam suam hoc sentiunt, ‘Vae qui non, dum in hac carne est, cognoverit arcana haeretica’: hoc est enim apud illos resurrectio. [7] Sed et plerique, ab excessu animae resurrectionem vindicantes, de sepulchro exire de saeculo evadere interpretantur, quia et saeculum mortuorum sit habitaculum, id est ignorantium deum, vel etiam de ipso corpore, quia et corpus vice sepulchri conclusam animam in saecularis vitae morte detineat.

XX. [1] Ob huiusmodi igitur coniecturas primam praestruktionem eorum depellam, qua volunt omnia prophetas per imagines contionatos: quando, si ita esset, ne ipsae quidem imagines distinguere potuissent, si non et veritates praedicatae fuissent ex quibus imagines deliniarentur. [2] Atque adeo si omnia figurae, quid erit illud cuius figurae? Quomodo speculum obtendes si nusquam est facies? Adeo autem non omnia imagines sed et veritates, nec omnia umbrae sed et corpora, ut in ipsum quoque dominum insigniora quaeque luce clarius praedicarentur. [3] Nam et virgo concepit in utero non figurate, et peperit Emmanuelem, nobiscum deum [Iesum], non oblique: etsi oblique accepturam virtutem Damasci et spolia Samariae, sed manifeste venturum in iudicium cum presbyteris et archontibus populi. [4] Nam et tumultuatae sunt gentes in persona Pilati, et populi meditati sunt inania in

persona Israelis: adstiterunt reges terrae, Herodes, et archontes congregati sunt in unum, Annas et Caiaphas, adversus dominum et adversus Christum eius: [5] qui et tanquam ovis ad iugulationem adductus est, et tanquam agnus ante tondentem, scilicet Herodem, sine voce, sic non aperuit os suum, dorsum suum ponens ad flagella et maxillas ad palmas, et faciem non avertens a sputaminum iaculis: deputatus etiam inter iniquos, perfossus manus et pedes, sortem passus in vestimento et potus amarus et caput inidentium nutus, triginta argenteis adpretiatus a proditore. [6] Quae hic figurae apud Esaiam, quae imagines apud David, quae aenigmata apud Hieremiam, ne virtutes quidem eius per parabolas profatos? Aut numquid nec oculi patefacti sunt caecorum, nec inclaruit lingua mutorum, nec manus aridae et genua dissoluta revaluerunt, nec claudi salierunt ut cervus? [7] Quae etsi spiritualiter quoque interpretari solemus secundum comparisonem animalium vitiorum a domino remediatorum, cum tamen et carnaliter adimpleta sunt ostendunt prophetas in utramque speciem praedicasse, salvo eo quod plures voces eorum nudae et simplices et ab omni allegoriae nubilo purae defendi possunt: [8] ut cum exitus gentium et urbium resonant, Tyri et Aegypti et Babylonis et Idumaeae et Carthaginensium navium, et cum ipsius Israelis plagas aut venias, captivitates restitutiones, ultimaeque dispersionis exitum perorant. [9] Quis haec interpretabitur magis quam recognoscet? res in litteris tenentur, litterae in rebus leguntur. Ita non semper nec in omnibus allegorica forma est prophetici eloquii, sed interdum et in quibusdam.

XXI. [1] Si ergo interdum et in quibusdam, inquires, cur non et in edicto resurrectionis spiritualiter intellegendae? Quoniam quidem plurima ratio intercedit. Primo enim quid facient tot alia instrumenta divina, ita aperte corporalem contestantia resurrectionem ut nullam admittant figuratae significantiae suspicionem? [2] Et utique aequum sit, quod et supra demandavimus, incerta de certis et obscura de manifestis praeiudicari, vel ne inter discordiam certorum et incertorum, manifestorum et obscurorum, fides dissipetur, veritas periclitetur, ipsa divinitas ut inconstans denotetur. [3] Tunc quod verisimile non est ut ea species sacramenti in quam fides tota committitur, in quam disciplina tota conitur, ambigue adnuntiata et obscure proposita videatur, quando spes resurrectionis, nisi manifesta de periculo et praemio, neminem ad huiusmodi praesertim religionem publico odio et hostili elogio obnoxiam persuaderet. [4] Nullum opus certum est mercedis

incertae, nullus timor iustus est periculi dubii: et merces autem et periculum in resurrectionis pendet eventu. [5] Sed et si temporalia et localia et personalia dei decreta atque iudicia in urbes et gentes et reges tam aperta prophetia iaculata est, quale est ut aeternae dispositiones eius et universales in omne hominum genus lucem sui fugerint? Quae quanto maiora, tanto clariora esse deberent, ut maiora crederentur. [6] Et puto deo nec livorem nec dolum nec inconstantiam nec lenocinium adscribi posse, per quae fere promulgatio maiorum cavillatur.

XXII. [1] Post haec ad illas etiam scripturas respiciendum esse dicemus quae non sinunt resurrectionem, secundum animales istos, ne dixerim spiritales, aut hic iam in veritatis agnitione praesumi aut ab excessu statim vitae vindicari. [2] Cum enim et tempora totius spei fixa sint sacrosancto stilo, nec liceat eam ante constitui, aequae non licebit ita scripturas interpretari super illam ut possit ante constitui. In adventum opinor Christi vota nostra suspirant, in saeculi huius occasum, ad diem domini magnum, diem irae et retributionis, diem ultimum et occultum nec ulli praeter patri notum, et tamen signis atque portentis et concussionibus elementorum et conflictationibus nationum praenotatum. [3] Evolverem prophetias si dominus ipse tacuisset — nisi quod et prophetiae vox erant domini — sed plus est quod illas suo ore consignat. Interrogatus a discipulis quando eventura essent quae interim de templi exitu eruperat, ordinem temporum primo Iudaicorum usque ad excidium Hierusalem, dehinc communium usque ad conclusionem saeculi dirigit. [4] Nam posteaquam edixit, Et tunc erit Hierusalem conculcata in nationibus donec adimpleantur tempora nationum — adlegendarum scilicet a deo et congregandarum cum reliquiis Israelis — [5] inde iam in orbem et in saeculum praedicat secundum Ioelem et Danielelem et universum concilium prophetarum futura signa in sole et luna et in stellis, conclusionem nationum cum stupore sonitus maris, et motus refrigescientium hominum prae metu et expectatione eorum quae immineant orbi terrae. [6] Virtutes enim inquit caelorum commovebuntur, et tunc videbunt filium hominis venientem in nubibus caeli cum plurimo potentatu et gloria: ubi autem coeperint ista fieri emergetis et elevabitis capita vestra, quod redemptio vestra adpropinquaverit. [7] Et tamen adpropinquare eam dixit, non adesse iam, et ‘cum coeperint ista fieri’, non ‘cum facta fuerint’, quia cum facta fuerint tunc aderit redemptio nostra, quae eousque adpropinquare dicetur, erigens interim et excitans

animos ad proximum iam spei fructum. [8] Cuius etiam parabola subtextitur tenerescentium arborum in caulem, floris et dehinc frugis antecursorem. Ita et vos, cum videritis omnia ista fieri, scitote in proximo esse regnum dei: vigilate ergo omni in tempore, ut digni sitis effugere omnia ista, et stetis ante filium hominis — utique per resurrectionem, omnibus ante transactis. Ita etsi in agnitione sacramenti fruticat, sed in domini repraesentatione florescit atque frugescit. [9] Quis ergo dominum tam intempestive tam acerbe excitavit iam a dextera dei ad confringendam terram secundum Esaïam, quae puto adhuc integra est? Quis inimicos Christi iam subiecit pedibus eius secundum David, qua velocior patre, omni adhuc popularium coetu reclamante Christianos ad leonem? Quis caelo descendentem Iesum talem conspexit qualem ascendentem apostoli viderunt, secundum angelorum constitutum? [10] Nulla ad hodiernum tribus ad tribum pectora ceciderunt agnoscentes quem pupugerunt, nemo adhuc excepit Heliam, nemo adhuc fugit antichristum, nemo adhuc Babylonis exitum flevit: [11] et est iam qui resurrexit, nisi haereticus? exiit plane iam de corporis sepulchro etiam nunc febribus et ulceribus obnoxius, et conculcavit iam inimicos etiam nunc luctari habens cum mundi potentibus, et utique iam regnat etiam nunc Caesari quae sunt Caesaris debens.

XXIII. [1] Docet quidem apostolus Colossensibus scribens mortuos fuisse nos aliquando, alienatos et inimicos sensus domini, cum in operibus pessimis agebamus, dehinc consepultos Christo in baptisinate, et conresuscitados in eo per fidem efficaciae dei qui illum suscitavit a mortuis: [2] Et vos, cum mortui essetis in delictis et praeputatione carnis vestrae, vivificavit cum eo, donatis vobis omnibus delictis: et rursus, Si cum Christo mortui essetis ab elementis mundi, quomodo quidam quasi viventes in mundo sententiam fertis? [3] Sed cum ita nos mortuos faciat spiritaliter ut tamen et corporaliter quandoque morituros agnoscat, utique et resuscitados proinde spiritaliter deputans aequae non negat etiam corporaliter resurrecturos. [4] Denique, Si conresurrexistis, inquit, cum Christo, ea quae sursum sunt quaerite, ubi Christus est in dextera dei residens: ea quae sursum sunt sapite, non quae deorsum. Ita animo ostendit resurgere, quo solo adhuc possumus caelestia adtingere, quae non quaereremus nec saperemus si possideremus. [5] Subiecit etiam, Mortui enim estis — scilicet delictis, non vobis — et vita vestra abscondita est cum Christo in deo. Nondum ergo adprehensa est quae abscondita est: [6] sic et

Iohannes, Et nondum, ait, manifestatum est quid futuri sumus: scimus quia si manifestatus erit similes ei erimus. Tanto abest ut simus iam quod nescimus, utique scituri si iam essemus. [7] Adeo contemplatio est spei in hoc spatio per fidem, non repraesentatio, nec possessio sed expectatio. De qua spe et expectatione Paulus ad Galatas, Nos enim spiritu ex fide spem iustitiae expectamus: non ait ‘tenemus’: iustitiam autem dei dicit ex iudicio quo iudicabimur de mercede. [8] Ad quam pendens et ipse, cum Philippensibus scribit, Si qua inquit concurram in resurrectionem quae est a mortuis, non quia iam accepi aut consummatus sum. Et utique crediderat, et omnia sacramenta cognoverat, vas electionis, doctor nationum: et tamen adicit, Persequor autem, si adprehendam in quo sum adprehensus a Christo. [9] Eo amplius, Ego me, fratres, nondum puto adprehendisse: unum tamen, oblitus posteriorum in priora me extendens secundum scopum persequor ad palmam incriminationis per quam concurrerem — utique in resurrectionem a mortuis, suo tamen tempore: [10] sicut ad Galatas, Bene autem facientes ne taedeat, tempore enim suo metemus: sicut et ad Timotheum de Onesiphoro, Det illi dominus invenire misericordiam in illo die. [11] In quem diem ac tempus et ipsi praecipit custodire mandatum immaculatum inreprehensibile in adparentiam domini Iesu Christi, quam suis temporibus ostendet beatus et solus potentator et rex regnantium, de deo dicens. [12] De quibus temporibus et Petrus in Actis, Paeniteat itaque vos et respicite, ad abolenda delicta vestra, uti tempora vobis superveniant refrigerii ex persona dei, et mittat praedesignatum vobis Christum, quem oportet accipere caelos adusque tempora exhibitionis omnium quae locutus est deus de ore sanctorum prophetarum.

XXIV. [1] Quae haec tempora, cum Thessalonicensibus disce. Legimus enim, Qualiter conversi sitis ab idolis ad serviendum vivo et vero deo et ad expectandum a caelis filium eius, quem suscitavit a mortuis Iesum: [2] et rursus, Quae enim spes nostra vel gaudium vel exultationis corona quam ut et vos coram domino nostro Iesu Christo in adventu ipsius? Item, Coram deo et patre nostro in adventu domini nostri Iesu Christi cum universis sanctis eius. [3] De quorum dormitione minus maerenda docens, simul et tempora resurrectionis exponit: Si enim credimus quod Iesus mortuus sit et resurrexerit, sic et deus eos qui dormierunt per Iesum adducet cum ipso: [4] hoc enim dicimus vobis in sermone dei, quod nos qui vivimus, qui remanemus in adventum domini nostri, non praeveniemus eos qui dormierunt: [5] quoniam

ipse dominus in iussu et in voce archangeli et in tuba dei descendet de caelo, et mortui in Christo primi resurgent: [6] deinde nos qui vivimus, qui <reliquimur,> simul cum illis tollemur in nubibus obviam domino Christo in aerem, et ita semper cum domino erimus. [7] Quae vox archangeli, quae tuba dei audita iam, nisi forte in cubiculis haereticorum? nam etsi tuba dei evangelicus sermo dici potest qui illos iam vocarit, sed aut mortui erunt iam corporaliter ut resurrexerint, et quomodo vivunt? aut in nubibus erepti, et quomodo hic sunt? [8] Miserrimi revera, ut apostolus pronuntiavit, qui in ista tantum vita sperantes habebuntur, excludendo, dum praeripiunt, quod post illam repromittitur, frustrati circa veritatem non minus quam Phygellus et Hermogenes. [9] Et ideo maiestas spiritus sancti, perspicax eiusmodi sensuum, et in ipsa ad Thessalonicenses epistula suggerit, De temporibus autem et temporum spatiis, fratres, non est necessitas scribendi vobis: [10] ipsi enim certissime scitis quod dies domini sicut fur in nocte ita adveniat: [11] cum dicent ‘Pax’ et ‘Tuta sunt omnia’, tunc et illis repentinus insidet interitus. [12] Et in secunda pleniore sollicitudine ad eosdem, Obsecro autem vos, fratres, per adventum domini nostri Iesu Christi et congregationem nostram ad illum, [13] ne cito commoveamini animo neque turbemini neque per spiritum neque per sermonem — scilicet pseudoprophetarum — neque per epistolam — scilicet pseudoapostolorum — acsi per nostram, quasi insistat dies domini: [14] ne quis vos seducat ullo modo, quoniam nisi veniat abscessio primum — huius utique regni — et reveletur delinquentiae homo — id est antichristus — filius perditionis, [15] qui adversatur et superextollitur in omne quod dicitur deus vel religio, uti sedeat in templo dei adfirmans deum se: [16] nonne meministis quod cum apud vos essem haec dicebam vobis? [17] Et nunc quid teneat scitis, ad revelandum eum in suo tempore: [18] iam enim arcanum iniquitatis agitur: tantum qui nunc tenet teneat, donec de medio fiat — quis, nisi Romanus status, cuius abscessio in decem reges dispersa antichristum superducat? — [19] et tunc revelabitur iniquus, quem dominus Iesus interficiet spiritu oris sui et evacuabit apparentia adventus sui: [20] cuius est adventus secundum operationem satanae in omni virtute et signis atque portentis mendacii et in omni seductione iniustitiae his qui pereunt.

XXV. [1] Etiam in Apocalypsi Iohannis ordo temporum sternitur, quem martyr quoque animae sub altari ultionem et iudicium flagitantes sustinere didicerunt, ut prius et orbis de pateris angelorum plagas suas ebibat, et

prostituta illa civitas a decem regibus dignos exitus referat, et bestia antichristus cum suo pseudopropheta certamen ecclesiae inferat, [2] atque ita diabolo in abyssum interim religato primae resurrectionis praerogativa de soliis ordinetur, dehinc et igni dato universalis resurrectionis censura de libris iudicetur. [3] Cum igitur et status temporum ultimarum scripturae notent et totam Christianae spei frugem in exodio saeculi collocent, adparet aut tunc adimpleri totum quodcumque nobis a deo repromittitur, et vacat quod hic iam ab haereticis vindicatur, aut, si et agnitio sacramenti resurrectio est, salva utique illa creditur quae in ultimo praedicatur: [4] et sequitur ut eo ipso quod haec spiritalis vindicetur, illa corporalis praeiudicetur: quia, si nulla tunc adnuntiaretur, merito sola haec et tantummodo spiritalis vindicaretur: cum vero et in ultimum tempus edicatur corporalis agnoscitur, quia non et tunc spiritalis <adnuntiatur. [5] Cur enim iterum> adnuntiaretur resurrectio eiusdem condicionis, id est spiritalis, cum aut nunc eam deceret expungi sine ulla differentia temporum aut tunc sub omni clausula temporum? [6] Ita nobis magis competit etiam spiritalem defendere resurrectionem ab ingressu fidei qui plenitudinem eius agnoscimus in exitu saeculi.

XXVI. [1] Unum adhuc respondebo ad propositionem priorem allegaticarum scripturarum, licere et nobis corporalem resurrectionem de patrocinio figurati proinde eloquii prophetici vindicare. [2] Ecce enim divina in primordio sententia terram hominem pronuntiando — Terra es et in terram ibis, secundum substantiam scilicet carnis quae de terra erat sumpta et quae prior homo fuerat appellata, sicut ostendimus — dat mihi disciplinam in carnem quoque interpretandi si quid irae vel gratiae in terram deus statuit, quia nec proprie terra iudicio eius obnoxia est, quae nihil boni seu mali admisit, maledicta quidem quod hauserit sanguinem, sed et hoc ipsum in figuram carnis homicidae. [3] Nam et si iuvari seu laedi habet terra, id quoque propter hominem, uti ille iuvetur sive laedatur per consistorii sui exitus, quo magis ipse pensabit quae propter illum etiam terra patietur. [4] Itaque et cum comminatur terrae deus carni potius comminari eum dicam, et cum quid terrae pollicetur carni potius polliceri eum intellegam, ut apud David, Dominus regnavit, exultabit terra — id est caro sanctorum, ad quam pertinet regni divini fructus — : [5] dehinc subiungit, Vidit et concussa est terra, montes velut cera liquefacti sunt a facie domini — caro scilicet profanorum — : Et videbunt enim eum qui confixerunt. [6] Atque adeo, si

simpliciter de terrae elemento utrumque existimabitur pronuntiatum, quomodo congruet et concuti et liquefieri eam a facie domini, quo supra regnante exultavit? [7] Sic et apud Esaiam, Bona terrae edetis, bona carnis intellegentur, quae illam manent in regno dei reformatam et angelificatam et consecuturam quae nec oculus vidit nec auris audivit nec in cor hominis ascenderunt. [8] Alioquin satis vanum ut ad obsequium deus fructibus agri et cibariis vitae huius invitet, quae etiam inreligiosis et blasphemis semel homini addicta conditione communicat, pluens super bonos et malos et solem suum emittens super iustos et iniustos. [9] Felix nimirum fides, si ea consecutura est quibus hostes dei et Christi non modo utuntur verum etiam abutuntur, ipsam conditionem colentes adversus conditorem. Bulbos et tubera in terrae bonis deputabis, domino pronuntiante ne in pane quidem victurum hominem? [10] Sic Iudaei terrena solummodo sperando caelestia amittunt, ignorantes et panem de caelesti repromissum et oleum divinae unctionis et aquam spiritus et vinum animae vigorantis ex vite Christo: [11] sicut et ipsam terram sanctam Iudaicum proprie solum reputant, carnem potius domini interpretandam quae exinde et in omnibus Christum indutis sancta sit terra, vere sancta per incolatum spiritus sancti, vere lac et mel manans per suavitatem spei ipsius, vere Iudaea per dei familiaritatem: Non enim qui in manifesto Iudaeus, sed qui in occulto: [12] ut et templum dei eadem sit, et Hierusalem, audiens ab Esaia, Exsurge, exsurge, Hierusalem, indue fortitudinem brachii tui, exsurge sicut in primordio diei, scilicet in illa integritate qua fuerat ante delictum transgressionis. [13] Qui enim in eam Hierusalem voces eiusmodi competent exhortationis et advocacy, quae occidit prophetas et lapidavit missos ad se et ipsum postremo dominum suum confecit? Sed nec ulli omnino terrae salus repromittitur, quam oportet cum totius mundi habitu praeterire. [14] Etiam si quis audebit terram sanctam paradisum potius argumentari, quam et patrum dici capiat, Adae scilicet et Evae, proinde et in paradisum restitutio carni videbitur repromissa, quae eum incolare et custodire sortita est, ut talis illuc homo revocetur qualis inde depulsus est.

XXVII. [1] Habemus etiam vestimentorum in scripturis mentionem ad spem carnis allegorizare, quia et Apocalypsis Iohannis, Hi sunt, ait, qui vestimenta sua non coinquinaverunt cum mulieribus, virgines scilicet significans et qui semetipsos castraverunt propter regna caelorum. [2] Itaque in albis erunt vestibus, id est in claritate innubae carnis. Et in evangelio indumentum

nuptiale sanctitas carnis agnosci potest. [3] Itaque Esaias, docens quale ieiunium dominus elegerit, cum subicit de mercede bonitatis, Tunc, inquit, lumen tuum temporaneum erumpet et vestimenta tua citius orientur: non subsericam utique nec pallium sed carnem volens accipi, ortum carnis resurrectionis de mortis occasu praedicavit. [4] Adeo nobis quoque suppetit allegorice defensio corporalis resurrectionis. Nam et cum legimus, Populus meus, introite in cellas promas quantum donec ira mea praetereat, sepulchra erunt cellae promae, in quibus paulisper requiescere habebunt qui in finibus saeculi sub ultima ira per antichristi vim excesserint. [5] Aut cur cellarum promarum potius vocabulo usus est et non alicuius loci receptorii, nisi quia in cellis promis caro salita et usui reposita servatur, depromenda illinc suo tempore? Proinde enim et corpora medicata condimentis sepulturae mausoleis et monumentis sequestrantur, processura inde cum iusserit dominus. [6] Quod cum ita intellegi congruat — ecquae enim ab ira dei cellariorum nos refugia servabunt? — hoc ipso quod ait, Donec ira praetereat, quae extinguet antichristum, post iram ostendit processuram carnem de sepulchro in quo ante iram fuerit inlata: nam et de cellariis non aliud effertur quam quod infertur, et post antichristi eradicationem agitabitur resurrectio.

XXVIII. [1] Scimus autem sicut et vocibus ita et rebus prophetatum: tam dictis quam et factis praedicatur resurrectio. Cum Moyses manum in sinum condit et emortuam profert, et rursus insinuat et vividam explicat, nonne hoc de toto homine portendit? [2] Siquidem trina virtus dei per illa trina signa denotabatur cum suo ordine, primo diabolus serpentem quamquam formidabilem subactura homini, dehinc carnem de sinu mortis retractura, atque ita omnem sanguinem exsecutura iudicio. [3] De quo apud eundem propheten, Quoniam et vestrum, inquit deus, sanguinem exquiram de omnibus bestiis, et de manu hominis et de manu fratris exquiram eum. [4] Porro nihil exquiratur nisi quod reposcitur, nihil reposcitur nisi quod et reddetur, et utique reddetur quod ultionis nomine reposcetur et exquiretur. Neque enim vindicari poterit quod omnino non fuerit: erit autem dum restituitur, uti vindicetur. In carnem itaque dirigitur quicquid in sanguinem praedicatur, sine qua non erit sanguis. Caro suscitabitur, ut sanguis vindicetur. [5] Sunt et quaedam ita pronuntiata ut allegoriae quidem nubilo careant, nihilominus tamen ipsius simplicitatis suae sitiant interpretationem, quale est apud Esaiam, Ego occidam et vivificabo. Certe postea quam occiderit

vivificabit: ergo per mortem occidens per resurrectionem vivificabit. [6] Caro est autem quae occiditur per mortem: caro itaque et vivificabitur per resurrectionem. [7] Certe si occidere carni animam eripere est, vivificare, contrarium eius, carni animam referre est, caro resurgat necesse est, cui anima per occisionem erepta referenda est per vivificationem.

XXIX. [1] Igitur si et allegoricae scripturae et argumenta rerum et simplices voces resurrectionem carnis quanquam sine nominatione ipsius substantiae obradiant, quanto magis quae hanc spem in ipsas substantias corporales speciali mentione determinant non erunt ducendae in quaestionem? [2] Accipe Ezechielem: Et facta est, inquit, super me manus domini et extulit me in spiritu dominus et posuit me in medio campi: is erat ossibus refertus. [3] Et circumduxit me super ea per circuitum et ecce multa super faciem campi et ecce arida satis. Et ait ad me, Fili hominis, si vivent ossa ista? [4] Et dixi, Adonai domine tu scis. [5] Et ait ad me, Propheta in ossa haec et dices, Ossa arida audite sermonem domini: [6] haec dicit dominus Adonai ossibus istis, Ecce ego adfero in vos spiritum et vivetis, [7] et dabo in vos *nervos* et reducam in vos carnes et circumdabo in vobis cutem et dabo in vobis spiritum, et vivetis et cognoscetis quod ego dominus. [8] Et prophetavi secundum praeceptum, et ecce vox dum propheto et ecce motus, et accedebant ossa ad ossa: [9] et vidi et ecce super ossa nervi et caro ascendit et circumpositae sunt eis carnes, et spiritus in eis non erat. [10] Et ait ad me, Propheta ad spiritum, fili hominis, propheta et dices ad spiritum, Haec dicit dominus Adonai, A quattuor ventis veni, spiritus, et spira in istis interemptis et vivant. [11] Et prophetavi ad spiritum sicut praecepit mihi, et introivit in ea spiritus et vixerunt et constiterunt super pedes suos, valentia magna satis. [12] Et ait ad me, Fili hominis, ossa ista omnis domus Israelis est: ipsi dicunt, Exaruerunt ossa nostra et periit spes nostra, avulsi sumus in eis: [13] propterea propheta ad eos, Ecce ego patefacio sepulchra vestra et eveham vos de sepulchris vestris, populus meus, et inducam vos in terram Israelis, [14] et cognoscetis quod ego dominus aperuerim sepulchra vestra et eduxerim vos de sepulchris vestris, populus meus, [15] et dabo in vobis spiritum et vivetis et requiescetis in terra vestra, et cognoscetis quod ego dominus locutus sum et fecerim, dicit dominus.

XXX. [1] Hanc quoque praedicationem scio qualiter concutiant in allegoriae argumentationem, quia dicendo, Ossa ista omnis domus Israel est,

imaginem ea fecerit Israelis et a propria condicione transtulit, atque ita figuratam esse, non veram, resurrectionis praedicationem: statum enim Iudaeorum deformari quodammodo emortuum et exaridum et dispersum in campo orbis: [2] itaque et imaginem resurrectionis in illum allegorizari, quia recolligi habeat et recompingi os ad os, id est tribus ad tribum et populus ad populum, et recorporari carnibus facultatum et nervis regni, atque ita de sepulchris, id est de habitaculis captivitatis tristissimis atque teterrimis, educi et refrigerii nomine respirari et vivere exinde in terra sua Iudaea. Et quid post haec? [3] Morientur sine dubio. Et quid post mortem? Nulla opinor resurrectio si non haec erit ipsa quae Ezechieli revelatur. Sed enim et alias praedicatur resurrectio: ergo et haec erit, et temere eam in statum Iudaicarum rerum convertunt: aut si alia est illa quam defendimus, nihil mea interest dum sit et corporum resurrectio sicut et rerum Iudaicarum. [4] Denique hoc ipso quod recidivatus Iudaici status de recorporatione et redanimatione ossuum figuratur, id quoque eventurum ossibus probatur: non enim posset de ossibus figura componi si non id ipsum ossibus eventurum esset. [5] Nam etsi figmentum veritatis in imagine est, imago ipsa in veritate est sui: necesse est esse prius sibi id quod alii configuretur. De vacuo similitudo non competit: de nullo parabola non convenit. [6] Ita oportebit ossuum quoque credi reviscerationem et respirationem qualis et dicitur, de qua possit exprimi Iudaicarum rerum reformatio qualis adfingitur. [7] Sed magis religiosum est veritatem de sua auctoritate et simplicitate defendi, quam sensus divinae propositionis expostulat. Si enim ad res Iudaicas spectaret haec visio, statim revelato situ ossuum subiecisset, Ossa ista omnis domus Israelis est, et cetera deinceps. [8] At cum ostensis ossibus de propria spe eorum quid obloquitur, nondum nominato Israele, et fidem temptat prophetae, Fili hominis si vivent ossa haec?, ut et ille responderet, Domine tu scis, non utique deus prophetae fidem de ea re temptasset quae futura non esset, quam nunquam Israel audisset, quam credi non oporteret. [9] Sed quoniam praedicabatur quidem resurrectio mortuorum, Israel vero pro sua incredulitate diffidens scandalizabatur, et aspiciens habitum senescentis sepulturae desperabat resurrectionem, vel non in eam potius animum dirigebat sed in circumstantias suas, idcirco deus et prophetam qua et ipsum dubium praestruxit ad constantiam praedicationis revelato ordine resurrectionis, et populo id credendum mandavit quod prophetae revelavit, ipsos dicens esse ossa quae

erant resurrectura qui non credebant resurrectura. [10] Denique in clausula, Et cognoscetis, inquit, quod ego dominus locutus sum et fecerim, id utique facturus quod fuerat locutus, ceterum non id facturus quod locutus si aliter facturus quam locutus.

XXXI. [1] Plane si et populus allegorice mussitaret ossa sua arefacta et spem suam perditam, dispersionis exitum querulus, merito videretur et deus figuratam desperationem figurata promissione consolatus. [2] Sed cum dispersionis quidem iniuria nondum populo accidisset, resurrectionis vero spes apud illum saepissime cecidisset, manifestus est de corporum interitu labefactans fiduciam resurrectionis: ita et deus eam restruebat fidem quam populus destruebat. [3] Quanquam etsi aliqua praesentium rerum tunc conflictatione maerebat Israel, non idcirco in parabola accipienda esset revelationis intentio sed in testationem resurrectionis, ut in illam spem erigeret illos, aeternae scilicet salutis et necessarioris restitutionis, et averteret a respectu praesentium rerum. [4] Ad hoc enim et alibi prophetae, Exhibitis — de sepulchris — velut vituli de vinculis soluti et conculcabitis inimicos: et rursus, Gaudebit cor vestrum et ossa vestra velut herba orientur — quia et herba de dissolutione et corruptela seminis reformatur. [5] in summa, si proprie in Israelis statum resurgentium ossuum imago contenditur, cur etiam non Israeli tantummodo verum et omnibus gentibus eadem spes adnuntiatur et recorporandarum et redanimandarum reliquiarum et de sepulchris exsuscitandorum mortuorum? [6] De omnibus enim dictum est, Vivent mortui et exsurgent de sepulchris: ros enim qui a te, medela est ossibus eorum. [7] Item alibi, Veniet adorare omnis caro in conspectu meo, dicit dominus. Quando? Cum praeterire coeperit habitus mundi huius: [8] supra enim, Quemadmodum caelum novum et terra nova quae ego facio, in conspectu meo, dicit dominus, ita stabit semen vestrum. [9] Tunc ergo et quod subiecit implebitur, Et exhibent — utique de sepulchris — et videbunt artus eorum qui impie egerunt, quoniam vermis eorum non decidet et ignis eorum non extinguetur, et erit satis conspectui omni carni — scilicet quae resuscitata et egressa de sepulchris dominum pro hac gratia adorabit.

XXXII. [1] Sed ne solummodo eorum corporum resurrectio videatur praedicari quae sepulchris demandantur, habes scriptum, Et mandabo piscibus maris et eructuabunt ossa quae sunt comesta, et faciam compaginem ad compaginem et os ad os. [2] Ergo, inquis, et pisces resuscitabuntur et ceterae

bestiae et alites carnivorae ut revomant quos comederunt, quia et apud Moysen legis exquiri sanguinem de omnibus bestiis? Non utique: sed idcirco nominantur bestiae et pisces in redhibitionem carnis et sanguinis quo magis exprimatur resurrectio etiam devoratorum corporum cum de ipsis devoratoribus exactio edicitur — [3] puto autem huius quoque divinae potestatis documentum idoneum Ionam, cum incorruptus utramque substantiam, carnem atque animam, de alvo bestiae piscis evolvitur, et utique triduum concoquendae carni viscera ceti suffecissent quam capulum quam sepulchrum quam senium requietae atque conditae alicuius sepulturae — [4] salvo eo quod et bestia feros in Christianum vel maxime nomen homines vel ipsos etiam iniquitatis angelos figuravit, de quibus sanguis exigitur per ultionem pensandam. [5] Quis ergo discendi magis adfinis quam praesumendi, et credendi diligentior quam contendendi, et divinae potius sapientiae religiosus quam suae libidinosus, audiens aliquid a deo destinatum et in carnes et cutes et nervos et ossa, aliud quid haec commentabitur, quasi non in hominem destinetur quod in istas substantias praedicatur? Aut enim nihil in hominem destinatur, non liberalitas regni, non severitas iudicii, non quodcunque est resurrectio, aut, si in hominem destinatur, necesse est in eas substantias destinetur ex quibus homo instructus est in quem destinatur. Illud etiam de argutissimis istis demutatoribus ossuum et carniū et nervorum et sepulchrorum requiro, cur si quando in animam quid pronuntiatur nihil aliud animam interpretantur nec transfigunt eam in alterius rei argumentum, cum vero in aliquam speciem corporalem quid edicitur omnia potius adseverant quam quod nominatur. [6] Si corporalia parabolae, ergo et animalia: si non et animalia, ergo nec corporalia. Tam enim corpus homo quam et anima, ut non possit altera species admittere aenigmata, altera excludere.

XXXIII. [1] Satis haec de prophetico instrumento. Ad evangelicum nunc provoco, hic quoque occursurus prius eidem astutiae eorum qui proinde et dominum omnia in parabolis pronuntiasse contendunt quia scriptum sit, Haec omnia locutus est Iesus in parabolis et sine parabola non loquebatur ad illos, scilicet ad Iudaeos: [2] nam et discipuli, Quare aiunt in parabolis loqueris illis?, et dominus, Propterea in parabolis loquor ad eos ut videntes non videant et audientes non audiant, secundum Esaïam. [3] Quodsi ad Iudaeos in parabolis, iam non ad omnes: si <non> ad omnes in parabolis, iam non semper nec omnia parabolae, sed quaedam cum ad quosdam, ad quosdam autem dum

ad Iudaeos: nonnunquam plane et ad discipulos. [4] Sed quomodo referat scriptura considera: Dicebat autem et parabolam ad eos. Ergo et non parabolam dicebat: quia non notaretur cum parabolam loquebatur si ita semper loquebatur. [5] Etiam et nullam parabolam non aut ab ipso invenies edissertatam, ut de seminatore in verbi administrationem, aut a commentatore evangelii praeluminatam, ut iudicis superbi et viduae instantis ad perseverantiam orationis, aut ultra coniectandam, ut arboris fici dilatae in spem ad instar Iudaicae infructuositatis. [6] Quodsi nec parabola obumbrant evangelii lucem, tanto abest ut sententiae et definitiones, quarum aperta natura est, aliter quam sonant sapiant. Definitionibus autem et sententiis dominus edicit sive iudicium sive regnum dei sive resurrectionem. [7] Tolerabilius erit, inquit, Tyro et Sidoni in die iudicii: et, Dicite illis quod adpropinquaverit regnum dei: et, Retribuetur tibi in resurrectione iustorum. [8] Si nomina absoluta sunt rerum, id est iudicii et regni dei et resurrectionis, ut nihil eorum in parabolam comprimi possit, nec ea in parabolas compellentur quae ad dispositionem et transactionem et passionem regni Iudaici et resurrectionem praedicantur, atque ita corporalia defendentur ut corporalibus destinata, id est non spiritalia quia non figurata. [9] Nam et ideo praestruximus tam corpus animae quam et carnis obnoxium esse mercedibus pro communi operatione pensandis, ne corporalitas animae occasionem subministrans figurarum corporalitatem carnis excludat, cum utramque participem et regni et iudicii et resurrectionis oporteat credi. [10] Et nunc eo pergitur uti corporalitatem carnalem proprie demonstramus a domino significari in omni resurrectionis mentione, salva animali quam et ipsam pauci receperunt.

XXXIV. [1] In primis cum ad hoc venisse se dicit ut quod periit salvum faciat, quid dicis perisse? Hominem sine dubio. Totumne an ex parte? Utique totum, siquidem transgressio, quae perditionis humanae causa est, tam animae instinctu ex concupiscentia quam et carnis actu ex degustatione commissa, totum hominem elogio transgressionis inscripsit atque exinde merito perditionis implevit. [2] Totus itaque salvus fiet qui periit totus delinquendo, nisi si et ovis illa sine corpore amittitur et sine corpore revocatur. Nam si caro quoque eius cum anima, quod pecus totum est, humeris boni pastoris advehitur, ex utraque utique substantia restituendi hominis exemplum est. [3] Aut quam indignum deo dimidium hominem redigere in salutem, paene minus facere <quam faciat homo>, cum etiam saecularium principum plena

semper indulgentia vindicetur. Diabolus validior in hominis iniuriam intellegitur totum eum elidens, deus infirmior renuntiabitur non totum eum relevans? Atquin et apostolus suggerit, ubi delictum abundaverit illic gratiam superabundasse. [4] Quomodo denique salvus habebitur qui poterit et perditus dici? carne scilicet perditus, anima vero salvus, nisi quod iam et anima in perduto constituatur necesse est ut salva effici possit: id enim salvum effici oportebit quod perditum fuerit. [5] Porro aut recipimus animae immortalitatem, ut perdita non in interitum credatur sed in supplicium, id est in gehennam: et si ita est, iam non animam spectabit salus, salvam scilicet suapte natura per immortalitatem, sed carnem potius quam interibilem constat apud omnes: [6] aut si et anima interibilis, id est non immortalis, quod et caro, iam et carni forma illa ex aequo proficere debet proinde mortali et interibili qua id quod perit salvum facturus est dominus. [7] Nolo nunc contentioso fune deducere hac an illac hominem perditio depostulet, dum utrimque eum salus destinet in ambas substantias peraequata. Ecce enim, ex quacunque substantia hominem perisse praesumpseris, ex altera non perit: salvus ergo erit iam ex qua non perit, et salvus nihilominus fiet ex qua perit. [8] Habes totius hominis restitutionem, dum et quodcunque eius perit salvum facturus est dominus et quodcunque non perit utique non erit perditurus. [9] Quid ultra de utriusque substantiae securitate dubitas, cum altera salutem consecutura sit, altera amissura non sit? Et tamen adhuc sensum rei exprimit dominus, Ego dicens veni non ut meam sed ut patris qui me misit faciam voluntatem. Quam? Oro te. Ut omne quod dedit mihi, non perdam ex eo quidquam sed resuscitem illud in novissimo die. [10] Quid a patre Christus acceperat nisi quod et induerat? Hominem sine dubio, carnis animaeque texturam. Neutrum ergo eorum quae accepit perire patietur, immo nec quidquam utriusque, immo nec modicum: quodsi modicum caro, ergo nec carnem quia nec modicum, nec quidquam quia nec quidquam. Atquin si non et carnem resuscitabit novissima die, iam non modicum patietur perire de homine, sed pro tanta dixerim parte prope totum. [11] Ingerens amplius, Hoc est patris voluntas, ut omnis qui aspicit filium et credit in eum habeat vitam aeternam, et suscitem illum novissimo die, plenitudinem exstruit resurrectionis: tribuit enim utrique substantiae per officia propriam mercedem salutis, et carni per quam filius aspiciebatur, et animae per quam credebatur. [12] Ergo, dices, illis erit promissa res a quibus Christus videbatur. Sit plane ita, ut et ad nos eadem spes inde manaverit: nam

si videntibus et idcirco credentibus fructuosa tunc fuerunt opera carnis atque animae, multo magis nobis: feliciores enim qui non vident et credent: quando et si illis negaretur carnis resurrectio, certe felicioribus competisset: quomodo enim felices si ex parte perituri?

XXXV. [1] Sed et praecipit eum potius timendum qui et corpus et animam occidat in gehennam, id est dominum solum, non qui corpus occidant animae autem nihil nocere possint, id est humanas potestates. [2] Adeo hic et anima immortalis natura recognoscitur, quae non possit occidi ab hominibus, et carnis esse mortalitatem, cuius sit occisio, atque ita resurrectionem quoque mortuorum carnis esse, quae in gehennam nisi resuscitata non poterit occidi. [3] Sed quoniam et hic de interpretatione corporis quaestio cavillatur, ego corpus humanum non aliud intellegam quam omnem istam struem carnis, quoquo genere materiarum concinnatur atque variatur, quod videtur, quod tenetur, quod denique ab hominibus occiditur. [4] Sic et parietis corpus non aliud admittam quam caementa, quam saxa, quam lateres. Si quis arcanum aliquod corpus inducit, ostendat revelet probet ipsum etiam esse quod occidatur ab homine, et de illo erit dictum. [5] Item si animae corpus opponitur vacabit astutia: cum enim utrumque proponitur, corpus atque animam, occidi in gehennam, distinguitur corpus ab anima, et relinquitur intellegi corpus id quod in promptu est, caro scilicet, quae sicut occidetur in gehennam si non magis a deo timuerit occidi, ita et vivificabitur in vitam aeternam si maluerit ab hominibus potius interfici. [6] Proinde si quis occisionem carnis atque animae in gehennam ad interitum et finem utriusque substantiae adripiet et non ad supplicium, quasi consumendarum non quasi puniendarum, recordetur ignem gehennae aeternum praedicari in poenam aeternam, et inde aeternitatem occisionis propterea humanae ut temporali praetimendam: [7] tunc et aeternas substantias credet quarum aeterna sit occisio in poenam. Certe cum post resurrectionem corpus cum anima occidi habeat a deo in gehennam, satis de utroque constabit, et de carnali resurrectione et de aeterna occisione. [8] Absurdissimum alioquin si idcirco resuscitata caro occidetur in gehennam ut finiatur, quod et non resuscitata pateretur: in hoc scilicet reficietur ne sit, cui non esse iam evenit. [9] Eidem nos spei fulciens passerum quoque subiungit exemplum, quod ex duobus non cadat alter in terram sine dei voluntate, ut et carnem quae ceciderit in terram proinde credas resurgere posse per eiusdem dei voluntatem. [10] Nam et si passeribus hoc non licet, sed nos multis

passeribus antistamus eo quod cadentes resurgamus, quorum denique capillos capitis omnes numeratos adfirmans salvos utique repromittit. [11] Perituros enim quae ratio in numerum redegisset? Nisi quia hoc est, Ut omne quod pater mihi dedit non perdam ex eo quidquam, id est nec capillum, sicut nec oculum nec deitem. [12] Ceterum unde erit fletus et dentium frendor nisi ex oculis et ex dentibus, occiso scilicet etiam corpore in gehennam et detruso in tenebras exteriores, quae oculorum propria tormenta sunt? — si quis in nuptiis minus dignis operibus fuerit indutus, constringendus statim manibus et pedibus, utpote qui cum corpore resurrexerit. [13] Sic ergo et recumbere ipsum in dei regno et sedere in thronis duodecim et adsistere ad dexteram tunc vel sinistram et edere de ligno vitae corporalis dispositionis fidelissima indicia sunt.

XXXVI. [1] Videamus nunc an et Sadducaeorum versutiam elidens nostram magis sententiam erexerit. Causa opinor quaestionis fuit destructio resurrectionis, siquidem Sadducaei neque animae neque carnis admittunt salutem et ideo, ex qua vel maxime specie resurrectionis fides labefactatur, ex ea argumentum problemati suo accommodaverunt, de carnis scilicet obtentu nupturae necne post resurrectionem, sub eius mulieris persona quae septem fratribus nupta in dubio habebatur cui eorum restitueretur. [2] Porro servantur sensus tam quaestionis quam responsionis, et controversiae occursum est. Si enim Sadducaei quidem respuebant resurrectionem, dominus autem eam confirmabat, et scripturarum ignaros increpans, earum scilicet quae resurrectionem praedicassent, et virtutis dei incredulos, idoneae utique mortuis resuscitandis, [3] postremo subiciens Quoniam autem mortui resurgunt, sine dubio et confirmando esse quod negabatur, id est resurrectionem mortuorum apud deum vivorum, talem quoque eam confirmabat esse qualis negabatur, utriusque scilicet substantiae humanae. [4] Neque enim si nupturos tunc negavit ideo nec resurrecturos demonstravit: atquin filios resurrectionis appellavit, per eam quodammodo nasci habentes post quam non nubent sed resuscitati [5] similes [enim] erunt angelis, qua non nupturi quia nec morituri sed qua transituri in statum angelicum per indumentum illud incorruptibilitatis per substantiae, resuscitatae tamen, demutationem. [6] Ceterum nec quaereretur nupturi sive morituri necne rursus essemus si non eius vel maxime substantiae restitutio in dubium vocaretur quae proprie et morte et nuptiis fungitur, id est carnis. [7] Habes igitur

dominum confirmantem adversus haeticos Iudaeorum quod et nunc negatur apud Sadducaeos Christianorum, solidam resurrectionem.

XXXVII. [1] Sic et si carnem ait nihil prodesse, ex materia dicti dirigendus est sensus. Nam quia durum et intolerabilem existimaverunt sermonem eius, quasi vere carnem suam illis edendam determinasset, et ut in spiritum disponeret statum salutis, praemisit Spiritus est qui vivificat, atque ita subiunxit, Caro nihil prodest, sed ad vivificandum scilicet. [2] Exsequitur etiam quid velit intellegi spiritum, Verba quae locutus sum vobis spiritus sunt, vita sunt: sicut et supra, Qui audit sermones meos et credit in eum qui me misit habet vitam aeternam et in iudicium non veniet sed transiet de morte in vitam.

[3] Itaque sermonem constituens vivificatorem, quia spiritus et vita sermo, eundem etiam carnem suam dixit quia et sermo caro est factus, proinde in causam vitae adpetendus, et devorandus auditu et ruminandus intellectu et fide digerendus. [4] Nam et paulo ante carnem suam panem quoque caelestem pronuntiavit, urgens usquequaque per allegoriam necessariorum pabulorum memoriam patrum qui panes et carnes Aegyptiorum praeverterant divinae vocationi.

[5] Igitur conversus ad recogitatus illorum, quia senserat dispargendos, Caro ait nihil prodest. Quid hoc ad destruendam carnis resurrectionem? Quasi non liceat esse aliquid, quod etsi nihil prodest aliud tamen ei prodesse possit. Spiritus prodest, vivificat enim: caro nihil prodest, mortificatur enim. [6] Itaque secundum nos magis conlocavit utriusque propositionem. Ostendens enim quid prosit et quid non prosit, pariter illuminavit quid cui prosit, spiritum scilicet carni, mortificatae vivificatorem:

[7] Veniet enim inquit hora cum mortui audient vocem filii dei et qui audierint vivent. Quid mortuum nisi caro? Et quid vox dei nisi sermo? Et quid sermo nisi spiritus, merito carnem resuscitaturus quod factus est ipse, et ex morte quam passus est ipse, et ex sepulchro quo inlatus est ipse? [8] Denique cum dicit, Ne miremini, quod veniet hora in qua omnes qui in monumentis sunt audient filii dei vocem, et procedent qui bona fecerunt in vitae resurrectionem, qui mala in resurrectionem iudicii, nemo iam poterit aliud mortuos interpretari qui sunt in monumentis nisi corpora et carnem, quia nec ipsa monumenta aliud quam cadaverum stabula: [9] siquidem et ipsi homines veteres, id est peccatores, id est mortui per ignorantiam dei, quos monumenta intellegendos argumentantur haetici, de monumentis processuri in iudicium aperte praedicantur. [10] Ceterum quomodo de monumentis monumenta procedent?

XXXVIII. [1] Post dicta domini etiam facta eius quid sapere credamus, de capulis, de sepulchris, mortuos resuscitantis? Cui rei istud? Si ad simplicem ostentationem potestatis aut ad praesentem gratiam redanimationis, non adeo magnum aliquid illi denuo morituros suscitare. [2] Enimvero si ad fidem potius sequestrandam futurae resurrectionis, ergo et illa corporalis praescribitur de documentis sui forma. [3] Nec sustinebo dicentes idcirco tunc resurrectionem animae soli destinata in carne quoque decucurrisse quia non potuisset aliter ostendi resurrectio animae invisibilis nisi per visibilis substantiae resuscitationem. [4] Male deum norunt qui non putant illum posse quod non putant. Et tamen sciunt potuisse, si instrumentum Iohannis norunt: qui enim animas adhuc solas martyrum sub altari quiescentes conspectui subdidit, posset utique et resurgentes oculis exhibere sine carne. [5] At ego deum malo decipere non posse, de fallacia solummodo infirmum, ne aliter documenta praemisisse quam rem disposuisse videatur — immo ne, si exemplum resurrectionis sine carne non valuit inducere, multo magis plenitudinem exempli sine eadem substantia exhibere non possit. [6] Nullum vero exemplum maius est eo cuius exemplum est. Maius est autem si animae cum corporibus resuscitabuntur in documentum sine corpore resurgendi, ut tota hominis salus dimidia patrocineretur, quando exemplorum condicio illud potius expeteret quod minus haberetur, animae dico solius resurrectionem, velut gustum carnis etiam resurrecturae suo in tempore. [7] Atque adeo, secundum nostram veritatem, exempla illa mortuorum a domino suscitatorum commendabant quidem et carnis et animae resuscitationem, ne cui substantiae negaretur hoc donum. Qua tamen exempla, eo minus aliquid edebant: non enim in gloriam nec in incorruptibilitatem sed in mortem aliam suscitabantur.

XXXIX. [1] Quam Christus ediderit resurrectionem apostolica quoque instrumenta testantur: nam et apostolis nullum aliud negotium fuit, dumtaxat apud Israel, quam veteris testamenti resignandi et novi consignandi et potius iam dei in Christo contionandi. [2] Ita et de resurrectione nihil novi intulerant, nisi quod et ipsam in gloriam Christi adnuntiabant, de cetero simplici et nota iam fide receptam sine ulla qualitatis quaestione, solis refragantibus Sadducaeis: adeo facilius fuit negari in totum mortuorum resurrectionem quam aliter intellegi. [3] Habes Paulum apud summos sacerdotes sub tribuno inter Sadducaeos et Pharisaeos fidei suae professorem: Viri, inquit, fratres ego Pharisaeus sum, filius Pharisaeorum, de spe nunc et de

resurrectione iudicor apud vos — utique communi, ne, quia iam transgressor legis videbatur, de praecipuo fidei totius articulo, id est de resurrectione, ad Sadducaeos sapere existimaretur. Ita quam nolebat videri rescindere fidem resurrectionis utique confirmabat secundum Pharisaeos, respuens negatores eius Sadducaeos. [4] Proinde et apud Agrippam nihil se ait proferre citra quam prophetae adnuntiassent. Ergo servabat resurrectionem quoque qualem prophetae adnuntiaverant. [5] Nam et de resurrectione mortuorum apud Moysen scriptum commemorans corporalem eam norat, in qua scilicet sanguis hominis exquiri habebit. [6] Itaque talem praedicabat qualem et Pharisei susceperant et dominus ipse defenderat et Sadducaei, ne talem quoque crederent, in totum esse noluerant. [7] Sed nec Atheninses aliam intellexerant a Paulo portendi: denique inriserant, non inrisuri omnino si animae solius restitutionem ab eo audissent: suscepissent enim vernaculae suae philosophiae frequentiore praesumptionem. [8] At ubi iam nationes praeconium resurrectionis inauditae retro ipsa novitate concussit, et digna incredulitas rei tantae quaestionibus fidem torquere coepit, tunc et apostolus per totum paene instrumentum fidem huius spei corroborare curavit, et esse eam ostendens et nondum transactam et, de quo magis quaerebatur, corporalem et, quod insuper dubitabatur, non aliter corporalem.

XL. [1] Nihil autem mirum si et ex ipsius instrumento argumenta captantur, cum oporteat haereses esse: quae esse non possent si non et perperam scripturae intellegi possent. [2] Nactae denique haereses duos homines ab apostolo editos, interiorem, id est animam, et exteriorem, id est carnem, salutem quidem animae, id est interiori homini, exitium vero carni, id est exteriori, adiudicaverunt, quia scriptum est Corinthiis, Nam etsi homo noster exterior corrumpitur, sed interior renovatur die et die. [3] Porro nec anima per semetipsam homo, quae figmento iam homini appellato postea inserta est, nec caro sine anima homo, quae post exilium animae cadaver inscribitur. Ita vocabulum homo consertarum substantiarum duarum quodammodo fibula est, sub quo vocabulo non possunt esse nisi cohaerentes. [4] Porro apostolus interiorem hominem non tam animam quam mentem atque animum intellegi mavult, id est non substantiam ipsam sed substantiae saporem, siquidem Ephesiis scribens in interiorem hominem habitare Christum, sensibus utique intimandum dominum significavit. [5] Denique adiunxit, Per fidem, et In cordibus vestris, et In dilectione, fidem quidem et dilectionem non substantiva

animae ponens sed conceptiva: In cordibus autem dicens, quae substantiva sunt carnis, iam et ipsum interiorem hominem carni deputavit quem in corde constituit. [6] Inspice nunc quomodo exteriorem quidem hominem corrumpi allegarit, interiorem vero renovari die ac die, ne illam corruptelam carnis adfirmes quam ex die mortis in perpetuum defectura patiatur, sed quam in istius vitae spatio ante mortem vexationibus et pressuris, tormentis atque suppliciis, nominis causa *experitur*. [7] Nam et homo interior hic utique renovari habebit, per suggestum spiritus proficiens fide et disciplina die ac die, non illic, id est non post resurrectionem, ubi non utique die ac die renovari habebit sed semel ad summam. [8] De sequentibus disce: Quod enim ad praesens est, inquit, temporale et leve pressurae nostrae, per supergressum in supergressum aeternum gloriae pondus perficit nobis, non intuentibus quae videntur — id est passiones — sed quae non videntur — id est mercedes — : quae enim videntur temporalia sunt, quae vero non videntur aeterna sunt. [9] Pressuras enim et laesuras, quibus corrumpitur homo exterior, ut leves et temporales idcirco contemnendas adfirmat, praeferens mercedum aeternarum et invisibilium et gloriae pondus in compensationem laborum quos hic caro patiendo corrumpitur. [10] Adeo non illa est corruptio quam in perpetuum carnis interitum ad resurrectionem expellendam exteriori homini adscribunt. [11] Sic et alibi, Siquidem ait compatimur uti et conglorificemur: reputo enim non esse dignas passiones huius temporis ad futuram gloriam quae in nos habet revelari. Et hic minora ostendit incommoda praemiis suis. [12] Porro si per carnem compatimur cuius est proprie passionibus corrumpi, eiusdem erit et quod pro compassione promittitur. Atque adeo carni adscripturus pressurarum proprietatem, ut et supra, dicit, Cum venissemus autem in Macedoniam nullam remissionem habuit caro nostra: [13] dehinc, ut et animae daret compassionem, In omnibus inquit compressi, extrinsecus pugnae — debellantes scilicet carnem — intrinsecus timor — afflictae scilicet animae. [14] Adeo etsi corrumpitur homo exterior, non ut amittens resurrectionem sed ut sustinens vexationem corrumpi intellegitur, et hoc non sine interiore. Ita amborum erit etiam conglorificari sicut et compati: secundum collegia laborum consortia quoque decurrant necesse est praemiorum.

XLI. [1] Eandem adhuc sententiam exsequitur remunerationes vexationibus praeferens: Scimus enim, inquit, quoniam etsi terrena domus nostri

tabernaculi dissolvatur, habemus domum non manu factam aeternam in caelis: id est, pro hoc quod dissolvetur caro nostra per passiones, domicilium consecuturi sumus in caelis. [2] Meminerat evangelicae definitionis, Beati qui persecutionem passi fuerint propter iustitiam, quia illorum est regnum caelorum. Non tamen carnis restitutionem negavit si compensationem mercedis opposuit, cum ipsi compensatio debeatur cui dissolutio reputatur, scilicet carni: [3] sed quia domum dixerat carnem, eleganter voluit et in mercedis comparatione vocabulo domus uti, ipsi domui quae dissolvetur per passionem meliorem domum repromittens per resurrectionem. Nam et dominus multas mansiones quasi domos apud patrem repromittit. [4] Quanquam et de domicilio mundi potest intellegi, quo dissoluto aeterna sedes repromittatur in caelis, quia et quae sequuntur ad carnem manifeste pertinentia ostendunt priora non ad carnem pertinere: [5] divisionem enim facit apostolus cum subicit, Nam et in hoc gemimus, domicilium nostrum quod de caelo est superinduere desiderantes, siquidem et exuti non nudi inveniemur: id est, ante volumus superinduere virtutem caelestem aeternitatis quam carne exuamur. [6] Huius enim gratiae privilegium illos manet qui ab adventu domini deprehenduntur in carne et propter duritias temporum antichristi merebuntur compendio mortis per demutationem expunctae concurrere cum resurgentibus, sicut Thessalonicensibus scribit: [7] Hoc enim dicimus vobis in sermone domini, quod nos qui vivimus, qui remanemus in adventum domini, non praeveniemus eos qui dormierunt: quoniam ipse dominus in iussu et voce et tuba dei descendet de caelo: et mortui in Christo resurgent primi, dehinc nos cum ipsis simul rapiemur in nubibus obviam Christo et ita semper cum domino erimus.

XLII. [1] Horum demutationem ad Corinthios reddit dicens, Omnes quidem resurgemus, non autem omnes demutabimur, in atomo, in momentaneo motu oculi, in novissima tuba: sed illi scilicet soli qui invenientur in carne: Et mortui, inquit, resurgent et nos demutabimur. [2] Hac ergo prius dispositione prospecta reliqua revocabis ad superiorem sensum. Nam cum adicit, Oportet etenim corruptivum istud induere incorruptelam et mortale istud induere immortalitatem, hoc erit illud domicilium de caelo quod gementes in hac carne superinduere desideramus, utique super carnem in qua deprehendemur, quia gravari nos ait qui simus in tabernaculo, quod nolimus exui sed potius superindui, uti devoretur mortale a vita, scilicet dum demutatur superinduendo

quod est de caelis. [3] Quis enim non desiderabit dum in carne est superinduere immortalitatem, et continuare vitam lucrifacta morte per vicariam demutationem, ne inferos experiatur usque novissimum quadrantem exacturos? ceterum demutationem etiam post resurrectionem consecuturus est inferos iam expertus. [4] Abhinc enim iam definimus carnem omnimodo quidem resurrecturam, atque illam ex demutatione superventura habitum angelicum suscepturam: [5] aut si in his solis qui inveniuntur in carne demutari eam oportebit ut devoretur mortale a vita, id est caro ab illo superindumento caelesti et aeterno, ergo qui mortui deprehenduntur vitam non consequuntur, privati iam materia et ut ita dixerim esca vitae, id est carne: aut necesse est recipiant eam et illi, ut et in ipsis mortale devorari possit a vita, si vitam sunt consecuturi. [6] Sed in mortuis, inquis, iam devoratum erit mortale istud. Non utique in omnibus: quantos enim licebit vel pridianos inveniri, tam recentia cadavera ut nihil in illis devoratum videri possit? [7] Utique enim devoratum non aliud existimas quam interceptum, quam abolitum, quam omni sensui ereptum, quod comparere omni genere cessaverit. Nec gigantum autem antiquissima cadavera devorata constabit quorum crates adhuc vivunt: diximus iam de isto alibi. [8] Sed et proxime in ista civitate cum *odei* fundamenta tot veterum sepulchrorum sacrilega collocarentur, quingentorum fere annorum ossa adhuc succida et capillos olentes populus exhorruit. Constat non tantum ossa durare verum et dentes incorruptos perennare, quae ut semina retinentur fructificaturi corporis in resurrectione. [9] Postremo etsi tunc devoratum invenietur mortale in omnibus mortuis, certe a morte, certe ab aevo, certe per aetatem, numquid a vita, numquid a superindumento, numquid ab immortalitatis ingestu? [10] Porro qui <ab> his ait devoratum iri mortale, ab aliis negavit: et utique hoc a divinis viribus, non a naturalibus legibus perfici praestarique conveniet. [11] Ergo cum a vita habeat devorari quod mortale est, id exhiberi omnifariam necesse est ut devoretur, et devorari ut demutetur: si ignem dicas accendi oportere, non potes id per quod accenditur alibi necessarium adfirmare alibi non. [12] Sic et cum infulcit, Siquidem exuti non inveniuntur nudi, de eis scilicet qui non in vita nec in carne deprehenduntur a die domini, non alias negavit nudos quos praedixit exutos nisi quia et revestitos voluit intellegi eadem substantia qua fuerant spoliati: [13] ut nudi enim inveniuntur carne deposita vel ex parte discissa sive detrita — et hoc enim nuditas potest dici: dehinc recipient eam, ut reinduti carne fieri possint

etiam superinduti immortalitatem: superindui enim nisi vestito iam convenire non poterit.

XLIII. [1] Proinde cum dicit, Itaque confisi semper, et scientes quod cum immoramur in corpore peregrinamur a domino: per fidem enim ambulamus, non per speciem: manifestum est hoc quoque non pertinere ad offuscationem carnis quasi separantis nos a domino: [2] et hic enim exhortatio fastidiendae vitae huius obvertitur, siquidem peregrinamur a domino quamdiu vivimus, per fidem incedentes non per speciem, id est spe non re. [3] Et ideo subiungit, Fidentes autem et boni ducentes magis peregrinari a corpore et immorari ad dominum, scilicet ut per speciem magis incedamus quam per fidem, per rem potius quam per spem. [4] Vides quam et hic corporum contemptum ad martyriorum praestantiam referat: nemo enim peregrinatus a corpore statim immoratur penes dominum nisi ex martyrii praerogativa, paradiso scilicet, non inferis, deversurus. [5] Defecerant autem apostolo verba ad significandum de corpore excessum, an ratione etiam nove loquitur? Temporalem enim absentiam a corpore volens significare peregrinari nos ab eo dixit, quoniam qui peregrinatur etiam revertetur in domicilium. [6] Exinde iam ad omnes, Gestimus, inquit, sive peregrinantes sive immorantes placibiles esse deo: omnes enim manifestari nos oportet pro tribunali Christi Iesu. Si omnes, et totos: si omnes, et interiores et exteriores, id est tam animas quam et corpora. Ut unusquisque, inquit, reportet quae per corpus secundum quae gessit, bonum sive malum. [7] Hoc iam quomodo legas quaero: quasi turbate enim per hyperbaton struxit: utrumne ‘quae per corpus reportanda erunt’ an ‘quae per corpus gesta sunt’? [8] Sed et si ‘quae per corpus reportanda sunt’, corporalis indubitate resurrectio est: et si ‘quae per corpus gesta sunt’, per corpus utique pensanda sunt per quod et gesta sunt. [9] Ita totus hic a capite tractatus apostoli, tali clausula detextus qua carnis resurrectio ostenditur, secundum haec erit intellegendus quae cum clausula consonant.

XLIV. [1] Si enim adhuc ad superiora respectes unde mentio hominis exterioris et interioris inducta est, nonne et dignitatem et spem carnis integram invenies? [2] Cum enim de lumine quod illuxerit deus in cordibus nostris ad illuminationem agnitionis gloriae suae in persona Christi, dicit habere nos thesaurum istum in testaceis vasis, scilicet in carne, utrumne quia testacea est secundum originem ex limo destruetur, an quia divini thesauri conditorium est extolletur? [3] Atquin si lumen ipsum dei illud verum quod est in persona

Christi vitam in se continet, eaque vita committitur cum lumine in carnem, peritura est in quam vita committitur? Plane, si periturus et ipse thesaurus: perituris enim peritura creduntur, sicut veteribus utribus novum vinum. [4] Cum item subicit, Semper mortificationem Christi Iesu circumferentes in corpore nostro, qualis ista res est, quae post dei templum iam et sepulchrum Christi potest dici? [5] Cur autem mortificationem domini circumferimus in corpore? Ut et vita, inquit, manifestetur. Ubi? In corpore. In quo? In mortali. Ergo in carne, plane mortali secundum culpam sed et vitali secundum gratiam — vide quantam, ut in illa vita Christi manifestetur. [6] In re ergo aliena salutis, in substantia perpetuae dissolutionis, manifestabitur vita Christi aeterna iugis incorrupta, iam et dei vita? Aut cuius temporis vita domini manifestabitur in corpore nostro? [7] Illa quidem quam vixit usque in passionem, non modo apud Iudaeos in manifesto fuit verum etiam omnibus nunc gentibus prodita est. Adeo eam significat quae portas adamantinas mortis et aeneas seras inferorum infregit, quae exinde iam nostra est. [8] Denique manifestabitur in corpore. Quando? Post mortem. Quomodo? Dum resurgimus in corpore, sicut et Christus. Ne enim quis argumentetur nunc habere manifestari vitam Iesu in corpore nostro per disciplinam sanctitatis et patientiae et iustitiae et sapientiae quibus domini vita floruit, providentissima apostoli intentio suggerit, [9] Si enim nos qui vivimus in mortem tradimur propter Iesum, ut et vita eius manifestetur in corpore nostro mortali: adeo defunctis nobis hoc ait futurum in corpore nostro. Quodsi tunc, quomodo nisi resuscitato eo? [10] Proinde et in clausula, Scientes ait quod qui suscitavit Iesum, et nos suscitabit cum ipso: quia iam resurrexit a mortuis: nisi quia ‘cum ipso’ ‘sicut ipsum’ sapit. Si vero sicut ipsum, non utique sine carne.

XLV. [1] Sed et rursus alia caecitate in duos homines impingunt, in veterem et in novum, monente apostolo deponere nos veterem hominem qui corruptitur per concupiscentias seductionis, renovari autem spiritu sensus et induere novum hominem qui secundum deum conditus est in iustitia et religione veritatis, ut et hic ad duas substantias distinguendo, vetustatem ad carnem, novitatem ad animam, corruptionem perpetuam veteri defendant, id est carni. [2] Porro si secundum substantias, nec anima novus homo quia posterior, nec caro ideo vetus quia prior: quantum enim temporis inter manum dei et adflatum? [3] Ausim dicere, etiam si multo prior anima caro, eo ipso quod anima impleri se expectavit priorem eam fecit: omnis enim

consummatio atque perfectio, etsi ordine postumat, effectu anticipat: magis illud prius est sine quo priora non possunt. [4] Si caro vetus homo, quando istud? A primordio? atquin Adam novus totus, et ex novo vetus nemo. Nam et exinde a benedictione geniturae caro atque anima simul fiunt sine calculo temporis, ut quae simul in utero seminantur, quod docuimus in commentario animae: [5] contemporant fetu, coetant natu: duos istos homines, sane ex substantia duplici, non tamen et aetate, sic unum edunt dum prior neutra est. Citius est totos nos aut veteres aut novos esse: qua enim alterum possumus esse, nescimus. [6] Sed apostolus veterem hominem manifeste notat: Expone, enim inquit, secundum pristinam conversationem veterem hominem, non secundum alicuius substantiae senium. Neque enim carnem praecipit deponamus, sed quae et alibi carnalia ostendit, opera non corpora accusans. [7] De quibus et hic subicit, Deponentes mendacium loquimini veritatem unusquisque ad proximum suum, quoniam membra alterutrum sumus. [8] Irascimini autem et nolite delinquere: sol non occidat super iracundiam vestram, neque dederitis diabolo locum. [9] Qui furabatur iam non furetur, immo potius laboret operando manibus, ut habeat impertire indigenti. [10] Omnis sermo turpis non procedat ex ore vestro, sed qui sit optimus ad aedificationem fidei, ut gratiam audientibus praestet. [11] Et nolite contristare spiritum dei sanctum, in quo signati estis in redemptionis diem. [12] Omnis amaritudo et ira et clamor et blasphemia auferatur a vobis cum omni malitia: [13] estote autem in alterutrum benigni misericordes, donantes invicem sicut et deus vobis donavit in Christo. [14] Igitur, qui carnem veterem hominem existimant cur non mortem sibi properant ut vetere homine deposito praeceptis apostoli occurrant? [15] Nos enim, qui totam fidem in carne administrandam credimus, immo et per carnem, cuius est et os ad proferendum optimum quemque sermonem et lingua ad non blasphemandum et cor ad non indignandum et manus ad operandum et largiendum, tam vetustatem hominis quam novitatem ad moralem non ad substantialem differentiam defendimus. [16] Atque ita pariter agnoscimus hominem qui secundum pristinam conversationem vetus fuerit, eundem et corrumpi ita dictum secundum concupiscentias seductionis quemadmodum et veterem secundum pristinam conversationem, non secundum carnem per interitum perpetuum, ceterum salva carne tam salvum quam eundem, utpote vitiosam disciplinam, non corpulentiam, exutum.

XLVI. [1] Talem ubique apostolum recognoscas, ita carnis opera damnantem ut carnem damnare videatur, sed ne ita quis existimet ex aliorum vel cohaerentium sensuum suggestu procurantem. [2] Nam et dicens eos qui in carne sunt deo placere non posse, statim de pravo intellectu ad integrum revocat adiciens, Vos autem non estis in carne sed in spiritu. [3] Eos enim quos in carne esse constabat negando in carne esse, in operibus carnis non esse monstrabat, atque ita illos demum deo placere non posse, non qui in carne essent sed qui carnaliter viverent, placere autem illos deo qui in carne positi secundum spiritum incederent. [4] Et rursus corpus quidem ait mortuum, sed propter delinquentiam, sicut spiritum vitam propter iustitiam: vitam autem morti opponens in carne constitutae, sine dubio illic et vitam repromisit ex iustitia ubi mortem determinavit ex delinquentia. [5] Ceterum frustra opposuit vitam morti <si> non est illic ubi est ipsa cui eam opposuit, excludendae utique de corpore. Porro si vita mortem de corpore excludit, non potest id perficere nisi illud penetret ubi est quod excludit. [6] Et quid ego nodosius, cum apostolus absolutius? Si enim, inquit, spiritus eius qui suscitavit Iesum habitat in vobis, qui suscitavit Iesum a mortuis suscitabit et mortalia corpora vestra propter inhabitantem spiritum eius in vobis: [7] ut et si animam quis corpus mortale praesumpserit, cum hoc et carnem negare non possit carnis quoque resuscitationem cogatur agnoscere secundum eiusdem status communionem. [8] Ex sequentibus adhuc discas opera carnis damnari, non ipsam: Itaque, fratres, ait, debitores sumus non carni ad vivendum <secundum carnem>: si enim secundum carnem vixeritis futurum est ut moriamini, si vero spiritu carnis actus mortificaveritis vivetis. [9] Porro, ut ad singula quaeque respondeam, si in carne constitutis secundum spiritum tamen degentibus salus repromittitur, iam non caro adversatur saluti sed operatio carnis: operatione autem carnis exclusa, quae causa est mortis, salva iam caro ostenditur, causa carens mortis. [10] Lex enim, inquit, spiritus vitae in Christo Iesu manumisit me a lege delinquentiae et mortis — certe quam praemisit habitare in membris nostris. Ergo iam membra nostra legi mortis non tenebuntur, quia nec delinquentiae, a quibus manumissa sunt. [11] Quod enim invalidum erat legis, in quo infirmabatur per carnem, misso deus filio suo in simulacro carnis delinquentiae et per delinquentiam, damnavit delinquentiam in carne — non carnem in delinquentia: neque enim domus cum habitatore damnabitur: habitare enim peccatum dixit in corpore nostro. [12] Damnata

autem delinquentia caro absoluta est, sicut indemnata ea legi mortis et delinquentiae obstricta est. Sic etsi sensum carnis mortem appellavit, dehinc et inimicitiam ad deum, sed non carnem ipsam. [13] Cui ergo, dices, reputabitur sensus carnis si non substantiae ipsi? Plane, si probaveris aliquid carnem de suo sapere. Si vero sine anima nullius est sensus, intelleges sensum carnis ad animam esse referendum, carni interdum deputatum quia propter carnem et per carnem administratur. [14] Et ideo habitare ait delinquentiam in carne, quia et anima a qua delinquentia inducitur inquilina est carnis, mortificatae quidem, sed non suo verum delinquentiae nomine. [15] Nam et alibi, Quomodo, inquit, etiam nunc velut viventes in mundo sententiam fertis? — non ad mortuos scribens sed ad eos qui desinere deberent mundialiter vivere.

XLVII. [1] Haec enim erit vita mundialis quam veterem hominem dicit confixum esse Christo, non corporalitatem sed moralitatem. Ceterum si non ita accipimus, non est corporalitas nostra confixa, nec crucem Christi caro nostra perpressa est, sed quemadmodum adiecit, Ut evacuetur corpus delinquentiae, per emendationem vitae, non per interitum substantiae: sicut ait, Uti hactenus delinquentiae serviamus, ut et hac ratione commortui in Christo credamus quod etiam convivemus illi. [2] Sic, enim inquit, et vos reputate mortuos quidem vos. Cuinam? Carni? Non, sed delinquentiae. Ergo salvi erunt carni, viventes autem deo in Christo Iesu, per carnem utique cui mortui non erunt, delinquentiae scilicet mortui, non carni. [3] Nam et adhuc ingerit, Ne ergos regnaverit in corpore vestro mortali delinquentia ad obaudiendum illi et ad exhibendum membra vestra arma iniustitiae delinquentiae: sed exhibete vosmetipsos deo velut ex mortuis vivos — non velut vivos sed velut ex mortuis vivos — et membra vestra arma iustitiae. [4] Et rursus: Sicut exhibuistis membra vestra famula immunditiae et iniquitatis ad iniquitatem, ita et nunc exhibete membra vestra famula iustitiae in sanctificium: cum enim servi essetis delinquentiae liberi eratis iustitiae: [5] quem ergo fructum habebatis super his de quibus nunc confundimini? [6] Finis enim illorum mors. Nunc vero liberi facti a delinquentia, famulati autem deo, habetis fructum vestrum in sanctificium, finem autem vitam aeternam: [7] stipendia enim delinquentiae mors, donativum autem dei vita aeterna in Christo Iesu domino nostro. [8] Ita per totam hanc sensuum seriem ab iniustitia et delinquentia membra nostra divellens, et iustitiae et sanctimoniae

adiungens, et transferens eadem a stipendio mortis ad donativum vitae aeternae, carni utique compensationem salutis repromittit: [9] cui nullam omnino competisset imperari propriam sanctimoniae et iustitiae disciplinam si non ipsius esset et praemium disciplinae, sed nec ipsum baptisma committi si per regenerationem non etiam restitutioni inauguraretur, [10] hoc quoque apostolo ingerente: An ignoratis quod quicumque in Iesum tincti sumus in mortem eius tincti sumus? Consepulti ergo illi sumus per baptisma in mortem, uti quemadmodum surrexit Christus a mortuis ita et nos in novitate vitae incedamus. [11] Ac ne de ista tantum vita putes dictum quae ex fide post baptisma in novitate vivenda est, providentissime adstruit, Si enim consati sumus simulacro mortis Christi, sed et resurrectionis erimus: [12] per simulacrum enim morimur in baptisate, sed per veritatem resurgimus in carne, sicut et Christus: Ut sicut regnavit in morte delictum, ita et gratia regnet per iustitiam in vitam sempiternam per Iesum Christum dominum nostrum. Quomodo ‘ita’, si non aequae in carne? [13] Ubi enim mors, ibi et vita post mortem, quia et vita ibi ante ubi postea mors. Nam si regnum mortis nihil operatur quam carnis dissolutionem, proinde vitam contrariam morti contrarium oportet operari, id est carnis redintegrationem, ut sicut devoraverat mors invalescendo, ita et mortali devorato ab immortalitate audire possit, Ubi est mors aculeus tuus, ubi est mors contentio tua? [14] Sic enim et gratia illic superabundabit ubi et iniquitas abundavit: sic et virtus in infirmitate perficietur, quod periit salvum faciens, quod mortuum est vivificans, quod percutsum est sanans, quod languit medicans, quod ereptum est redimens, quod famulatum est liberans, quod seductum est revocans, quod elisum est suscitans, [15] et quidem de terra in caelum, ubi nostrum municipatum Philippenses quoque ab apostolo discunt, unde et salutificatorem nostrum expectamus Iesum Christum, qui transfigurabit corpus nostrae humilitatis conformale corpori gloriae suae — sine dubio post resurrectionem, quia nec ipse Christus glorificatus est ante passionem. [16] Haec erunt corpora nostra quae Romanos obsecrat exhibere hostiam vivam sanctam placibilem deo. Quomodo ‘vivam’ si peritura sunt? quomodo ‘sanctam’ si profana sunt? Quomodo ‘placibilem’ si damnata sunt? [17] Age nunc, quod ad Thessalonicenses ut ipsius solis radio putem scriptum, ita claret, qualiter accipient lucifugae isti scripturarum? Ipse autem deus pacis sanctificet vos totos. Non sufficit? [18] Sed et exsequitur, Et integrum corpus vestrum et

anima et spiritus sine querela conserventur in praesentia domini. Habes omnem substantiam hominis saluti destinata, nec alio tempore quam in adventu domini qui clavis est resurrectionis.

XLVIII. [1] Sed caro, inquis, et sanguis regnum dei hereditate possidere non possunt. Scimus hoc quoque scriptum, sed de industria distulimus hucusque, ut quod adversarii in prima statim acie obstruunt in ultima congressione prosterneremus, omnibus quaestionibus quasi auxiliis eius ante disiectis. [2] Sed et nunc expetent praecedentia recognosci, ut et huic sensui sua origo praeiudicet. Ut opinor, apostolus disposita ad Corinthios omni distinctione ecclesiasticae disciplinae, summam et sui evangelii et fidei illorum in dominicae mortis et resurrectionis demandatione concluderat, ut et nostrae spei regulam inde deduceret unde constaret. [3] Itaque subicit: Si autem Christus praedicatur quod a mortuis resurrexit, quomodo quidam dicunt in vobis resurrectionem mortuorum non esse? [4] Quae si non est, nec Christus resurrexit. Si Christus non resurrexit, inanis est praedicatio nostra, inanis est et fides vestra. Inveniemur etiam falsi testes dei, qui testimonium dixerimus quod resuscitaverit Christum quem non resuscitavit. [5] Nam si mortui non resurgunt nec Christus resurrexit: si Christus non resurrexit vana est fides vestra, quia adhuc in delictis vestris estis, et qui in Christo dormierunt perierunt. [6] Per haec cui nos rei credendae videtur extruere? Resurrectioni, inquis, mortuorum quae negabatur. Certe sub exemplo dominicae resurrectionis volens eam credi? Certe, inquis. Exemplum porro ex diversitate an ex paritate componitur? [7] Utique, inquis, ex paritate. Quomodo autem Christus resurrexit, in carne an non? Sine dubio si mortuum, si sepultum audis secundum scripturas, non alias quam in carne, aequae resuscitatum in carne concedis: ipsum enim quod cecidit in morte, quod iacuit in sepultura, hoc et resurrexit, non tam Christus in carne quam caro in Christo. [8] Igitur si ad exemplum Christi resurgemus qui resurrexit in carne, iam non ad exemplum Christi resurgemus si non in carne et ipsi resurgemus. Quia per hominem, inquit, mors, et per hominem resurrectio: ut separaret quidem auctores, mortis Adam Christum resurrectionis, eiusdem autem constitueret substantiae resurrectionem cuius et mortem per ipsorum auctorum in nomine hominis comparisonem: [9] si enim sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur ita et in Christo omnes vivificabuntur, carne vivificabuntur in Christo sicut in Adam carne moriuntur: [10] unusquisque autem in suo ordine, scilicet quia et in suo

corpore. Ordo enim meritorum dispositorum nomine disponetur. Merita autem cum corpori quoque adscribantur, ordo quoque corporum disponatur necesse est, ut possit esse meritorium. [11] Si autem et baptizantur quidam pro mortuis, videbimus an ratione. Certe illa praesumptione hoc eos instituisse portendit qua alii etiam carni ut vicarium baptisma profuturum existimarent ad spem resurrectionis, quae nisi corporalis non alias in baptismo corporali obligaretur. Quid et ipsos baptizari ait <si mortui non resurgunt>, id est si non quae baptizantur corpora resurgent: anima enim non lavatione sed responsione sancitur. [12] Quid et nos, inquit, omni hora periclitamur? — utique per carnem. Cotidie morior — utique periculis carnis, per quam et depugnavit ad bestias Ephesi, illas scilicet bestias Asiaticae pressurae de qua in secunda ad eosdem, Nolumus enim vos ignorare, fratres, de pressura nostra apud Asiam, quod super quam supra gravati sumus citra vires, uti et de vita haesitaremus. [13] Omnia haec, nisi fallor, eo enumerat ut nolens vanam credi carnis conflictationem indubitate velit credi carnis resurrectionem: vana enim habenda est conflictatio eius cuius nulla erit resurrectio. [14] Sed dicet quis, quomodo resurgent mortui? Quo autem corpore venient? Iam hic de qualitatibus corporum disserit, an eadem ipsa an alia resumantur: sed cum eiusmodi quaestio posterior habeatur, sufficiet interim ex hoc quoque genere corporalem definiri resurrectionem, cum de qualitate corporum quaeritur.

XLIX. [1] Ventum est nunc ad carnem et sanguinem, <cardinem> revera totius quaestionis: quas substantias quali condicione exheredaverit apostolus a dei regno aequae de antecedentibus discere est. [2] Primus, inquit, homo de terra choicus — id est limaceus, id est Adam: Secundus homo de caelo — id est sermo dei, id est Christus, non alias tamen homo, licet de caelo, nisi quia et ipse caro atque anima, quod homo, quod Adam. [3] Nam et supra novissimus Adam dictus, de consortio substantiae commercium nominis traxit, quia nec Adam ex semine caro, quod et Christus. [4] Qualis ergo choicus tales et choici, et qualis caelestis tales et caelestes. Substantia tales? An primo disciplina, dehinc et dignitate quam disciplina captavit? atquin substantia nullo modo separabuntur choici atque caelestes, semel ab apostolo homines dicti. [5] Si enim et Christus, solus vere caelestis, immo et supercaelestis, homo tamen qua caro atque anima, nihilo ex ista substantiarum condicione a choica qualitate discernitur, proinde et qui caelestes secundum illum non de substantia praesenti sed de futura claritate caelestes praedicati intelleguntur:

quia et retro, unde distinctio ista manavit, de dignitatis differentia ostensa est alia supercaelestium gloria, alia superterrenorum, et alia solis, alia lunae, alia stellarum, quia et stella a stella differt in gloria, non tamen in substantia. [6] Denique praemissa differentia dignitatis in eadem substantia et nunc sectandae et tunc capessendae, subiungit etiam exhortationem ut et hic habitum Christi sectemur ex disciplina, et illic fastigium consequamur ex gloria: Sicut portavimus imaginem choici, portemus etiam imaginem supercaelestis: portavimus enim imaginem choici per collegium transgressionis, per consortium mortis, per exilium paradisi. [7] Nam si et in carne hic portatur imago Adae, sed non carnem monemur exponere: si non carnem, ergo conversationem, ut proinde et caelestis imaginem gestemus in nobis, non iam dei, nec iam in caelo constituti, sed secundum liniamenta Christi incedentes in sanctitate et iustitia et veritate. [8] Atque adeo ad disciplinam totum hoc dirigit ut hic dicat portandam imaginem Christi in ista carne et in isto tempore disciplinae: ‘portemus’ enim praeceptivo modo dicens huic tempori loquitur in quo homo nulla alia substantia est quam caro et anima, ut etsi quam aliam, id est caelestem, substantiam haec fides spectat, huic tamen repromissa sit cui ad illam elaborare mandatur. [9] Cum igitur imaginem et choici et caelestis in conversatione constituat, illam eierandam hanc vero sectandam, dehinc adiungat Hoc enim dico (id est ‘propter ea quae supra dixi’: — coniunctio est ‘enim’, sensus supplementum antecedentibus reddens) quod caro et sanguis regnum dei hereditate possidere non possunt, [10] nihil aliud intellegi mandat carnem et sanguinem quam supradictam imaginem choici: quae si in conversatione censetur vetustatis, conversatio autem vetustatis non capit dei regnum, proinde caro et sanguis non capiendi dei regnum ad conversationem rediguntur vetustatis. [11] Plane si nunquam apostolus pro operibus substantiam posuit, nec hic ita utatur: si vero in carne adhuc constitutos negavit esse in carne, in operibus carnis negans esse, formam eius subruere non debes non substantiam sed opera substantiae alienantis a dei regno. [12] Quibus etiam ad Galatas manifestatis praedicere se et praedixisse profitetur quod qui talia agant regnum dei non sint in hereditate consecuturi, non portantes scilicet imaginem caelestis sicut portaverant choici, ideoque ex vetere conversatione nihil aliud deputandi quam caro et sanguis. [13] Nam et si subito in hanc definitionem erupisset apostolus eliminandi carnem et sanguinem a dei regno, sine ullius supra sensus praestruccione,

nonne duas istas substantias proinde veterem hominem interpretaremur carni et sanguini deditum, id est esui et potui, cuius sit dicere adversus fidem resurrectionis, Manducemus et bibamus, cras enim moriemur? Et hoc enim infulciens apostolus carnem et sanguinem de fructibus ipsorum manducandi et bibendi suggillavit.

L. [1] Sed et omissis huiusmodi interpretationibus carnis et sanguinis opera taxantibus, ipsas quoque substantias non aliter quam sunt intellectas licebit resurrectioni vindicare. [2] Non enim resurrectio carni et sanguini directo negatur, sed dei regnum quod obvenit resurrectioni: est autem et in iudicium resurrectio. Immo et confirmatur carnis resurrectio generalis cum specialis excipitur: dum enim in quem statum non resurgat edicitur, in quem resurgat subauditur. [3] Atque ita dum pro meritis distinctionem resurrectionis opus substantiae non genus patitur, apparet hinc quoque carnem et sanguinem nomine culpaе non substantiae arceri a dei regno, nomine tamen formae resurgere in iudicium quia non resurgant in regnum. [4] Adhuc dicam, Caro et sanguis regnum dei hereditate possidere non possunt: merito sola et per semetipsa, ut ostenderet adhuc spiritum in illis necessarium. Spiritus enim est qui vivificat in regnum dei, caro nihil prodest: prodesse tamen illi aliud potest, id est spiritus, et per spiritum opera quoque spiritus. [5] Resurgunt itaque ex aequo omnis caro et sanguis in qualitate sua: sed quorum est adire regnum dei induere oportebit vim incorruptibilitatis et immortalitatis, sine qua regnum dei adire non possunt, antequam consequi eam possint. Merito ergo caro et sanguis, ut diximus, sola regnum dei capere deficiunt. [6] Iam vero cum devorari habeat corruptivum istud ab incorruptibilitate, id est caro, et mortale istud ab immortalitate, id est sanguis, post resurrectionem ex demutatione, merito demutata ac devorata caro et sanguis regnum dei hereditate possidere possunt, non tamen non resuscitata. [7] Sunt qui carnem et sanguinem Iudaismum velint accipi propter circumcisionem, alienum et ipsum a dei regno, quia et ille vetustati deputetur et hoc titulo iam et alibi ab apostolo denotetur, qui post revelatum in se filium dei ad evangelizandum eum in nationibus statim non rettulerit ad carnem et sanguinem, id est ad circumcisionem, id est ad Iudaismum, sicut ad Galatas scribit.

LI. [1] Sed pro omnibus iam stabit quod in clausulam reservavimus, etiam pro apostolo ipso, revera maximae inconsiderantiae revincendo si tam abrupte, ut quidam volunt, clausis quod aiunt oculis, sine distinctione, sine

condicione, omnem passim carnem et sanguinem a regno dei extrusit, utique ab ipsa regia caelorum, cum illic adhuc sedeat Iesus ad dexteram patris, homo etsi deus, Adam novissimus etsi sermo primarius, caro et sanguis etsi nostris puriora, idem tamen et substantia et forma qua ascendit, talis etiam descendurus, ut angeli adfirmant, agnoscendus scilicet et eis qui illum convulneraverunt. [2] Hic sequester dei atque hominum appellatus ex utriusque partis deposito commissio sibi, carnis quoque depositum servat in semetipso, arrabonem summae totius. Quemadmodum enim nobis arrabonem spiritus reliquit, ita et a nobis arrabonem carnis accepit et vexit in caelum, pignus totius summae illuc quandoque redigendae. [3] Securae estote, caro et sanguis: usurpastis et caelum et regnum dei in Christo: aut si negent vos in Christo, negent et in caelo Christum qui vobis caelum negaverunt. [4] Ita Nec corruptela, inquit, incorruptelam hereditati habebit: non ut carnem et sanguinem existimes corruptelam, quando ipsa sint potius obnoxia corruptelae, per mortem scilicet, siquidem mors est quae carnem et sanguinem non modo corrumpit verum etiam consumit: [5] sed quoniam opera carnis et sanguinis non posse consequi regnum dei edixerat, quo magis hoc exaggeraret ipsi quoque corruptelae, id est morti cui carnis et sanguinis opera proficiunt, hereditatem incorruptelae ademittit. [6] Nam et paulo post ipsius mortis quodammodo mortem expressit, Devorata est, dicens, mors in contentione: ubi est mors aculeus tuus? ubi est mors potentia tua? Aculeus autem mortis delinquentia — haec erit corruptela: virtus autem delinquentiae lex — illa alia sine dubio quam constituit in membris suis militantem adversus legem animi sui, ipsam scilicet vim delinquendi contra voluntatem. [7] Nam et si supra novissimum inimicum mortem evacuari ait, hoc modo nec corruptela hereditatem incorruptelae consequetur, id est, nec mors perseverabit. [8] Quando et quomodo defectura? Cum in atomo, in momentaneo oculi motu, in novissima tuba, et mortui resurgent incorrupti — qui hi nisi qui ante corrupti, id est corpora, id est caro et sanguis? Et nos demutabimur — de qua habitudine nisi in qua deprehendemur? Oportet enim corruptivum istud induere incorruptelam et mortale istud induere immortalitatem — quid mortale nisi caro? Quid corruptivum nisi sanguis? [9] Ac ne putes aliud sentire apostolum, providentem sibi et ut de carne intellegas laborantem, cum dicit ‘istud corruptivum’ et ‘istud mortale’ cutem ipsam tenens dicit: certe ‘istud’ nisi de subiecto, nisi de comparenti,

pronuntiasset non potuit: demonstrationis corporalis est verbum. [10] Aliud autem erit corruptivum aliud corruptela, et aliud mortale aliud mortalitas: aliud enim quod patitur, aliud quod pati efficit. Ita quae patiuntur corruptelam et mortalitatem, caro scilicet et sanguis, ea necesse est patiantur et incorruptelam et immortalitatem.

LII. [1] Videamus iam nunc quo corpore venturos mortuos disputet. Et bene quod erupit statim ostendere, quasi quis eiusmodi quaerat. Stulte, inquit, tu quod seminas non vivificatur nisi mortuum fuerit. [2] Hoc ergo iam de exemplo seminis constet, non aliam vivificari carnem quam ipsam quae erit mortua, et ita sequentia relucebunt. [3] Nihil enim adversus regulam exempli licebit intellegi, ne, quia sequitur, Et quod seminas non corpus quod futurum est seminas, idcirco aliud resurrecturum corpus quam quod moriendo seminatur existimes. [4] Ceterum excidisti ab exemplo: nunquam enim frumento seminato et in terra dissoluto hordeum erumpit, et non idipsum genus grani eademque natura et qualitas et forma. Denique unde, si non idipsum? Et corruptela enim ipsum est, dum ipsius est. [5] Non enim et suggerit quomodo non quod futurum est corpus seminetur, dicens Sed nudum granum, si forte frumenti vel alicuius eiusmodi: deus autem dat ei corpus prout vult — certe ei grano quod nudum seminari ait? Certe, inquis. [6] Ergo salvum est cui dare habet deus corpus. Quomodo autem salvum est si nusquam est, si non resurgit, si non idipsum resurgit? Si non resurgit salvum non est: si non est salvum accipere corpus a deo non potest. [7] Sed enim salvum omni modo constat. Ad quid ergo dabit illi deus prout vult corpus, habenti utique proprium corpus illud nudum, nisi ut iam non *nudum* resurgat? Ergo additiciu erit corpus quod corpori superstruitur, nec exterminatur illud cui superstruitur, sed augetur. [8] Salvum est autem quod augetur. Seritur enim solummodo granum, sine folliculi veste, sine fundamento spicae, sine munimento aristae, sine superbia culmi: exsurgit autem copia feneratum, compagine aedificatum, ordine structum, cultu munitum, et usquequaque vestitum. [9] Haec sunt ei corpus a deo aliud, in quod non abolitione sed ampliatione mutatur: et unicuique seminum suum corpus deputavit non suum, id est non pristinum, ut tunc et illud suum sit quod extrinsecus a deo acquirit. [10] Servi igitur exemplo et conserva speculum eius carni, eandem credens fructificaturam quae sit seminata, ipsam etsi plenior, non aliam etsi aliter revertentem: accipiet enim et ipsa suggestum et ornatum qualem et illi deus voluerit superducere

secundum merita. [11] Sine dubio ad hoc dirigit, Non omnis caro eadem caro, non ad denegandam substantiae communionem sed praerogativae peraequationem, corpus honoris non generis in differentiam redigens. [12] In hoc et figurata subicit exempla animalium et elementorum: Alia caro hominis, id est servi dei qui vere homo est: Alia iumentis, id est ethnici de quo et propheta Adsimilatus est, inquit, homo irrationabilibus iumentis: Alia caro volatilium, id est martyrum qui ad superiora conantur: Alia piscium, id est quibus aqua baptismatis sufficit. [13] Sic et de supercaelestibus corporibus argumenta committit: Alia gloria solis, id est Christi: Et alia lunae, id est ecclesiae: Et alia stellarum, id est seminis Abrahae: et Stella enim a stella differt in gloria . . . et corpora terrena et caelestia, Iudaeos scilicet et Christianos. [14] Ceterum si non figurate, satis vane mulorum et milvorum carnes et corpora caelestium luminum apposit humanis, non pertinentia ad condicionis comparisonem sicut nec ad resurrectionis consecutionem. [15] Postremo, cum per haec differentiam gloriae non substantiae conclusisset, Sic inquit et resurrectio mortuorum. Quomodo? Non de alio aliquo sed de sola gloria differens. [16] Rursus enim resurrectionem ad eandem substantiam revocans, et ad granum denuo spectans, Seminatur inquit in corruptela resurgit in incorruptela, seminatur in dedecoratione resurgit in gloria, seminatur in infirmitate resurgit in virtute, seminatur corpus animale resurgit spiritale. [17] Certe non aliud resurgit quam quod seminatur, nec aliud seminatur quam quod dissolvitur humi, nec aliud dissolvitur humi quam caro: hanc enim sententia dei elisit, Terra es et in terram ibis, quia et de terra erat sumpta. [18] Hinc et apostolus concepit seminari eam dicere cum redhibetur in terram, quia et seminibus sequestratorium terra est illic deponendis et inde repetendis: ideoque et reconsignat imprimens, Sic enim scriptum est, ne aliud existimes seminari quam, In terram ibis ex qua es sumptus. Sic nec alterius quam carnis: sic enim scriptum est.

LIII. [1] Sed corpus animale animam quidam argumentantur, ut illum a carne avocent recidivatum. Porro cum constet fixumque sit illud resurrecturum corpus quod fuerit seminatum, ad ipsius rei exhibitionem provocabuntur. [2] Aut ostendant animam seminatam post mortem, id est mortuam, id est humi elisam disiectam dissolutam, quod in illam decretum a deo non est: proponant corruptelam eius et dedecorationem, infirmitatem, ut ipsius sit etiam exurgere in incorruptelam et in gloriam et in virtutem. [3] Sed

enim in Lazaro, praecipuo resurrectionis exemplo, caro iacuit in infirmitate, caro paene computruit in dedecorationem, caro interim putuit in corruptionem, et tamen Lazarus caro resurrexit, cum anima quidem, sed incorrupta, quam nemo vinculis lineis strinxerat, nemo in sepulchro collocarat, nemo foetere iam senserat, nemo quadriduo viderat seminatam. [4] Totum habitum, totum exitum Lazari omnium quoque caro hodie experitur, anima vero nullius. In qua ergo stilus apostoli comparet, de qua eum loqui constat, ea erit et corpus animale cum seminatur, et spiritale cum suscitatur. [5] Nam ut ita intellegas manum adhuc porrigit, aequae de eiusdem scripturae auctoritate factum retexens primum hominem Adam in animam vivam. [6] Si Adam homo primus, caro autem homo ante animam, sine dubio caro erit facta in animam: facta porro in animam, cum esset corpus, utique animale corpus est facta. [7] Quid eam appellari velint quam quod per animam facta est, quam quod ante animam non fuit, quam quod post animam non erit nisi cum resurgit? Recepta enim anima rursus animale corpus efficitur, ut fiat spiritale: non enim resurgit nisi quod fuit. [8] Ita unde carni competit corpus animale dici, inde animae nullo modo competit. Caro enim ante corpus quam animale corpus: animata enim postea, facta est corpus animale. [9] Anima vero etsi corpus, tamen quia ipsa est corpus non animatum sed animans potius, animale corpus non potest dici, nec fieri quod facit. [10] Alii enim accedens facit illud animale: non accedens autem alii quomodo se facit animale? Sicut ergo ante animale corpus caro recipiens animam, ita et postea spiritale induens spiritum. [11] Hunc ordinem apostolus disponens, in Adam quoque et in Christo eum merito distinguit ut in capitibus distinctionis ipsius. [12] Sed cum et Christum novissimum Adam appellat, hinc eum recognosce ad carnis, non ad animae, resurrectionem omnibus doctrinae viribus operatum. Si enim et primus homo Adam caro non anima, qui denique in animam vivam factus est, et novissimus Adam Christus ideo Adam quia homo, ideo homo quia caro non quia anima, [13] atque ita subiungit, Non primum quod spiritale sed quod animale, postea quod spiritale, secundum utrumque Adam, ecquid tibi videtur corpus animale et corpus spiritale in eadem carne distinguere, cuius distinctionem in utroque Adam, id est in utroque homine, praestruxit? [14] Ex qua enim substantia pariant inter se Christus et Adam — scilicet ex carne, licet et ex anima: sed carnis nomine homo uterque sunt: prior enim caro homo — ex illa et ordinem admittere potuerunt ut alter primus alter novissimus

homo, id est Adam, deputarentur. [15] Ceterum diversa in ordinem disponi non possunt, de substantia dumtaxat: de loco enim aut tempore aut condicione forsitan possint. Hic autem de substantia carnis primus et novissimus dicti sunt, sicut et rursus primus homo de terra et secundus de caelo: quia etsi de caelo secundum spiritum, sed homo secundum carnem. [16] Itaque cum carni conveniat ordo in utroque Adam, non animae, ut primus homo in animam vivam novissimus in spiritum vivificantem distincti sunt, aequae distinctio eorum carni distinctionem praeiudicavit, ut de carne sit dictum, Non primum quod spiritale sed quod animale, postea quod spiritale, [17] atque ita eadem sit et supra intellegenda, et quae seminetur corpus animale et quae resurgat corpus spiritale, quia non primum quod spiritale sed quod animale, quia primus Adam in animam novissimus Adam in spiritum: totum de homine, totum de carne quando de homine. [18] Quid ergo dicemus? Nonne et nunc habet caro spiritum ex fide, ut quaerendum sit quomodo corpus animale dicatur seminari? Plane accepit hic spiritum caro, sed arrabonem, animae autem non arrabonem sed plenitudinem. Itaque etiam propterea, substantiae nomine animale corpus nuncupata est in qua seminetur, futura proinde per plenitudinem spiritus insuper spiritale, in qua resuscitatur. Quid mirum si magis inde vocata est unde conferta est quam unde *respersa* est?

LIV. [1] Ita de vocabulorum occasionibus plurimum quaestiones subornantur, sicut et de verborum communionibus. Nam quia et illud apud apostolum positum est, Uti devoretur mortale a vita, caro scilicet, devorationem quoque ad perditionem scilicet carnis adripiunt, quasi non et bilem et dolorem devorare dicamur, id est abscondere et tegere et intra nosmetipsos continere. [2] Denique cum et illud scriptum sit, Oportet mortale hoc induere immortalitatem, ostenditur quomodo mortale devoretur a vita, dum indutum immortalitate absconditur et tegitur et intus continetur, non dum assumitur et amittitur. [3] Ergo et mors, inquis, salva erit cum fuerit devorata. Ideo discerne pro sensibus communionem verborum, et integre intelleges. Aliud enim mors et aliud mortale: aliter itaque devorabitur mors et aliter mortale. Mors non capit immortalitatem, mortale autem capit. [4] Denique et scriptum est quod necesse est mortale hoc induere immortalitatem. Quomodo ergo capit? Dum devoratur a vita. Quomodo devoratur a vita? Dum recipitur et redigitur et includitur in ipsam. Ceterum mors merito in interitum devoratur quia et ipsa in hoc devorat. [5] Devoravit, inquit, mors invalescendo:

et ideo devorata est in contentionem: Ubi est mors aculeus tuus? Ubi est mors contentio tua? Proinde et vita, mortis scilicet aemula, per contentionem devorabit in salutem quod per contentionem suam devoraverat mors in interitum.

LV. [1] Quanquam igitur resurrecturam carnem probantes hoc ipso non aliam resurrecturam probemus quam de qua agitur, tamen singulae quaestiones et causae earum proprios quoque flagitant congressus, licet aliunde iam caesae. [2] Interpretabimur itaque plenius et vim et rationem demutationis, quae ferme subministrat alterius carnis resurrecturae praesumptionem, quasi demutari desinere sit in totum et de pristino perire. [3] Discernenda est autem demutatio ab omni argumento perditionis: aliud enim demutatio aliud perditio. Porro non aliud, si ita demutabitur caro ut pereat. Peribit autem demutata, si non ipsa permanserit in demutatione quae exhibita fuerit in resurrectione. [4] Quemadmodum enim perit si non resurgit, ita et si resurgit quidem verum in demutatione subducitur, aequae perit: aequae enim non erit ac si non surrexerit. Et quam ineptum si in hoc resurgit ut non sit, quae potuit non surrexisse *ne esset*, quia non esse iam coeperat. [5] Non miscebuntur omnino diversa, mutatio atque perditio, operibus utique diversa: perdit haec, illa mutat. Quomodo ergo quod perditum est mutatum non est, ita quod mutatum est perditum non est. [6] Perisse enim est in totum non esse quod fuerit: mutatum esse aliter esse est. Porro dum aliter est, idipsum potest esse. Habet enim esse quod non omnino perit: mutationem enim passum est, non perditionem. [7] Atque adeo potest et demutari quid et ipsum esse nihilominus, ut et totus homo in hoc aevo substantia quidem ipse sit multifariam tamen demutetur, et habitu et ipsa corpulentia et valetudine et condicione et dignitate et aetate, studio negotio artificio, facultatibus sedibus legibus moribus, nec quicquam tamen amittat hominis, nec ita alius efficiatur ut cesset idem esse, immo nec alius efficiatur sed aliud. [8] Hanc formam demutationis divina etiam documenta testantur. Mutatur Moysi manus, et quidem ad instar emortuae exsanguis et exalbida et frigida: sed et recepto calore et refuso colore eadem caro et sanguis est. Mutatur postea et facies eiusdem incontemplabili claritate: sed Moyses erat proinde qui non videbatur. [9] Sic et Stephanus angelicum iam fastigium induerat: sed non alia genua in lapidatione succiderant. [10] Dominus quoque in secessu montis etiam vestimenta luce mutaverat, sed liniamenta Petro agnoscibilia servaverat: ubi

etiam Moyses et Helias, alter in imagine carnis nondum receptae, alter in veritate nondum defunctae, eandem tamen habitudinem corporis etiam in gloria perseverare docuerant. [11] De quo exemplo instructus et Paulus, Qui transfigurabit, inquit, corpus humilitatis nostrae conformale corpori gloriae suae. Quodsi et transfigurationem et conversionem in transitum substantiae cuiusque defendis, ergo et Saul in alium virum conversus de corpore suo excessit, [12] et ipse Satanas, cum in angelum lucis transfiguratur, qualitatem suam amittit. Non opinor. Ita et in resurrectionis eventu mutari converti reformari licebit cum salute substantiae.

LVI. [1] Etenim quam absurdum, quam vero et iniquum, utrumque autem quam deo indignum, aliam substantiam operari aliam mercede dispungi, ut haec quidem caro per martyria lanietur, alia vero coronetur, item e contrario haec quidem caro in spurcitiis volutetur, alia vero damnetur. [2] Nonne praestat omnem semel fidem a spe resurrectionis abducere quam de gravitate atque iustitia dei ludere — Marcionem pro Valentino resuscitari — [3] quando neque mentem neque memoriam neque conscientiam hominis hodierni credibile sit aboleri per indumentum illud mutatorium immortalitatis et incorruptelae, vacaturo scilicet emolumento et fructu resurrectionis et statu divini utrobique iudicii? [4] Si non meminerim me esse qui merui, quomodo gloriam deo dicam? Quomodo canam illi novum canticum, nesciens me esse qui gratiam debeam? Cur autem solius carnis demutatio excipitur, non et animae simul, quae in omnibus praefuit carni? [5] Quale est ut eadem anima quae in hac carne totum vitae ordinem decucurrit, quae in hac carne deum didicit et Christum induit et spem salutis seminavit, in alia nescioqua metat fructum? Nae illa gratiosissima caro, cui gratis vita constabit. Quodsi non et anima mutabitur, iam nec animae resurrectio est: nec ipsa enim resurrexisse credetur si non alia resurrexerit.

LVII. [1] Hinc iam illa vulgaris incredulitatis argutia est. Si, inquiunt, ipsa eademque substantia revocatur cum sua forma linea qualitate, ergo et cum insignibus suis reliquis: itaque et caeci et claudi et paralytici, et ut quis insignis excesserit ita et revertetur. [2] Quid nunc et si ita? Dedignaris tantam gratiam qualiscumque a deo consequi? Non enim et nunc animae solius admittens salutem dimidiatis hominibus eam adscribis? Quid est credere resurrectionem, nisi integram credere? Si enim caro de dissolutione reparabitur, multo magis de vexatione revocabitur. [3] Minoribus maiora

praescribunt. Cuiuscumque membri detruncatio vel obtusio nonne mors membri est? Si universalis mors resurrectione rescinditur, quid portionalis? Si demutamur in gloriam, quanto magis in incolumitatem? [4] Vitiatio corporum accidens res est, integritas propria est. In hac nascimur. Etiam si in utero vitemur, iam hominis est passio: prius est genus quam casus. [5] Quomodo vita confertur a deo, ita et refertur: quales eam accipimus, tales et recipimus. Naturae non iniuriae reddimur: quod nascimur, non quod laedimur, revivescimus. [6] Si non integros deus suscitatur, non suscitatur mortuos. Quis enim mortuus integer, etsi integer moritur? Quis incolumis qui exanimis? Quod corpus inlaesum cum interemptum, cum frigidum, cum expallidum, cum edurum, cum cadaver? Quando magis homo debilis, nisi cum totus? Quando magis paralyticus, nisi cum immobilis? Ita nihil aliud est mortuum resuscitari quam integrum fieri, ne ex ea parte mortuus adhuc sit ex qua non resurrexerit. [7] Idoneus deus reficere quod fecit. Hanc suam et potestatem et liberalitatem satis iam in Christo spondit: immo et ostendit non tantum resuscitorem carnis verum etiam redintegratorem. [8] Atque adeo et apostolus, Et mortui, inquit, resurgent incorrupti: quomodo, nisi integri qui retro corrupti tam vitio valetudinis quam et senio sepulturae? [9] Nam et supra utrumque proponens, oportere et corruptivum istud induere incorruptelam et mortale istud immortalitatem, non iteravit sententiam sed differentiam demandavit: immortalitatem enim ad rescissionem mortis, incorruptelam ad obliterationem corruptelae dividendo, alteram ad resurrectionem alteram ad redintegrationem temperavit. Puto autem et Thessalonicensibus omnis substantiae integritatem repromisit. [10] Itaque nec in posterum timebuntur corporum labes: nihil poterit admittere integritas vel conservata vel restituta, ex quo illi etiam si quid amiserat redditur. [11] Praescribens enim adhuc easdem passiones obituram carnem si eadem resurrectura dicatur, naturam adversus dominum suum temere defendis, legem adversus gratiam impie adseris, quasi deo minus liceat et mutare naturam et sine lege servare. Quo ergo legimus, Quae impossibilia apud homines possibilia apud deum: et, Stulta mundi elegit deus ut sapientia mundi confundat? [12] Oro te, si famulum tuum libertate mutaveris, quia eadem caro atque anima permanebunt quae flagellis et compedibus et stigmatibus obnoxiae retro fuerant, idcircone illas eadem pati oportebit? Non opinor: atquin et vestis albae nitore et anuli aurei honore et patroni nomine ac tribu mensaque honoratur. [13] Permite hanc et deo

potestatem per vim illius demutationis condicionem non naturam reformandi, dum et passiones auferuntur et munitiones conferuntur. Ita manebit quidem caro etiam post resurrectionem eatenus passibilis qua ipsa, qua eadem, et tamen impassibilis quia in hoc ipsum manumissa a domino ne ultra pati possit.

LVIII. [1] Iocunditas, inquit Esaias, aeterna super caput eorum: nihil aeternum nisi post resurrectionem: Aufugit, inquit, dolor et maeror et gemitus ab illis. [2] Proinde et Iohanni angelus, Et delebit deus omnem lacrimam ab oculis eorum: utique ex isdem oculis qui retro fleverant quique adhuc flere potuissent si non omnem lacrimae imbrem indulgentia divina siccasset. [3] Et rursus, Deus enim delebit omnem lacrimam ab oculis eorum, et mors hactenus: igitur et corruptela hactenus, proinde per incorruptelam fugata quemadmodum mors per immortalitatem. [4] Si dolor et maeror et gemitus ipsaque mors ex laesuris et animae et carnis obveniunt, quomodo auferentur nisi cessaverint causae, scilicet laesurae carnis atque animae? [5] Ubi casus adversi apud deum, ubi incursus infesti apud Christum? Ubi daemonici impetus apud spiritum sanctum, iam et ipso diabolo cum angelis suis ignibus merso? Ubi necessitas, aut quod dicitur fortuna vel fatum? Quae resuscitatis plaga post veniam, quae reconciliatis ira post gratiam? Quae infirmitas post virtutem, quae imbecillitas post salutem? [6] Quod vestimenta et calciamenta filiorum Israelis quadraginta illis annis indetrita et inobsoleta manserunt, quod et in ipsis corporibus unguium et capillorum facilia crementa habilitatis et dignitatis iustitia defixit ne etiam enormitas corruptelae deputeretur, [7] quod Babylonii ignes trium fratrum nec tiaras nec sarabara quanquam Iudaeis aliena laeserunt, [8] quod Ionas devoratus a belua maris in cuius alvo naufragia de die digerebantur triduo post incolumis exspuitur, [9] quod hodie Enoch et Helias, nondum resurrectione dispuncti quia nec morte functi, qua tamen de orbe translati et hoc ipso iam aeternitatis candidati, ab omni vitio et ab omni damno et ab omni iniuria et contumelia immunitatem carnis ediscunt: cuinam fidei testimonium signant nisi qua credi oportet haec futurae integritatis esse documenta? [10] Figurae enim nostrae fuerunt, apostolo auctore, quae scripta sunt ut et deum potentioorem credamus omni corporum lege, et carnis magis utique et conservatorem cuius etiam vestimenta etiam calciamenta protexit.

LIX. [1] Sed futurum inquis aevum alterius est dispositionis et aeternae: igitur huius aevi substantiam non aeternam diversa possidere non posse.

Plane, si homo propter dispositionem futuram, et non dispositio propter hominem. [2] Sedenim apostolus scribens, Sive mundus sive vita sive mors sive futura sive praesentia, omnia vestra sunt, eosdem constituit heredes etiam futurorum. Nihil tibi largitur Esaias dicens Omnis caro foenum, et alibi Et videbit omnis caro salutare dei: exitus, non substantias, distinxit. [3] Quis enim iudicium dei non in sententia duplici statuit salutis et poenae? Omnis igitur caro foenum quae igni destinatur, et omnis caro videbit salutare domini quae saluti ordinatur. Ego me scio neque alia carne adulteria commisisse, neque nunc alia carne ad continentiam eniti. [4] Si quis est bina pudenda circumferens, potest iam et demere foenum carnis immundae et solam sibi reservare quae visura sit domini salutare. [5] Sed cum idem propheta etiam nationes ostendat nunc deputatas velut pulverem et salivam, nunc speraturas et credituras in nomen et in brachium domini, numquid et de nationibus fallimur, et aliae quidem sunt crediturae aliae in pulverem deputatae, ex diversitate substantiae? [6] Sed et Christus intra oceanum, et de isto caelo quod nobis incubat, verum lumen nationibus obfulsit: et ipsi Valentiniani hic errare didicerunt: nec alia erit forma nationum credentium nisi quae et non credentium, de carne de anima. [7] Sicut ergo easdem nationes non genere sed sorte distinxit, ita et carnes, quae in ipsis nationibus una substantia est, non materia sed mercede disiungit.

LX. [1] Ecce autem, ut adhuc controversiam exaggerent carni, maxime eidem, de officiis quoque membrorum argumentantur, aut et ipsa dicentes permanere debere cum suis operibus et fructibus, ut eidem corpulentiae adscripta, aut quia constet decessura esse officia membrorum corpulentiam quoque eradunt, cuius scilicet perseverantia credenda non sit utique sine membris, quia nec membra credenda sint sine officiis. [2] Quo enim iam, inquiunt, spelunca haec oris et dentium statio et gulae lapsus et compitum stomachi et alvei gurgis et intestinorum perplexa proceritas, cum esui et potui locus non erit? Quo huiusmodi membra admittunt subigunt devolvunt dividunt digerunt egerunt, quo manus ipsae et pedes et operarii quique artus, cum victus etiam cura cessabit? [3] Quo renes conscii seminum, et reliqua genitalium utriusque sexus, et conceptuum stabula et uberum fontes, decessuro concubitu et fetu et educatu? Postremo quo totum corpus, totum scilicet vacaturum? [4] Ad haec ergo praestruximus non oportere committi futurorum atque praesentium dispositiones, intercessura tunc demutatione: et

nunc superstruimus officia ista membrorum necessitatibus vitae huius eo usque consistere donec et ipsa vita transferatur a temporalitate in aeternitatem, sicut animale corpus in spiritale, dum mortale istud induit immortalitatem et corruptivum istud incorruptelam. [5] Et ipsa autem liberata tunc vita a necessitatibus, liberabuntur et membra ab officiis: nec ideo non erunt necessaria: licet enim officiis liberentur, sed iudiciis detinentur ut quis referat per corpus prout gessit. [6] Salvum enim hominem tribunal dei exigit: salvum vero sine membris non licet, etenim ex quorum non officiis sed substantiis constat, nisi forte et navem sine carina sine prora sine puppi sine compaginis totius incolumitate salvam adseverabis. [7] Et tamen navem, procella dissipatam vel carie dissolutam, redactis et recuratis omnibus membris eandem saepe conspeximus etiam titulo restitutionis gloriantem: de dei artificio et arbitrio et iure torquebimur? [8] Porro si dives dominus et liberalis, adfectui aut gloriae suae praestans solam navis restitutionem, hactenus eam voluerit operari, idcirco tu negabis necessariam illi compaginem pristinam ut exinde iam vacaturam, cum soli saluti navis sine operatione conveniat? [9] Igitur hoc tantummodo discere sufficit, an deus hominem saluti destinando carnem destinavit, an eandem velit denuo esse. Quam non debebis ex futura membrorum vacatione praescribere denuo esse non posse: licet enim esse quid denuo et nihilominus vacare. Nec potest autem dici vacare si non sit. Atenim si sit, poterit et non vacare: nihil enim apud deum vacabit.

LXI. [1] Sed accepisti, homo, os ad vorandum atque potandum: cur non potius ad eloquendum, ut a ceteris animalibus distes? Cur non potius ad praedicandum deum, et etiam hominibus antistes? Denique Adam ante nomina animalibus enuntiavit quam de arbore decerpsit, ante etiam prophetavit quam voravit. [2] Sed accepisti dentes ad macellum corrodendum: cur non potius ad omnem hiatum et rictum tuum coronandum, cur non potius ad pulsus linguae temperandos, ad vocis articulos offensione signandos? Denique et edentulos et audi et vide, ut honorem oris et organum dentium quaeras. [3] Forata sunt inferna in viro et in femina, nimirum qua libidines fluent: cur non magis qua potuum defluxus colentur? Est adhuc feminis intus quo semina congerantur: an quo sanguinis onera secedant quem pigrior sexus discutere non sufficit? [4] Dicenda enim et haec, quatenus quae volunt et quorum volunt et qualiter volunt officia membrorum ludibriose de industria suffundendae resurrectionis oblatrant, non recogitantes ipsas prius causas

necessitatis tunc vacaturas, cibi famem et potus sitim et concubitus genituram et operationis victum. Sublata enim morte neque victus fulcimenta ad subsidia vitae neque generis subparatura gravis erit membris. [5] Ceterum et hodie vacare intestinis et pudendis licebit: quadraginta diebus Moyses et Helias ieiunio functi solo deo alebantur: iam tunc enim dedicabatur, Non in pane vivet homo sed in dei verbo. ecce virtutis futurae liniamenta. [6] Nos quoque, ut possumus, os <a> cibo excusamus, etiam sexum a congressione subducimus. Quot spadones voluntarii, quot virgines Christi maritae, quot steriles utriusque naturae infructuosis genitalibus structi! [7] Nam si et hic iam vacare est et officia et emolumenta membrorum temporali vacatione, ut in temporali dispositione, nec homo tamen minus salvus est, proinde homine salvo, et quidem magis tunc ut in aeterna dispositione, magis non desiderabimus quae iam hic non desiderare consuevimus.

LXII. [1] Sed huic disceptationi finem dominica pronuntiatio imponet: Erunt, inquit, tanquam angeli: si non nubendo quia nec moriendo, utique nec ulli simili necessitati succidendo corporalis condicionis, quia et angeli aliquando tanquam homines fuerunt edendo et bibendo et pedes lavacro porrigendo: humanam enim induerant superficiem salva intus substantia propria. [2] Igitur si angeli, facti tanquam homines, in eadem substantia spiritus carnalem tractationem susceperunt, cur non et homines, facti tanquam angeli, in eadem substantia carnis spiritalem subeant dispositionem, [3] non magis sollemnibus carnis obnoxii sub angelico indumento quam angeli sollemnibus spiritus sub humano, nec ideo non permansuri in carne quia non in sollemnibus carnis, cum nec angeli ideo non et in spiritu permanserint quia non et in sollemnibus spiritus? [4] Denique non dixit, ‘erunt angeli’, ne homines negaret, sed ‘tanquam angeli’, ut homines conservaret: non abstulit substantiam, cui similitudinem attribuit.

LXIII. [1] Resurget igitur caro, et quidem omnis, et quidem ipsa, et quidem integra. In deposito est ubicunque apud deum per fidelissimum sequestrem dei et hominum Iesum Christum, qui et homini deum et hominem deo reddet, carni spiritum et spiritui carnem, qui utrumque iam in semetipso foederavit, sponsam sponso et sponsum sponsae comparavit. [2] Nam et si animam quis contenderit sponsam, vel dotis nomine sequetur animam caro: non erit anima prostituta, ut nuda suscipiatur a sponso: habet instrumentum, habet cultum, habet mancipium suum carnem: ut collactanea comitabitur. [3] Sed caro est

sponsa, quae in Christo Iesu spiritum sponsum per sanguinem passa est. Huius interitum quem putas, secessum scias esse. Non sola anima seponitur: habet et caro secessus suos interim, in aquis in ignibus in alitibus in bestiis. [4] Cum in haec dissolvi videtur, velut in vasa transfunditur. Si etiam ipsa vasa defecerint, cum de illis quoque effluxerit in suam matricem terram, quasi per ambages resorbebitur, ut rursus ex illa repraesentetur Adam auditurus a domino: Ecce Adam factus est tanquam unus ex nobis: vere tunc compos mali quod evasit, et boni quod invasit. Quid, anima, invides carni? [5] Nemo tam proximus tibi, quem post deum diligas: nemo magis frater tuus quam quae tecum etiam in deo nascitur. [6] Tu potius illi exorare debueras resurrectionem: per te, si forte, deliquit. Sed nihil mirum si odisti cuius auctorem quoque respuisti, quam et in Christo aut negare aut mutare consuevisti, proinde et ipsum sermonem dei qui caro factus est vel stilo vel interpretatione corrumpens, arcana etiam apocryphorum superducens, blasphemiae fabulas. [7] Atenim deus omnipotens, adversus haec incredulitatis et perversitatis ingenia providentissima gratia sua effundens in novissimis diebus de suo spiritu in omnem carnem, in servos suos et ancillas, et fidem laborantem resurrectionis carnalis animavit et pristina instrumenta manifestis verborum et sensuum luminibus ab omni ambiguitatis obscuritate purgavit. [8] Nam quia haereses esse oportuerat ut probabiles quique manifestentur, hae autem sine aliquibus occasionibus scripturarum audere non poterant, idcirco pristina instrumenta quasdam materias illis videntur subministrasse, et ipsas quidem isdem litteris revincibiles. [9] Sed quoniam nec dissimulare spiritum sanctum oportebat quominus et huiusmodi eloquiis superinundaret quae nullis haeticorum versutiis semina subspargerent, immo et veteres eorum caespites vellerent, idcirco iam omnes retro ambiguitates et quantas volunt parabolas aperta atque perspicua totius sacramenti praedicatione discussit per novam prophetiam de paraceto inundantem. [10] Cuius si hauseris fontem, nullam poteris sitire doctrinam, nullus te ardor exuret quaestionum: resurrectionem quoque carnis usquequaque potando refrigeraberis.

Adversus Praxean (Against Praxeas)

CAPUT 1. [1] Varie diabolus aemulatus est veritatem. adfectavit illam aliquando defendendo concutere. unicum dominum vindicat, omnipotentem mundi conditorem, ut et de unico haeresim faciat. ipsum dicit patrem descendisse in virginem, ipsum ex ea natum, ipsum passum, denique ipsum esse Iesum Christum. excidit sibi coluber, quia Iesum Christum post baptisma Ioannis temptans ut filium dei adgressus est, certus filium deum habere vel ex ipsis scripturas de quibus tunc temptationem struebat: [2] Si tu es filius dei, dic ut lapides isti panes fiant ; item, Si tu es filius dei, deice te hinc; scriptum est enim quod mandavit angelis suis super te, utique pater, ut te manibus suis tollant necubi ad lapidem pedem tuum offendas. [3] aut numquid mendacium evangeliis exprobrabit dicens, Viderit Matthaeus et Lucas; ceterum ego ad ipsum deum accessi, ipsum omnipotentem cominus temptavi ideo et accessi, ideo et temptavi ; ceterum si filius dei esset nunquam illum fortasse dignarer? sed enim ipse potius a primordio mendax est, et si quem hominem de suo subornavit, ut Praxean. [4] nam iste primus ex Asia hoc genus perversitatis intulit Romam, homo et alias inquietus, insuper de iactatione martyrii inflatus ob solum et simplex et breve carceris taedium, quando etsi corpus suum tradidisset exurendum nihil profecisset, dilectionem dei non habens cuius charismata quoque expugnavit. [5] nam idem tunc episcopum romanum, agnoscentem iam prophetias Montani, Priscæ, Maximillæ, et ex ea agnitione pacem ecclesiis Asiae et Phrygiae inferentem, falsa de ipsis prophetis et ecclesiis eorum adseverando et praecessorum eius auctoritates defendendo coegit et litteras pacis revocare iam emissas et a proposito recipiendorum charismatum concessare. ita duo negotia diaboli Praxeas Romae procuravit, prophetiam expulit et haeresim intulit, paracletum fugavit et patrem crucifixit. [6] fruticaverant avenae Praxeanae hic quoque superseminatae, dormientibus multis in simplicitate doctrinae: traductae dehinc per quem deus voluit, etiam evulsae videbantur. denique caverat pristinum doctor de emendatione sua, et manet chirographum apud psychicos apud quos tunc gesta res est. [7] exinde silentium. et nos quidem postea agnitio paracleti atque defensio disiunxit a psychicis. avenae vero illae ubique tunc semen excusserant: ita aliquamdiu per hypocrisin subdola vivacitate latitavit et nunc denuo erupit. sed et denuo eradicabitur, si voluerit dominus, in isto commeatu: si quo minus, die suo

colligentur omnes adulterae fruges et cum ceteris scandalis igni inextinguibili cremabuntur.

CAPUT 2. [1] Itaque post tempus pater natus et pater passus, ipse deus dominus omnipotens, Iesus Christus praedicatur. nos vero et semper, et nunc magis ut instructiores per paracletum, deductorem scilicet omnis veritatis, unicum quidem deum credimus, sub hac tamen dispensatione, quam oikonomi/an dicimus, ut unici dei sit et filius, sermo ipsius qui ex ipso processerit, per quem omnia facta sunt et sine quo factum est nihil: hunc missum a patre in virginem et ex ea natum hominem et deum, filium hominis et filium dei, et cognominatum Iesum Christum: hunc passum, hunc mortuum et sepultum secundum scripturas, et resuscitatum a patre et in caelo resumptum sedere ad dexteram patris venturum iudicare vivos et mortuos: qui exinde miserit, secundum promissionem suam, a patre spiritum sanctum paracletum, sanctificatorem fidei eorum qui credunt in patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum. [2] hanc regulam ab initio evangelii decucurrisse, etiam ante priores quosque haereticos nedum ante Praxean hesternum, probabit tam ipsa posteritas omnium haereticorum quam ipsa novellitas Praxeae hesterni. quo peraeque adversus universas haereses iam hinc praeiudicatum sit id esse, verum quodcunque primum, id esse adulterum quodcunque posterius. [3] sed salva ista praescriptione ubique tamen propter instructionem et munitionem quorundam dandus est etiam retractatibus locus, vel ne videatur unaquaeque perversitas non examinata sed praeiudicata damnari, maxime haec quae se existimat meram veritatem possidere dum unicum deum non alias putat credendum quam si ipsum eundemque et patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum dicat: [4] quasi non sic quoque unus sit omnia dum ex uno omnia, per substantiae scilicet unitatem, et nihilo minus custodiatur oikonomi/aj sacramentum quae unitatem in trinitatem disponit, tres dirigens patrem et filium et spiritum, tres autem non statu sed gradu, nec substantia sed forma, nec potestate sed specie, unius autem substantiae et unius status et unius potestatis, quia unus deus ex quo et gradus isti et formae et species in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti deputantur. quomodo numerum sine divisione patiuntur procedentes tractatus demonstrabunt.

CAPUT 3. [1] Simples enim quique, ne dixerim imprudentes et idiotae, quae maior semper credentium pars est, quoniam et ipsa regula fidei a pluribus diis saeculi ad unicum et verum deum transfert, non intellegentes

unicum quidem sed cum sua oeconomia esse credendum, expavescunt ad oeconomiam. numerum et dispositionem trinitatis divisionem praesumunt unitatis, quando unitas ex semetipsa derivans trinitatem non destruat ab illa sed administretur. itaque duos et tres iam iactitant a nobis praedicari, se vero unius dei cultores praesumunt, quasi non et unitas irrationaliter collecta haeresim faciat et trinitas rationaliter expensa veritatem constituat. [2] Monarchiam, inquiunt, tenemus et ita sonum ipsum vocaliter exprimunt etiam Latini, et tam opifice ut putes illos tam bene intellegere monarchiam quam enuntiant; sed monarchiam sonare student Latini, oikonomi/an intellegere nolunt etiam Graeci. at ego, si quid utriusque linguae praecepsi, monarchiam nihil aliud significare scio quam singulare et unicum imperium: non tamen praescribere monarchiam ideo quia unius sit eum cuius sit aut filium non habere aut ipsum se sibi filium fecisse aut monarchiam suam non per quos velit administrare. atquin nullam dico dominationem ita unius sui esse, ita singularem, ita monarchiam, ut non etiam per alias proximas personas administretur quas ipsa prospexerit officiales sibi: [3] si vero et filius fuerit ei cuius monarchia sit, non statim dividi eam et monarchiam esse desinere si particeps eius adsumatur et filius, sed proinde illius esse principaliter a quo communicatur in filium, et dum illius est proinde monarchiam esse quae a duobus tam unitis continetur. [4] igitur si et monarchia divina per tot legiones et exercitus angelorum administratur sicut scriptum est, Milies centies centena milia adsistebant ei et milies centena milia apparebant ei, nec ideo unius esse desiit, ut desinat monarchia esse quia per tanta milia virtutum procuratur, [5] quale est ut deus divisionem et dispersionem pati videatur in filio et in spiritu sancto secundum et tertium sortitis locum, tam consortibus substantiae patris, quas non patitur in tot angelorum numero et quidem tam <alienorum> a substantia patris? membra et pignora et instrumenta et ipsam vim ac totum censum monarchiae eversionem deputas eius? non recte. [6] malo te ad sensum rei quam ad sonum vocabuli exerceas. eversio enim monarchiae illa est tibi intellegenda cum alia dominatio suae condicionis et proprii status ac per hoc aemula superducitur, cum alius deus infertur adversus creatorem *cum Marcione*, cum plures secundum Valentinus et Prodicos: tunc in monarchiae eversionem cum in creatoris destructionem.

CAPUT 4. [1] Ceterum qui filium non aliunde deduco, sed de substantia patris, nihil facientem sine patris voluntate, omnem a patre consecutum

potestatem, quomodo possum de fide destruere monarchiam quam a patre filio traditam in filio servo? hoc mihi et in tertium gradum dictum sit, quia spiritum non aliunde puto quam a patre per filium. [2] vide ergo ne tu potius monarchiam destruas, qui dispositionem et dispensationem eius evertis in tot nominibus constitutam in quot deus voluit. adeo autem manet in suo statu, licet trinitas inferatur, ut etiam restitui habeat patri a filio, siquidem apostolus scribit de ultimo fine, Cum tradiderit regnum deo et patri. oportet enim eum regnare usque dum ponat inimicos eius deus sub pedes ipsius, scilicet secundum psalmum, Sede ad dexteram meam donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum. cum autem subiecta erunt illi omnia absque eo qui ei subiecit omnia, tunc et ipse subicietur illi qui ei subiecit omnia, ut sit deus omnia in omnibus. [3] videmus igitur non obesse monarchiae filium, etsi hodie apud filium est, quia et in suo statu est apud filium et cum suo state restituetur patri a filio. ita eam nemo hoc nomine destruet <si> filium admittat cui et traditam eam a patre et a quo quandoque restituendam patri constat. [4] hoc uno capitulo epistolae apostolicae potuimus iam et patrem et filium ostendisse duos esse, praeterquam ex nominibus patris et filii, etiam ex eo quod qui tradidit regnum et cui tradidit, item qui subiecit <et cui subiecit>, duo sint necesse est.

CAPUT 5. [1] Sed quia duos unum volant esse, ut idem pater et filius habeatur, oportet et totum de filio examinari, an sit et qui sit et quomodo sit, et ita res ipsa formam suam scripturis et interpretationibus earum patrocinantibus vindicabit. aiunt quidam et Genesim in Hebraico ita incipere, In principio deus fecit sibi filium. hoc ut firmum non sit alia me argumenta deducunt ab ipsa dei dispositione qua fuit ante mundi constitutionem ad usque filii generationem. [2] ante omnia enim deus erat solus, ipse sibi et mundus et locus et omnia. solus autem quia nihil aliud extrinsecus praeter illum. ceterum ne tunc quidem solus: habebat enim secum quam habebat in semetipso rationem, suam scilicet. rationalis enim deus, et ratio in ipso prius, et ita ab ipso omnia: quae ratio sensus ipsius est. [3] hanc Graeci λόγον dicunt, quo vocabolo etiam sermonem appellamus: ideoque iam in usu est nostrorum per simplicitatem interpretationis sermonem dicere in primordio apud deum fuisse, cum magis rationem competat antiquiorem haberi, quia [non] sermonalis a principio sed rationalis deus etiam ante principium, et quia ipse quoque sermo ratione consistens priorem eam ut substantiam suam ostendat.

[4] tamen et sic nihil interest. nam etsi deus nondum sermonem suum miserat, proinde eum cum ipsa et in ipsa ratione intra semetipsum habebat, tacite cogitando et disponendo secum quae per sermonem mox erat dicturus: cum ratione enim sua cogitans atque disponens, sermonem eam efficiebat quam sermone tractabat. [5] idque quo facilius intellegas, ex te ipso ante recognosce ut ex imagine et similitudine dei, quo habeas et tu in temetipso rationem qui es animal rationale, a rationali scilicet artifice non tantum factus sed etiam ex substantia ipsius animatus. vide, cum tacitus tecum ipse congregeris ratione, hoc ipsum agi intra te, occurrente ea tibi cum sermone ad omnem cogitatus tui motum, ad omnem sensus tui pulsum. [6] quodcunque cogitaveris sermo est, quodcunque senseris ratio est: loquaris illud in animo necesse est, et dum loqueris conlocutorem pateris sermonem, in quo inest haec ipsa ratio qua cum eo cogitans loquaris per quem loquens cogitas. ita secundus quodammodo in te est sermo per quem loqueris cogitando et per quem cogitas loquendo: ipse sermo alius est. [7] quanto ergo plenius hoc agitur in deo cuius tu quoque imago et similitudo censeris, quod habeat in se etiam tacendo rationem et in ratione sermonem? possum itaque non temere praestruxisse et tunc deum ante universitatis constitutionem solum non fuisse, habentem in semetipso proinde rationem et in ratione sermonem quem secundum a se faceret agitando intra se.

CAPUT 6. [1] Haec vis et haec divini sensus dispositio apud scripturas etiam in sophiae nomine ostenditur. quid enim sapientius ratione dei sive sermone? itaque sophiam quoque exaudi, ut secundam personam conditam: primo, Dominus creavit me initium viarum in opera sua, priusquam terram faceret, priusquam montes collocarentur; ante omnes autem colles generavit me — in sensu suo scilicet condens et generans. [2] dehinc adsistentem eam ipsa separatione cognosce: Cum pararet, inquit, caelum aderam illi simul; et quomodo fortia faciebat super ventos quae sursum nubila, et quomodo tutos ponebat fontes eius quae sub caelo, ego eram cum illo compingens, ego eram ad quam gaudebat; cottidie autem oblectabar in persona ipsius. [3] nam ut primum deus voluit ea quae cum sophia et ratione et sermone disposuerat intra se in substantias et species suas edere, ipsum primum protulit sermonem habentem in se individuas suas rationem et sophiam, ut per ipsum fierent universa per quem erant cogitata atque disposita, immo et facta iam quantum in dei sensu: hoc enim eis deerat, ut coram quoque in suis speciebus atque

substantiis cognoscerentur et tenerentur.

CAPUT 7. [1] Tunc igitur etiam ipse sermo speciem et ornatum suum sumit, sonum et vocem, cum dicit deus, Fiat lux. haec est nativitas perfecta sermonis, dum ex deo procedit; conditus ab eo primum ad cogitatum in nomine sophiae — Dominus condidit me initium viarum; dehinc generatus ad effectum — Cum pararet caelum aderam illi; exinde eum patrem sibi faciens de quo procedendo filius factus est primogenitus, ut ante omnia genitus, et unigenitus, ut solus ex deo genitus, proprie de vulva cordis ipsius secundum quod et pater ipse testatur, Eructavit cor meum sermonem optimum; [2] ad quem deinceps gaudens proinde gaudentem in persona illius, Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te, et, Ante luciferum genui te. [3] sic et filius ex sua persona profitetur patrem in nomine sophiae, Dominus condidit me initium viarum in opera sua, ante omnes autem colles generavit me. nam si hic quidem sophia videtur dicere conditam se a domino in opera et vias eius, alibi autem per sermonem ostenditur omnia facta esse et sine illo nihil factum, sicut et rursum, Sermone eius caeli confirmati sunt et spiritu eius omnes vires eorum — utique eo spiritu qui sermoni inerat — apparet unam eandemque vim esse, nunc in nomine sophiae, nunc in appellatione sermonis, quae initium accepit viarum in dei opera, et quae caelum confirmavit, per quam omnia facta sunt et sine qua nihil factum est. [4] nec diutius de isto, quasi non ipse sit sermo et in sophiae et in rationis et in omnis divini animi et spiritus nomine, qui filius factus est dei, de quo prodeundo generatus est. [5] ergo, inquis, das aliquam substantiam esse sermonem, spirito et sophia et ratione constructam? plane. non vis enim eum substantivum habere in re per substantiae proprietatem, ut res et persona quaedam videri possit et ita capiat secundus a deo constitutus duos efficere, patrem et filium, deum et sermonem: [6] quid est enim, dices, sermo nisi vox et sonus oris, et sicut grammatici tradunt aer offensus intellegibilis auditu, ceterum vacuum nescio quid et inane et incorporale? at ego nihil dico de deo inane et vacuum prodire potuisse, ut non de inani et vacuo prolatum, nec carere substantia quod de tanta substantia processit et tantas substantias fecit; [7] fecit enim et ipse quae facta sunt per illum. quale est ut nihil sit ipse sine quo nihil factum est, ut inanis solida et vacuus plena et incorporalis corporalia sit operatus? nam etsi potest aliquando quid fieri diversum eius per quod fit, nihil tamen potest fieri per id quod vacuum et inane est. [8] vacua et inanis res est sermo dei qui filius

dictus est, qui ipse deus cognominatus est, Et sermo erat apud deum et deus erat sermo? scriptum est, Non sumes nomen dei in vanum. hic certe est qui in effigie dei constitutus non rapinam existimavit esse se aequalem deo. in qua effigie dei? utique in aliqua, non tamen in nulla: quis enim negabit deum corpus esse, etsi deus spiritus est? spiritus enim corpus sui generis in sua effigie. [9] sed et si invisibilia illa, quaecunque sunt, habent apud deum et suum corpus et suam formam per quae sali deo visibilia sunt, quanto magis quod ex ipsius substantia emissum est sine substantia non erit. quaecunque ergo substantia sermonis fuit, illam dico personam et illi nomen filii vindico, et dam filium agnosco secundum a patre defendo.

CAPUT 8. [1] Hoc si qui putaverit me probolhn aliquam introducere, id est prolotionem rei alterius ex altera, quod facit Valentinus alium atque alium aeonem de aeone producens, primo quidem dicam tibi, non ideo non utitur et veritas vocabulo isto et re ac censu eius quia et haeresis utatur: immo haeresis potius ex veritate accepit quod ad mendacium suum strueret. [2] prolatus est sermo dei an non? hic mecum gradum fige. si prolatus est, cognosce probolhn *veritatis, et viderit haeresis si quid de veritate imitata est. iam nunc quaeritur quis quomodo utatur aliqua re et vocabulo eius.* Valentinus probolaj suas discernit et separat ab auctore, et ita longe ab eo ponit ut aeon patrem nesciat; denique desiderat nosse nec potest, immo et paene devoratur et dissolvitur in reliquam substantiam. [3] apud nos autem solus filius patrem novit, et sinum patris ipse exposuit, et omnia apud patrem audivit et vidit, et quae mandatus est a patre ea et loquitur, nec suam sed patris perfecit voluntatem, quam de proximo immo de initio noverat. [4] quis enim scit quae sint in deo nisi spiritus qui in ipso, est? sermo autem spiritu structus est, et ut ita dixerim sermonis corpus est spiritus. sermo ergo et in patre semper, sicut dicit, Ego in patre: et apud deum semper, sicut scriptum est, Et sermo erat apud deum: et nunquam separatus a patre aut alias a patre quia Ego et pater unum sumus. [5] haec erit probolhn veritatis, custos unitatis, qua prolatum dicimus filium a patre sed non separatum. protulit enim deus sermonem, quemadmodum etiam paracletus docet, sicut radix fruticem et fons fluvium et sol radium: nam et istae species probolhai\ sunt earum substantiarum ex quibus prodeunt. nec dubitaverim filium licere et radicis fruticem et fontis fluvium et solis radium, quia omnis origo parens est et omne quod ex origine profertur progenies est, multo magis sermo dei qui etiam proprie nomen filii accepit: nec frutex tamen a radice nec

fluvius a fonte nec radius a sole discernitur, sicut nec a deo sermo. [6] igitur secundum horum exemplorum formam profiteor me duos licere deum et sermonem eius, patrem et filium ipsius: nam et radix et frutex duae res sunt sed coniunctae, et fons et flumen duae species sunt sed indivisae, et sol et radius duae formae sunt sed cohaerentes. [7] omne quod prodit ex aliquo secundum sit eius necesse est de quo prodit, nec ideo tamen est separatum. secundus autem ubi est, duo sunt, et tertius ubi est, tres sunt. tertius enim est spiritus a deo et filio, sicut tertius a radice fructus ex frutice et tertius a fonte rivus ex flumine et tertius a sole apex ex radio: nihil tamen a matrice alienatur a qua proprietates suas ducit. ita trinitas per consertos et connexos gradus a patre decurrens et monarchiae nihil obstreperit et oeconomiae statum protegit.

CAPUT 9. [1] Hanc me regulam professum, qua inseparatos ab alterutro patrem et filium et spiritum testor, tene ubique, et ita quid quomodo dicatur agnosces. ecce enim dico alium esse patrem et alium filium et alium spiritum (male accepit idiotae quisque aut perversus hoc dictum, quasi diversitatem sonet et ex diversitate separationem protendat patris et filii et spiritus: necessitate autem hoc dico cum eundem patrem et filium et spiritum contendunt, adversus oeconomiam monarchiae adulantes) non tamen diversitate alium filium a patre sed distributione, nec divisione alium sed distinctione, quia non sit idem pater et filius, vel modulo alias ab alio. [2] pater enim tota substantia est, filius vero, derivatio totius et portio, sicut ipse profitetur, Quia pater maior me est: a quo et minoratus canitur in psalmo, Modicum quid citra angelos. sic et pater alias a filio, dum filio maior, dum alias qui generat alius qui generatur, dum alius qui mittit alius qui mittitur, dum alius qui facit alius per quem fit. [3] bene quod et dominus usus hoc verbo in persona paracleti non divisionem significavit sed dispositionem: Rogabo enim, inquit, patrem et alium advocatum mittet vobis, spiritum veritatis. sic alium a se paracletum, quomodo et nos a patre alium filium, ut tertium gradum ostenderet in paracleto, sicut nos secundum in filio, propter oeconomiae observationem. [4] ipsum quod pater et filius dicuntur nonne aliud ab alio est? utique omnia quod vocantur hoc erunt, et quod erunt hoc vocabuntur, et permiscere se diversitas vocabulorum non potest omnino, quia nec rerum quarum erunt vocabula. Est est, non non: nam quod amplius est hoc a malo est.

CAPUT 10. [1] Ita aut pater aut filius est, et neque dies eadem et nox neque

pater idem et filius, ut sint ambo unus et utrumque alter, quod vanissimi isti monarchiani volunt. ipse se, inquiunt, filium sibi fecit. [2] atquin pater filium facit et patrem filius: et qui ex alterutro fiunt a semetipsis sibi fieri nullo modo possunt, ut pater se sibi filium faciat et filius se sibi patrem praestet. [3] quae instituit deus etiam ipse custodit. habeat necesse est pater filium ut pater sit, et filius patrem ut filius sit. aliud est autem habere, aliud esse: verbi gratia, ut maritus sim habeam oportet uxorem, non ipse mihi ero uxor. sic etiam ut pater sim filium habeo, non ipse mihi ero filius: et ut filius sim patrem habeo, non ipse mihi ero pater. [4] ero enim me faciunt si habuero tunc ero, pater si filium habeam, filius ero si patrem. porro si ipse ero quid eorum, iam non habeo quod ipse ero, nec patrem quia ipse ero pater, nec filium quia ipse ero filius. in quantum autem alterum ex his habere me oportet, alterum esse, in tantum, si utrumque fuero, alterum non ero dum alterum non habeo. si enim ipse ero filius qui et pater, iam non habeo filium sed ipse sum filius. non habendo autem filium dum ipse sum filius, quomodo pater ero? habere enim filium debeo ut pater sim: non sum ergo filius, quia patrem non habeo qui facit filium. [5] aequae si ipse sum pater qui et filius, iam non habeo patrem sed ipse sum pater. non habendo autem patrem dum ipse sum pater, quomodo filius ero? habere enim patrem debeo ut filius sim: non ergo ero pater, quia filium non habeo qui facit patrem. [6] hoc erit totum ingenium diaboli, alterum ex altero excludere dum utrumque in unum sub monarchiae favore concludens neutrum haberi facit, ut et pater non sit qui scilicet filium non habet, et filius non sit qui aequae patrem non habet: dum enim pater est filius non erit. sic monarchiam tenent qui nec patrem nec filium continent. [7] sed nihil deo difficile. quis hoc nesciat? et impossibilia apud saeculum possibilia apud deum quis ignoret? et Stulta mundi elegit deus, ut confundat sapientia. legimus omnia. ergo, inquiunt, difficile non fuit deo ipsum se et patrem et filium facere adversus traditam formam rebus humanis: nam et sterilem parere contra naturam difficile deo non fuit, sicut nec virginem. [8] plane nihil deo difficile: sed si tam abrupte in praesumptionibus nostris hac sententia utamur, quidvis de deo confingere poterimus quasi fecerit, quia facere potuerit. non autem, quia omnia potest facere, ideoque credendum est illum fecisse etiam quod non fecerit, sed an fecerit requirendum. potuit, si voluisset, deus pennis hominem ad volandum instruxisse, quod et milvis praestitit: non tamen quia potuit statim et fecit. potuit et Praxean et omnes pariter haereticos statini

extinxisse: non tamen quia potuit extinxit. oportebat enim et milvos esse et haereticos, oportebat et patrem crucifigi. hac ratione erit aliquid et difficile deo, id scilicet quodcunque non fecerit non quia non potuerit sed quia noluerit. [9] dei enim posse velle est, et non posse nolle: quod autem voluit, et potuit et ostendit. ergo quia si voluit semetipsum sibi filium facere potuit, et quia si potuit fecit, font probabis illum et potuisse et voluisse si probaveris illum fecisse.

CAPUT 11. [1] Probare autem tam aperte debebis ex scripturis, quam nos probamus illum sibi filium fecisse sermonem suum. si enim filium nominat, filius autem non alius erit quam qui ex ipso prodiit, sermo autem prodiit ex ipso, hic erit filius, non ipse de quo prodiit: non enim ipse prodiit ex semetipso. porro qui eundem patrem dicis et filium, eundem et protulisse ex semetipso facis et prodisse quod deus est. si potuit fecisse, non tamen fecit. [2] aut exhibe probationem quam expostulo meae similem, id est sic scripturas eundem filium et patrem ostendere quemadmodum apud nos distincte pater et filius demonstrantur: distincte inquam, non divise. sicut ego profero dictum a deo, Eructavit cor meum sermonem optimum, haec tu contra opponas alicubi dixisse deum, Eructavit me cor meum sermonem optimum, ut ipse sit qui et eructavit et quod eructavit, et ipse qui protulerit et qui prolatus sit, si ipse est et sermo et deus. [3] ecce ego propono patrem filio dixisse, Filius meus es tu, ego hodie generavi te: si velis ut credam ipsum esse patrem et filium, ostende sic pronuntiatum alibi, Dominus dixit ad se, Filius meus sum ego, ego hodie generavi me; proinde et, Ante luciferum generavi me; et, Dominus condidi me initium viarum in opera mea, ante omnes autem colles generavi me; et si qua alia in hunc modum sunt. quem autem verebatur deus dominus universitatis ita pronuntiare, si ita res erat? an verebatur ne non crederetur si simpliciter se et patrem et filium pronuntiasset? [4] unum tamen veritus est, mentiri veritatis auctorem semetipsum et suam veritatem. et ideo veracem deum credens, scio illum non aliter quam disposuit pronuntiasse nec aliter disposuisse quam pronuntiavit. tu porro eum mendacem efficias et fallacem, et deceptorem fidei huius, si cum ipse esset sibi filius alii dabat filii personam, quando scripturae omnes et demonstrationem et distinctionem trinitatis ostendant a quibus et praescriptio nostra deducitur, non posse unum atque eundem videri qui loquitur et de quo loquitur et ad quem loquitur, quia neque perversitas neque fallacia deo congruat, ut cum ipse esset ad quem loquebatur, ad alium potius

et non ad semetipsum loquatur. [5] accipe igitur et alias voces patris de filio per Esaïam: Ecce filius meus quem elegi, dilectus meus in quem bene sensi; ponam spiritum meum super ipsum et iudicium nationibus annuntiabit. accipe et ad ipsum: Magnum tibi est ut voceris filius meus ad statuendas tribus Iacob et ad convertendam dispersionem Israelis; posui te in lucem nationum, ut sis salus in extremum terrae. [6] accipe nunc et filii voces de patre: Spiritus domini super me, quapropter unxit me ad evangelizandum hominibus. item in psalmo ad patrem de eodem: Ne dereliqueris me, donec annuntiem brachium tuum nativitati universae venturae. item in alio: Domine quid multiplicati sunt qui comprimunt me? [7] sed et omnes paene psalmi qui Christi personam sustinent filium ad patrem, id est Christum ad deum, verba facientem repraesentant. animadvertite etiam spiritum loquentem ex tertia persona de patre et filio: Dixit dominus domino meo, Sede ad dexteram meam donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum peditum tuorum. [8] item per Esaïam: Haec dicit dominus domino meo Christo. item per eundem ad patrem de filio: Domine, quis credidit auditui nostro et brachium domini cui revelatum est? annuntiavimus de illo sicut puerulus, sicut radix in terra sitiens, et non erat forma eius nec gloria. [9] haec pauca de multis: nec enim affectamus universas scripturas evolvere, cum et in singulis capitulis plenam maiestatem et auctoritatem contestantes maiorem congressum in retractatibus habeamus. his itaque paucis tamen manifeste distinctio trinitatis exponitur: [10] est enim ipse qui pronuntiat spiritus, et pater ad quem pronuntiat, et filius de quo pronuntiat. sic et cetera, quae nunc a patre de filio vel ad filium, nunc a filio de patre vel ad patrem, nunc a spiritu pronuntiantur, unamquamque personam in sua proprietate constituunt.

CAPUT 12. [1] Si te adhuc numerus scandalizat trinitatis quasi non connexae in unitate simplici, interrogo quomodo unicus et singularis pluraliter loquitur, Faciam hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram, cum debuerit dixisse, Faciam hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem meam, utpote unicus et singularis. [2] sed et in sequentibus, Ecce Adam factus est tanquam unus ex nobis, fallit aut ludit, ut cum unus et solus et singularis esset numerose loqueretur. aut numquid angelis loquebatur, ut Iudaei interpretantur, quia nec ipsi filium agnoscunt? an quia ipse erat pater filius spiritus, ideo pluralem se praestans pluraliter sibi loquebatur? [3] immo quia iam adhaerebat illi filius, secunda persona, sermo ipsius, et tertia, spiritus in sermone, ideo

pluraliter pronuntiavit Faciamus et Nostrani et Nobis. cum quibus enim faciebat hominem, et quibus faciebat similem? filio quidem qui erat induturus hominem, spiritu vero qui erat sanctificaturus hominem, quasi cum ministris et arbitris ex unitate trinitatis loquebatur. [4] denique sequens scriptura distinguit inter personas: <Et fecit> deus hominem, ad imaginem dei fecit illum. cur non suam, si unus qui faciebat et non erat ad cuius faciebat? erat autem ad cuius imaginem faciebat, ad filii scilicet, qui homo futurus certior et verior imaginem suam fecerat dici hominem qui tunc de limo formari habebat, imago veri et similitudo. [5] sed et in antecedentibus operibus mundi quomodo scriptum est? primum quidem, nondum filio apparente Et dixit deus Fiat lux, et facta est. ipse statim sermo lux vera quae illuminat hominem venientem in hunc mundum, et per illum mundialis quoque lux. exinde autem in sermone, Christo adsistente et administrante, deus voluit fieri et deus fecit: Et dixit deus Fiat firmamentum, et fecit deus firmamentum; Et dixit deus Fiant luminaria, et fecit deus luminare maius et minus. sed et cetera utique idem fecit qui et priora, id est sermo dei per quem omnia facta sunt et sine quo factum est nihil. [6] qui si ipse deus est secundum Ioannem — Deus erat sermo — habes duos, alium dicentem ut fiat, alium facientem. alium autem quomodo accipere debeas iam professus sum, personae non substantiae nomine, ad distinctionem non ad divisionem. [7] ceterum <etsi> ubique teneo unam substantiam in tribus cohaerentibus, tamen alium dicam oportet ex necessitate sensus eum qui iubet et eum qui facit. nam nec iuberet, si ipse faceret dum iuberet fieri. per eum tamen iubebat, haud sibi iussurus si unus esset, aut sine iussu factururus; quia non expectasset ut sibi iuberet.

CAPUT 13. [1] Ergo, inquis, si deus dixit et deus fecit, si alius deus dixit et alius fecit, duo dii praedicantur. si tam durus es, puta interim. et ut adhuc amplius hoc putes, accipe et in psalmo duos deos dictos: Thronus tuus, deus, in aevum, <virga directionis> virga regni tui; dilexisti iustitiam et odisti iniquitatem, propterea unxit te deus, deus tuus. [2] si ad deum loquitur, et unctum deum a deo, affirmat et hic duos deos +pro virga regni tui+. inde et Esaias ad personam Christi, Et Seboin, inquit, viri elati, ad te transibunt et post te sequentur vincti manibus et te adorabunt, quia in te deus est; tu enim es deus noster et nesciebamus, deus Israelis. et hic enim dicendo Deus in te, et Tu deus, duos proponit, qui erat in Christo et Christum ipsum. [3] plus est quod in evangelio totidem invenies: In principio erat sermo et sermo erat apud

deum et deus erat sermo: unus qui erat, et alius penes quem erat. sed et nomen domini in duobus lego: Dixit dominus domino meo, Sede ad dexteram meam. et Esaias haec dicit Domine, quis credidit auditui nostro, et brachium domini cui revelatum est? brachium enim tuum non <domini> dixisset, si non dominum patrem et dominum filium intellegi vellet. [4] etiam adhuc antiquior Genesis: Et pluit dominus super Sodomam et Gomorram sulphur et ignem de caelo a domino. haec aut nega scripta, aut quis es ut non putes accipienda quemadmodum scripta sunt, maxime quae non in allegoriis et parabolis sed in definitionibus certis et simplicibus habent sensum? quodsi ex illis es qui tunc dominum non sustinebant dei se filium ostendentem ne eum dominum crederent, recordare tu cum illis scriptum esse, Ego dixi, Vos dii estis et filii altissimi; et, Stetit deus in ecclesia deorum: ut si homines per fidem filios dei factos deos scriptura pronuntiare non timuit, scias illam multo magis vero et unico dei filio <dei> et domini nomen iure contulisse. [5] ergo, inquis, provocabo te ut hodie quoque ex auctoritate istarum scripturarum constanter duos deos et duos dominos praedices. absit. nos enim, qui et tempora et causas, scripturarum per dei gratiam inspicimus, maxime paracleti non hominum discipuli, duos quidem definimus, patrem et filium, et iam tres cum spiritu sancto, secundum rationem oeconomiae quae facit numerum, ne, ut vestra perversitas infert, pater ipse credatur natus et passus, quod non licet credi quoniam non ita traditum est. [6] duos tamen deos et duos dominos nunquam ex ore nostro proferimus: non quasi non et pater deus et filius deus et spiritus sanctus deus, et deus unusquisque, sed quoniam retro et duo dii et duo domini praedicabantur, ut, ubi venisset Christus, et deus agnosceretur et dominus vocaretur quia filius dei et domini. si enim una persona et dei et domini in scripturis inveniretur, merito Christus non esset admissus ad nomen dei et domini — nemo enim alius praeter unus deus et unus dominus praedicabatur — et futurum erat ut ipse pater descendisse videretur quia unus deus et unus dominus legebatur, et tota oeconomia eius obumbraretur quae in materiam fidei prospecta atque dispensata est. [7] at ubi venit Christus et cognitus est a nobis quod ipse <sit> qui numerum retro fecerat factus secundus a patre et cum spiritu tertius, etiam pater per ipsum plenius manifestatus, redactum est iam nomen dei et domini in unionem: ut, quia nationes a multitudine idolorum transirent ad unicum deum, et differentia constitueretur inter cultores unius et plurimae divinitatis. [8] nam et lacere in

mundo Christianos oportebat ut filios lucis, lumen mundi unum et deum et dominum colentes et nominantes. ceterum si ex conscientia qua scimus dei nomen et domini et patri et filio et spiritui convenire deos et dominos nominaremus, extinxissemus faces nostras etiam ad martyria timidiore, quibus evadendi quaque pateret occasio iurantibus statim per deos et dominos, ut quidam haeretici quorum dei plures. [9] itaque deos omnino non dicam nec dominos, sed apostolum sequar ut si pariter nominandi fuerint pater et filius deum patrem appellem et Iesum Christum dominum nominem. solum autem Christum potero deum dicere, sicut idem apostolus: Ex quibus Christus, qui est, inquit, deus super omnia, benedictus in aevum omne. [10] nam et radium solis seorsum solem vocabo: solem autem nominans cuius est radius, non statim et radium solem appellabo. nam etsi soles duos faciam, tamen et solem et radium eius tam duas res et duas species unius et indivisae substantiae numerabo quam deum et sermonem eius, quam patrem et filium.

CAPUT 14. [1] Adhuc et illa nobis regula adsistit duos vindicantibus patrem et filium, quae invisibilem deum determinavit. cum enim Moyses in Aegypto desiderasset domini conspectum dicens, Si ergo inveni gratiam coram te, manifesta mihi te ut cognoscenter videam te: Non potes videre, inquit, faciem meam ; non enim videbit homo faciem meam et vivet — id est morietur qui viderit. [2] invenimus enim et a multis deum visum et neminem tamen eorum qui eum viderant mortuum: visum quidem deum secundum hominum capacitates, non secundum plenitudinem divinitatis. nam patriarchae deum vidisse referuntur ut Abraham et Iacob, et prophetae ut Esaias, ut Ezechiel, et tamen mortui non sunt. igitur aut mori debuerant si eum viderant — deum enim nemo videbit et vivet; aut si deum viderunt et mortui non sunt, scriptura mentitur deum dixisse, Faciem meam homo si viderit non vivet; aut scriptura mentitur [cum invisum aut] cum visum deum profert. [3] iam ergo alius erit qui videbatur, quia non potest idem invisibilis definiri qui videbatur: et consequens erit ut invisibilem patrem intellegamus pro plenitudine maiestatis, visibilem vero filium agnoscamus pro modulo derivationis, sicut nec solem nobis contemplari licet quantum ad ipsam substantiae summam quae est in caelis, radium autem eius toleramus oculis pro temperatura portionis quae in terram inde porrigitur. [4] hic ex diverso volet aliquis etiam filium invisibilem contendere, ut sermonem, ut spiritum, et dum unam condicionem patris et filii vindicat unum potius atque eundem confirmare patrem et filium. [5] sed

diximus scripturam differentiae patrocinari per visibilis et invisibilis distinctionem. nam et illud adiciunt ad argumentationem, quod si filius tunc ad Moysen loquebatur, ipse faciem suam nemini visibilem pronuntiaret, quia scilicet ipse invisibilis pater fuerit in filii nomine. ac per hoc sic eundem volunt accipi et visibilem et invisibilem, quomodo eundem patrem et filium, quoniam et paulo supra, antequam faciem Moysi negasset, scriptum sit dominum ad Moysen locutum coram velut si quis loquatur ad amicum suum, non minus quam et Iacob, Ego vidi, inquit, dominum facie ad faciem: [6] ergo visibilis et invisibilis idem: et quia idem utrumque, ideo et ipse pater invisibilis, qua et filius, visibilis. quasi non expositio scripturae quae fit a nobis filio competat, patre seposito, in sua visibilitate. dicimus enim . et filium suo nomine eatenus invisibilem, qua sermo et spiritus dei, ex substantiae condicione iam nunc, [et qua deus et sermo et spiritus dei] visibilem autem fuisse ante carnem eo modo quo dicit ad Aaron et Mariam, Etsi fuerit propheta in vobis, in visione cognoscat illi et in somnio loquar illi, non quomodo Moysi os ad os loquar illi in specie (id est in veritate) et non in aenigmate (id est non in imagine): sicut et apostolus, Nunc videmus tanquam per speculum in aenigmate, tunc autem facie ad faciem. [7] igitur cum Moysi servat conspectum suum et colloquium facie ad faciem in futurum (nam hoc postea adimpletum est in montis secessu, sicut legimus in evangelio visoni cum illo Moysen colloquentem), apparet retro semper in speculo et aenigmate et visione et somnio deum (id est filium dei) visum tam prophetis et patriarchis quam et ipsi adhuc Moysi: [8] et ipse quidem dominus si forte coram ad faciem loquebatur, non tamen ut est homo faciem eius videret, nisi forte in speculo et in aenigmate. denique si sic Moysi locutus est dominus ut et Moyses faciem eius cominus sciret, quomodo statim atque ibidem desiderat faciem eius videre, quam quia viderat non desideraret? quomodo aequae et dominus negat videri faciem suam posse, quam ostenderat, si tamen ostenderat? aut quae est facies dei cuius conspectus negatur? si erat quae visa est — Vidi, inquit Iacob, deum facie ad faciem et salva facta est anima mea — alia debet esse facies quae si videatur occidit. [9] aut numquid filius quidem videbatur — etsi facie, sed ipsum hoc in visione et somnio et speculo et aenigmate, quia sermo et spiritus nisi imaginaria forma videri non potest — faciem autem suam dicit invisibilem patrem? quis enim pater? num facies erit filii, nomine auctoritatis quam genitus a patre consequitur? non enim et de

aliqua maiore persona congruit dicere, Facies mea est ille homo, et, Faciem mihi praestat? [10] Pater, inquit, maior me est: ergo facies erit filii pater. nam et scriptura quid dicit? Spiritus personae eius Christus dominus. ergo si Christus personae paternae spiritus est, merito spiritus cuius persona erat, id est patris eius, faciem suam ex unitate scilicet pronuntiavit. mira res plane an facies filii pater accipi possit qui est caput eius: caput enim Christi deus.

CAPUT 15. [1] Si hunc articulum quaestionibus scripturae veteris non expediam, de novo testamento sumam confirmationem nostrae interpretationis, ne, quodcunque in filium reputo in patrem proinde defendas. ecce enim et in evangeliiis et in apostolis visibilem et invisibilem deum deprehendo sub manifesta et personali distinctione condicionis utriusque. [2] exclamat quodammodo Ioannes, Deum nemo vidit unquam: utique nec retro: ademit enim temporis quaestionem dicendo deum nunquam visum. confirmat et apostolus de deo Quem nemo vidit hominum, sed nec videri potest: scilicet quia morietur qui videbit. idem ipsi apostoli et vidisse se Christum et contrectasse testantur. [3] porro si ipse est Christus et pater et filius, quomodo et visus est et invisus? ad hanc diversitatem visi et invisus in unum conferendam qui ex diverso nobis argumentabitur recte utrumque dictum, visibilem quidem in carne, invisibilem vero ante carnem, ut idem sit pater invisibilis ante carnem qui et filius visibilis in carne. [4] atquin si idem ante carnem invisibilis, quomodo visus etiam retro invenitur ante carnem? aequè si idem post carnem visibilis, quomodo et nunc invisibilis pronuntiatur ab apostolis, nisi quia alias quem et retro visum in aenigmate plenius visibilem caro effecit, sermo scilicet qui et caro factus est, alius quem nunquam quisquam vidit, [nisi] pater scilicet cuius est sermo? [5] denique inspiciamus quem apostoli viderint. Quod vidimus, inquit Ioannes, quod audivimus, oculis nostris vidimus, et manus nostrae contrectaverunt de sermone vitae. sermo enim vitae caro factus, et auditus et visus et contrectatus quia caro, qui ante carnem sermo tantum in primordio apud deum patrem, non pater apud semetipsum. nam etsi deus sermo, sed apud deum, quia ex deo deus, quia cum patre apud patrem. [6] Et vidimus gloriam eius tanquam unigeniti a patre, utique filii scilicet visibilis, glorificati a patre invisibili. et ideo, quoniam sermonem dei deum dixerat, ne adiuvaret adversariorum praesumptionem quasi patrem ipsum vidisset, ad distinguendum inter invisibilem patrem et filium visibilem superdicit ex abundanti, Deum nemo vidit unquam. quem

deum? sermonem? atquin, Vidimus et audivimus et contrectavimus de sermone vitae, praedictum est. sed quem deum? scilicet patrem, apud quem deus erat sermo unigenitus filius, qui sinum patris ipse disseruit. [7] ipse et auditus et visus, et ne phantasma crederetur etiam contrectatus. hunc et Paulus conspexit, nec tamen patrem vidit: Nonne, inquit, vidi Iesum? Christum autem et ipse deum cognominavit: Quorum patres, et ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, qui est super omnia deus, benedictus in aevum. ostendit et ipse visibilem dei filium, id est sermonem dei, quia qui caro factus est Christus dictus est. [8] de patre autem ad Timotheum: Quem nemo vidit hominum, sed nec videre potest; exaggerans amplius: Qui solus habet immortalitatem et lucem habitat inaccessibilem ; de quo et supra dixerat: Regi autem saeculorum immortalis invisibili soli deo; ut et contraria ipsi filio adscriberemus, mortalitatem accessibilitatem. quem mortuum contestatur secundum scripturas et a se novissime visum, per accessibilem utique lucem: quanquam et illam neque ipse sine periculo luminis expertus est, neque Petrus et Ioannes et Iacobus sine rationis et amentia, qui si non passuri filii gloriam sed patrem vidissent <essent> credo morituri ibidem: deum enim nemo videbit et vivet. [9] si haec ita sunt, constat eum semper visum ab initio qui visus fuerit in fine, et eum nec in fine visum qui nec ab initio fuit visus, et ita duos esse, visum et invisum. filius ergo visus est semper et filius conversatus est semper et filius operatus est semper, ex auctoritate patris et voluntate, quia Filius nihil a semetipso potest facere nisi viderit patrem facientem - in sensu scilicet facientem. pater enim sensu agit, filius vero quod in patris sensu est videns perficit. sic omnia per filium facta sunt et sine illo factum est nihil.

CAPUT 16. [1] Nec putes sola opera mundi per filium facta sed et quae a deo exinde gesta sunt. pater enim qui diligit filium et omnia tradidit in sinu eius, utique a primordio diligit et a primordio tradidit. ex quo a primordio sermo erat apud deum et deus erat sermo, cui data est omnis potestas a patre in caelis et in terra, non iudicat pater quemquam sed omne iudicium tradidit filio, a primordio tamen: [2] omnem enim dicens potestatem, et omne iudicium, et omnia per eum facta, et omnia tradita in manu eius, nullam exceptionem temporis permittit, quia omnia non erunt si non omnis temporis fuerint. filius itaque est qui ab initio iudicavit, turrem superbissimam elidens linguasque disperdens, orbem totum aquarum violentia puniens, pluens super Sodomam et Gomorram ignem et sulphurem dominus a domino. [3] ipse enim et ad

humana semper colloquia descendit, ab Adam usque ad patriarchas et prophetas, in visione in somnio in speculo in aenigmate ordinem suum praestruens ab initio semper quem erat persecuturus in finem. ita semper ediscebat et deus in terris cum hominibus conversari, non alius quam sermo qui caro erat futurus. ediscebat autem ut nobis fidem sterneret, ut facilius crederemus filium dei descendisse in saeculum <si> et retro tale quid gestum cognosceremus. [4] propter nos enim sicut scripta sunt ita et gesta sunt in quos aevorum fines decucurrerunt. sic etiam adfectus humanos sciebat iam tunc, suscepturus etiam ipsas substantias hominis carnem et animam, interrogans Adam quasi nesciens, Ubi es, Adam? paenitens quod hominem fecisset quasi non praesciens, temptans Abraham quasi ignorans quid sit in homine, offensus reconciliatus eisdem, et si qua haeretici adprehendunt quasi deo indigna ad destructionem creatoris, ignorantes haec in filium competisse qui etiam passiones humanas et sitim et esuriem et lacrimas et ipsam nativitatem ipsamque mortem erat subiturus, propter hoc minoratus a patre modicum citra angelos. [5] sed haeretici quidem nec filio dei deputabunt convenire quae tu ipsi patri inducis quasi ipse se deminoraverit propter nos, cum scriptura alium dicat ab alio minoratum, non ipsum a semetipso. quid si et alius qui coronabatur gloriam et honorem, alius qui coronabat, utique filium pater? [6] ceterum quale est ut deus omnipotens ille invisibilis quem nemo vidit hominum nec videre potest, ille qui inaccessibilem lucem habitat, ille qui non habitat in manu factis, a cuius conspectu terra contremiscit montes liquescunt ut cera, qui totum orbem manu adprehendit velut nidum, cui caelum thronus et terra scabellum, in quo omnis locus, non ipse in loco, qui universitatis extrema linea est, ille altissimus, in paradiso ad vesperam deambulaverit quaerens Adam, et arcam post introitum Noe clauserit, et apud Abraham sub quercu refrigeraverit, et Moysen de rubo ardenti vocarit, et in fornace Babylonii regis quartus apparuerit — quanquam filius hominis est dictus? +et in imagine et speculo et aenigmate+ scilicet et haec nec de filio dei credenda fuissent si scripta non essent, fortasse non credenda de patre licet scripta, quem isti in vulvam Mariae deducunt et in Pilati tribunal imponunt et in monumento Ioseph recludunt. [7] hinc igitur apparet error illorum. ignorantes enim a primordio omnem ordinem divinae dispositionis per filium decucurrisse, ipsum credunt patrem et visum et congressum et operatum, et sitim et esuriem passum, adversus prophetam dicentem, Deus aeternus non

sitiet nec esuriet omnino - quanto magis nec morietur nec sepelietur — et ita unum deum semper egisse, id est patrem, quae per filium gesta sunt. filium in patris, dicente ipso domino, Ego veni in patris mei nomine; item ad ipsum patrem, Nomen tuum manifestavi hominibus; condicente etiam scriptura, Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini — utique filius in patris nomine. [2] et nomen patris Deus omnipotens, Altissimus, Dominus virtutum, Rex Israelis, Qui est. quatenus ita scripturae docent, haec dicimus et in filium compatisse, et in his filium venisse et in his semper egisse et sic ea in se hominibus manifestasse. [3] Omnia, inquit, patris mea sunt: cur non et nomina? cum ergo legis Deum omnipotentem et Altissimum et Deum virtutum et Regem Israelis et Qui est, vide ne per haec filius etiam demonstretur suo iure Deus <omnipotens> qua sermo Dei omnipotentis quaque omnium accepit potestatem, Altissimus qua dextera dei exaltatus sicut Petrus in Actis contionatur, Dominus virtutum quia omnia subiecta sunt illi a patre, Rex Israelis quia illi proprie excidit sors gentis istius, item Qui est quoniam multi filii dicuntur et non sunt. [4] si autem volunt et Christi nomen patris esse, audient suo loco. interim hic mihi promptum sit responsum adversus id quod et de Apocalypsi Ioannis proferunt, Ego dominus qui est et qui fuit et venit, omnipotens, et sicubi alibi dei omnipotentis appellationem non putant etiam filio convenire: quasi qui venturus sit <non sit> omnipotens, cum et filius omnipotentis tam omnipotens sit quam deus dei filius.

CAPUT 18. [1] Sed hanc societatem nominum paternorum in filio ne facile perspiciant perturbat illos scriptura si quando unicum deum statuit, quasi non eadem et deos et dominos duos proposuerit, ut supra ostendimus. ergo quia duos et unum, inquiunt, invenimus, ideo ambo unus, atque idem et filius et pater. [2] porro non periclitatur scriptura ut illi de tua argumentatione succurras ne sibi contraria videatur: habet rationem et cum unicum deum statuit et cum duos patrem et filium ostendit, et sufficit sibi. filium nominari ab ea constat: salvo enim filio recte unicum deum potest determinasse cuius est filius. non enim desinit esse qui habet filium ipse unicus, suo scilicet nomine quotiens sine filio nominatur. sine filio autem nominatur cum principaliter determinatur ut prima persona, quae ante filii nomen erat proponenda, quia pater ante cognoscitur et post patrem filius nominatur. [3] igitur unus deus pater, et absque eo alius non est: quod ipse inferens non filium negat sed alium deum: ceterum alius a patre filius non est. denique inspicere sequentia huiusmodi

pronuntiationum, et invenies fere ad idolorum factitatores atque cultores definitionem earum pertinere ut multitudinem falsorum deorum unio divinitatis expellat, habens tamen filium, quanto individuum et inseparatum a patre, tanto in patre reputandum etsi non nominatum. [4] atquin si nominasset illum separasset, ita dicens, Alius praeter me non est visi filius meus: alium enim etiam filium fecisset quem de aliis excepisset. puta solem dicere, Ego sol, et alius praeter me non est nisi radius meus: nonne denotasses vanitatem, quasi non et radius in sole deputetur? itaque praeter semetipsum non esse alium deum, hoc propter idololatriam tam nationum quam Israelis: etiam propter haereticos, qui sicut nationes manibus ita et ipsi verbis idola fabricantur, id est alium deum et alium Christum. [5] igitur et cum se unum pronuntiabat filio pater procurabat, ne ab alio deo Christus venisse credatur sed ab illo qui praedixerat, Ego deus et alius absque me non est, qui se unicum sed cum filio ostendit cum quo caelum solus extendit.

CAPUT 19. [1] Quin et hoc dictum eius in argumentum singularitatis arripient: Extendi, inquit, caelum solus: quantum ad ceteras virtutes, solus, praestruens adversus coniecturas haereticorum, qui mundum ab angelis et potestatibus diversis volunt structum, qui et ipsum creatorem aut angelum faciunt aut ad alia quae extrinsecus, ut opera mundi, ignorantem quoque subornatum. [2] aut si sic solus caelum extendit, quomodo isti praesumunt in perversum haeretici quasi singularis non admittatur sophia illa dicens, Cum pararet caelum ego aderam illi? et si dixit, Quis cognovit sensum domini et quis illi consilio fuit? utique praeter sophiam ait quae illi aderat. in ipso tamen et cum illo universa compingebat non ignorante quid faceret. Praeter sophiam autem Praeter filium dicit, qui est Christus sophia et virtus dei, secundum apostolum, solus sciens sensum patris: quis enim scit quae sunt in deo nisi spiritus qui in ipso est? — non qui extra ipsum. erat ergo qui non solum deum faceret, nisi a ceteris solum. [3] sed et evangelium recusetur quod dicat omnia per sermonem a deo facta esse et sine eo nihil factum. nisi enim fallor et alibi scriptum est: Sermone eius caeli firmati sunt, et spiritu eius omnes virtutes eorum. et sermo autem, virtus et sophia, ipse erit dei filius. [4] ita si per filium omnia, caelum quoque per filium extendens non solus extendit, nisi illa ratione qua a ceteris solus. atque adeo statim de filio loquitur: Quis alius deiecit signa ventriloquorum et divinationes a corde, avertens sapientes retrorsum et consilium eorum infatuans, sistens verba filii sui? — dicendo

scilicet, Hic est filius meus dilectus, hunc audite. [5] ita filium subiungens ipse interpretator est quomodo caelum solus extenderit, scilicet cum filio solus, sicut cum filio unum. proinde et filii erit vox, Extendi caelum solus, quia sermone caeli confirmati sunt. quia sophia in sermone adsistente paratum est caelum, et omnia per sermonem sunt facta, competit et filium solum extendisse caelum quia solus operationi patris ministravit. [6] idem erit dicens, Ego primus, et in superventura ego sum, primum scilicet omnium sermo: In principio erat sermo, in quo principio prolatus a patre est. ceterum pater, non habens initium, ut a nullo prolatus, ut innatus, <primus> non potest videri: qui solus fuit semper, ordinem habere non potuit. [7] igitur si propterea eundem et patrem et filium credendum putaverunt ut unum deum vindicent, salva est unio eius qui, cum sit unus habet et filium, aequae et ipsum eisdem scripturis comprehensum. si filium nolunt secundum a patre reputari ne secundus duos faciat deos dici, ostendimus etiam duos deos in scriptura relatos et duos dominos: [8] et tamen ne de isto scandalizentur, rationem reddimus qua dei non duo dicantur nec domini sed qua pater et filius duo, et hoc non ex separatione substantiae sed ex dispositione, cum individuum et inseparatum filium a patre pronuntiamus, nec statu sed gradu alium, qui etsi deus dicatur quando nominatur singularis, non ideo duos deos faciat sed unum, hoc ipso quod et deus ex unitate patris vocari habeat.

CAPUT 20. [1] Sed argumentationibus eorum adhuc retundendis opera praebebenda est si quid de scripturis ad sententiam suam excerpent, cetera nolentes intueri quae et ipsa regulam servant, et quidem salva unione divinitatis et monarchiae sonitu. nam sicut in veteribus nihil aliud tenent quam, Ego deus et alias praeter me non est, ita in evangelio responsionem domini ad Philippum tuentur, Ego et pater unum sumus, et Qui me viderit vidit et patrem, et Ego in patre et pater in me. [2] his tribus capitulis totum instrumentum utriusque testamenti volant cedere, cum oporteat secundum plura intellegi pauciora. [3] sed proprium hoc est omnium haereticorum. nam quia pauca sunt quae in silva inveniri possunt, pauca adversus plura defendunt et posteriora adversus priora suscipiunt. regula autem omni rei semper ab initio constituta in prioribus et in posteriora praescribit, utique et in paucioribus.

CAPUT 21. [1] Aspice itaque quanta praescribant tibi etiam in evangelio ante Philippi consultationem et ante omnem argumentationem tuam. et in

primis ipsa statim praefatio Ioannis evangelizatoris demonstrat quid retro fuerit qui caro fieri habebat: In principio erat sermo et sermo erat apud deum et deus erat sermo ; hic erat in principio apud deum; omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil. [2] nam si haec non aliter accipi licet quam quomodo scripta sunt, indubitanter alias ostenditur qui fuerit a principio, alias apud quem fuit: alium sermonem dei, alium deum — licet et deus sermo, sed qua dei filius non qua pater — alium per quem omnia, alium a quo omnia. [3] alium autem quomodo dicamus saepe iam edidimus. quo alium dicamus, necesse est non eundem <non eundem> autem non quasi separatum, dispositione alium non divisione. hic ergo factus est caro, non ipse cuius erat sermo. huius gloria visa est tanquam unici a patre, non tanquam patris. hic unicus sinum patris disseruit, non sinum suum pater: praecedit enim, Deum nemo vidit unquam. [4] inde et si agnus dei ab Ioanne designatur, non ipse cuius est dilectus. certe filius dei semper, sed non ipse cuius est filius. hoc eum Nathanael statim sensit, sicut et alibi Petrus: Tu es filius dei. hoc et ipse recte sensisse illos confirmat, Nathanaeli quidem respondens, Quia dixi Vidi te sub ficu, ideo credis; Petram vero beatum adfirmans cui non caro neque sanguis revelasset quod et patrem senserat, sed pater qui in caelis est. [5] quo dicto utriusque personae constituit distinctionem, et filii in terris, quem Petrus agnoverat dei filium, et patris qui in caelis, qui Petro revelaverat quod Petrus agnoverat, dei filium Christum. [6] cum in templum introiit, aedem patris appellat, ut filius. cum ad Nicodemum dicit, Ita, inquit, dilexit deus mundum ut filium suum unicum dederit, in quem omnis qui crediderit non pereat sed habeat vitam sempiternam: et rursus, Non enim misit deus filium suum in mundum ut iudicet mundum, sed ut salvus sit mundus per eum; qui crediderit in illum non iudicatur; qui non crediderit in illum iam iudicatus est, quia non credidit in nomine unici filii dei. [7] Ioannes autem cum interrogaretur quid de Iesu cum tingeret, Pater, inquit, dilexit filium et omnia tradidit in manu eius; qui credidit in filium habet vitam aeternam; qui non credidit in filio dei non videbit deum sed ira dei manebit super eum. [8] quem vero Samaritidi ostendit? si Messiam qui dicitur Christus, filium utique se, non patrem, demonstravit, quia et alibi Christus dei filius, non pater, dictus est. [9] exinde discipulis, Meum est, inquit, ut faciam voluntatem eius qui me misit, ut consummem opus eius. et ad Iudaeos de paralytici sanitate, Pater meus usque modo operatur et ego operor: Pater et ego, filius dicit. denique propter hoc magis

Iudaei illum interficere volebant, non tantum quod solveret sabbatum sed quod patrem suum deum diceret, aequans se deo. [10] tunc ergo dicebat ad eos, Nihil filius facere potest a semetipso nisi videat patrem facientem; quae enim ille facit eadem et filius facit: pater enim diligit filium, et omnia demonstravit illi quae ille fecit, et maiora istis opera demonstrabit illi, ut vos miremini; quomodo enim <pater> suscitatur mortuos et vivificat, ita et filius quos vult vivificat. neque enim pater iudicat, sed omne iudicium dedit filio, uti omnes honorent filium sicut honorant patrem: qui non honorat filium, non honorat patrem qui filium misit. [11] amen amen dico vobis, quod qui audit sermones meos et credit ei qui me misit habet vitam aeternam, et in iudicium non veniet sed transit de morte in vitam. [12] amen dico vobis, quod veniet hora qua mortui audient vocem filii dei et cum audierint vivant: sicut enim pater habet vitam aeternam a semetipso, ita et filio dedit vitam aeternam habere in semetipso, et iudicium dedit illi facere in potestate quia filius hominis est — per carnera scilicet, sicut et filius dei per spiritum eius. [13] adhuc adicit, Ego autem habeo maius quam Ioannis testimonium; cum tingeret opera enim quae pater mihi dedit consummare, illa ipsa de me testimonium perhibent quod me pater miserit; et qui me misit pater, ipse testimonium dixit de me. [14] subiungens autem, Neque vocem eius audistis unquam neque formam eius vidistis, confirmat retro non patrem sed filium fuisse qui videbatur et audiebatur. [15] denique dicit, Ego veni in patris mei nomine et non me recepistis — adeo semper filius erat in dei et regis et domini omnipotentis et altissimi nomine. [16] interrogantibus autem quid facere debeant respondit, Ut credatis in eum quem deus misit. [17] panem quoque se adfirmat quem pater praestaret de caelo; ergo omne quod ei daret pater ad se venire, nec reiecturum se, quia de caelo descendisset non ut suam sed ut patris faceret voluntatem; voluntatem autem patris esse uti qui viderit filium et crediderit in eum vitam et resurrectionem consequatur; neminem porro ad se venire posse nisi quem pater adducat; omnem qui a patre audisset et didicisset, venire ad se: Non quasi patrem aliquis viderit, adiciens et hic, ut ostenderet patris esse sermonem per quem docti fiant. [18] at cum discedunt ab eo multi et apostolis suis offert si velint discedere et ipsi, quid respondit Simon Petrus? Quo discedimus? verba vitae habes, et nos credimus quod tu sis Christus: patrem illum esse an patris Christum?

CAPUT 22. [1] Cuius autem doctrinam dicit ad quam mirabantur? suam an

patris? aequae ambigentibus inter se ne ipse esset Christus, utique non pater sed filius, Meque scitis, inquit, <et scitis> unde sim, et non veni a me ipso, sed est verus qui me misit, quem vos non nostis; ego novi illum, quia apud illum sum. [2] non dixit, Quia ipse sum, et, Ipse me misi, sed, Ille me misit. item cum misissent ad invadendum eum pharisaei, Modicum adhuc tempus, ait, vobiscum sum, et vado ad eum qui me misit. at ubi se negat esse solum — Sed ego, inquit, et qui me misit pater — nonne duos demonstrat, tam duos quam inseparatos? immo totum erat hoc quod docebat, inseparatos duos esse: [3] siquidem et legem proponens duorum hominum testimonium confirmantem, subiungit, Ego testimonium dico de me, et testimonium dicit de me qui me misit pater. quodsi unus esset, dum idem est et filius et pater, non citeretur legis patrocinio fidem imponentis non unius testimonio sed duorum. [4] item interrogatus ubi esset pater, neque se neque patrem notum esse illis respondens, duos dixit ignotos, quod si ipsum nossent patrem nossent: non quidem quasi ipse esset pater et filius, sed quia per individuitatem neque agnosci neque ignorari alter sine altero potest. [5] Qui me, ait, misit verax est, et ego quae ab eo audiui ea et loquor in mundum: interpretante extrinsecus scriptura non cognovisse illos quod de patre dixisset, cum scilicet cognoscere debuissent sermones patris in filio esse, legendo apud Hieremiam, Et dixit mihi dominus, Ecce dedi sermones meos in os tuum ; et apud Esaiam, Dominus dat mihi linguam disciplinae ad cognoscendum quando oporteat dicere sermonem; sicut ipse rursus, Tunc, inquit, cognoscetis quod ego sim, et a memetipso nihil loquar, sed sicut me docuit ita et loquor, quia et qui me misit mecum est. et hoc ad testimonium individuorum duorum. [6] item in altercatione Iudaeorum, exprobrans quod occidere eum vellent, Ego, inquit, quae vidi penes patrem meum loquor, et vos quod vidistis penes patrem vestrum id facitis; et nunc vultis occidere hominem veritatem vobis locutum quam audivit a deo: et, Si deus esset pater vester dilexissetis me; ego enim ex deo exivi et veni (et tamen non separantur, licet exisse dixerit, ut quidam arripiunt huius dicti occasionem exivit autem a patre ut radius ex sole, ut rivus ex fonte, ut frutex ex semine): <et>, Ego daemonium non habeo, sed honoro patrem meum: et, Si ego me ipse glorificem, nihil est gloria mea; est qui me glorificet pater, quem vos dicitis deum esse vestrum nec nostis illum; est ego novi eum, et si dicam Non novi, ero similis vestri mendax; sed novi illum et sermonem eius servo. [7] at cum subiungit, Abraham diem meum vidit et

laetatus est, nempe demonstrat filium Abrahae retro visum, non patrem. item super caecum illum patris opera dicit se facere oportere: cui post restitutionem luminum, Tu, inquit, credis in filium dei? et interroganti quis esset iste, ipse se demonstrans utique filium demonstravit quem credendum esse dixerat. [8] dehinc cognosci se profitetur a patre et patrem a se, et ideo se diligi a patre quod animam suam ponat, quia hoc praeceptum accepisset a patre. [9] et interrogatus a Iudaeis si ipse esset Christus (utique dei, nam usque in hodiernum Iudaei Christum dei, non ipsum patrem, sperant, quia nunquam Christus pater scriptus est venturus), Loquor, inquit, vobis et non ereditis; opera quae ego facio in nomine patris, ipsa de me testimonium dicunt. quod testimonium? ipsum scilicet esse de quo interrogabant, id est Christum dei. [10] de ovibus etiam suis, quod nemo illas de manu eius eriperet, Pater enim, <inquit>, quod mihi dedit maius est omnibus; et, Ego et pater unum sumus. hic ergo iam gradum volunt figere stulti, immo caeci, qui non videant, primo, Ego et pater, duorum esse significationem; dehinc in novissimo, Sumus, non ex unius esse persona, quod pluraliter dictum est; tum quod Unum sumus, non Unus sumus <dicit>. [11] si enim dixisset Unus sumus, potuisset adiuvere sententiam illorum: unus enim singularis numeri significatio videtur. adhuc cum duo masculini generis unum dicit neutrali verbo — quod non pertinet ad singularitatem, sed ad unitatem, ad similitudinem, ad coniunctionem, ad dilectionem patris qui filium diligit, et ad obsequium filii qui voluntati patris obsequitur — Unum sumus, dicens, ego et pater, ostendit duos esse quos aequat et iungit. [12] adeo addit etiam multa se opera a patre ostendisse, quorum nihil lapidari mereretur. et ne putarent ideo se illum lapidare debere quasi se deum ipsum, id est patrem, voluisset intellegi quia dixerat Ego et pater unum sumus, qua filium dei deum ostendens, non qua ipsum deum, Si in lege, inquit, scriptum est, Ego dixi Vos dii estis, et non potest solei scriptura, quem pater sanctificavit et misit in mundum vos eum blasphemare dicitis quia dixerat, Filius dei sum? si non facio opera patris mei, nolite credere; si vero facio et mini credere non vultis, vel propter opera credite, et scitote quod ego in patre sim et pater in me. [13] per opera ergo erit pater in filio et filius in patre, et ita per opera intellegimus unum esse patrem <et filium>, adeo totum hoc perseverabat inducere, ut duo tamen crederentur in una virtute, quia aliter filius credi non posset nisi duo crederentur.

CAPUT 23. [1] Post haec autem Martha filium dei eum confessa non magis

erravit quam Petrus et Nathanael: quanquam et si errasset statim didicisset. ecce enim ad suscitandum fratrem eius a mortuis ad caelum et ad patrem dominus suspiciens, Pater, inquit utique filius, gratias ago tibi quod me semper exaudias; propter istas turbas circumstantes dixi, ut credant quod tu me miseris. [2] sed et in conturbatione animae: Et quid dicam? pater, salvum me fac de ista hora? atquin propter hoc veni in istam horam ; verum, pater, glorifica nomen tuum. in quo erat filius: Ego, inquit, veni in patris mei nomine. [3] inde — scilicet suffecerat filii ad patrem vox — ecce ex abundantia respondet de caelo pater filio contestatus, Hic est filius meus dilectus in quo bene sensi, audite illum: ita et in isto, Glorificavi, et glorificabo rursus. [4] quot personae tibi videntur, perversissime Praxeas, nisi quot et voces? habes filium in terris, habes patrem in caelis. non est separatio ista, sed dispositio divina. ceterum scimus deum etiam intra abyssos esse et ubique consistere, sed vi et potestate filium quoque, ut individuum, cum ipso ubique. tamen in ipsa oeconomia pater voluit filium in terris haberi, se vero in caelis. quo et ipse filius suspiciens et orabat et postulabat a patre quo et nos erectos docebat orare, Pater poster qui es in caelis, cum sit et ubique. hanc sedem suam voluit pater: <Caelum, inquit, mihi thronus. hinc et> [5] minoravit filium modico citra angelos ad terram dimittendo, gloria tamen et honore coronaturus illum in caelos resumendo. haec iam praestabat illi dicens, Et glorificavi et glorificabo. [6] postulat filius de terris, pater promittit a caelis. quid mendacem facis et patrem et filium? si aut pater de caelis loquebatur ad filium cum ipse esset filius apud terras, aut filius ad patrem precabatur cum ipse esset pater apud caelos, quale est ut filius item postularet a semetipso postulando a patre si filius erat pater, iterum pater sibi ipse promitteret promittendo filio si pater erat? [7] ut sic duos divisos diceremus quomodo iactitatis, tolerabilius erat duos divisos quam unum deum versipellem praedicare. itaque ad istos nunc dominus pronuntiavit, Non propter me ista vox venit sed propter vos, ut credant et hi et patrem et filium in suis, quemque nominibus et personis et locis, [8] sed adhuc exclamat Iesus et dicit, Qui credit in me, non in me credit sed in eum credit qui me misit, quia per filium in patrem creditur et auctoritas credendi filio pater est: Et qui conspicit me conspicit eum qui me misit: [9] quomodo? quoniam scilicet, A memetipso non sum locutus, sed qui me misit pater ipse mihi mandatum dedit quid dicam et quid loquar — Dominus enim dat mihi linguam disciplinae ad cognoscendum quando oporteat dicere —

sermonem quem ego loquor, sicut mihi pater dixit ita et loquor. [10] haec quomodo dicta sunt, evangelizator et utique tam carus discipulus Ioannes magis quam, Praxeas noverat: ideoque ipse de suo sensu, Ante autem sollemnitatem paschae, inquit, sciens Iesus omnia sibi tradita a patre esse, et se ex deo esse et ad deum vadere. [11] sed Praxeas ipsum vult patrem de semetipso exisse et ad semetipsum abisse, ut diabolus in cor Iudae non filii traditionem sed patris ipsius inmiserit: nec diabolo bene nec haeretico, quia nec in filio bono suo diabolus operatus est traditionem. filius enim traditus est dei qui erat in filio hominis, sicut scriptura subiungit: Nunc glorificatus est filius hominis et deus glorificatus est in illo. [12] quis deus? utique non pater, sed sermo patris qui erat in filio hominis, id est in carne: in qua et glorificatus iam, virtute vero et sermone, et ante Iesus, Et deus, inquit, glorificabit illum in semetipso — id est pater filium, quem in semetipso habens etsi porrectum ad terram, mox per resurrectionem <glorificavit> morte devicta.

CAPUT 24. [1] Erant plane qui et tunc non intellegerent: quoniam et Thomas aliquamdiu incredulus, Domine, inquit, non scimus quo eas, et quomodo viam novimus? et Iesus, Ego sum via, veritas et vita; nemo venit ad patrem nisi per me; si cognovissetis me cognovissetis et patrem; sed abhinc nostis illum et vidistis illum. [2] et pervenimus iam ad Philippum, qui spe excitatus videndi patris nec intellegens quomodo visum patrem audisset, Ostende, inquit, nobis patrem, et sufficit nobis: et dominus, Philippe, tanto tempore vobiscum sum et non cognovistis me? quem dicit cognosci ab illis debuisse <se>? hoc enim solum discuti oportet. quasi patrem an quasi filium? si quasi patrem, doceat Praxeas tanto tempore Christum cum eis conversatum patrem aliquando non dico intellegi verum vel aestimari potuisse. [3] nobis omnes scripturae et veteres Christum dei et novae filium dei praefiniunt. hoc et retro praedicabatur, hoc et ab ipso Christo pronuntiabatur, immo iam et ab ipso patre coram de caelis filium profitente et filium glorificante: Hic est filius meus ; et, Glorificavi et glorificabo. hoc et a discipulis credebatur, hoc et a Iudaeis non credebatur: hoc se volens credi ab illis omni hora patrem nominabat et patrem praeferebat et patrem honorabat, [4] si ita est, ergo non patrem tanto tempore secum conversatum ignoraverant sed filium: et dominus, eum se ignorati exprobrans quem ignoraverant, eum utique agnosci volebat quem tanto non agnosci tempore exprobraverat, id est filium. et apparere iam potest quomodo dictum sit, Qui me videt videt et patrem: scilicet

quo et supra, Ego et pater unum sumus. [5] quare? quia, Ego ex deo exivi et veni; et, Ego sum via, nemo ad patrem venit nisi per me; et, Nemo ad me venit nisi pater eum adduxerit; et, Omnia mihi pater tradidit; et, Sicut pater vivificat, ita et filius; et, Si me cognovistis et patrem cognovistis. [6] secundum haec enim vicarium se patris ostenderat, per quem pater et videretur in factis et audiretur in verbis et cognosceretur in filio facta et verba patris administrante: quia invisibilis pater, quod et Philippus didicerat in lege et meminisse debuerat — Deum nemo videbit et vivet. et ideo suggillatur patrem videre desiderans quasi visibilem, et instruitur visibilem eum in filio fieri ex virtutibus non ex personae repraesentatione, [7] denique si patrem eundem filium vellet intellegi dicendo, Qui me videt patrem videt, quomodo subicit, Non credis quia ego in patre et pater in me? debuerat enim subiunxisse, Non credis quia ego sum pater? aut quo exaggeravit, si non illud manifestavit quod voluerat intellegi, se scilicet filium esse? porro dicendo, Non credis quia ego in patre et pater in me, propterea potius exaggeravit ne, quia dixerat, Qui me vidit et patrem vidit, pater existimaretur: quod nunquam existimari se voluit, qui semper se filium et a patre venisse profitebatur. [8] igitur et manifestam fecit duarum personarum coniunctionem, ne pater seorsum quasi visibilis in conspectu desideraretur et ut filius repraesentator patris haberetur. et nihilominus hoc quoque interpretatus est, quomodo pater esset in filio et filius in patre: Verba, inquit, quae ego loquor vobis non sunt mea — utique quia patris — pater autem manens in me facit opera, [9] per opera ergo virtutum et verba doctrinae manens in filio pater, per ea videtur per quae manet et per eum in quo manet, ex hoc ipso apparente proprietate utriusque personae dum dicit, Ego sum in patre et pater in me. atque adeo Credite ait. quid? me patrem esse? non puto scriptum esse, sed, Quia ego in patre et pater in me, si quo minus vel propter opera credite, ea utique opera per quae pater in filio non visu sed sensu videbatur.

CAPUT 25. [1] Post Philippum et totam substantiam quaestionis istius, quae in finem evangelii perseverant in eodem genere sermonis, quo pater et filius in sua proprietate distinguuntur. paracletum quoque a patre se postulaturum, cum ascendisset ad patrem, et missurum repromittit, et quidem alium. sed iam praemisimus quomodo alium. ceterum, De meo sumet, inquit, sicut ipse de patris. ita connexus patris in filio et filii in paracleto tres efficit cohaerentes alterum ex altero. qui tres unum sunt, non unus, quomodo dictum est, Ego et

pater unum sumus, ad substantiae unitatem non ad numeri singularitatem. [2] percurre adhuc, et invenies quem patrem credis vitem patris dictum et patrem agricolam, usi quem in terra tu putas fuisse hunc rursus in caelis a filio agnoscere cum illuc respiciens discipulos suos patri tradidit. sed etsi in isto evangelio non est revelatum, Deus meus ad quid me dereliquisti? et, Pater in tuis manibus depono spiritum meum, tamen post resurrectionem et devictae gloriae mortis, exposita necessitate omnis humilitatis, cum iam patrem se posset ostendere tam fideli feminae, ex dilectione non ex curiositate nec ex incredulitate Thomae tangere eum adgressae, Ne, inquit, contigeris me, nondum ascendi ad patrem meum, vade autem ad fratres meos (quin et in hoc filium ostendit, filios enim appellasset illos si pater fuisset) et dices eis, Ascendo ad patrem meum et patrem vestrum, deum meum et deum vestrum. [3] pater ad patrem et deus ad deum? an filius ad patrem et sermo ad deum? [4] ipsa quoque clausula evangelii propter quid consignat haec scripta nisi, Ut credatis, inquit, Iesum Christum filium dei? igitur quaecumque ex his putaveris ad demonstrationem eiusdem patris et filii proficere tibi posse, adversus definitivam evangelii sententiam niteris: non ideo enim scripta sunt ut patrem credas Iesum, Christum, sed ut filium.

CAPUT 26. [1] Propter unum Philippi sermonem et domini responsionem ad eum videmur Ioannis evangelium decucurrisse; ne tot manifeste pronuntiata et ante et postea unus sermo subvertat, secundum omnia potius quam adversus omnia, etiam adversus suos sensus, interpretandus. [2] ceterum ut alia evangelia non interponam quae nativitate dominica fidem confirmant, sufficit eum qui nasci habebat ex virgine ab ipso annuntiari angelo filium dei determinatum: Spiritus dei superveniet in te et virtus altissimi obumbrabit te, propterea quod nascetur ex te sanctum vocabitur filius dei. [3] volent quidem et hic argumentari, sed veritas praevalebit. nempe, inquiunt, filius dei deus est, et virtus altissimi altissimus est: nec pudet illos inicere quod, si esset, scriptum fuisset. quem enim verebatur ut non aperte pronuntiaret, Deus superveniet et altissimus obumbrabit te? dicens autem, Spiritus dei, etsi spiritus deus, tamen non directo deum nominans portionem totius intellegi voluit quae cessura erat in filii nomen. [4] hic spiritus dei idem erit sermo. sicut enim Ioanne dicente, Sermo caro factus est, spiritum quoque intellegimus in mentione sermonis, ita et hic sermonem quoque agnoscimus in nomine spiritus. nam et spiritus substantia est sermonis et sermo operatio spiritus, et duo unum sunt. [5]

ceterum alium Ioannes profitebitur carnem factum, alium angelus carnem futurum, si non et spiritus sermo est et sermo spiritus. sicut ergo sermo dei non est ipse cuius est, ita nec spiritus, etsi deus dictus est, non tamen ipse est cuius est dictus. nulla res alicuius ipsa est cuius est. plane cum quid ex ipso est, et sic eius est dum ex ipso sit, potest tale quid esse quale et ipse ex quo est et cuius est: [6] et ideo spiritus deus et sermo deus, quia ex deo, non tamen ipse ex quo est. quodsi spiritus dei, tamquam substantiva res, non erit ipse deus sed hactenus deus qua ex ipsius dei substantia, qua et substantiva res est et ut portio aliqua totius, multo magis virtus altissimi non erit ipse altissimus, quia nec substantiva res est quod est spiritus, sicut nec sapientia nec providentia: et haec enim substantiae non sunt sed accidentia uniuscuiusque substantiae. [7] virtus spiritui accidit, nec ipsa erit spiritus. his itaque rebus, quodcumque sunt, spiritu dei et sermone et virtute, conlatis in virginem, quod de ea nascitur filius dei est. [8] hoc se et in istis evangeliis ipse testatur statim a puero Non scitis, inquit, quod in patria mei me esse oportet? hoc et satanas cum in temptationibus novit: Si filius dei es. hoc et exinde daemonia confitentur: Scimus qui sis, filius dei. patrem et ipse adorat. Christum se dei a Petro agnitum non negat. insultans in spiritu ad patrem, Confiteor, inquit, tibi pater quod absconderis haec a sapientibus. [9] hic quoque patrem nemini notum nisi filio affirmat, et patris filium confessurum confessores et negaturum negatores suos apud patrem, inducens parabolam filii, non patris, in vineam missi post aliquot servos et occisi a malis rusticis et a patre defensi, ignorans et ipse diem et horam ultimam soli patri notam, disponens regnum discipulis quomodo et sibi dispositum dicit a patre, habens potestatem legiones angelorum postulandi ad auxilium a patre si vellet, exclamans quod se deus reliquisset, in patris manibus spiritum ponens, et post resurrectionem spondens missurum se discipulis promissionem patris, et novissime mandans ut tingerent in patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, non in unum: nam nec semel sed ter, ad singula nomina in personas singulas, tinguimur.

CAPUT 27. [1] Et quid ego in tam manifestis morabor, cum ea aggredi debeam de quibus manifesta obumbrare quaerunt? undique enim obducti distinctione patris et filii, quam manente coniunctione disponimus ut solis et radii et fontis et fluvii, per individuum tamen numerum duorum et trium, aliter eam ad suam nihilominus sententiam interpretari conantur, ut aequae in una persona utrumque distinguant, patrem et filium, dicentes filium carnem esse,

id est hominem id est Iesum, patrem autem spiritum, id est deum id est Christum. [2] et qui unum eundemque contendunt patrem et filium iam incipiunt dividere illos potius quam unare. si enim alius est Iesus alius Christus, alius erit filius alius pater, quia filius Iesus et pater Christus. talem monarchiam apud Valentinum fortasse didicerunt, duos facere Iesum et Christum. [3] sed et haec iniectio eorum ex praetractatis iam retusa est, quod sermo dei vel spiritus dei et virtus altissimi dictus sit quem patrem faciunt: non enim ipse sunt cuius dicuntur, sed ex ipso et ipsius. [4] et aliter tamen in isto capitulo revincentur. ecce, inquit; ab angelo praedicatum est, Propterea quod nascetur sanctum vocabitur filius dei: caro itaque nata est, caro itaque erit filius dei. immo de spiritu dei dictum est. [5] certe enim de spiritu sancto virgo concepit, et quod concepit id peperit. id ergo nasci habebat quod erat conceptum et pariundum, id est spiritus, cuius et vocabitur nomen Emmanuel, quod est interpretatum Nobiscum deus. caro autem deus non est ut de illa dictum sit, Vocabitur sanctum filius dei, sed ille qui in ea natus est deus, de quo et psalmus, Quoniam deus homo natus est in illa et aedificavit eam voluntate patris. [6] quis deus in ea natus? sermo et spiritus qui cum sermone de patris voluntate natus est. igitur sermo in carne: dum et de hoc quaerendum, quomodo sermo caro sit factus, utrumne quasi transfiguratus in carne an indutus carnem. immo indutus. ceterum deum inmutabilem et informabilem credi necesse est, ut aeternum. [7] transfiguratio autem interemptio est pristini: omne enim quodcumque transfiguratur in aliud desinit esse quod fuerat et incipit esse quod non erat. deus autem neque desinit esse neque aliud potest esse. sermo autem deus, et sermo domini manet in aevum, perseverando scilicet in sua forma. quem si non capit configurari, consequens est ut sic caro factus intellegatur dum fit in carne et manifestatur et videtur et contrectatur per carnem, quia et cetera sic accipi exigunt. [8] si enim sermo ex transfiguratione et demutatione substantiae caro factus est, una iam erit substantia Iesus ex duabus, ex carne et spiritu, mixtura quaedam, ut electrum ex auro et argento, et incipit nec aurum esse, id est spiritus, neque argentum, id est caro, dum alterum altero mutatur et tertium quid efficitur. [9] neque ergo deus erit Iesus; sermo enim desiit esse, qui caro factus est: neque homo caro; caro enim non proprie est, quia sermo fuit. ita ex utroque neutrum est: aliud longe tertium est quam utrumque. [10] sed enim invenimus illum directo et deum et hominem expositum, ipso hoc psalmo suggerente, Quoniam deus

homo natus est in illa aedificavit eam voluntate patris: certe usquequaque filium dei et filium hominis, cum deum et hominem sine dubio secundum utramque substantiam in sua proprietate distantem, quia neque sermo aliud quam deus neque caro aliud quam homo. [11] sic et apostolus de utraque eius substantia docet: Qui factus est; inquit, ex semine David — hic erit homo et filius hominis; Qui definitus est filius dei secundum spiritum — hic erit deus, et sermo dei filius: videmus duplicem statum, non confusum sed coniunctum, in una persona deum et hominem Iesum. de Christo autem differo. et adeo salva est utriusque proprietas substantiae, ut et spiritus res suas egerit in illo, id est virtutes et opera et signa, et caro passiones suas functa sit, esuriens sub diabolo, sitiens sub Samaritide, flens Lazarum, anxia usque ad mortem, denique et mortua est. [12] quodsi tertium quid esset ex utroque confusum, ut electrum, non tam distincta documenta parerent utriusque substantiae; sed et spiritus carnalia et caro spiritalia egisset ex translatione, aut neque carnalia neque spiritalia sed tertiae alicuius formae ex confusione: [13] immo aut sermo mortuus esset aut caro mortua non esset, si sermo conversus esset in carnem; aut caro enim immortalis fuisset aut sermo mortalis. sed quia substantiae ambae in statu suo quaeque distincte agebant, ideo illis et operae et exitus sui occurrerunt. [14] disce igitur cum Nicodemo quia quod in carne natum est caro est, et quod de spiritu spiritus est. neque caro spiritus fit neque spiritus caro: in uno plane esse possunt. ex his Iesus constitit, ex carne homo ex spiritu deus, quem tunc angelus ex ea parte qua spiritus erat dei filium pronuntiavit, servans carni filium hominis dici. [15] sic et apostolus etiam dei et hominum appellans sequestrem utriusque substantiae confirmavit. novissime, qui filium dei carnem interpretaris, exhibe qui sit filius hominis: aut numquid spiritus erit? sed spiritum patrem ipsum vis haberi, quia deus spiritus: quasi non et dei spiritus, sicut et sermo deus, et dei sermo..

CAPUT 28. [1] Itaque Christum facis patrem, stultissime, qui nec ipsam vim inspicias nominis huius, si tamen nomen est Christus et non appellatio potius: unctus enim significatur. unctus autem non magis nomen est quam vestitus, quam calceatus, accidens nomini res. an tu, si ex aliquo argumento vestitus quoque vocaretur Iesus, quomodo Christus ab unctionis sacramento, aequae Iesum filium dei diceres, vestitum vero patrem crederes? [2] nunc de Christo. si pater Christus est pater unctus est, et utique ab alio: aut si a semetipso, proba. sed non ita docent Acta Apostolorum in illa exclamatione ecclesiae ad deum,

Convenerunt enim universi in ista civitate adversus sanctum filium tuum quem unxisti; Herodes et Pilatus cum nationibus. [3] ita et filium dei Iesum contestati sunt et filium a patre unctum: ergo Iesus idem erit Christus qui a patre unctus est, non pater qui filium unxit. [4] sic et Petrus: Firmissime itaque cognoscat omnis domus Israel quod et dominum et Christum, id est unctum, fecerit eum deus, hunc Iesum quem vos crucifixistis. [5] Ioannes autem etiam mendacem notat eum qui negaverit Iesum esse Christum, contra de deo natura omnem qui crediderit Iesum esse Christum: propter quod et hortatur ut credamus nomini filii eius Iesu Christi, ut scilicet communio sit nobis cum patre et filio eius Iesu Christo. [6] sic et Paulus ubique deum patrem ponit et dominum nostrum Iesum Christum: cum ad Romanos scribit, gratias agit deo per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum; cum ad Galatas, non ab hominibus se apostolum praefert nec per hominem, sed per Iesum Christum et deum patrem. [7] et habes <per> totum instrumentum eius quae in hunc modum pronuntiant et duos proponunt deum patrem et dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium patris, et Iesum ipsum esse Christum, in altero quoque nomine dei filium. [8] nam exinde eo iure quo utrumque nomen unius est, id est dei filii, etiam alterum sine altero eiusdem est: et sive Iesus tantummodo positum est, intellegitur et Christus quia Iesus unctus est, sive solummodo Christus, idem est et Iesus quia unctus est Iesus. quorum nominum alterum est proprium quod ab angelo impositum est, alterum accidens quod ab unctione convenit, dum tamen Christus filius sit, non pater. [9] postremo quam caecus est qui nec in Christi nomine intellegit alium deum portendi si Christi nomen patri adscribat. si enim Christus pater deus est qui dicit, Ascendo ad patrem meum et patrem vestrum et deum meum et deum vestrum, utique alium patrem super se et deum ostendit. si item pater Christus est, alius est qui solidat tonitruum et condit spiritum et adnuntiat in homines Christum suum. [10] et si Adstiterunt reges terrae et archontes congregati sunt in unum adversus <dominum et adversus> Christum ipsius, alius erit dominus contra cuius Christum congregati sunt reges et archontes. [11] et si Haec dicit dominus domino meo Christo, alius erit dominus qui loquitur ad patrem Christum, [12] et cum apostolus scribit, Ut deus domini nostri Iesu Christi det vobis spiritum sapientiae et agnitionis, alius erit deus Christi Iesu, charismatum spiritualium largitor. [13] certe, ne per omnia evagemur, qui suscitavit Christum, suscitaturus [est] et mortalia corpora nostra, tanquam alius erit suscitator quam pater

mortuus et pater suscitatus, si Christus qui est mortuus pater est.

CAPUT 29. [1] Obmutescat, obmutescat ista blasphemia. sufficiat Christum filium dei mortuum dici, et hoc quia ita scriptum est. nam et apostolus, non sine onere pronuntians Christum mortuum, adicit Secundum scripturas, ut duritiam pronuntiationis scripturarum auctoritate molliret et scandalum auditori everteret. [2] quanquam cum duae substantiae censeantur in Christo Iesu, divina et humana, constet autem immortalem esse divinam, ut mortalem quae humana sit, apparet quatenus eum mortuum dicat, id est qua carnem et hominem et filium hominis, non qua spiritum et sermonem et dei filium. dicendo denique, Christus mortuus est — id est unctus — id quod unctum est mortuum ostendit, id est carnem. [3] ergo, inquis, et nos eadem ratione dicentes qua vos filium non blasphemamus in dominum deum; non enim ex divina sed ex humana substantia mortuum dicimus. atquin blasphematis, non tantum quia mortuum dicitis patrem sed et quia crucifixum. maledictione enim crucifixi quae ex lege in filium competit, quia Christus pro nobis maledictio factus est, non pater, Christum in patrem convertentes in patrem blasphematis. [4] nos autem, dicentes Christum crucifixum, non maledicimus illum sed maledictum legis referimus, quia nec apostolus hoc dicens blasphemavit. sicut autem de quo quid capit dici sine blasphemia dicitur, ita quod non capit blasphemia est si dicatur. [5] ergo nec compassus est pater filio. scilicet directam blasphemiam in patrem veriti, diminui eam hoc modo sperant, concedentes iam patrem et filium duos esse, si filius sic quidem patitur pater vero compatitur. stulti et in hoc. quid est enim compati quam cum alio pati? porro si impassibilis pater utique et incompassibilis; aut si compassibilis utique passibilis. nihil ei vel hoc timore tuo praestas. [6] times dicere passibilem quem dicis compassibilem. tam autem incompassibilis pater est quam impassibilis etiam filius ex ea condicione qua deus est. sed quomodo filius passus est si non compassus est et pater? separatur a filio, non a deo. nam et fluvius si aliqua turbulentia contaminatur, quanquam una substantia de fonte decurrat nec secernatur a fonte, tamen fluvii iniuria non pertinebit ad fontem; et licet aqua fontis sit quae patiatur in fluvio, dum non in fonte patitur sed in fluvio non fons patitur sed fluvius qui ex fonte est. [7] ita et spiritus dei qui pati possit in filio? quia non in patre pateretur sed in filio, pater passus non videretur? sed sufficit nihil spiritum dei passum suo nomine: quia si quid passus est in filio <possibile> quidem erat ut pater cum filio pateretur in carne. quin hoc retractatum, nec

quisquam negabit: quando nec nos pati pro deo possumus nisi spiritus dei sit in nobis, qui et loquitur de nobis quae sunt confessionis, non ipse tamen patiens sed pati posse praestans.

CAPUT 30. [1] Alioquin si ultra perges, potero tibi durius respondere et te cum ipsius domini pronuntiatione committere, uti dicam, quid de isto quaeris? habes ipsum exclamantem in passione, Deus meus, deus meus, ut quid me dereliquisti? ergo aut filius patiebatur a patre derelictus, et pater passus non est qui filium dereliquit: aut si pater erat qui patiebatur, ad quem deum exclamabat? [2] sed haec vox carnis et animae, id est hominis, non sermonis nec spiritus, id est non dei, propterea emissa est ut impassibilem deum ostenderet qui sic filium dereliquit dum hominem eius tradidit in mortem. [3] hoc et apostolus sensit scribens, Si pater filio non pepercit. hoc et Esaias prior pronuntiavit: Et dominus cum tradidit pro delictis nostris. sic reliquit dum non parcit, sic reliquit dum tradit. [4] ceterum non reliquit pater filium, in cuius manibus filius spiritum suum posuit. denique posuit, et statim obiit: spirito enim manente in carne caro omnino mori non potest. ita relinqui a patre mori fuit filio. filius igitur et moritur et resuscitatur a patre secundum scripturas. filius ascendit in superiora caelorum, qui et descendit in interiora terrae. [5] hic sedet ad dexteram patris, non pater ad suam. hunc videt Stephanus, cum lapidatur, adhuc stantem ad dexteram dei, ut exinde sessurum donec ponat illi pater omnes inimicos sub pedibus suis. hic et venturus est rursus super nubes caeli talis qualis et ascendit. hic interim acceptum a patre munus effudit spiritum sanctum, tertium nomen divinitatis et tertium gradum maiestatis, unius praedicatorem monarchiae sed et oeconomiae interpretatorem si quis sermones novae prophetiae eius admiserit, et deductorem omnis veritatis quae est in patre et filio et spiritu sancto secundum Christianum sacramentum.

CAPUT 31. [1] Ceterum Iudaicae fidei ista res, sic unum deum credere ut filium adnumerare ei nolis et post filium spiritum. quid enim erit inter nos et illos nisi differentia ista? quod opus evangelii, quae est substantia novi testamenti statuens legem et prophetas usque ad Ioannem, si non exinde pater et filius et spiritus, tres crediti, unum deum sistunt? [2] sic deus voluit novare sacramentum ut nove unus crederetur per filium et spiritum, ut coram iam deus in suis propriis nominibus et personis cognosceretur qui et retro per filium et spiritum praedicatus non intellegebatur. [3] viderint igitur antichristi, qui negant patrem et filium: negant enim patrem dum eundem filium dicunt,

et negant filium dum eundem patrem credunt, dando illis quae non sunt, auferendo quae sunt. qui vero confessus fuerit Christum filium dei, non patrem, deus in illo manet et ipse in deo. nos credimus testimonio dei quo testatus est de filio suo: Qui filium non habet, nec vitam habet. non habet autem filium qui eum alium quam filium credit.

Scorpiace (Antidote to Scorpion's Bite)

[1] Magnum de modico malum scorpio terra suppurat. Tot uenena quot et genera, tot pernicies quot et species, tot dolores quot et colores. Nicander scribit et pingit. Et tamen unus omnium uiolentiae gestus de cauda, non ore; quae cauda erit, quodcumque de postumo corporis propagatur et uerberat. * * * perinde scorpii: series illa nodorum uenenata intrinsecus uenula subtilis arcuato impetu insurgens hamatile spiculum in summo tormenti ratione stringit. [2] Vnde et bellicam machinam retractu tela uegetantem de scorpio nominant. Id spiculum et fistula est patula tenuitate et uirus, qua figit, in uulnus effundit. Familiare periculi tempus aestas; Austro et Africo saeuitia uelificat. In remediis naturalia plurimum; aliquid et magia circumligat; medicina cum ferro et poculo occurrit. [3] Nam et praebibunt quidam festinando tutelam; sed concubitus exhaurit, et denuo sitiunt. Nobis fides praesidium, si non et ipsa percutitur diffidentia signandi statim et adiurandi et iniciendi bestiae calcem. [4] Hoc denique modo etiam ethnicis saepe subuenimus, donati a deo ea potestate, quam apostolus dedicauit, cum morsum uiperæ spreuit. Quid ergo promittit stilus iste, si fides de suo tuta est? Vt et alias de suo tuta sit, cum suos scorprios patitur. Acerba mediocritas et istis et genus uarium et uno modo armantur et certo tempore subornantur nec alio quam ardoris. [5] Hoc apud Christianos persecutio est. Cum igitur fides aestuat et ecclesia exurit de figura rubi, tunc Gnostici erumpunt, tunc Valentiniani proserpunt, tunc omnes martyriorum refragatores ebulliunt calentes et ipsi offendere, figere, occidere. Nam quod sciant multos simplices ac rudes tum infirmos, plerosque uero in uentum et si placuerit Christianos, numquam magis adeundos sapiunt, quam cum aditus animae formido laxauit, praesertim cum aliqua iam atrocitas fidem martyrum coronauit. [6] Itaque primo trahentes adhuc caudam de affectibus applicant aut quasi in uacuum flagellant: haecine pati homines innocentes? Vt putes fratrem aut de melioribus ethnicum. [7] Siccine tractari sectam nemini molestam? Dehinc adigunt: perire homines sine causa. Perire enim, et sine causa, prima fixura. Exinde iam caedunt: sed nesciunt simplices animae, quid quomodo scriptum sit, ubi et quando et coram quibus confitendum, nisi quod nec simplicitas ista, sed uanitas, immo dementia pro deo mori, ut qui me saluum faciat. [8] Sic is

occidet, qui saluum facere debebit? Semel Christus pro nobis obiit, semel occisus est, ne occideremur. Si uicem repetit, num et ille salutem de mea nece expectat? An deus hominum sanguinem flagitat, maxime si taurorum et hircorum recusat? Certe peccatoris paenitentiam manuult quam mortem. Et quomodo non peccatorum desiderat mortem? [9] Haec et si qua alia adinuenta haereticorum uenenorum quem non uel in scrupulum figant, si non in exitium, uel in bilem, si non in mortem? At tu, si fides uigilat, ibidem scorpio pro solea anathema inlidito et relinquito in suo pure morientem. [10] Ceterum, si plagam satiauerit, intimatur uirus et properat in uiscera; statim omnes pristini sensus retorpescent, sanguis animi gelascit, caro spiritus exolescit, nausea nominis inacrescit. Iam et ipsa mens sibi, quo uomat, quaerit, atque ita infirmitas, semel quae percussa est, sauciatam fidem uel in haeresin uel in saeculum expirat. Et nunc in praesentia rerum est medius ardor, ipsa canicula persecutionis, ab ipso scilicet cynocephalo. [11] Alios ignis, alios gladius, alios bestiae Christianos probauerunt, alii fustibus interim et ungulis insuper degustato martyrio in carcere esuriunt. Nos ipsi ut lepores, destinata uenatio, de longinquo obsedimur, et haeretici ex more grassantur. [12] Itaque tempus admonuit aduersus nostrates bestiolas nostratem [mederi] theriacam stilo temperare. Qui legeris, biberis. Nec amarum potio. Si eloquia domini dulcia super mella et fauos, inde pigmenta sunt. Si lacte et melle promissio dei manat, hoc sapiunt quae illuc faciunt. Vae autem qui dulce in amarum et lumen in tenebras conuertunt! [13] Perinde enim et qui martyriis refragantur salutem perditionem interpretantes tam dulce in amarum quam luceni in tenebras reformant atque ita miserrimam hanc uitam illi beatissimae praeuertendo tam amarum pro dulce quam tenebras pro luce supponunt.

II. [1] Sed nondum de bono martyri, nisi de debito primum, nec ante de utilitate eius, quam de necessitate discendum. Auctoritas diuina praecedat, an tale quid uoluerit atque mandauerit deus, ut qui negant bonum non suadeantur accommodum, nisi cum subacti fuerint. Ad officium haeticos compelli non inlici dignum est. Duritia uincenda est, non suadenda. [2] Et utique satis optimum praeiudicabitur quod probabitur a deo constitutum atque praeceptum. Sustineant euangelia paulisper, dum radicem eorum exprimo legem, dum inde elicio dei uoluntatem unde et ipsum recognosco: ego sum, inquit, deus deus tuus, qui te eduxi de terra Aegypti. Non erunt tibi dii alii praeter me. Non facies tibi simulacrum eorum quae in caelo et quae in terra

deorsum et quae in mari infra terram. Non adorabis ea, neque famulaberis eis. Ego enim dominus deus tuus. Item in eadem Exodo: ipsi uidistis, quod de caelo locutus ad uos sim. Non facietis uobis deos argenteos, et deos aureos non facietis uobis. [3] Secundum haec et in Deuteronomio: audi Israel, dominus deus tuus unus est, et diliges dominum deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et totis uiribus tuis et ex tota anima tua. Et rursus: nec obliuiscaris domini dei tui, qui te eduxit de terra Aegypti ex domo seruitutis. Dominum deum tuum timebis et illi famulaberis soli et illi adglutinaberis et in nomine eius deierabis. [4] Non ibitis post deos alienos ex deis nationum, quae circum uos, quia aemulatur deus deus tuus in te, et ne iratus indignetur et exterminet te a facie terrae. [5] Sed et proponens benedictiones et maledictiones: benedictiones, inquit, si audieritis praecepta domini dei uestri, quaecumque ego praecipio uobis hodie, et non erraueritis de uia quam mandauī uobis, ut abeuntes semiatis deis aliis, quos non scitis. [6] De quibus omnifariam extirpandis: perditione perdetis, inquit, omnia loca, in quibus seruierunt nationes deis suis, quas uos possidebitis hereditate, super montes et colles et sub arbores densas, quasque effodietis aras eorum, euertetis et comminuetis staticula eorum et excidetis lucos eorum et sculptilia ipsorum deorum concremabitis igni et disperdetis nomen eorum de loco illo. [7] Adhuc ingerit, cum introissent terram promissionis et exterminassent nationes eius: caue tibi, ne sequaris eas posteaquam exterminatae fuerint a facie tua, ne requisieris deos illarum dicens, quemadmodum faciunt nationes deis suis, ut et ego ita faciam. [8] Sed et, si ipse propheta, inquit, exsurrexerit in te aut somnium somnians et dederit tibi signum uel ostentum et uenerit et dixerit, eamus et seruiamus diis aliis, quos non scitis, ne audiat sermonem prophetae aut somniatoris illius, quia temptat uos dominus deus uester, an ex toto corde uestro et ex tota anima uestra timeatis deum. Post dominum deum uestrum abibitis et hunc timebitis et praecepta eius custodietis et uocem eius audietis et illi seruietis et illi adiciemini. Prophetes autem uel somniator ille morietur; locutus enim est ad seducendum te a domino deo tuo. [9] Sed et alio titulo: si autem rogauerit te frater tuus ex patre uel matre aut filius tuus aut filia tua aut mulier quae in gremio tuo est aut amicus qui animae tuae par est clam dicens, eamus et seruiamus diis aliis, quos non scis, nec patres tui, ex deis nationum, quae circum te proxime aut longe, ne uelis ire cum illo, et ne audieris eum. [10] Non parcet oculus tuus super eum nec desiderabis nec saluabis eum; adnuntians

adnuntiabis de eo. Manus tuae erunt in eum in primis ad occidendum, et manus populi tui in nouissimis, et lapidabitis illum, et morietur, quoniam quaesiuit auertere te a domino deo tuo. [11] Subicit etiam de ciuitatibus, si quam ex his constitisset suasu iniquorum hominum transisse ad deos alios, ut interficerentur omnes incolentes eam, et deuotamenta fierent uniuersa eius, et colligerentur omnia spolia eius in omnes exitus eius et igni cremarentur cum omnibus uasibus suis et cum omni populo in conspectu domini dei, et non erit habitabilis, inquit, in aeternum, non reaedicabitur amplius nec adhaerebit quicquam manibus tuis ex deuotamento eius, uti auertatur dominus ab indignatione irae suae. [12] Maledictionum quoque ordinem ab idolorum execratione commisit: maledictus homo qui fecerit sculptile aut fusile aspernamentum, opus manuum artificis, et collocauerit illud in abscondito. In Leuitico uero: ne sequimini, inquit, idola et deos fusiles non facietis uobis. Ego dominus deus uester. Et alibi: filii Israel famuli pueri mei. Hi sunt quos eduxi de terra Aegypti. Ego dominus deus uester. Non facietis uobis manu facta nec sculptile staticulum statuētis uobis. Nec lapidem scopum ponetis in terra uestra. Ego dominus deus uester. [13] Et haec quidem prima per Moysen dicta sunt ad omnes utique pertinentia, quoscumque dominus deus Israelis perinde de Aegypto superstitiosissimi saeculi et de domo humanae seruitutis eduxerit. [14] Sed et deinceps omne os prophetarum eiusdem dei uocibus sonat eandem legem suam eorundem praeceptorum instauratione cumulantis nec aliud primum tam principaliter denuntiantis, quam ab omni factura atque cultura idolorum cauere; ut per Daud: dii nationum argentum et aurum, oculos habent nec uident, aures habent nec audiunt, nares habent nec odorantur, os nec locuntur, manus nec contrectant, pedes nec ingrediuntur. Similes erunt illis, qui ea faciunt et qui fidunt in illis.

III. [1] Nec putem disceptandum, an digne deus prohibeat nomen et honorem suum mendacio addici, an digne quos ab errore superstitionis auulserit rursus in Aegyptum regredi nolit, an digne a se non patiaturs absistere quos sibi adlegit. Ita nec illud expectabitur retractari a nobis, an obseruari uoluerit disciplinam quam uoluit instituere et an merito ulciscatur desertam quam uoluit obseruatam, quando frustra instituisset, si obseruari eam noluisset, et frustra obseruari uoluisset, si uindicare noluisset. [2] Sequitur enim, ut has definitiones dei aduersus superstitiones tam euictas quam etiam uindicatas probem, quoniam ex his tota martyriorum ratio constabit. Aberat

apud deum in monte Moyses, cum populus tam necessariam absentiam eius impatiens deos sibi producere quaerit, quo se potius ipse perdiderit. [3] Vrgetur Aaron, et iubet inaures feminarum suarum in ignem conferri. Amissuri enim erant in iudicium sibi uera ornamenta aurium, dei uoces. Sapiens ignis effigiem uituli defundit illis suggillans illic cor habentes ubi et thesaurum, apud Aegyptum scilicet, inter cetera animalia bouis etiam cuiusdam consecratricem. [4] Itaque tria milia hominum a parentibus proximis caesa, quia tam proximum parentem deum offenderant, transgressionis et primordia et merita dedicauerunt. In Arithmis cum diuertisset Israel apud Sethim, abeunt libidinum ad filias Moab, inuitantur ad idola, ut et spiritu fornicarentur, edunt denique de pollutis eorum, dehinc et adorant deos gentis et Beelphegor initiantur. [5] Ob hanc quoque idololatriam moechiae sororem uiginti tria milia domesticis obtruncata gladiis diuinae irae litauerunt. Defuncto Iesu Naue derelincunt deum patrum suorum et seruiunt idolis Baalim et Astartis, et iratus dominus tradidit eos in manibus diripientium, et diripiebantur ab illis et uenumdabantur inimicis, nec poterant omnino subsistere a facie inimicorum suorum. [6] Quocumque processerant, manus erat super illos in mala, et compressati sunt ualde. Post quae instituit super illos deus Critas, quos Censores intellegimus. Sed nec istis obaudire perseuerauerunt. Vt quis critarum obierat, illi ad delinquendum supra quam patres eorum, abeundo post deos aliorum et seruiendo et adorando eos. [7] Itaque dominus iratus, quoniam quidem, ait, transgressi sunt gens ista pactum meum, quod disposui patribus eorum, et non audierunt uocem meam, et ego non aduertam ad auferendum uirum a facie eorum ex nationibus, quas reliquit decedens Iesus. Atque ita per omnes paene annales critarum et deinceps regum reseruatis gentium circumcolarum uiribus bello et captiuitate et iugo allophylosum iram dei pensauit Israel, quotienscumque ab illo maxime in idololatriam exorbitauerunt.

IV. [1] Hanc igitur si a primordio constat et prohibitam de tot tantisque praeceptis et numquam inpune commissam de tot tantisque documentis nec ullum tam superbum crimen deputari apud deum, quam huiusmodi transgressionem, ultro intellegere debemus diuinarum et denuntiationum et executionum intentionem iam tunc martyriis patrocيناتam non modo non dubitandis, uerum etiam sustinendis, quibus scilicet locum fecerat prohibendo idololatriam. Aliter enim martyria non euenirent. Et utique auctoritatem suam praestruxerat uolens ea euenire quibus locum fecerat. [2] Nunc enim de dei

uoluntate conpungimur, et ingeminat scorpius plagam, hanc negans, hanc accusans uoluntatem, ut aut alium deum insinuet, cuius haec non sit uoluntas, aut nostrum nihilominus destruat, cuius talis sit uoluntas, aut omnino neget uoluntatem dei, si ipsum negare non poterit. [3] Nos autem de deo alibi dimicantes et de reliquo corpore haereticae cuiusque doctrinae nunc in unam speciem congressionis certas praeducimus lineas, non alterius dei quam Israelis eam defendentes uoluntatem quae martyriis locum fecerit, tam ex praeceptis prohibitaе semper quam ex iudiciis punitae idololatriae. Si enim praeceptum obseruando uim patior, hoc erit quodammodo obseruandi praecepti praeceptum, ut id patiar per quod potero obseruare praeceptum, uim scilicet, quaecumque mihi imminet cauenda ab idololatria. [4] Et utique qui inponit praeceptum, extorquet obsequium. Non potuit ergo noluisse ea euenire per quae constabit obsequium. Praescribitur mihi, ne quem alium deum dicam, ne uel dicendo, non minus lingua quam manu, deum fingam neque alium adorem aut quo modo uenerer praeter unicum illum, qui ita mandat, quem et iubeor timere, ne ab eo deserar, et de omni substantia diligere, ut pro eo moriar. [5] Huic sacramento militans ab hostibus prouocor. Par sum illis, nisi illis manus dederō. Hoc defendendo depugno in acie, uulneror, concidor, occidor. Quis hunc militi suo exitum uoluit, nisi qui tali sacramento eum consignauit?

V. [1] Habes igitur dei mei uoluntatem. Occursum est huic plagae. Iam alium ictum consideremus de uoluntatis qualitate. Longum est, ut deum meum bonum ostendam, quod iam a nobis didicerunt Marcionitae. Deum interim sufficit dici, ut necesse sit bonum credi. [2] Malum enim deum qui praesumpserit, constare in utroque non poterit: aut deum negare debebit quem malum existimarit, aut bonum dicere quem deum pronuntiauerit. Bona igitur erit et uoluntas eius qui nisi bonus non erit deus. [3] Probabit hoc etiam ipsius rei bonitas quam deus uoluit, martyrii dico, quia bonum non nisi bonus uoluit. Bonum contendo martyrium apud eundem deum, a quo et prohibetur et punitur idololatria. Obnitiur enim et aduersatur idololatriae martyrium. Malo autem obniti et aduersari nisi bonum non potest. [4] Non quasi negem esse aemulationem tam malorum inter se quam et bonorum, sed alia condicio est huius tituli. Martyrium enim non de communi aliqua militia certat cum idololatria, sed de sua gratia; liberat enim ab idololatria. Quod a malo liberat, quis non bonum pronuntiabit? Quid aliud est aduersatio idololatriae atque

martyrii quam mortis et uitae? [5] In tantum uita martyrio deputabitur, quantum morti idololatria. Vitam qui malum dixerit, habet mortem, quam bonum dicat. Est et haec peruersitas hominum salutaria excutere, exitiosa suscipere, periculosa conquirere, medicamina deuitare, aut mori denique citius quam curari desiderare. [6] Nam et medicinae praesidium plures qui refugiunt: plures enim stulti, plures timidi et male uerecundi. Et est plane quasi saeuitia medicinae de scalpello deque cauterio, de sinapis incendio; non tamen secari et inuri et extendi morderique idcirco malum, quia dolores utiles affert, nec quia tantummodo contristat, recusabitur, sed quia necessario contristat, adhibebitur. [7] Horrorem operis fructus excusat. Vlulans denique ille et gemens et mugiens inter manus medici postmodum easdem mercede cumulabit et artifices optimas praedicabit et saeuas iam negabit. Sic et martyria desaeuiunt, sed in salutem. Licebit et deo in uitam aeternam per ignes et gladios et acerba quaeque curare. [8] Sed medicum quidem miraberis etiam in illo, quod ferme pares adhibet qualitates medellarum aduersus qualitates querellarum, cum quasi de peruerso auxiliatur per ea subueniens per quae laboratur. Nam et calores caloribus amplius onerando compescit et ardores siti potius macerando restinguit et fellis excessus amarum quibusque potiunculis colligit et sanguinis fluxus defusa insuper uenula reuocat. [9] Deum uero et quidem zeloten culpandum existimabis, si uoluit certare cum causa et iniuriae aemulando prodesse, mortem morte dissoluere, occisionem occisione dispargere, tormentis tormenta discutere, supplicia suppliciis euaporare, uitam auferendo conferre, carnem laedendo iuuare, animam eripiendo seruare. [10] Peruersitas, quam putas, ratio est; quod saeuitiam existimas, gratia est. Ita deo de momentaneis aeterna medicante magnifica bono tuo deum tuum; incidisti in manus eius, sed feliciter incidisti. Incidit et ille in aegritudines tuas. Homo semper prior negotium medico facit, denique sibimet ipse periculum mortis attraxit. [11] Acceperat a domino suo ut a medico satis utilem disciplinam secundum legem uiuendi, ut omnia quidem ederet, ab una solummodo arbuscula temperaret, quam ipse medicus inportunam interim nouerat. [12] Audiit ille quem maluit et abstinentiam rupit. Edit illicitum et transgressione saturatus in mortem cruditauit, dignissimus bona fide in totum perire quia uoluit. Sed dominus sustentata feruura delicti, donec tempore medicina temperaretur, paulatim remedia composuit, omnes fidei disciplinas et ipsas aemulas uitio, uerbum mortis uerbo uitae rescindentes, auditum

transgressionis auditu deuotionis limantes. Ita, et cum mori praecipit medicus ille, ueternum mortis excludit. [13] Quid grauatur nunc pati homo ex remedio quod non est tunc grauatus pati ex uitio? Displicet occidi in salutem cui non displicuit occidi in perditionem? Nausiabit ad antidotum qui hiauit ad uenenum?

VI. [1] Sed si certaminis nomine deus nobis matyria proposuisset, per quae cum aduersario experiremur, ut, a quo libenter homo elisus est, eum iam constanter elidat, hic quoque liberalitas magis quam acerbitas dei praeest. Euulsum enim hominem de diaboli gula per fidem iam et per uirtutem inculcatorem eius uoluit efficere, ne solummodo euasisset, uerum etiam euicisset inimicum. [2] Amauit, qui uocauerat in salutem, inuitare et ad gloriam, ut, qui gaudeamus liberati, exultemus etiam coronati. Agonas istos, contentiosa sollemnia et superstitiosa certamina Graecorum et religionum et uoluptatum, quanta gratia saeculum celebret iam et Africae licuit. Adhuc Carthaginem singulae ciuitates gratulando inquietant donatam Pythico agone post stadii senectutem. [3] Ita ab aeuo dignissimum creditum est studiorum experimentum committere, artes corporum et uocum de praestantia expendere, praemio indice, spectaculo iudice, sententia uoluptate. Qua nuda sunt praelia, non nulla sunt uulnera; pugni quassant, calces arietant, caestus dilaniant, flagella dilacerant. [4] Nemo tamen agonis praesidem suggillans erit, quod homines uiolentiae obiecat. Iniuriarum actiones extra stadium. Sed, quantum liuores illi et cruores et uibices negotiantur, intende: coronas scilicet et gloriam et dotem, priuilegia publica, stipendia ciuica, imagines, statuas et, qualem potest praestare saeculum, de fama aeternitatem, de memoria resurrectionem. [5] Pyctes ipse non queritur dolere se, nam uult; corona premit uulnera, palma sanguinem obscurat; plus uictoria tumet quam iniuria. Hunc tu laesum existimabis, quem uides laetum? Sed nec uictus ipse de agonothea casum suum exprobrabit. [6] Deum dedecebit artes et disciplinas suas educere in medium, in hoc saeculi spatium, in spectaculum hominibus et angelis et uniuersis potestatibus? Carnem atque animam probare de constantia atque tolerantia? Dare huic palmam, huic honorem, illi ciuitatem, illi stipendia? etiam quosdam reprobare et castigatos cum ignominia submouere? Nimirum praescribis deo, quibus temporibus aut modis aut locis de familia sua iudicet, quasi non et praeiudicare iudici congruat. [7] Quid nunc, si non certaminis nomine in martyria fidem exposuisset, sed et proprii profeCtus, nonne

oportebat illam habere aliquem spei cumulum, cui studium suum cogeret uotumque suspenderet, quo eniteretur ascendere, cum terrena quoque officia in gradus aestuent? Aut quomodo multae mansiones apud patrem, si non pro uarietate meritorum? Quomodo et stella ab stella distabit in gloria, nisi pro diuersitate radiorum? [8] Porro et si fidei propterea congruebat sublimitati et claritatis aliqua prolatio, tale quid esse oportuerat illud emolumenti, quod magno constaret: labore, cruciatu, tormento, morte. Sed respice compensationem, cum Caro et anima dependitur — quibus in homine carius nihil est, alterum manus dei, alterum flatus, — ipsa dependi in profectum quorum est profectus, ipsa erogari quae lucri fiant, eadem pretia quae et merces. [9] Prospexerat et alias deus inbecillitates condicionis humanae, aduersarii insidias, rerum tallacias, saeculi retia, etiam post lauacrum periclitaturam fidem, perituros plerosque rursum post salutem, qui uestitum obsoletassent nuptialem, qui faculis oleum non praeparassent, qui requirendi per montes et saltus et umeris essent reportandi. Posuit igitur secunda solacia et extrema praesidia, dimicationem martyrii et lauacrum sanguinis exinde secuturum. [10] De cuius felicitate Daud: beati quorum dimissae sunt iniquitates et quorum tecta sunt peccata. Beatus cui non inputauerit deus delictum. Proprie enim martyribus nihil iam reputari potest, quibus in lauacro ipsa uita deponitur. [11] Sic dilectio operit multitudinem peccatorum, quae deum scilicet diligens ex totis uiribus suis, quibus in martyrio decertat, ex tota anima sua, quam pro deo ponit, hominem martyrem excudit. Haec tu remedia, consilia, iudicia, spectacula etiam dei atrocitatem uocabis? Sanguinem hominis deus concupiscit? et tamen ausim dicere, si et homo regnum dei, si et homo certam salutem, si et homo secundam regenerationem. Nulla compensatio inuidiosa est in qua aut gratiae aut iniuriae communis est ratio.

VII. [1] Incutiat adhuc scorpius homicidam deum uentilans, horrebo plane spurcum blasphemiae flatum de haeretico ore foetentem, sed et talem deum de fiducia rationis amplectar, qua ratione etiam ipse se plus quam homicidam pronuntiauit ex sophiae suae persona, uoce Solomonis. Sophia, inquit, iugulauit filios suos. Sophia sapientia est. Sapienter utique iugulauit, dum in uitam, et rationaliter, dum in gloriam. [2] O parricidii ingenium! O sceleris artificium! O argumentum crudelitatis, quae idcirco occidit, ne moriatur quem occiderit! Et ideo quid sequitur? Sophia in exitibus cantatur hymnis; cantatur enim et exitus martyrum. Sophia in plateis de constantia agit; bene enim filios

suos iugulat. [3] Super summos autem muros confisa dicit, cum quidem secundum Eseiam hic exclamat: ego dei sum; et hic uociferatur: in nomine Iacob; et alius inscribit: in nomine Israelis. O bonam matrem! opto et ipse in filios eius redigi, ut ab ea occidar; opto occidi, ut filius fiam. Solum autem iugulat filios suos, an et torquet? Audio enim et alibi dicentem deum: uram illos sicut uritur aurum, et probabo illos sicuti probatur argentum. [4] Vtique per tormenta ignium et suppliciorum, per martyria fidei examinatoria. Scit et apostolus qualem deum adscripserit, cum scribit: si deus filio suo non pepercit, sed pro nobis tradidit illum, quomodo non et cum illo omnia condonauit nobis? Vides, quomodo etiam proprium suum filium primogenitum et unigenitum sophia diuina iugulauerit, utique uicturum, immo et ceteros in uitam redacturum. [5] Possum dicere cum sophia dei: Christus est qui se tradidit pro delictis nostris. Iam et semetipsam sophia trucidauit. Verbo non sono solo sapiunt, sed et sensu, nec auribus tantummodo audienda sunt, sed et mentibus. Crudelem deum, qui non intellegit, credit. Quamquam et non intellegenti posita sententia est, quae temeritatem cohibeat aliter intellegendi. [6] Quis enim, inquit, cognouit sensum domini? aut quis illi consiliarius fuit, qui eum instruat, aut uiam intellegentiae quis demonstrauit illi? Sed enim Scytharum Dianam aut Gallorum Mercurium aut Afrorum Saturnum hominum uictima placari apud saeculum licuit, et Latio ad hodiernum Ioui media in urbe humanus sanguis ingustatur, nec quisquam retractat aut non rationem praesumit aliquam aut inaestimabilem dei sui uoluntatem. [7] Si noster quoque deus propriae hostiae nomine martyria sibi depostulasset, quis illi exprobrasset funestam religionem et lugubres ritus et aram rogum et pollinctorem sacerdotem, et non beatum amplius reputasset quem deus comedisset?

VIII. [1] Vnum igitur gradum insistimus et in hoc solum prouocamus, an praecepta sint a deo martyria, ut credas ratione praecepta, si praecepta cognoueris, quia nihil deus non ratione praeceperit. Siquidem honorata est apud illum mors religiosorum ipsius, ut canit Dauid, non, opinor, ista communis et omnium debitum — atquin ista etiam ignominiosa est ex elogio transgressionis et merito damnationis — sed illa quae in ipso aditur ex testimonio religionis et proelio confessionis pro iustitia et sacramento. [2] Sicut Eseias, uidete inquit, quomodo perit iustus, et nemo excipit corde, et uiri iusti auferuntur, et nemo animaduertit; a facie enim iniustitiae perit iustus et

erit honor sepulturae eius. Habes hic quoque et praedicationem et remunerationem martyriorum. A primordio enim iustitia uim patitur. [3] Statim ut coli deus coepit, inuidiam religio sortita est. Qui deo placuerat, occiditur, et quidem a fratre. Quo procliuius impietas alienum sanguinem insectaretur, a suo auspicata insectata est denique non modo iustorum, uerum etiam et prophetarum. Daudid exagitur, Helias fugatur, Hieremias lapidatur, Eseias secatur, Zacharias inter altare et aedem trucidatur perennes cruoris sui maculas silicibus assignans. Ipse clausula legis et prophetarum nec propheta, sed angelus dictus contumeliosa caede truncatur in puellae salticae lucar. [4] Et utique qui spiritu dei agebantur, ab ipso in martyria dirigebantur etiam patiendo quae et praedicassent. Proinde et trina fraternitas, cum dedicatio imaginis regiae turbam urgeret officii, non ignorauerunt, quid fides, quae sola in illis captiua non fuerat, exigeret, moriendum scilicet aduersus idololatriam. [5] Meminerant enim et Hieremiae scribentis ad eos, quibus illa captiuitas imminabat: et nunc uidebitis deos Babyloniorum aureos et argenteos et ligneos portari super umeros ostentantes nationibus timorem. Cauete igitur, ne et uos consimiles sitis allophyllis et timore capiamini, dum aspicitis turbas adorantes retro eos et ante, sed dicite in animo uestro: te domine adorare debemus. [6] Itaque dixerunt a deo concepta fiducia, quanto uigore animi condicionales illas minas regis excutiunt: non habemus necessitatem respondendi huic tuo imperio. Est enim deus noster, quem colimus, potens eruere nos de fornace ignis et ex manibus tuis, et tunc manifestum fiet tibi, quod neque idolo tuo famulabimur nec imaginem tuam auream, quam statuisti, adorabimus. [7] O martyrium et sine passione perfectum! Satis passi, satis exusti sunt, quos propterea deus texit, ne potestatem eius mentiti uiderentur. Nam et Danielum, nullius praeter dei supplicem et idcirco a Chaldaeis delatum ac depostulatum, statim utique conclusa et usitata feritas leonum deuorasset, si Darii digna praesumptio de deo falli debuisset. [8] Ceterum pati oportebat omnem dei praedicatorem atque cultorem, qui ad idololatriam prouocatus negasset obsequium, secundum illius quoque rationis statum, qua et praesentibus tunc et posteris deinceps commendari ueritatem oportebat, pro qua fidem diceret passio ipsorum defensorum eius, quia nemo uoluisset frustra occidi, nisi compos ueritatis. Talia a primordio et praecepta et exempla debitricem martyrii fidem ostendunt.

IX. [1] Superest, ne antiquitas suum forte habuerit sacramentum, nouitatem

Christianam recensere, quasi et de deo aliam ac proinde de disciplina quoque aemulam, cuius sophia filios suos iugulare non norit. Plane, alia in Christo et diuinitas et uoluntas et schola, qui martyria aut milla in totum aut aliter intellegenda mandarit, qui neminem ad huiusmodi discrimen hortetur, qui pro eo passis nihil repromittat, quia pati eos nolit, et ideo praeceptorum principia deducens, beati, inquit, qui persecutionem patiuntur ob iustitiam, quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum? [2] Hoc quidem absolute ad omnes; dehinc proprie ad apostolis ipsos: beati eritis, cum uos dedecorauerint et persecuti fuerint et dixerint aduersus uos omnia mala propter me: gaudete et exultate, quoniam merces uestra plurima in caelo: sic enim faciebant et prophetis patres illorum: ut etiam prophetaret, quod et ipsi occidi haberent ad exemplum prophetarum. [3] Quamquam etsi omnem hanc persecutionem condicionalem in solos tunc apostolos destinasset, utique per illos cum toto sacramento, cum propagine nominis, cum traduce spiritus sancti in nos quoque spectasset etiam persecutionis obeundae disciplina ut in hereditarios discipulos et apostolici seminis frutices. [4] Nam et si rursus ad apostolos dirigit: ecce ego mittam uos tamquam oues in medio luporum, et: cauete ab hominibus; tradent enim uos in concessus et in synagogis suis flagellabunt uos et ad praesides et ad reges perducemini mei causa in testimonium illis et nationibus et cetera, tum autem subicit: tradet autem frater fratrem et pater filium in mortem et insurgent filii in parentes et mortificabunt eos, manifeste iniquitatem istam in ceteros pronuntiauit, quam in apostolis non inuenimus. [5] Nemo enim eorum aut fratrum aut patrem passus est traditorem, quod plerique iam nostri dehinc ad apostolos reuocat: et eritis odio omnibus propter nomen meum. Quanto magis nos, quos a parentibus quoque tradi oportet? Ita ipsa hac permixtione nunc ad apostolos, nunc ad omnes disponendo eundem in uniuersos nominis exitum effundit, in quibus consederit nomen cum odii sui lege. Qui autem sustinuerit usque in finem, iste saluus fiet. Quid sustinendo, nisi persecutionem, nisi traditionem, nisi occisionem? Nec enim aliud est sustinere in finem quam pati finem. [6] Et ideo: non est discipulus super magistrum, statim sequitur, nec seruus super dominum suum, quia cum magister et dominus ipse perpassus sit persecutionem et traditionem et occisionem, multo magis serui et discipuli eadem expendere debebunt, ne quasi superiores exempti de iniquitate uideantur, quando hoc ipsum sufficere eis ad gloriam debeat, aequari passionibus domini et magistri; ad quarum tolerantiam aedificans monet non

eos timendos, qui solum corpus occidant, animam autem interficere non ualeant, sed illi potius metum consecrandum, qui et corpus et animam occidere et perdere possit in gehennam. [7] Quinam hi solius corporis interemptores, nisi praesides et reges supra dicti, homines opinor? Quis etiam animae dominator, nisi deus solus? Quis iste ignium comminator, nisi is, sine cuius uoluntate nec passerum alter in terram cadit, idest nec altera ex duabus substantiis hominis, caro aut anima? Quia et capillorum apud eum regestus est numerus. [8] Nolite ergo metuere, cum insuper dicit, multis passeribus antistatis, non frustra, id est non sine emolumento casuros in terram repromittit, si magis ab hominibus quam a deo occidi deligamus. Omnis igitur, qui in me confessus fuerit coram hominibus, et ego confitebor in illo coram patre meo, qui in caelis est. Et omnis, qui me negauerit coram hominibus, et ego negabo illum coram patre meo, qui in caelis est. Manifesta, ut opinor, definitio et ratio est tam confessionis quam negationis, etsi dispositio diuersa est. [9] Qui se Christianum confitetur, Christi se esse testatur, qui Christi est, in Christo sit necesse est. Si in Christo est, in Christo utique confitetur, cum se Christianum confitetur. Hoc enim non potest esse, nisi sit in Christo. Porro in Christo confitendo Christum quoque confitetur, qui sit in ipso, dum et ipse in illo est, utpote Christianus. Nam et si diem dixeris, lucis rem ostendisti, quae diem praestat, licet non dixeris lucem. Ita etsi non directo pronuntiauit qui me confessus fuerit, non est diuersus actus quotidianae confessionis a sensu dominicae pronuntiationis. [10] Quod enim est qui se confitetur, id est Christianum, etiam id, per quod est, confitetur, id est Christum. Proinde qui se negauit Christianum, in Christo negauit, negando se esse in Christo, dum negat se Christianum; et Christum autem in se negando, dum se in Christo negat, Christum quoque negabit. Ita et qui in Christo negauerit, Christum negabit et qui in Christo confessus fuerit, Christum confitebitur. Suffecisset igitur, etsi de confitendo tantummodo dominus pronuntiasset. [11] Ex forma enim confessionis contrario quoque eius praeiudicaretur, id est negationi, perinde negationem negatione rependi a domino, quemadmodum confessione confessionem. Et ideo cum in forma confessionis etiam negationis condicio intellegatur, apparet non ad alium modum negationis pertinere, quod de ea aliter dominus pronuntiauit, quam de confessione dicendo, qui me negauerit, non, qui in me. [12] Prospexerat enim et hanc uim plerumque in expugnatione nominis subsecuturam, ut qui se

Christianum negasset, ipsum quoque Christum compelleretur blasphemando negare. Sicut non olim + pro auspice cum tota fide quorundam colluctatum hoc modo horruimus. Itaque frustra erit dicere: etsi me negauero Christianum, non negabor a Christo, non enim ipsum negauit. [13] Ex illa enim negatione tantundem tenebitur, quia se Christianum negando Christum in se negans etiam ipsum negauit. Plus est autem quod et confusioni confusionem comminatur: qui me confusus fuerit coram hominibus, et ego confundar eum coram patre meo, qui est in caelis. Sciebat enim a confusione uel maxime formari negationem, mentis statum in fronte consistere, priorem esse pudoris quam corporis plagam.

X. [1] Qui uero non hic, id est non intra hunc ambitum terrae nec per hunc commeatum uitae nec apud homines huius communis naturae confessionem putant constitutam, quanta praesumptio est aduersus omnem ordinem rerum in terris istis et in uita ista et sub humanis potestatibus experiundarum? Nimirum cum animae de corporibus excesserint et per singula tabulata caelorum de receptu dispici coeperint et interrogari arcana illa haereticorum sacramenta, tunc confitendum apud ueras potestates et ueros homines, Teletos scilicet et Acinetos et Abascantos Valentini. [2] Nostrates enim, inquit, nec ipse Demiurgus constanter homines probabat, quos stillicidium situlae et puluerem areae et sputamen et locustas deputauit, etiam inrationalibus iumentis adaequauit. Plane, ita scriptum. Non tamen idcirco aliud hominis genus intellegendum praeter nos, quos, quia constat esse, comparatione potuit induere salua et proprietate generis et singularitate. [3] Neque enim si uita uitata est, ut despectui iudicata despectis compararetur, statim natura sublata est, ut alia in nomine eius deputaretur. Atquin seruatur natura, etsi suffunditur uita, nec alios nouit Christus homines quam de quibus dicit: Quem me aiunt esse homines? Et: Quomodo uultis ut faciant uobis homines, ita et uos facite illis. [4] Vide an seruauerit genus, a quibus et testimonium sui expectet et in quos iustitiae uicem mandat. Illos autem caelestes homines si expostulem mihi ostendi, facilius Aratus Persea et Cephea et Erigonam et Ariadnam inter sidera deliniabit. Quis autem prohibuit dominum illic etiam confessionem hominum faciendam manifeste determinare, ubi suam futuram aperte pronuntiauit, ut ita esset positum: qui in me confessus fuerit coram hominibus in caelis, et ego in illo confitebor coram patre meo, qui in caelis est? [5] Eripere me debuit ex isto terrenae confessionis errore, quam suscipi noluisset, si

caelestem praecipisset, quia nullos alios homines noueram praeter incolas terrae, ne ipso quidem adhuc tunc in caelis homine conspecto. Quae porro fides rerum, ut post excessum ad superna subleuatus illic probarer, quo non nisi iam probatus inponerer, illic de receptu examinerer, quo nisi admittendus peruenire non possem? [6] Christiano caelum ante patet quam uia; quia nulla uia in caelum, nisi cui patet caelum; quod qui attigerit, intrabit. Quas mihi potestates ianitrices adfirmas | iuxta Romanam superstitionem, + Barnum quendam et Forculum et Limentinum? Quas a cancellis ordinas potestates? [7] Si umquam legisti apud Daud: Auferte portas, principes, uestri, et subleuentur portae aeternae, et intrabit rex gloriae, si item audisti apud Amos: qui ascensum suum aedificat in caelos, et profusionem suam fundat in terras, scito et ascensum illum exinde conplanatum uestigiis domini et introitum exinde reseratum uiribus Christi, nec ullam moram aut quaestionem in limine Christianis occurruram, qui non dinosci habeant illic, sed agnosci, nec interrogari, sed admitti. [8] Nam etsi adhuc clausum putas caelum, memento clauas eius hic dominum Petro et per eum ecclesiae reliquisse, quas hic unusquisque interrogatus atque confessus feret secum. Sed asseuerat diabolus illic confitendum, ut suadeat hic negandum. Pulchra uidelicet documenta praemittam, bonas mecum clauas feram, timorem eorum, qui solum corpus occidunt, animae autem nihil faciunt: commendatus ero huius praecepti desertione, honeste in caelestibus stabo, qui in terrenis stare non potui, sustinebo maiores potestates, qui minoribus cessi, merebor utique admitti iam exclusus. [9] Suppetit adhuc dicere: si in caelestibus confitendum, et hic negandum est. Nam ubi alterum, ibi utrumque. Aemula enim quaeque concurrunt. Etiam persecutionem in caelis agitari oportebit, quae confessionis negationisue materia est. Quid itaque cessas, audacissime haeretice, totum ordinem Christianae concussionis in superna transferre et inprimis ipsum nominis odium illic collocare, ubi ad patris dexteram praesidet Christus? [10] Illic constitues et synagogas Iudaeorum, fontes persecutionum, apud quas apostoli flagella perpassi sunt, et populos nationum cum suo quidem circo, ubi facile conclamant: usque quo genus tertium? [11] Sed et fratres nostros et patres et filios et socrus et nurus et domesticos nostros ibidem exhibere debetis, per quos traditio disposita est; item reges et praesides et armatas potestates, apud quas causa pugnanda est. Erit certe etiam carcer in caelo carens sole aut ingratis luminosus et uincula fortasse de zonis et eculeus axis ipse qui torquet.

[12] Tum si lapidandus Christianus, grandines aderunt, si urendus, fulmina prae manu sunt, si trucidandus, Orionis armati manus operabitur, si bestiis finiendus, ursas septentrio emittet, zodiacus tauros et leones. Haec qui sustinuerit in finem, iste erit saluus. [13] Ergone et finis in caelis et passio et occisio et prima confessio? Et ubi caro omnibus istis necessaria? Vbi corpus, quod solum ab hominibus habet occidi? Haec nobis etiam ludicrum in modum certa ratio mandauit nec ullus obicem praescriptionis istius extrudet, ut non omnem ordinem persecutionis, omnem eius causam formam paraturam illuc transferre cogatur, ubi confessioni forum dederit. [14] Siquidem confessio a persecutione deducitur et persecutio in confessione finitur nec possunt non una sequi quae et aditum et exitum, id est initium finemque disponunt. Porro et odium nominis hic erit et persecutio hic erumpit et traditio hic producit et interrogatio hic compellit et carnificina hic desaeuit; at totum hunc ordinem in terris confessio uel negatio expungit. [15] Igitur si cetera hic, nec confessio alibi; si confessio alibi, nec cetera hic. Enimuero non alibi cetera, itaque nec confessio in caelo. Aut si aliam uolunt esse rationem interrogationis et confessionis caelestis, utique et ordinem suum illi struere debebunt alium longe et ab ista dispositione diuersum, quae scripturis notatur. [16] Et possumus dicere: uiderint, dum hic ordo terrenae interrogationis et confessionis ex materia decurrens persecutionis et discordiae publicae omnino saluus sit, sua e fide ut ita credendum sit, sicut et scribitur, ita intellegendum sit, sicuti auditur. Hic omnem ordinem sustinemus ipso domino non aliam regionem mundi destinante. Quid enim post confessionis et negationis terminum subiungit? [17] Ne putaueritis uenisse me, uti pacem mittam in terram, sed machaeram, certe in terram. Veni enim diuidere hominem aduersus patrem suum et filiam aduersus matrem suam et socrum aduersus nurum suam, et inimici hominis domestici sui. Sic enim efficitur, ut tradat frater fratrem in mortem et pater filium et insurgant filii in parentes et mori eos faciant. Et qui sustinuerit in finem, iste sit saluus. Adeo totus hic ordo dominicae macherae non in caelum missae, sed in terram, illic constituit etiam confessionem, quae in finem sustinendo passura est mortem.

XI. [1] Eadem igitur forma cetera quoque ad martyrii statum pertinere defendimus. Qui pluris, inquit, fecerit etiam animam suam quam me, non est me dignus, id est qui maluerit uiuere me negando quam mori confitendo, et, qui animam suam inuenerit, perdet illam, qui uero perdiderit mei causa,

inueniet illam. [2] Perinde enim inuenit eam qui negat lucri faciendo uitam, ut perdet in gehennam qui se putat negando lucri facere eam. Perdet autem eam ad praeSens qui confessus occiditur, sed et inuenturus eam in uitam aeternam.

[3] Ipsi denique praesides cum cohortantur negationi, serua animam tuam! Dicunt, et, noli animam tuam perdere! Quomodo loqueretur Christus, nisi quomodo tractaretur Christianus? Sed cum prohibet meditari responsionem ad tribunal, famulos suos instruit, Spiritum sanctum responsurum repromittit, et cum in carcere fratrem uult uisitari, confessoris imperat curam, et cum deum uindictam facturum electorum suorum affirmat, passiones consolatur illorum, etiam in parabola seminis post cespitem arefacti persecutionum figurat ardorem. [4] Haec si non ita accipiuntur, quemadmodum pronuntiantur, sine dubio praeter quam sonant sapiunt, et aliud in uocibus erit, aliud in sensibus, ut allegoriae, ut parabolae, ut aenigmata. Quemcumque igitur conceperint uentum argumentationis scorpii isti, quocumque se acumine ineperint, una iam linea est, ad ipsas res prouocabuntur, an secundum scripturas transigantur.

[5] Siquidem tunc aliud significabitur in scripturis, si non id ipsum reperiatur in rebus. Quod enim scriptum est, hoc euenire oportebit. Porro tunc eueniet quod est scriptum, si non aliter eueniet. Ecce autem et odio habemur ab omnibus hominibus nominis causa, quomodo et scriptum est, et tradimur etiam a proximis, quomodo et scriptum est, et perducimur ad potestates et interrogamur et torquemur et confitemur et trucidamur, quomodo et scriptum est. Sic dominus edixit. [6] Si aliter edixit haec, cur non aliter eueniunt quae edixit, id est quemadmodum edixit? Atquin non aliter eueniunt quam edixit; ergo sicut eueniunt, ita edixit et sicut edixit, ita eueniunt. Nam nec licuisset aliter euenire quam edixit nec ipse aliter edixisset quam euenire uoluisset. [7] Ita non aliud significabunt scripturae istae quam in rebus recognoscimus: aut, si nondum aguntur illa quae praedicantur, quomodo haec quae aguntur praedicata non sunt? Non sunt enim haec praedicata quae aguntur, si alia sunt quae praedicantur et non haec quae aguntur. At nunc quia ipsa sunt in rebus quae in uocibus aliter dicta creduntur, quid fieret, si aliter facta inuenirentur?

[8] Sed haec erit peruersitas fidei, probata non credere, non probata praesumere. Cui peruersitati illud quoque opponam, ut, si haec, quae sic aguntur quemadmodum scripta sunt, non erunt ipsa quae praedicantur, alia quoque non debeant sic agi quemadmodum scripta sunt, ne et ipsa horum exemplo periclitentur excludi, siquidem aliud in uocibus, aliud in rebus est, et

relinquitur nec praedicata uideri, cum euenerint, si aliter praedicantur, quam euenire habent. Et quomodo credentur quae non erunt praedicata <quia non ita sunt praedicata> quomodo eueniunt? Ita haeretici quae praedicantur non ut probata sunt credendo ea quae nec praedicata sunt credunt.

XII. [1] Quis nunc medullam scripturarum magis nosset, quam ipsa Christi schola? Quos et sibi discipulos dominus adoptauit omnia utique edocendos et nobis magistros adordinauit omnia utique docturos. Cui potius figuram uocis suae declarasset, quam cui effigiem gloriae suae reuelauit, Petro Iohanni Iacobo et postea Paulo, quem paradisi quoque conpotem fecit ante martyrium? An et illi aliter, quam sentiunt, scribunt, fallaciae magistri, non ueritatis? [2] Petrus quidem ad Ponticos, quanta enim, inquit, gloria, si non delinquentes ut puniamini sustinetis? Haec enim gratia est, in hoc et uocati estis, quoniam et Christus passus est pro nobis, relinquens uobis exemplum semetipsum, uti adsequamini uestigia ipsius. [3] Et rursus: dilecti, ne epauescatis unctionem, quae agitur in uobis in temptationem, quasi nouum accidat uobis. Etenim secundum quod communicatis passionibus Christi, gaudete, Uti et in reuelatione gloriae eius gaudeatis exultantes. Si dedecoramini in nomine Christi, beati estis, quod gloria et dei spiritus requiescit in uobis, dum ne quis uestrum patiatur ut homicida aut fur aut maleficus aut alieni speculator, si autem ut Christianus, ne erubescat, glorificet autem dominum in nomine isto. [4] Iohannes uero, ut etiam pro fratribus nostris animas ponamus, hortatur negans timorem esse in dilectione. Perfecta enim dilectio foras abicit timorem, quoniam timor poenam habet, et qui timet non est perfectus in dilectione. [5] Quem timorem intellegi praestet, nisi negationis auctorem? Quam dilectionem perfectam adfirmat, nisi fugatricem timoris et animatricem confessionis? Qua poena timorem puniat, nisi quam negator relaturus est cum corpore et anima occidendus in gehenna? Quodsi pro fratribus, quanto magis pro domino moriendum docet, satis de apocalypsi quoque sua instructus haec suadere? [6] Mandauerat etenim spiritus ad angelum ecclesiae Smyrnaeorum: Ecce diabolus ex numero tuo coniciet in carcerem, ut temptemini diebus decem. Esto fidelis ad mortem usque, et dabo tibi uitae coronam. [7] Item ad Pergamenorum de Antipa, fidelissimo martyre, interfecto in habitatione satanae. Item ad Philadelphenorum, quod a temptatione ultima liberaretur, qui domini nomen non negarat. [8] Exinde uictoribus quibusque promittit nunc arborem uitae et mortis ueniam secundae, nunc latens manna cum calculo

candido et nomine ignoto, nunc ferreae uirgae potestatem et stellae matutinae claritatem, nunc albam uestiri nec deleri de libro uitae et columnam fieri in dei templo in nomine dei et domini et Hierusalem caelestis inscriptam, nunc residere cum domino in throno eius, quod aliquando Zebedaei filiis negabatur.

[9] Quinam isti tam beati uictores, nisi proprie martyres? Illorum etenim uictoriae, quorum et pugnae, eorum uero pugnae, quorum et sanguis. Sed et interim sub altari martyrum animae placidum quiescunt et fiducia ultionis patientiam pascunt et indutae stolis candidam claritatis usurpant, donec et alii consortium illorum gloriae impleant. [10] Nam et rursus innumera multitudo albat i et palmis uictoriae insignes reuelantur, scilicet de Antichristo triumphantes, sicut unus ex presbyteris, hi sunt, ait, qui ueniunt ex illa pressura magna et lauerunt uestimentum suum et candidauerunt ipsum in sanguine agni. Vestitus enim animae caro. Sordes quidem baptismate abluuntur, maculae uero martyrio candidantur. Quia et Esecias ex russeo et coccino niueum et laneum repromittit. [11] Magna etiam Babylon cum describitur ebria sanctorum cruore, sine dubio ebrietas eius martyriorum poculis ministratur, quorum formido quid relatura sit aequae ostenditur. Inter omnes enim reprobos, immo ante omnes, timidi. Timidis autem, inquit, dehinc Ceteris particula in stagno ignis et sulfuris. Sic timor [in epistola] eius, quem dilectio foras abicit, habet poenam.

XIII. [1] Paulus uero apostolus de persecutore, qui primus ecclesiae sanguinem fudit, postea gladium stilo mutans et conuertens machaeram in aratrum, lupus rapax Benjamin, dehinc ipse adferens escam secundum Iacob, qualiter martyria iam et sibi optabilia commendat! [2] Cum de Thessalonicensibus gaudens, uti, inquit, gloriemur in uobis in ecclesiis dei pro tolerantia uestra et fide in omnibus persecutionibus et pressuris, quibus sustinetis ostentamen iusti iudicii dei, ut digni habeamini regno eius, pro quo et patimini. [3] Sicut et ad Romanos: non solum autem, uerum etiam exultantes in pressuris, certi, quod pressura tolerantiam perficiat, tolerantia uero probationem, probatio autem spem, spes uero non confundit. [4] Et rursus: quodsi filii et heredes, heredes quidem dei, coheredes uero Christi; siquidem compatimur, uti et cum illo glorificemur. Reputo enim passionem huius temporis non esse dignas ad gloriam, quae in nos habeat reuelari. Et ideo postmodum, quis, inquit, separabit nos a dilectione Christi? Pressura an angustia an famis an nuditas an periculum an machaera? Secundum quod

scriptum est: tua causa mortificamur tota die; deputati sumus ut pecora iugulationis, sed in omnibus istis superuincimus pro eo qui nos dilexit. Persuasum enim habemus, quod neque mors neque uita neque uirtus neque sublimitas neque profundum neque alia condicio poterit nos a dilectione dei separare, quae est in Christo Iesu domino nostro. [5] Sed et Corinthiis passiones suas enumerans patiendum utique praefiniuit: in laboribus abundantius, in carceribus plurimum, in mortibus saepius, a Iudaeis quinquies quadragenas citra unam accepi, ter uirgis caesus, semel lapidatus, et reliqua. [6] Quae si magis incommoda quam martyria uidebuntur, tamen rursus, propter quod, inquit, boni duco in infirmitatibus, in iniuriis, in necessitatibus, in persecutionibus, in angustiis pro Christo. [7] Etiam in superioribus: qui in omnibus tribulemur, sed non coangustemur, et indigeamus, sed non perindigeamus, qui persecutionibus agitemur, sed non derelinquamur, qui deiciamur, sed non pereamus, semper mortificationem Christi in corpore nostro circumferentes. Sed etsi, inquit, exterior hominibus uitiatur, caro scilicet uel persecutionum, sed interior renouatur die et die, anima scilicet spe promissionum. [8] Nam quod ad praesens temporale et leue pressurae nostrae per supergressum in supergressum aeternum pondus gloriae perficit, nobis non intuentibus quae uidentur, sed quae non uidentur. Quae enim uidentur temporalia, de incommodis dicens, quae uero non uidentur aeterna, de praemiis spondens. [9] Thessalonicensibus uero de uinculis scribens utique beatos affirmauit quibus donatum esset non tantum credere in Christum, sed etiam pro ipso pati. Eundem, inquit, agonem habentes quem in me et uidistis et nunc auditis. Nam etsi labor super sacrificium, gaudeo et congaudeo omnibus uobis, perinde et uos gaudete et congaudete mihi. [10] Vides, quam martyrii definiat felicitatem, cui de gaudio mutuo acquirit sollemnitatem. Vt proximus denique uoti sui factus est, qualiter de prospectu eius exultans scribit Timotheo: ego enim labor iam, et tempus diiunctionis instat; agonem bonum decertaui, cursum consummaui, fidem custodiui; superest corona, quam mihi dominus illa die reddet, scilicet passionis. [11] Satis et ipse supra allocutus: fidelis sermo. Si enim commortui sumus Christo, et conuiuemus, si sufferimus, et conregnabimus, si negauerimus, et ille nos negabit: si non credimus, ille fidelis est, negare se non potest. Ne ergo confundaris martyrium domini nostri, neque me uinctum eius; quia praedixerat: non enim dedit nobis deus spiritum timoris, sed uirtutis et dilectionis et sanae mentis. [12] Virtute

enim patimur ex dilectione in deum, et sana mente, cum ob innocentiam patimur. Sed et sicubi tolerantiam praecipit, quibus magis eam quam passionibus prospicit? Sicubi ab idololatria diuellit, quid ei magis quam martyria praeuellit?

XIV. [1] Plane monet Romanos omnibus potestatibus subici, quia non sit potestas nisi a deo, et quia non sine causa gladium gestet, et quia ministerium sit dei, sed et ultrix, inquit, in iram ei qui malum fecerit. Nam et praemiserat: Principes enim non sunt timori boni operis, sed mali. Vis autem non timere potestatem, fac bonum, et laudem ab ea referes. Dei ergo ministra est tibi in bonum. Si uero malum facias, time. [2] Ita non in occasione frustrandi martyrii iubet te subici potestatibus, sed in prouocatione bene uiuendi, etiam sub illaram respectu, quasi adiutricum iustitiae, quasi ministrarum diuini iudicii hic etiam de nocentibus praeiudicantis. Dehinc et exequitur, quomodo uelit te subici potestatibus, reddite, iubens, cui tributum, tributum, cui uestigal, uestigal, id est quae sunt Caesaris Caesari, et quae dei deo; solius autem dei homo. [3] Condixerat scilicet Petrus regem quidem honorandum, ut tamen tunc rex honoretur, cum suis rebus insistit, cum a diuinis honoribus longe est; quia et pater et mater diliguntur cum deo, non comparabuntur. Ceterum super deum diligere nec animam licebit.

XV. [1] Num ergo et apostolorum litterae mobiles? Et nos usquequaque simplices animae et solummodo columbae libenter errantes? Credo uiuendi cupiditate. Ita uero sit, ut recedant a litteris suis sensus. Quae tamen passos apostolos scimus, manifesta doctrina est. Hanc intellego solam Acta decurrens, nihil quaero. [2] Carceres illic et uincula et flagella et saxa et gladii et impetus Iudaeorum et coetus nationum et tribunorum elogia et regum auditoria et proconsulum tribunalia et Caesaris nomen interpretem non habent. Quod Petrus caeditur, quod Stephanus opprimitur, quod Iacobus immolatur, quod Paulus distrahitur, ipsorum sanguine scripta sunt. [3] Et si fidem commentarii uoluerit haereticus, instrumenta imperii loquentur, ut lapides Hierusalem. Vitas Caesarum legimus: orientem fidem Romae primus Nero cruentauit. Tunc Petrus ab altero cingitur, cum cruci adstringitur. Tunc Paulus ciuitatis Romanae consequitur natiuitatem, cum illic martyrii renascitur generositate. [4] Haec ubicumque iam legero, pati disco; nec mea interest, quos sequar martyrii magistros, sensusne an exitus apostolorum, nisi quod et sensus in exitibus recognosco. Nihil enim passi fuissent quod non prius patiendum

esse scissent. Cum uincula Paulo Agabus gestu quoque prophetasset, discipuli flentes et orantes, ne se Hierosolyma committeret, frustra orauerant. [5] Ille enim quod semper docuerat animatus, quid fletis, inquit, et contristatis cor meum? At ego non modo uincula Hierosolymis pati optauerim, uerum etiam mori pro nomine domini mei Iesu Christi. Atque ita cesserunt dicendo: Fiat uoluntas domini; fidentes scilicet passiones ad dei uoluntatem pertinere. [6] Non enim dehortationis consilio, sed dilectionis retinere temptauerant, ut apostolum desiderantes, non ut martyrium dissuadentes. Quodsi iam tunc Prodicus aut Valentinus adsisteret suggerens non in terris esse confitendum apud homines, minus uereor ne deus humanum sanguinem sitiatur nec Christus uicem passionis quasi et ipse de ea salutem consecuturus exposcat, statim audisset a seruo dei quod audierat diabolus a domino: recede satana, scandalum mihi es. Scriptum, est dominum deum tuum adorabis et illi soli seruias. [7] Sed et nunc audire debebit, quatenus multo post uenena ista suffudit, nulli infirmorum facile nocitura, nisi si qui non hanc nostram ex fide praebiberit uel etiam superbiberit potionem.

De Corona Militis (On the Soldier's Garland)

1. [1] Proxime factum est. Liberalitas praestaatissimorum imperatorum expungebatur in castris, milites laureati adibant. Adhibetur quidam illic magis Dei miles, ceteris constantior fratribus qui se duobus dominis seruire posse praesumpserant. Solus libero capite, coronamento in manu otioso, uulgato iam et ista disciplina christiano, relucebat. [2] Denique singuli designare et ludere eminus, infrendere comminus. Continuo murmur; tribuno defertur et persona : iam ex ordine decesserat. Statim tribunus : « Cur, inquit, tam diuersus habitus? » Negauit ille sibi cum ceteris licere. Causas expostulatus, « christianus sum » respondit. O militem gloriosum in Deo ! Suffragia exinde, et res ampliata et reus ad praefectos. [3] Ibidem grauissimas paenulas posuit, releuari auspicatus, speculatoriam morosissimam de pedibus absoluit, terrae sanctae insistere incipiens, gladium nec dominicae defensionis necessarium reddidit, laurea et de manu claruit. Et nunc, rufatus sanguinis sui spe, calciatus de euangelii paratura, succinctus acutiore uerbo dei, totus de apostolo armatus et de martyrii candida melius coronatus, donatium Christi in carcere expectat. [4] Exinde sententiae super illo, — nescio an christianorum : non enim aliae ethnicorum — , ut de abrupto et praecipiti et mori cupido, qui de habitu interrogatus nomini negotium fecerit, solus scilicet fortis inter tot fratres commilitones, solus christianus. Plane superest ut etiam martyria recusare meditentur, qui prophetias eiusdem spiritus sancti respuerunt. [5] Mussitant denique tam bonam et longam pacem periclitari sibi. Nec dubito quosdam scripturas emigrare, sarcinas expedire, fugae accingi de ciuitate in ciuitatem. Nullam enim aliam euangelii memoriam curant. Noui et pastores eorum: in pace leones et in proelio ceruus. Sed de quaestionibus confessionum alibi docebimus. [6] At nunc, quatinus et illud opponunt : « Vbi autem prohibemur coronari? », hanc magis localem substantiam causae praesentis aggrediar, ut et qui ex sollicitudine ignorantiae quaerunt instruantur, et qui in defensionem delicti contendunt, reuincantur, ipsi uel maxime christiani laureati, quibus id solum quaestio est, quasi aut nullum aut incertum saltem habere possit delictum quod patiat quaeestionem. Nec nullum autem nec incertum hinc interim ostendam.

2. [1] Neminem dico fidelium coronam capite nosse alias, extra tempus temptationis eiusmodi. Omnes ita obseruant a catechumenis usque ad

confessores et martyras uel negatores. Videris unde auctoritas moris, de qua nunc maxime quaeritur. Porro cum quaeritur cur quid obseruetur, obseruari interim constat. Ergo nec nullum nec incertum uideri potest delictum quod committitur in obseruationem suo iam nomine uindicandam, et satis auctoratam consensus patrocínio. [2] Plane, ut ratio quaerenda sit, sed salua obseruatione, nec in destructionem eius, sed in aedificationem potius, quo magis obserues, cum fueris etiam de ratione securus. Quale est autem ut tunc quis in quaestionem prouocet obseruationem, cum ab ea excidit? et tunc requirat unde habuerit obseruationem, cum ab ea desiit? quando, etsi ideo uelit uideri ad quaestionem uocare uti ostendat se non deliquisse in obseruationis destitutione, nihilominus deliquisse eum constet retro in obseruationis praesumptione. [3] Si enim non deliquit hodie suscepta corona, deliquit aliquando recusata. Et ideo non ad eos erit iste tractatus, quibus non competit quaestio, sed ad illos qui studio discendi non quaestionem deferunt, sed consultationem. Nam *nec* semper quaeritur de isto, et laudo fidem quae ante credidit obseruandum esse quam didicit. [4] Et facile est statim exigere ubi scriptum sit ne coronemur. At enim ubi scriptum est ut coronemur? Expostulantes enim scripturae patrocínium in parte diuersa, praeiudicant suae quoque parti scripturae patrocínium adesse debere. Nam si ideo dicetur coronari licere quia non prohibeat scriptura, aequae retorquebitur ideo coronari non licere quia scriptura non iubeat. Quid faciet disciplina? Vtrumque recipiet, quasi neutrum prohibitum sit, an utrumque reiciet, quasi neutrum praeceptum sit? — « Sed quod non prohibetur ultro permissum est. » — Immo prohibetur quod non ultro est permissum.

3. [1] Et quamdiu per hanc lineam serram reciprocabimus, habentes obseruationem inueteratam, quae praeueniendo statum fecit? Hanc si nulla scriptura determinauit, certe consuetudo corroborauit, quae sine dubio de traditione manauit. Quomodo enim usurpari quid potest, si traditum prius non est? Etiam in traditionis obtentu exigenda est, inquis, auctoritas scripta. [2] Ergo quaeramus an et traditio nisi scripta non debeat recipi. Plane negabimus recipiendam, si nulla exempla praeiudicent aliarum obseruationum, quas sine ullius scripturae instrumento, solius traditionis titulo et exinde consuetudinis patrocínio uindicamus. Denique, ut a baptisinate ingrediar, aquam adituri ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius in ecclesia, sub antistitis manu, contestamur nos renuntiare diabolo et pompae et angelis eius. [3] Dehinc ter mergitamur

amplius aliquid respondentes quam Dominus in euangelio determinauit. Inde suscepti, lactis et mellis concordiam praegustamus, exque ea die lauacro quotidiano per totam ebdomadem abstinemus. Eucharistiae sacramentum, et in tempore uictus et omnibus mandatum a Domino, etiam antelucanis coetibus nec de aliorum manu quam praesidentium sumimus. Oblationes pro defunctis, pro nataliciis, annua die facimus. [4] Die dominico ieiunium nefas ducimus, uel de geniculis adorare. Eadem immunitate a die Paschae in Pentecosten usque gaudemus. Calicis aut panis etiam nostri aliquid decuti in terram anxie patimur. Ad omnem progressum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum et exitum, ad uestitum, ad calciatum, ad lauacra, ad mensas, ad lumina, ad cubilia, ad sedilia, quacumque nos conuersatio exercet, frontem signaculo terimus.

4. [1] Harum et aliarum eiusmodi disciplinarum si legem expostules, scripturarum nullam leges. Traditio tibi praetendetur auctrix et consuetudo confirmatrix et fides obseruatrix. Rationem traditioni et consuetudini et fidei patrocinaturam aut ipse perspicies aut ab aliquo qui perspexerit disces. Interim non nullam esse credes cui debeatur obsequium. [2] Adicio unum adhuc exemplum, quatinus et de ueteribus docere conueniet. Apud Iudaeos tam sollemne est feminis eorum uelamen capitis ut inde noscantur. Quaero legem, apostolum differo. Si Rebecca conspecto procul sponso uelamen inuasit, priuatus pudor legem facere non potuit, aut, causae suae fecerit, tegantur uirgines solae, et hoc nuptum uenientes, nec antequam cognouerint sponso. [3] Si et Susanna in iudicio reuelata argumentum uelandi praestat, possum dicere : « Et hic uelamen arbitrii fuit. » Rea uenerat, erubescens de infamia sua, merito abscondens decorem, uel quia timens iam placere. Ceterum in stadio mariti non putem uelatam deambulasse quae placuit. Fuerit nunc uelata semper, in ipsa quoque legem habitus requiro uel in quacumque alia. [4] Si legem nusquam reperio, sequitur ut traditio consuetudini morem hunc dederit, habiturum quandoque apostoli auctoritatem ex interpretatione rationis. His igitur exemplis renuntiatum erit posse etiam non scriptam traditionem in obseruatione defendi, confirmatam consuetudine, idonea teste probatae tunc traditionis ex perseuerantia obseruationis. [5] Consuetudo autem etiam in ciuilibus rebus pro lege suscipitur, cum deficit lex, nec differt scriptura an ratione consistat, quando et legem ratio commendat. Porro si ratione lex constat, lex erit omne iam quod ratione constiterit a quocumque productum.

An non putas omni fideli licere concipere et constituere, dumtaxat quod Deo congruat, quod disciplinae conducat, quod saluti proficiat, dicente Domino : « Cur autem non et a uobis ipsis quod iustum iudicatis? » [6] Et non de iudicio tantum, sed de omni sententia rerum examinandarum dicit et apostolus : « Si quid ignoratis, Deus uobis reuelabit », solitus et ipse consilium subministrare, cum praeceptum Domini non habebat, et edicere a semetipso, spiritum Dei habens deductorem omnis ueritatis. Itaque consilium eius diuini iam praecepti instar obtinuit de rationis diuinae patrocinio. [7] Hanc nunc expostula saluo traditionis respectu, quocumque traditore censetur, nec auctorem respicias, sed auctoritatem, et in primis consuetudinis ipsius quae propterea colenda est ne non sit rationis interpret, ut, si et hanc Deus dederit, tunc discas non an obseruanda sit tibi consuetudo, sed cur.

5. [1] Maior efficitur ratio christianarum obseruationum, cum illas etiam natura defendit, quae prima omnium disciplina est. Ideoque haec prima praescribit coronam capiti non conuenire. Puto autem, naturae Deus, *Deus* noster, qui figurauit hominem et fructibus rerum appetendis, iudicandis, consequendis certos in eo sensus ordinauit propria membrorum quodam modo organa: auditum in auribus fodit, uisum in oculis accendit, gustum in ore conclusit, odoratum in naribus uentilauit, contactum in manibus extimauit. [2] Per haec exterioris hominis ministeria interiori homini ministrantia fructus munerum diuinorum ad animam deducuntur a sensibus. Quis igitur fructus ex floribus? Substantia enim propria, certe praecipua, coronarum flores agri. Aut odor, inquis, aut color, aut pariter utrumque. Qui erunt sensus coloris et odoris? Visus, opinor, et odoratus. Istos sensus quae membra sortita sunt? Oculi, nisi fallor, et nares. Vtere itaque floribus uisu et odoratu, quorum sensuum fructus est, utere per oculos et nares, quae eorum sensuum membra sunt. Substantia tibi a Deo tradita est, habitus a saeculo. [3] Quamquam nec habitus extraordinarius ordinario usui obstrepit : hoc sint tibi flores et inserti et innexi, et in filo et in scirpo, quod liberi, quod soluti : spectaculi scilicet et spiraculi res. Coronam, si forte, fascem existima florum per seriem comprehensorum, ut plures semel portes, ut omnibus pariter utaris. Iam uero et in sinum conde, si tanta munditia est, et in lectulum sparge, si tanta mollitia est, et in poculum crede, si tanta innocentia est : tot modis frui quot et sentis. [4] Ceterum in capite quis sapor floris, quis coronae sensus, nisi uinculi tantum, quo neque color cernitur neque odor ducitur nec teneritas

commendatur? Tam contra naturam est florem capite sectari quam cibum aure, quam sonum nare. Omne autem, quod contra naturam est, monstri meretur notam penes omnes, penes nos uero etiam elogium sacrilegii in Deum, naturae dominum et auctorem.

6. ^[1] Quaeres igitur Dei legem? Habes communem istam in publico mundi, in naturalibus tabulis ad quas et apostolus solet prouocare, ut cum in uelamine feminae : « Nec natura, inquit, uos docet? », ut cum ad Romanos, natura facere dicens nationes ea quae sunt legis, et legem naturalem suggerit et naturam legalem. Sed et in priore epistula naturalem usum conditionis in non naturalem masculos et feminas inter se demutasse affirmans ex retributione erroris in uicem poenae, utique naturalibus patrocinator. ^[2] Ipsum Deum secundum naturam prius nouimus, scilicet deum appellantes deorum, et bonum praesumentes et iudicem inuocantes. Quaeris an conditioni eius fruendae natura nobis debeat praeire? Ne illa *ui* rapiamur qua Dei aemulus uniuersam conditionem, certis usibus homini mancipatam, cum ipso homine corrumpit : unde eam et apostolus inuitam ait uanitati succidisse, uanis primum usibus, tum turpibus et iniustis et impiis subuersam. ^[3] Sic itaque et circa uoluptates spectaculorum infamata conditio est ab eis qui natura quidem omnia Dei sentiunt, ex quibus spectacula instruuntur, scientia autem deficiunt illud quoque intellegere, omnia esse a diabolo mutata. Sed et huic materiae propter suauiludios nostros Graeco quoque stilo satis fecimus.

7. ^[1] Proinde coronarii isti agnoscant interim naturae auctoritatem communis sapientiae nomine, qua homines, sed propriae religionis pignore, qua Deum naturae de proximo colentes, atque ita uelut ex abundanti ceteras quoque rationes dispiciant, quae nostro priuatim capiti coronamentis, et quidem omnibus interdunt. ^[2] Nam et urguemur a communione naturalis disciplinae conuerti ad proprietatem christianam totam iam defendendam per ceteras quoque species coronarum, quae aliis usibus prospectae uidentur ut aliis substantiis structae, ne, quia non ex floribus constant, quorum usum natura signauit, ut ipsa haec laurea militaris, non credantur admittere sectae interdictionem quia euaserint naturae praescriptionem. Video igitur et curiosius et plenius agendum ab originibus usque ad profectus et excessus rei. ^[3] Litterae ad hoc saeculares necessariae. De suis enim instrumentis saecularia probari necesse est. Quantulas attigi, credo, sufficient. Si fuit aliqua Pandora, quam primam feminarum memorat Hesiodus, hoc primum caput coronatum

est a Charitibus, cum ab omnibus muneretur, unde Pandora. Nobis uero Moyses, propheticus, non poeticus pastor, principem feminam Euam facilius pudenda foliis quam tempora floribus incinctam describit. Nulla ergo Pandora. Sed ut de mendacio erubescenda est coronae origo, iam nunc et de ueritatibus suis. [4] Certe enim ceteros fuisse constat auctores rei uel illuminatores. Saturnum Pherecydes ante omnes refert coronatum, Iouem Diodorus post deuictos Titanas hoc munere a ceteris honoratum. Dat et Priapo taenias idem, et Ariadnae sertum ex auro et Indicis gemmis, Vulcani opus, ac post Liberi munus, postea sidus. Iunoni uitem Callimachus induxit. Ita et Argi signum eius palmite redimitum, subiecto pedibus corio leonino, insultantem ostentat nouercam de exuuiis utriusque priuigni. Hercules nunc populum capite praefert, nunc oleastrum, nunc apium. [5] Habes tragoediam Cerberi, habes Pindarum atque Callimachum, qui et Apollinem memorat interfecto Delphico dracone lauream induisse, qua supplicem. Erant enim supplices coronati apud ueteres. Liberum, eundem apud Aegyptios Osirim, Harpocraton industria ederatum argumentatur, quod ederae naturae sit cerebrum ab heluco defensare. Sed et alias Liberum principem coronae, plane laureae in qua ex Indis triumphauit, etiam uulgus agnoscit, cum dies in illum sollemnes Magnam appellat Coronam. [6] Si et Leonis Aegyptii scripta euoluas, prima Isis repertas spicas capite circumtulit, rem magis uentris. Plura quaerentibus omnia exhibebit praestantissimus in hac quoque materia commentator Claudius Saturninus. [7] Nam est illic de coronis liber, et origines et causas et species et sollemnitates earum ita edisserens ut nullam gratiam floris, nullam laetitiam frondis, nullum caespitem aut palmitem non alicuius capiti inuenias consecratum: quo satis instruamur quam alienum iudicare debeamus coronati capitis institutionem ab eis prolatam et in eorum deinceps honorem dispensatam, quos saeculum deos credidit. [8] Si enim mendacium diuinitatis diabolus operatur, in hac etiam specie a primordio mendax, sine dubio et eos ipse prospexerat, in quibus id mendacium diuinitatis ageretur. Quale igitur habendum est apud homines Dei ueri quod agentibus candidatis diaboli introductum et ipsis a primordio dictum est, quoque iam tunc idolis latriae initiabantur ab idolis et in idolis adhuc uiuis? non quasi aliquid sit idolum, sed quoniam, quae idolis *ab* aliis fiunt ad daemones pertinent. [9] Porro si quae alii idolis faciunt ad daemones pertinent, quanto magis quod ipsa sibi idola fecerunt, cum adiuuerent? Ipsi scilicet sibi procurauerunt daemones, per

eos in quibus esurierant ante quod procurauerunt.

8. [1] Tene interim hunc finem, dum incursum quaestionis excutio. Iam enim audio dici et alia multa, ab eis prolata quos saeculum deos credidit, tamen et in nostris hodie usibus et in pristinorum sanctorum et in Dei rebus et in ipso Christo deprehendi, non alias scilicet homine functo quam per communia ista instrumenta exhibitionis humanae. Plane ita sit, nec antiquius adhuc in origines disceptabo. [2] Primus litteras Mercurius enarrauerit : necessarias confitebor et commercii rerum et nostris erga Deum studiis. Sed et si neruos idem in sonum strinxit, non negabo et hoc ingenium eius sanctis fecisse et Deo ministrasse, audiens Daud. Primus medellas Aesculapius explorauerit : meminit et Esaias Ezechiae languenti aliquid medicinale mandasse, scit et Paulus stomacho uinum modicum prodesse. Sed et Minerua prima molita sit nauem : uidebo nauigantem Ionan et apostolos. [3] Plus est quod et Christus uestitur; habebit etiam, paenulam Paulus. Si et uniuscuiusque suppellectilis et singulorum uasorum aliquem ex diis saeculi auctorem nominaris, agnoscam necesse est et recumbentem in lectulo Christum, et cum peluem discipulorum pedibus offert, et cum aquam ex urceo ingerit, et cum linteo circumstringitur, propria Osiridis ueste. [4] Huiusmodi quaestioni sic ubique respondeo, admittens quidem utensilium communionem, sed prouocans eam ad rationalium et irrationalium distinctionem, quia passiuitas fallit obumbrans corruptelam conditionis qua subiecta est uanitati. [5] Dicimus enim ea demum et nostris et superioribus usibus et Dei rebus et ipsi Christo competisse, quae meras utilitates et certa subsidia et honesta solacia necessariis uitae humanae procurant, ut et ipso Deo inspirante dantur, priore prospectore et instructore et oblectatore, si forte, hominis sui ; quae uero hunc ordinem excesserunt, ea non conuenire usibus nostris, praesertim quae propterea scilicet nec apud *sanctum* ullum nec in Dei rebus nec in conuersationibus Christi recognosci est.

9. [1] Quis denique patriarches, quis prophetes, quis leuites aut sacerdos aut archon, quis uel postea apostolus aut euangelizator aut episcopus inuenitur coronatus? Puto, nec ipsum Dei templum nec arca testamenti, nec tabernaculum martyrii, nec altare, nec candelabrum, quibus utique et in prima dedicationis sollemnitate et in secunda restitutionis gratulatione competisset coronari, si dignum Deo esset. [2] Atquin si figurae nostrae fuerunt, — nos enim sumus et templa Dei et altaria et luminaria et uasa, — hoc quoque figurate portendebant, homines Dei coronari non oportere. Imagini ueritas

respondere debbit. Si forsitan opponis ipsum Christum coronatum, ad hoc breuiter interim audies : « Sic et tu coronare; licitum est. » [3] Tamen nec illam impietatis contumeliosae coronam populus consciuit. Romanorum militum fuit commentum, ex usu rei saecularis, quem populus Dei nec publicae umquam laetitiae nec ingenitae luxuriae nomine admisit, facilius cum tympanis et tibiis et psalteriis reuertens de captiuitate Babyloniae quam cum coronis, et post cibum et potum exurgens ad ludendum sine coronis. [4] Nam neque laetitiae descriptio neque luxuriae denotatio de coronae decore aut dedecore tacuisset. Adeo et Esaias : « Quoniam, inquit, cum tympanis et psalteriis et tibiis uinum bibunt », dicturus etiam « cum coronis », si umquam hic usus fuisset et in Dei rebus.

10. [1] Ita cum idcirco proponis deorum saecularium commenta etiam apud Deum deprehendi, ut inter haec coronam quoque capitis communi usui uindices, ipse tibi iam praescribis non habendum in communione usus apud nos quod non inueniatur in Dei rebus. Quid enim tam indignum Deo quam quod dignum idolo? Quid autem tam dignum idolo quam quod et mortuo? [2] Nam et mortuorum est ita coronari, quoniam et ipsi idola statim fiunt et habitu et cultu consecrationis, quae apud nos secunda idololatria est. Igitur qui careant sensu, illorum erit perinde uti ea re, cuius careant sensu, atque si abuti eo uellent, si sensu non carerent. Nulla uero distantia est abutendi, cum ueritas cessat utendi: cessante natura sentiendi qua uult, quis abutatur, cum non habeat qua utatur? [3] Nobis autem abuti apud apostolum non licet, facilius non uti docentem. Nisi quod nec abutuntur qui nihil sentiunt, sed uacant totum, et est ipsum quoque opus mortuum, quantum in idolis, uiuum plane, quantum in daemoniis ad quae pertinet superstitio. « Idola nationum, inquit Dauid, argentum et aurum : oculos habent, nec uident, nares, nec odorantur, manus, nec contrectabunt. » [4] Per haec enim floribus frui est. Quod si tales edicit futuros qui idola fabricantur, tales iam sunt qui secundum idolorum ornatum quid utuntur. Omnia munda mundis; ita et immunda omnia immundis. Nihil autem immundius idolis. — Ceterum substantiae mundae, ut Dei res, et hac sua condicione communes usui. — Sed et ipsius usus administratio interest. [5] Nam et ego mihi gallinaceum macto, non minus quam Aesculapio Socrates, et si me odor alicuius loci offenderit, Arabiae aliquid incendo, sed non eodem ritu, nec eodem habitu, nec eodem apparatu, quo agitur apud idola. Si enim uerbo nudo conditio polluitur, — ut apostolus docet : « Si quis autem dixerit :

hoc idolothytum est, ne contigeris », — multo magis, cum saltitaueris habitu et ritu et apparatu idolothytorum, contaminatur. Ita et corona idolothytum efficitur. [6] Hoc enim ritu et habitu et apparatu idolis immolatur auctoribus suis, quorum eo uel maxime proprius est usus, ne in communionem possit admitti, quod in Dei rebus non inuenitur. Propterea apostolus clamat : « Fugite idololatriam ! » Omnem utique et totam. [7] Recogita siluam et quanta latitant spinae. Nihil dandum idolo; sic nec sumendum ab idolo. Si in idolio recumbere alienum est a fide, quid in idoli habitu uideri? Quae communio Christo et Beliae? Et ideo fugite. Longum enim diuortium mandat ab idololatria. In nullo proxime agendum : draco etiam terrenus de longinquo homines spiritu absorbet. [8] Altius Iohannes : « Filioli, inquit, custodite uos ab idolis! »; non iam ab idololatria quasi officio, sed ab idolis, id est ab ipsa effigie eorum. Indignum enim ut imago Dei uiui imago idoli et mortui fias. Vsque adhuc proprietatem istius habitus et ex originis censu et ex superstitionis usu idolis uindicamus, ex eo praeterea quod, dum in rebus Dei non refertur, magis magisque illorum deputatur in quorum et anti quitatibus et sollemnitatibus et officiis conuenitur. [9] Ipsae denique fores et ipsae hostiae et arae, ipsi ministri ac sacerdotes eorum coronantur. Habes omnium collegiorum sacerdotalium coronas apud Claudium. Sed et illam interstruximus distinctionem differentium rationalium et inrationalium eis occurrentem, qui communionem in omnibus de quorundam exemplorum occasione defendunt. [10] Ad hanc itaque partem causas iam ipsas coronarias inspicere superest, ut, dum ostendimus extraneas, immo et contrarias disciplinae, nullam earum rationis patrocinio fultam probemus, quo posset habitus huiusmodi quoque communioni uindicari, sicut et quidam quorum exempla nobis obiectantur.

11. [1] Etenim, ut ipsam causam coronae militaris aggrediar, puto prius conquirendum an in totum christianis militia conueniat. Quale est alioquin de accidentibus retractare, cum a praecedentibus culpa sit? Credimusne humanum sacramentum diuino superduci licere, et in alium dominum respondere post Christum, et eierare patrem ac matrem et omnem proximum, quos et lex honorari et post Deum diligere praecepit, quos et euangelium, solum Christum pluri faciens, sic quoque hono-
rauit? [2] Licebit in gladio conuersari, Domino pronuntiante gladio periturum qui gladio fuerit usus? Et proelio operabitur filius pacis, cui nec litigare conueniet? Et uincula et

carcerem et tormenta et supplicia administrabit, nec suarum ultor iniuriarum?

[3] Iam et stationes aut aliis magis faciet quam Christo, aut et dominico die, quando nec Christo? Et excubabit pro templis quibus renuntiavit? Et cenabit illic, ubi apostolo non placet? Et quos interdum exorcismis fugavit, noctibus defensabit, incumbens et requiescens super pilum quo perfossum est latus Christi? Vexillum quoque portabit aemulum Christi? Et signum postulabit a principe, qui iam a Deo accepit? Mortuus etiam tuba inquietabitur aeneatoris, qui excitari a tuba angeli expectat? Et cremabitur ex disciplina castrensis christianus, cui crederetur mari non licuit, cui Christus merita ignis indulxit? [4] Quanta alibi illicita circumspici possunt castrensi munitionum, transgressionum interpretanda! Ipsum de castris lucis in castra tenebrarum nomen deferre transgressionis est. Plane, si quos militia praeueniens fides posterior inuenit, alia condicio est, ut illorum quos Iohannes admittebat ad lauacrum, ut centurionum fidelissimorum quem Christus probat et quem Petrus catechizat, dum tamen, suscepta fide atque signata, aut deserendum statim sit, ut a multis actum, aut omnibus modis cauendum, ne quid aduersus Deum committatur quae nec extra militiam permittuntur, aut nouissime perpetiendum pro Deo, quod aequae fides pagana condixit. [5] Nec enim delictorum impunitatem aut martyriorum immunitatem militia promittit. Nusquam christianus aliud est, unum euangelium et idem : Iesus negaturus omnem negatorem et confessurus omnem confessorem, et saluam facturum animam pro nomine eius amissam, perditurus autem de contrario aduersus nomen eius lucrum habitum. Apud hunc tam miles est paganus fidelis quam paganus est miles fidelis. [6] Non admittit status fidei necessitates. Nulla est necessitas delinquendi, quibus una est necessitas non delinquendi. Nam et ad sacrificandum et directo negandum necessitate quis premitur tormentorum siue poenarum. Tamen nec illi necessitati disciplina conuenit, quia potior est necessitas timendae negationis et obeundi martyrii quam euadendae passionis et implendi officii. [7] Ceterum subuertit totam substantiam sacramenti causatio eiusmodi, ut etiam uoluntariis delictis fibulam laxet. Nam et uoluntas poterit necessitas contendere, habens scilicet unde cogatur uel ipsa. Haec praestruxerim et ad ceteras officialium coronarum causas, quibus familiarissima est aduocatio necessitatis, cum idcirco aut officia fugienda sunt ne delictis incidamus, aut martyria toleranda sunt ut officia rumpamus. De prima specie quaestionis, etiam militiae ipsius illicitae, plura non faciam, ut secunda reddatur, ne, si omni ope expulero

militiam, frustra iam de corona militari prouocarim. Puta denique licere militiam usque ad causam coronae.

12. [1] Sed et de corona prius dicamus. Laurea ista Apollini uel Libero sacra est, illi ut deo telorum, huic ut deo triumphorum. Sic docet Claudius, [2] cum et myrto ait milites redimiri solere: Veneris enim myrtus, matris Aeneadarum, etiam amicalae Martis, per Iliam et Romulos Romanae. Sed ego Venerem non credo ex hac parte cum Marte Romanam, qua pelicis dolor est. Cum et olea militia coronatur, ad Mineruam est idololatria, armorum aequae deam, sed et pace cum Neptuno inita ex hac arbore coronatam. In his erit serti militaris superstitio, ubique polluta et polluens omnia. Quae iam polluantur et causis. [3] Ecce annua uotorum nuncupatio : quid uidetur? Prima in principiis, secunda in capitoliis. Accipe, post loca, et uerba : « Tunc tibi, Iuppiter, bouem cornibus auro decoratis uouemus esse futurum. » Cuius sententiae uox est? Vtique negationis. Etiam si tacet illic christianus ore, coronatus capite respondit. Eadem laurea in donatiui dispensationem denuntiatur. Plane non gratuita [4] idololatria, aliquibus aureis uenditans Christum, ut argenteis Iudas. Hoc erit « Non potestis Deo seruire et mammonae », mammonae manum tradere et Deo absistere? Hoc erit « Reddite quae sunt Caesaris Caesari et quae Dei Deo », nec hominem Deo reddere et denarium Caesari auferre? Triumphus laurea foliis struitur an cadaueribus? Iemnicis ornatur an bustis? unguentis delibuitur an lacrimis coniugum et matrum? Fortasse quorundam et christianorum : et apud barbaros enim Christus. [5] Qui hanc portauerit in capite causam, nonne et ipse pugnavit? Est et alia militia, regiarum familiarum. Nam et castrenses appellantur, munificae et ipsae sollemnium Caesarianorum. Sed et tu proinde miles ac seruus alterius, et si duorum, Dei et Caesaris, certe tunc non Caesaris, cum te Deo debes, etiam in communibus, credo, potiori.

13. [1] Coronant et publicos ordines laureis publicae causae, magistratus uero insuper aureis, ut Athenis, ut Romae. Superferuntur etiam illis Etruscae. Hoc uocabulum est coronarum quas gemmis et foliis ex auro quercinis ab Ioue insignes ad deducendas tensas cum palmatis togis sumunt. Sunt et prouinciales aureae, imaginum pro numero capita maiora quaerentes. Sed tui ordines et tui magistratus et ipsum curiae nomen ecclesia est Christi. Illius es concriptus in libris uitae. [2] Illic purpurae tuae sanguis Domini, et clauus latus in cruce ipsius; illic secures, ad caudicem iam arboris positae; illic uirgae ex radice Iesse. Viderint et publici equi cum coronis suis. Dominus tuus, ubi

secundum scripturam Hierusalem ingredi uoluit, nec asinum habuit priuatum. « Isti in curribus et isti in equis, nos autem in nomine Domini nostri inuocabimus. » [3] Ab ipso incolatu Babylonis illius in Apocalypsi Iohannis submouemur, nedum a suggestu. Coronatur et uulgus, nunc ex principalium prosperitatum exultatione, nunc ex municipalium sollemnitatum proprietate. Est enim omnis publicae laetitiae luxuria captatrix. [4] Sed tu, peregrinus mundi huius et ciuis ciuitatis supernae Hierusalem, — « Noster, inquit, municipatus in caelis », — habes tuos census, tuos fastos, nihil tibi cum gaudiis saeculi, immo contrarium debes. « Saeculum enim gaudebit, uos uero lugebitis. » Et, puto, felices ait lugentes, non coronatos. Coronant et nuptiae sponso. Et ideo non nubemus ethnicis, ne nos ad idololatriam usque deducant, a qua apud illos nuptiae incipiunt. [5] Habes legem a patriarchis quidem, habes apostolum in Domino nubere iubentem. Coronat et libertas saecularis. Sed tu iam redemptus es a Christo, et quidem magno. Seruum alienum quomodo saeculum manumittet? Etsi libertas uidetur, sed et seruitus uidebitur: omnia imaginaria in saeculo et nihil ueri. Nam et tunc liber hominis eras, redemptus a Christo, et nunc seruus es Christi, licet manumissus sis ab homine. [6] Si ueram putes saeculi libertatem, ut et corona eam consignes, redisti in seruitutem hominis, quam putas libertatem, amisisti libertatem Christi, quam putasti seruitutem. Numquid et agonisticae causae disputabuntur, quas statim tituli sui damnant, sacras et funebres scilicet? Hoc enim superest, ut Olympius Iuppiter et Nemausus Hercules et misellus Archemorus et Antinous infelix in christiano coronentur, ut ipse spectaculum fiat quod spectare non debet. [7] Vniuersas, ut arbitror, causas enumerauimus, nec ulla nobiscum est : omnes alienae, profanae, illicitae, semel iam in sacramenti testatione eieratae. Haec enim erant pompae diaboli et angelorum eius : officia saeculi, honores, sollemnitates, popularitates, falsa uota, humana seruitia, laudes uanae, gloriae turpes; et in omnibus istis idololatriae, in solo quoque censu coronarum, quibus omnia ista redimita sunt. [8] Praefabitur quidem Claudius etiam caelum sideribus apud Homeri carmina coronatum, certe a Deo, certe homini : igitur et homo ipse a deo coronandus est. Ceterum a saeculo coronantur et lupanaria et latrinae et pistrinae et carcer et ludus et ipsa amphitheatra et ipsa spoliaria ipsaeque libitinae. Quam sacer sanctusque, quam honestus ac mundus sit habitus iste, noli de uno poetico caelo, sed de totius mundi commerciis aestimare. [9] At enim christianus nec ianuam suam

laureis infamabit, si norit quantos deos etiam ostiis diabolus adfinxerit : Ianum a ianua, Limentinum a limine, Forculum et Carnam a foribus atque cardinibus, etiam apud Graecos Thyraeum Apollinem et Antelios daemonas.

14. [1] Tanto abest ut capiti suo munus inferat idololatriae, immo iam dixerim Christo, siquidem caput uiri Christus est : tam liberum quam et Christus, ne uelamento quidem obnoxium, nedum obligamento. Porro et quod obnoxium est uelamento, caput feminae, hoc ipso iam occupatum non uacat etiam obligamento. Habet humilitatis suae sarcinam. [2] Si nudo capite uideri non debet propter angelos, multo magis coronato. Fortasse tunc illos coronato scandalizauerit. Quid enim est in capite feminae corona quam formae lena, quam summae lasciuiae nota, extrema negatio uerecundiae, conflatio inlecebrae? Propterea nec ornabitur operosius mulier ex apostoli prospectu, ut nec crinium artificio coronetur. [3] Qui tamen et uiri caput est et feminae facies, uir ecclesiae Christus Iesus, quale, oro te, sertum pro utroque sexu subiit? Ex spinis, opinor, et tribulis, in figuram delictorum quae nobis protulit terra carnis, abstulit autem uirtus crucis, omnem aculeum mortis in dominici capitis tolerantia obtundens, certe praeter figuram : contumelia in promptu est, et dedecoratio et turpitudine et his implexa saeuitia. [4] Quae tunc Domini tempora et foedauerunt et lancinauerunt, uti tu nunc laurea et myrto et olea et inlustriore quaque fronde et, quod magis usui est, centenariis quoque rosis de horto Midae lectis et utrisque liliis et omnibus uiolis coroneris, etiam gemmis forsitan et auro? ut et illam Christi coronam aemuleris, quae postea ei obuenit? Atquin et fauos post fella gustauit, nec ante rex gloriae a caelestibus salutatus est quam rex Iudaeorum proscriptus in cruce, minoratus primo a patre modico quid citra angelos, et ita gloria et honore coronatus. Si ob haec caput ei tuum debes, tale, si forte, ei repende, quale suum pro tuo obtulit, aut nec floribus coroneris si spinis non potes, quia floribus non potes.

15. [1] Serua Deo rem suam intaminatam. Ille eam, si uolet, coronabit. Immo et uult, denique inuitat : « Qui uicerit, inquit, dabo ei coronam uitae. » Esto et tu fidelis ad mortem, decerta et tu bonum agonem, cuius coronam et apostolus repositam sibi merito confidit. Accipit et angelus uictoriae coronam, procedens in candido equo ut uinceret; at alius iridis ambitu ornatur caelesti prasio. Sedent et presbyteri coronati, eodemque auto et ipse filius hominis super nubem micat. [2] Si tales imagines in uisione, quales ueritates in repraesentatione? Illas aspice, illas adora. Quid caput strophiole aut

dracontario damnas, diademati destinatum? Nam reges nos Deo et patri suo fecit Christus Iesus. Quid tibi cum flore morituro? Habes florem ex uirga Iesse, super quem tota diuini Spiritus gratia requieuit, florem incorruptum, immarcescibilem, sempiternum. [3] Quem et bonus miles eligendo in caelesti ordinatione profecit. Erubescite, commilitones eius, iam non ab ipso iudicandi, sed ab aliquo Mithrae milite. Qui cum initiatur in spelaeo, in castris uere tenebrarum, coronam interposito gladio sibi oblatam quasi mimum martyrii, dehinc capiti suo accommodatam, monetur obuia manu a capite pellere et in humerum, si forte, transferre, dicens Mithran esse coronam suam. [4] Atque exinde numquam coronatur, idque in signum habet ad probationem sui, sicubi temptatus fuerit de sacramento, statimque creditur Mithrae miles, si deiecerit coronam, si eam in deo suo esse dixerit. Agnoscamus ingenia diaboli, idcirco quaedam de diuinis affectantis ut nos de suorum fide confundat et iudicet.

De velandis Virginibus (On Veiling Virgins)

I. [1] Proprium iam negotium passus meae opinionis Latine quoque ostendam virgines nostras velari oportere, ex quo transitum aetatis suae fecerint; hoc exigere veritatem, cui nemo praescribere potest, non spatium temporum, non patrocinia personarum, non privilegium regionum; ex his enim fere consuetudo initium ab aliqua ignorantia vel simplicitate sortita in usum per successionem corroboratur et ita adversus veritatem vindicatur. [2] Sed dominus noster Christus veritatem se, non consuetudinem cognominavit. Si semper Christus et prior omnibus, aequae veritas sempiterna et antiqua res. Viderint ergo, quibus novum est, quod sibi vetus est. [3] Haeresis non tam novitas quam veritas revincit. Quodcumque adversus veritatem sapit, hoc erit haeresis, etiam vetus consuetudo. Ceterum suo vitio quis quid ignorat; quod autem ignoratur, fuit tam requirendum quam recipiendum, quod agnoscitur. [4] Regula quidem fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis et irreformabilis, credendi scilicet in uni cum deum omnipotentem, mundi conditorem, et filium eius Iesum Christum, natum ex virgine Maria, crucifixum sub Pontio Pilato, tertia die resuscitatum a mortuis, receptum in caelis, sedentem nunc ad dexteram patris, venturum iudi care vivos et mortuos per camis etiam resurrectionem. [5] Hoc lege fidei manente cetera iam disciplinae et conversationis admittunt novitatem correctionis, operante scilicet et proficiente usque in finem gratia dei. [6] Quale est enim, ut diabolo semper operante et adiciente cottidie ad iniquitatis ingenia opus dei aut cessaverit aut proficere destiterit? cum propterea paraclitum miserit dominus, ut, quoniam humana mediocritas omnia semel capere non poterat, paulatim dirigeretur et ordinaretur et ad perfectum perduceretur disciplina ab illo vicario domini, spiritu sancto. [7] *Adhuc multa habeo loqui ad vos, sed nondum potestis ea baiulare; cum venerit ille spiritus veritatis, deducet vos in omnem veritatem et supervenientia renuntiabit vobis.* Sed et supra de hoc eius opere pronuntiavit. [8] Quae est ergo paracliti administratio nisi haec, quod disciplina dirigitur, quod scripturae revelantur, quod intellectus reformatur, quod ad meliora proficitur? Nihil sine aetate est, omnia tempus expectant; denique Ecclesiastes *Tempus*, inquit, *omni rei.* [9] Aspice ipsam creaturam paulatim ad fructum promoveri: granum est primo et de grano frutex oritur et de frutice arbuscula enititur, deinde rami et frondes invalescunt et totum arboris nomen expanditur,

inde germinis tumor et flos de germine solvitur et de flore fructus aperitur; is quoque rudis aliquamdiu et informis paulatim aetatem suam dirigens eruditur in mansuetudinem saporis. [10] Sic et iustitia — nam idem deus iustitiae et creaturae — primo fuit in rudimentis, natura deum metuens, dehinc per legem et prophetas promovit in infantiam, dehinc per evangelium efferbuit in iuventutem, nunc per paracletum componitur in maturitatem. [11] Hic erit solus a Christo magister et dicendus et verendus; non enim ab se loquitur, sed quae mandantur a Christo; hic solus antecessor, quia solus post Christum; hunc qui receperunt, veritatem consuetudini anteponunt; hunc qui audierunt usque non olim prophetantem, virgines contegunt.

II. [1] Sed nolo interim hunc morem veritatis deputare; consuetudo sit tantisper, ut consuetudini etiam consuetudinem opponam. Per Graeciam et quasdam barbarias eius plures ecclesiae virgines suas abscondunt; est et sub hoc caelo institutum istud alicubi, ne qui gentilitati Graecanicae aut barbaricae consuetudinem illam ascribat. [2] Sed eas ego ecclesias proposui, quas et ipsi apostoli vel apostolici viri condiderunt et puto, ante quosdam. Habent igitur et illae eandem consuetudinis auctoritatem; tempora et antecessores opponunt magis quam posteræ istae. Quid observabimus, quid eligimus? [3] Non possumus respuere consuetudinem, quam damnare non possumus, utpote non extraneam, quia non extraneorum, cum quibus communicamus scilicet ius pacis et nomen fraternitatis. Una nobis et illis fides, unus deus, idem Christus, eadem spes, eadem lavacri sacramenta, semel dixerim, una ecclesia sumus. Ita nostrum est, quodcumque nostrorum est, ceterum dividis corpus. [4] Tam<en> hic, sicut in omnibus varie institutis et dubiis et incertis fieri solet, adhibenda fuit examinatio, quae magis ex duabus tam diversis consuetudinibus disciplinae dei conveniret, et utique ea deligenda, quae virginis includit, soli deo notas — quibus, praeter *quod* a deo, non ab hominibus captanda gloria est, etiam ipsum bonum suum erubescendum est: virginem magis laudando quam vituperando confundas, quia delicti durior frons est, ab ipso et in ipso delicto impudentiam docta — ; nam illam consuetudinem, quae virgines negat, dum ostendit, nemo probasset nisi aliqui talis quales virgines ipsae. [5] Tales enim oculi volent virginem visam, quales habet virgo, quae videri volet; invicem se eadem oculorum genera desiderant; eiusdem libidinis est videri et videre. Tam sancti viri est subfundi, si virginem viderit, quam sanctae virginis, si a viro visa sit.

III. [1] Sed nec inter consuetudines dispicere voluerunt illi sanctissimi antecessores. Tamen tolerabilius apud nos ad usque proxime utrique consuetudini communicabatur; arbitrio commissa res erat, ut quaeque voluisset, aut tegi aut prostitui, sicut et nubere, quod et ipsum neque cogitur neque prohibetur. [2] Contenta erat veritas pacisci cum consuetudine, ut tacite sub consuetudinis nomine frueretur se vel ex parte. Sed quoniam coeperat agnitio proficere, ut per licentiam utriusque moris indicium melioris partis emergeret, statim ille adversarius bonorum multoque institutorum opus suum fecit. [3] Ambiunt virgines hominum adversus virgines dei, nuda plane fronte temerarie <in> audaciam excitatae, et virgines videntur, quae aliquid a viris petere possunt, nedum tale factum, ut scilicet aemulae earum, tanto magis liberae quanto Christi solius ancillae, dedantur illis! [4] ‘Scandalizamur’, inquit, ‘quia aliter aliae incedunt’, et malunt scandalizari quam provocari. Scandalum, nisi fallor, non bonae rei, sed malae exemplum est, aedificans ad delictum; bonae res neminem scandalizant nisi malam mentem. [5] Si bonum est modestia, verecundia, fastidium gloriae, soli deo captans placere, agnoscant malum suum, quae de tali bono scandalizantur. Quid enim? si *incontinentes* dicant se a continentibus scandalizari, et continentia revocanda est? et ne multinubi scandalizentur, monogamia recusanda est? [6] Cur non magis hae qu[a]erantur scandalo sibi esse petulantiam, impudentiam ostentaticiae virginitatis? Propter huiusmodi igitur capita nundinaticia trahantur virgines sanctae in ecclesiam, erubescences, quod cognoscantur in medio, paventes, quod detegantur accersitae quasi ad stuprum? Non minus enim et hoc pati nolunt. [7] Omnis publicatio virginis bonae stupri passio est. Et tamen vim carnis pati minus est, quia de officio naturae venit; sed cum spiritus ipse violatur in virgine sublato velamine, didicit amittere, quod tuebatur. [8] O sacrilegae manus, quae dicatum deo habitum detrahare potuerunt! Quid peius aliquis persecutor fecisset, si hoc a virgine electum agnovisset? Denudasti puellam a capite et nota iam sibi virgo non est, alia est facta. [9] Exsurge igitur, veritas, exsurge et quasi de patientia erumpe! Nullam volo consuetudinem defendas; nam iam et illa consuetudine, sub qua te fruebaris, expugnatur. Te esse demonstra, quae virgines tegis, ipsa scripturas tuas interpretare, quas consuetudo non novit; si enim nosset, numquam esset.

IV. [1] Quatenus autem et de scripturis adversus veritatem argumentari consuetudo est, statim opponitur nobis nullam mentionem virginum ab

apostolo factam, ubi de velamine praefinit, sed tantum mulieres nominatas, cum, si voluisset et virgines tegi, de virginibus quoque cum mulieribus nominatis pronuntiasset, ‘quomodo illic’, inquit, ‘ubi de nuptiis tractat, quid observandum sit etiam de virginibus declarat’; itaque non contineri eas lege velandi capitis ut non nominatas in hac lege, immo ex hoc ve<tari ve>lari, quae non iubentur, quae neo nominantur. [2] Sed et nos eandem argumentationem retorquemus. Qui enim sciebat in alias utriusque generis facere mentionem — virginis dico et mulieris, id est non virginis — ex causa distinctionis, in his, in quibus non nominat virginem, non faciens distinctionem ostendit condicionis communionem. [3] Ceterum potuit hic quoque constituere differentiam inter virginem et mulierem, sicut alibi dicit: *Divisa est mulier et virgo*. Igitur quas non divisit tacendo, in altera uniit. Nec tamen quia illic divisa est et mulier et virgo, hic quoque patrocina-bitur illa divisio, ut quidam volunt. [4] Quanta enim alibi dicta non valent, ubi dicta scilicet non sunt! nisi si eadem sit causa quae alibi, ut sufficiat semel dictum. Illa autem causa virginis et mulieris longe divisa est ab hac specie. *Divisa est*, inquit, *mulier et virgo*. Quare? quoniam *innupta*, id est virgo, *cogitat ea, quae, sunt domini, ut sit sancta et corpore et spiritu, nupta autem*, id est non virgo, *cogitat quomodo placeat viro*. [5] Haec erit interpretatio divisionis illius, nullum habens locum in isto capitulo, in quo neque de nuptiis neque de animo et cogitatu muliebri et virginis pronuntiatum, sed de capite velando. Cuius nullam volens esse disceptationem spiritus sanctus uno nomine mulieris etiam virginem intelligi voluit, quam proprie non nominando a muliere non separavit et non separando coniunxit ei, a qua non separavit. [6] Novum est nunc ergo principali vocabulo uti et cetera nihilominus in eo vocabulo intelligi, ubi nulla est necessitas singillatim distinguendae universitatis? Naturaliter compendium sermonis et gratum et necessarium est, quoniam sermo laciniosus et onerosus et vanus est. Sic et generalibus vocabulis contenti sumus comprehendentibus in se specialium intellectum. [7] Ergo iam de vocabulo ipso. Naturale vocabulum est femina, naturalis vocabuli generale mulier, generalis etiam speciale virgo vel nupta vel vidua vel quot etiam aetatis nomina accedunt. Subiectum est igitur generali speciale, quia generale prius est, ut sub<cessivum antecessivo et portionale universalis: in ipso intelligitur, cui subicitur, et in ipso significatur, quia in ipso continetur. [8] Sic nec manus nec pes nec ullum membrorum desiderat nominari corpore nominato; et si mundum dixeris, illic erit et caelum et quae

in eo, sol et luna et sidera et astra, et terra et freta et omnis census elementorum. Omnia dixeris, cum id dixeris, quod ex omnibus constat. Sic et mulierem nominando quicquid est mulieris nominavit.

V. [1] Sed quoniam ita mulieris nomen usurpant, ut non putent competere illud nisi ei soli, quae virum passa sit, probari a nobis oportet proprietatem eius vocabuli ad sexum ipsum, non ad gradum sexus pertinere, quo communiter etiam virgines censeantur. [2] Cum hoc genus secundi hominis a deo factum est in adiutorium hominis, femina illa statim mulier cognominata est, adhuc felix, adhuc digna paradiso, adhuc virgo: *Vocabitur, inquit, mulier*. Habes itaque nomen, non dico iam virgini commune, sed proprium, quod a principio virgo sortita est. [3] Sed ingeniose quidam de futuro volunt dictum *vocabitur mulier*, quasi quae hoc futura esset, cum virginitatem resignasset, quoniam et adicit: *Propterea relinquet homo patrem et matrem et conglutinabitur mulieri suae et erunt duo in carne una*. Ostendant igitur primo, uti s<c>it subtilitas ista, si de futuro mulier cognominata est, quod interea vocabulum acceperit; non potest enim sine vocabulo praesentis qualitatis suae fuisse. [4] Ceterum quale est, ut, quae in futurum vocaretur nomine designato, in praesenti nihil cognominaretur! Omnibus animalibus Adam nomina imposuit et nemini ex futura condicione, sed ex praesenti institutione, cui conditio quaecumque serviret, hoc appellata, quod ex primordio voluit. [5] Quid ergo tunc vocabatur? Atquin quotienscumque in scriptura nominatur, mulier appellatur, antequam nupta, et numquam virgo, cum virgo; hoc nomen tum unum illi fuit, et quando nihil prophetico modo dictum est. [6] Nam cum scriptura refert fuisse nudos duos, Adam et mulierem eius, nec hoc de futuro sapit, quasi mulierem dixerit eius in praesagio uxoris, sed quoniam et innupta illius mulier ut de substantia eius: *Hoc, inquit, os ex ossibus meis et caro ex carne mea vocabitur mulier*. [7] Hinc ergo tacita conscientia naturae ipsa divinitas animae in usum sermonis eduxit nescientibus hominibus — sicut et alia multa, quae ex scriptura fieri et dici solere alibi poterimus ostendere — , uti mulieres nostras dicamus uxores, quamquam et improprie quaedam loquamur; nam et Graeci, qui magis vocabulo mulieris in uxore utuntur, alia habent propria vocabula uxoris; sed malo hunc usum ad scripturae testimonium deputare. [8] Ubi enim duo in unam carnem efficiuntur per matrimonii nexum, ‘caro ex carne et os ex ossibus’ vocatur secundum originem mulier eius, ex cuius substantia incipit censeri

facta uxor. Ita mulier non natura nomen est uxoris, sed uxor condicione nomen est mulieris. Denique mulier et non uxor dici potest, non mulier autem uxor dici non potest, quia nec esse. [9] Constituto igitur nomine novae feminae, quod est mulier, et explicito quod prius fuit, id est nomine assignato, convertit iam ad propheticam rationem, uti diceret: *Propter hanc relinquet homo patrem et matrem*. Adeo separatum est nomen a prophetia quantum et ab ipsa persona, ut non utique de ipsa Eva dixerit, sed in illas feminas futuras, quas in matrice generis feminini nominarit. [10] Alioquin non Adam relicturus erat patrem et matrem, quos non habebat, propter Evam; ergo non ad Evam pertinet, quia nec ad Adam, quod prophetice dictum est; de maritorum enim condicione praedictum, qui ob mulierem parentes suos erant relicturi, quod in Evam cadere non potuit, quia nec in Adam. [11] Si ita res est, apparet non propter futurum mulierem cognominatam, ad quam futurum non pertinebat. Eo accedit, quod ipse rationem eius nominis edidit; cum enim dixisset: *Vocabitur mulier: Quoniam ex viro suo sumpta est* et ipso adhuc virgine. Sed dicemus et de viri nomine suo loco. [12] Nemo itaque nomen ad prophetiam interpretetur, quod ex alia significatione deductum est, praesertim cum appareat, ubi de futuro nomen acceperit, illic scilicet, ubi Eva cognominatur, personali iam vocabulo, quia naturale praecesserat. Si enim Eva *mater viventium* est, ecce ex futuro cognominatur, ecce uxor et non virgo praenuntiatur. Hoc erit vocabulum nupturae; ex nupta enim mater. [13] Ita hic quoque ostenditur non de futuro mulierem tunc nominatam, quae postmodum acceptura erat futurae condicionis suae nomen. Responsum satis est ad hanc partem.

VI. [1] Videamus nunc, si et apostolus formam vocabuli istius secundum Genesim observat, sexui deputans illuc, sic mulierem vocans virginem Mariam quemadmodum et Genesis Evam. Scribens enim ad Galatas: *Misit, inquit, deus filium suum factum ex muliere*, quam utique virginem constat fuisse, licet Hebion resistat. [2] Agnosco et angelum Gabrielem ad virginem missum; sed cum benedicit illam, inter mulieres, non inter virgines deputat: *Benedicta tu inter mulieres*. Sciebat et angelus mulierem etiam virginem dici. [3] Sed et ad haec duo ingeniose quidam respondisse sibi visus est, quoniam quidem desponsata est Maria, idcirco et ab angelo et ab apostolo mulierem pronuntiatam; ‘desponsata enim quodammodo nupta’. Tamen inter quodammodo et verum satis interest, dumtaxat hoc in loco; nam alibi ita sane habendum est. [4] Nunc vero non quasi iam nuptam mulierem Mariam

pronuntiaverunt, sed quasi nihilominus feminam, etiamsi non sponsam, quasi hoc a primordio dictam; illud enim praeiudicet necesse est, a quo forma descendit. [5] Ceterum quod pertineat ad hoc capitulum, si hic desponsatae adaequatur, ut ideo mulier dicta sit Maria, non qua femina, sed qua maritata, iam ergo Christus non ex virgine natus est, quia ex desponsata, quae virgo esse desierit hoc nomine; quod si ex virgine natus est, licet ex desponsata, tamen integra, agnosce mulierem etiam virginem, etiam integram dici. [6] Hic certe nihil propheticè dictum videri potest, ut futuram mulierem, id est nuptam, apostolus nominarit dicendo *factum ex muliere*; non enim poterat posteriorem mulierem nominare, de qua Christus nasci non habebat, id est virum passam, sed illam, quae erat praesens, quae erat virgo et mulier vocabatur.

VII. [1] Post vocabuli huius proprietatem secundum primordii formam virginis et ita universo mulierum generi defensam (7.) convertamus ad ipsas iam rationes recensendas, per quas apostolus docet velari feminam oportere, an eadem etiam virginibus competa<n>t, ut ex hoc quoque vocabuli communio inter virgines et non virgines constet, dum eadem velaminis causae in utraque parte deprehenduntur. [2] Si *caput mulieris vir* est, utique et virginis, de qua fit mulier illa quae nupsit, nisi si virgo tertium genus est monstruosum aliquod sui capitis. *Si mulieri turpe est radi sive tonderi*, utique et virgini. Proinde viderit saeculum, aemulum dei, si ita virgini caesum capillum decori mentitur, quemadmodum et puero permissum. Ergo cui aequè non convenit radi sive tonderi, aequè convenit operiri. [3] Si *gloria viri est mulier*, quanto magis virgo, quae et sibi gloria est; si *mulier ex viro* et propter virum, costa illa Adae virgo primum fuit; si *mulier potestatem habere super caput* debet, vel eo iustius virgo, ad quam pertinet, quod in causa est. [4] Si enim *propter angelos*, scilicet quos legimus a deo et caelo excidisce ob concupiscentiam feminarum, quis praesumere potest quales angelos maculata iam corpora et humanae libidinis reliquias desiderasse, ut non ad virgines potius exarserint, quarum flos etiam humanam libidinem excusat? [5] Nam et scriptura sic suggerit: *Et factum est, inquit, cum coepissent homines plures fieri super terram, et filiae natae sunt eis; conspicati autem, filii dei filias hominum, quod pulchrae essent, acceperunt sibi uxoris ex omnibus quas elegerunt*. Hic enim nomen mulierum Graecum uxoris sapit, quia de nuptiis mentio est. [6] Cum ergo filias hominum dicit, manifeste virgines portendit,

quae adhuc apud parentes deputarentur — nam nuptae maritorum nuncupantur — , cum potuerit dixisse uxores hominum; aequae non adulteros nominans angelos, sed maritos, dum innuptas sumunt filias hominum, quas natas supra dixit, sic quoque virgines significavit, supra natas, at hic angelis nuptas. Aliud eas nescio quam natas et dehinc nuptas. [7] Debet ergo adumbrari facies tam periculosa, quae usque ad caelum scandala iaculata est, ut cum deo assistens, cui rea est angelorum exterminatorum, ceteris quoque angelis erubescat et malam illam aliquando libertatem capitis sui comprimant, iam nec hominum oculis offerendam. [8] Sed etsi contaminatas iam feminas angeli illi appetissent, tanto magis propter angelos virgines velari debuissent, quanto magis propter virgines angeli deliquisse potuissent. [9] Si autem et naturae praeiudicium adicit apostolus, quod honor sit mulieris redundantia capillorum, quia coma pro operimento est, utique hoc maxime virgini insigne est, quarum et ornatus ipse proprie sic est, ut concumulata in verticem ipsam capitis arcem ambitu crinium contegat.

VIII. [1] Horum certe omnium contraria efficiunt, ne vir caput velet, scilicet quia non sit naturaliter consecutus ambitionem capillorum, quia radi sive tonderi non sit turpe illi, quia non propter illum angeli exorbitarint, quia *gloria et imago dei* sit, quia caput eius Christus. [2] Itaque cum de viro et muliere apostolus tractet, cur illam oporteat velari, illum vero non, apparet, cur et virginis silentium fecerit, eadem ratione scilicet virginem in mulierem intelligendam sinens, qua et puerum ut in viro deputandum non nominavit, totum ordinem utriusque sexus propriis vocabulis complexus, mulieris et viri. [3] Sic etiam Adam, adhuc integer, vir in Genesi est cognominatus: *Vocabitur*, inquit, *mulier*; *quia ex viro suo sumpta est*. Sic vir Adam ante nuptiarum congressum, quemadmodum et Eva mulier. [4] De utraque parte satis ad universam speciem cuiusque sexus apostolus pronuntiavit et breviter et plene tam instructa definitione: *Omnis*, inquit, *mulier*. Quid est omnis, nisi omnis generis, omnis ordinis, omnis condicionis, omnis dignitatis, omnis aetatis? siquidem omne totum est et integrum et nulla sui parte defectum. Pars autem mulieris et virgo est. [5] Aequae et de viro non velando *omnis* inquit. Ecce duo diversa nomina, vir et mulier, omnis uterque; duae leges obnoxiae invicem, hinc velandi, inde nudandi. [6] Igitur si eo, quod dictum sit *omnis vir*, commune est nomen viri etiam nondum viri, masculi investis, commune autem cum sit nomen secundum naturam, communis est et lex non velandi eius, qui inter

viros virgo est, secundum disciplinam, cur non praeiudicatum sit proinde et mulierem virginem omnem muliere nominata contineri consortio nominis, ut contineatur et communione legis? [7] Si virgo mulier non est, nec vir investis est; si non operitur virgo, quia mulier non sit, operiatur investis, quia vir non sit; eiusdem virginitatis aequa sit venia; sicut virgines non coguntur velari, ita pueri non iubeantur revelari. Cur ex parte definitionem apostoli agnoscimus absolutam circa omnem virum nec detractamus, quare non et puerum nominavit, ex parte autem praevaricamur, aequae absoluta ea circa omnem mulierem? [8] *Si quis, inquit, contentiosus est, nos talem consuetudinem non habemus neque ecclesia dei*: ostendit contentionem aliquam de ista specie fuisse, ad quam extinguendam toto compendio usus est, neque virginem nominans, ut ostenderet dubitandum de velanda non esse, et omnem nominans mulierem, cum nominasset virginem. Sic et ipsi Corinthii intellexerunt; hodie denique virgines suas Corinthii velant: quid docuerint apostoli, qui didicerunt approbant.

IX. [1] Videamus nunc, an, sicut naturae et causae argumenta virgini quoque competere monstravimus, ita etiam disciplinae ecclesiasticae praescripta de muliere in virginem spectent. [2] Non permittitur mulieri in ecclesia loqui, sed nec docere nec tinguere nec offerre nec ullius virilis muneris, nedum sacerdotalis officii sortem sibi vindicarent. Quaeramus, an aliquid horum virgini liceat. [3] Si virgini <non> licet, sed in omnibus eadem condicione subicitur et necessitas humilitatis cum muliere censetur, unde illi unum hoc licebit, quod omni feminae non licet? Quid praerogativae meretur adversus condicionem suam? [4] Si qua virgo est et carnem suam sanctificare proposuit, idcirco velaminis venia fit illi, ut in ecclesiam notabilis et insignis introeat, ut honorem sanctitatis in libertate capitis ostendat? Potuit dignius honorari aliqua praerogativa virilis aut gradus aut officii. [5] Plane scio alicubi virginem in viduatu ab annis nondum viginti collocatam. Cui si quid refrigerii debuerat episcopus, aliter utique salvo respectu disciplinae praestare potuisset, ne tale nunc miraculum, ne dixerim monstrum, in ecclesia denotaretur, virgo vidua, hoc quidem portentuosior, quod nec qua vidua caput texit, utrumque se negans, et virginem, quae vidua deputetur, et viduam, quae virgo dicatur. [6] Sed ea auctoritate illic sedet intacta qua et virgo; ad quam sedem praeter annos sexaginta non tantum univirae, id est nuptae, aliquando eliguntur, sed et matres et quidem educatrices filiorum, scilicet ut experimentis omnium

affectuum structae et facile norint ceteras et consilio et solacio iuvare et ut nihilominus ea decucurrerint, per quae femina probari potest. Adeo nihil virgini ad honorem de loco permissum est, X. [1] sic nec de aliquibus insignibus.

Ceterum satis inhumanum, si feminae quidem per omnia viris subditae honorigeram notam virginitatis suae praeferant, qua suspiciantur et circumspiciantur et magnificentur a fratribus, viri autem tot virgines, tot spadones voluntarii caeco bono suo incedant, nihil gestantes, quod et ipsos faceret illustres. [2] Debebunt etiam et ipsi aliqua sibi insignia defendere, aut pennas Garamantum aut stropulos barbarorum aut cicadas Atheniensium aut cirros Germanorum aut stigmata Britonum; aut ex diverso fiat: capite velati in ecclesia lateant. [3] Certi sumus spiritum sanctum magis masculis tale aliquid subscribere potuisse, si feminis subscripsisset, cum praeter sexus auctoritatem etiam ipsius continentiae nomine masculos potius honorari oportuisset, quorum quanto sexus avidior et calidior in feminas, tanto continentia maioris ardoris laboratior ideoque dignior omni ostentatione, si ostentatio virginitatis est dignitas. [4] Non enim et continentia virginitati antistat sive viduorum sive qui ex consensu contumeliam communem iam recusaverunt? Nam virginitas gratia constat, at continentia vero virtute; non concupiscendi, cui concupiscendo inoleveris, grande certamen est; cuius autem concupiscendi ignoraveris fructum, facile non concupisces, adversarium non habens, concupiscentiam fructus. [5] Quomodo ergo non magis viris aliquid tale deus in honorem subscripsisset vel quia familiariori scilicet imagini suae vel quia plus laboranti? Si autem nihil masculo, multo magis feminae.

XI. [1] Sed quod supra intermisimus ex parte subsecutae disputationis, ne cohaerentiam eius dispergeremus, nunc responso expungemus. Ubi enim gradum fiximus de apostoli absoluta definitione, omnem mulierem etiam omnis aetatis intelligendam, responderi ex diverso habebat, ergo a nativitate et a primo nomine aetatis virginem operiri oportere. [2] Non ita est autem, sed ex quo intelligere se coeperit et sensum naturae suae intrare et de virginis exire et pati novum illud, quod alterius aetatis est. [3] Nam et principis generis Adam et Eva quamdiu intellectu carebant, nudi agebant; at ubi de arbore agnitionis gustaverunt, nihil primum senserunt quam erubescendum; ita sui quique sexus intellectum tegmine notaverunt. [4] Sed etsi *propter angelos* velanda est, sine dubio ab ea aetate lex velaminis operabitur, a qua potuerunt filiae hominum

concupiscentiam sui adducere et nuptias pati; ex illo enim virgo desinit, ex quo potest non esse. [5] Et ideo penes Israellem illicitum est ad virum tradere nisi post contestatam sanguine maturitatem; ita ante hunc indicem acerba res est. Igitur si tamdiu virgo, quamdiu acerba est, desinit virginem, cum matura cognoscitur, et ut non virgo iam legi applicatur sicut et nuptiis. [6] Et desponsatae quidem habent exemplum Rebeckae, quae, cum ad sponsum ignotum adhuc ignota perduceretur, simul ipsum cognovit esse, quem de longinquo *prospexerat*, non sustinuit dexterarum collutationem nec osculi congressionem nec salutationis communicationem, sed confessa quod senserat, id est spiritu nuptam, negavit virginem velata ibidem. O mulierem iam de Christi disciplina! ostendit enim etiam nuptias de aspectu et animo fieri quemadmodum stuprum. [7] Nisi quod etiam Rebeckam quidam adhuc velant, de ceteris vero, id est quae desponsatae non sunt, viderit aut parentum procrastinatio ex angustiis vel scrupulositate descendens, viderit et ipsum continentiae votum: nihil pertinet ad aetatem sua spatia currentem suaque debita maturitati luentem; alia in occulto mater, natura, et alius in latenti pater, tempus, filiam suam legibus suis maritarunt. [8] Aspice nuptam iam in illam tuam virginem, et animam expectatione[m] et carnem transfiguratione[m], cui tu secundum paras maritum: iam et vox obsoleta est et membra completa sunt et pudor ubique vestitur et menses tributa defendunt, ac tu mulierem negas, quam muliebria pati dicis? [9] Si congressio viri mulierem facit, non tegantur nisi post ipsam nuptiarum passionem — atquin etiam apud ethnicos velatae ad virum ducuntur — ; si autem ad desponsationem velantur, quia et corpore et spiritu masculo mixtae sunt per osculum et dexterarum, per quae primum resignerunt pudorem spiritu, per commune conscientiae pignus, quo totam condixerunt confusionem, quanto magis tempus illas velabit, sine quo sponsari non possunt et quo urgente sine sponsalibus virgines desinunt esse! [10] Tempus etiam ethnici observant, ut ex lege naturae iura sua aetatibus reddant; nam feminas quidem a duodecim annis, masculum vero a duobus amplius ad negotia mittunt, pubertatem in annis, non sponsalibus aut nuptiis decernentes; mater familiae vocatur, licet virgo, et pater familiae, licet investis. A nobis nec naturalia observantur, quasi alius sit deus naturae quam noster.

XII. [1] Agnosce et mulierem, agnosce et nuptam de testimoniis et corporis et spiritus, quae patitur et in conscientia et in carne; haec sunt tabellae priores

naturalium sponsalium et nuptiarum. Impone velamen extrinsecus habenti tegumen intrinsecus; tegantur etiam superiora, cuius inferiora nuda non sunt. [2] Vis scire, quae sit aetatis auctoritas? Propone utramque, immature compressam in habitu mulieris et quae maturitate progressa in virginitate duret cum suo habitu: facilius illa mulier negabitur, quam ista virgo credetur; tanta est adeo fides aetatis, ut nec habitu obstrui possit. [3] Quid, quod etiam haec nostrae etiam habitu mutationem aetatis confitentur, simulque se mulieres intellexerunt, de virginibus educantur? a capite quidem ipso deponentes quod fuerunt vertunt capillum et acu lasciviores comas sibi inserunt, crinibus a fronte divisis apertam professae mulieritatem; [4] iam et consilium formae a speculo petunt et faciem morosiores lavacro macerant, forsitan et aliquo eam medicamine interpolent, pallium extrinsecus iactant, calceum stipant multiformem, plus instrumenti ad balneas deferunt. [5] Quid singula persequar? Solae autem manifestae paraturae totam circumferunt mulieritatem, sed virginari volunt sola capitis nuditate, uno habitu negantes, quod toto suggestu profitentur.

XIII. [1] Si propter homines habitu abutuntur, impleant illum etiam in hoc, ut et apud ethnicos caput <re>velent; certe in ecclesia virginitatem suam abscondant, quam extra ecclesiam celant. Timent extraneos? revereantur et fratres aut constanter audeant et in vicis virgines videri, sicut audent in ecclesiis; laudabo vigorem, si aliquid et apud ethnicos virginitatis nundinarint. [2] Eadem natura foris quae et intus, eadem institutio apud homines et apud dominum eadem libertate constat. Quo ergo foris quidem bonum suum abstrudunt, in ecclesia vero provulgant? Exposco rationem. Utrumne ut fratribus suis placeant an ut ipsi deo? [3] Si ut ipsi deo, tam idoneus est ad conspicienda, quaeque in occulto fiunt, quam iustus ad remuneranda, quae soli sibi fiunt; denique praecipit, nihil debucinemus eorum, quae apud illum mercedem merebuntur, nec ea ab hominibus compensemus. [4] Quodsi unius victoriati vel quamcumque elemosinae operationem sinistra conscia facere prohibemur, quantum tenebrarum circumfundere debemus, cum tantam oblationem deo offerimus ipsius corporis et ipsius spiritus nostri, cum illi ipsam naturam consecramus? [5] Ergo quod non potest videri propter deum fieri, quia sic fieri deus non vult, sequitur, ut hominum gratia fiat, utique primo illicitum ut gloriae libidinosum; gloria enim illicitum est eis, quorum probatio in omni humiliatione constat. [6] Et si a deo confertur continentiae

virtus, quid gloriaris, quasi non acceperis? si vero non acceperis, quid habes, quod datum tibi non est? Hoc ipso autem constat a deo datum tibi non esse, quod illum non soli deo praestas. Videamus ergo, quod humanum est, an firmum sit et verum.

XIV. [1] Referunt aliquando dictum a quodam, cum primum quaestio ista temptata est: 'Et quomodo ceteras sollicitabimus ad huiusmodi opus?' Scilicet felices nos facient, si plures erunt, et non dei gratia vel merita cuiusque. Virgines ecclesiam an ecclesia virgines ornant deo sive commendant? [2] Confessus est igitur gloriam esse in causa; porro ubi gloria, illic sollicitatio, ubi sollicitatio, illic coactio, ubi coactio, illic necessitas, ubi necessitas, illic infirmitas. Merito itaque dum caput non tegunt, ut sollicitentur gloriae causa, ventres tegere coguntur infirmitatis ruina; aemulatio enim illarum, non religio producit. [3] Aliquando et ipse venter deus earum, quia facile virgines fraternitas suscipit. Nec tantum autem ruunt, sed et funem longum delictorum sibi attrahunt; prolatae enim in medium et publicato bono suo elatae et fratribus omni honore et caritatis operatione cumulatae dum <clarent>, non latent, ubi quid admissum est, tantum dedecoris cogitantes, quantum honoris habuerunt. [4] Si intectum caput virginitati adscribitur, si qua virgo exciderit de gratia virginitatis, ne prodatur, intecto permanet capite esse et tunc iam alieno ambulat habitu [id est quem sibi vindicat virginitas; permanet nihilo minus in habitu vel tunc saltem alieno, ne scilicet mutatione prodatur].

[5] Et consci[enti]ae mulieritatis iam indubitatae audent nudo capite ad deum adire; sed aemulator deus et dominus, qui dixit: *Nihil occultum quod non reveletur*; plerasque etiam in conspectum deducit. [6] Non enim confitebuntur nisi ipsorum infantium suorum vagitibus proditae. Quantum autem plures, non etiam de pluribus sceleribus suspectas habebis? [7] Dicam, licet nolim: difficile mulier semel fit, quae <non> timet fieri quaeque iam facta potest virginem mentiri sub deo. Quanta item circa uterum suum audebit, ne etiam mater detegatur? Scit deus, quot iam infantes et perfici et perducere ad partum integros duxerit debellatos aliquamdiu a matribus. [8] Facillime semper concipiunt et felicissime pariunt huius modi virgines et quidem simillimos patribus. [9] Haec admittit flagitia coacta et invitata virginitas. [10] Ipsa concupiscentia non latendi non est pudica: patitur aliquid, quod virginis non sit, studium placendi, utique et viris. Quantum velis bona mente conetur, necesse est publicatione sui periclitetur, dum percutitur oculis incertis et

multis, dum digitis demonstrantium titillatur, dum nimium amatur, dum inter amplexus et oscula assidua concalescit. Sic frons duratur, sic pudor feritur, sic solvitur, sic discitur aliter iam placere desiderare.

XV. [1] Sed enim vera et tota et pura virginitas nihil magis timet quam semetipsam. Etiam feminarum oculos pati non vult: alios ipsa oculos habet. Confugit ad velamen capitis quasi ad galeam, quasi ad clipeum, qui bonum suum protegat adversus ictus temptationum, adversus iacula scandalorum, adversus suspiciones et susurros et aemulationem, ipsum quoque livorem. [2] Nam est aliquid, etiam apud ethnicos metuendum, quod fascinum vocant, infeliciorem laudis et gloriae enormioris eventum. Hoc nos interdum diabolo interpretamur, ipsius enim est boni odium, interdum deo deputamus, illius est enim superbiae iudicium, extollentis humiles et deprimentis elatos. [3] Timebit itaque virgo sanctior vel in nomine fascini hinc adversarium, inde deum, illius lividum ingenium, huius censorium lumen, et gaudebit sibi soli et deo nota. Sed et si cui innotuerit, sapit, si temptationibus gradum ob(s)truxerit. [4] Quis enim audebit oculis suis premere faciem clausam, faciem non sentientem, faciem, ut dixerim, tristem? Quicumque malus cogitatus ipsa severitate frangetur. Iam se etiam mulierem negat, quae virginem celat.

XVI. [1] In his consistit defensio nostrae opinionis secundum scripturam, secundum naturam, secundum disciplinam. Scriptura legem condit, natura contestatur, disciplina exigit. Cui ex his consuetudo opinionis prodest vel qui diversae sententiae color? [2] Dei est scriptura, dei est natura, dei est disciplina; quicquid contrarium est istis, dei non est. Si scriptura incerta est, natura manifesta est et de cuius testimonio scriptura incerta non potest esse; si de natura dubitatur, disciplina quid magis deo ratum sit ostendit. [3] Nihil est illi carius humilitate, nihil acceptius modestia, nihil operosius gloria et studio hominibus placendi. Illud itaque sit tibi et scriptura et natura et disciplina, quod ratum deo inveneris, sicut iuberis omnia examinare et meliora quaeque sectari. [4] Superest etiam, ut ad ipsas convertamur, quo libentius ista suscipiant. Oro te, sive mater sive soror sive filia virgo, secundum annorum nomina dixerim, vela caput, si mater, propter filios, si soror, propter fratres, si filia, propter patres: omnes in te aetates periclitantur. [5] Indue armaturam pudoris, circumduc vallum verecundiae, murum sexui tuo strue, qui nec tuos emittat oculos nec admittat alienos. Adimple habitum mulieris, ut statum virginis serves. Mentire aliquid ex his, quae intus sunt, ut soli deo exhibeas

veritatem; [6] Quamquam non mentiris nuptam; nupsisti enim Christo, illi tradidisti carnem tuam, illi sponsasti maturitatem tuam. Incede secundum sponsi tui voluntatem: Christus est, qui et alienas sponsas et maritatas velari iubet, utique multo magis suas.

XVII. [1] Sed et vos admonemus, alterius pudicitiae mulieres, quae nuptias incidistis, ne sic a disciplina velaminis exsolescatis, ne quidem in momento horae, ut, quia reicere illam non potestis, alio modo destruat is neque tectae neque nudae incedentes. [2] Mitris enim et lanis quaedam non velant caput, sed conligant, a fronte quidem protectae, qua proprie autem caput est, renudae; aliae modice linteolis, credo, ne caput premant, nec ad aures usque demissis cerebro tenus operiuntur, Misereo<r>, si tam infirmo auditu sunt, ut per tegmen audire non possint. [3] Sciant, quia totum caput mulier est; limites et fines eius eo usque porriguntur, unde incipit vestis; quantum resoluti crines occupare possunt, tanta est velaminis regio, ut cervices quoque ambientur; ipsae enim sunt, quas subiectas esse oportet, propter quas potestas supra caput haberi debet; velamen iugum illarum est. [4] Iudicabunt vos Arabiae feminae ethnicae, quae non caput, sed faciem quoque ita totam tegunt, ut uno oculo liberato contentae sint dimidiam frui lucem quam totam faciem prostituere: mavult femina videre quam videri. [5] Quas propterea infelicissimas ait Romana quaedam regina, quod adamare magis quam adamari possint, cum sint vel ex alterius <in>felicitatis et quidem frequentioris immunitate felices, quia facilius adamari quam adamare feminae possint. [6] Et ethnicae quidem disciplinae meracior et, ut ita dixerim, barbarior modestia; nobis dominus etiam revelationibus velaminis spatia metatus est. Nam cuidam sorori nostrae angelus in somnis cervices, quasi applauderet, verberans: ‘Elegantes’, inquit, ‘cervices et merito nudae! Bonum est, usque ad lumbos a capite <re>veleris, ne et tibi ista cervicum libertas non prosit.’ Et utique quod uni dixeris, omnibus dixeris. [7] Quantam autem castigationem merebuntur etiam illae, quae inter psalmos vel in quacumque dei mentione relectae perseverant meritoque etiam in oratione ipsa facillime fimbriam aut villum aut quodlibet filum cerebro superponunt et tectas se opinantur! Tanti caput suum me[n]tiuntur. [8] Aliae, quibus plane maior est palma omni fimbria et filo, non minus capite suo abutuntur, ut bestia quaedam magis quam avis, licet pennata, brevi capite, protracta cervice, cetera integra[n]dia; hanc aiunt, cum delitescendum habet, caput solum plane totum in condensum abstrudere,

reliquam se in aperto relinquere; ita dum in capite segura est, nuda, qua maior est, capitur tota cum capite. Tales enim erunt et istae minus quam utile est tectae. [9] Oportet ergo tempore omni et omni loco memores legis incedere, paratas et instructas ad omnem dei mentionem, qui si fuerit in pectore, cognoscetur et in capite feminarum. Haec cum bona pace legentibus, utilitatem consuetudini praeponentibus pax et gratia a domino nostro Iesu redundet cum Septimio Tertulliano, cuius hoc opusculum est.

De Exhortatione Castitatis (On Exhortation to Chastity)

I. [1] Non dubito, frater, te post uxorem in pace praemissam ad compositionem animi conuersum de exitu singularitatis cogitare et utique consilii indigere. Quamquam in huiusmodi cum fide sua conloqui debet unusquisque eiusque uires consulere, tamen quoniam in ista specie carnis necessitas cogitatum mouet, quae fere apud eandem conscientiam fidei resistit, opus est fidei extrinsecus consilio tamquam aduocato aduersus carnis necessitatem. [2] Quae quidem necessitas facillime circumscribi potest, si uoluntas potius dei quam indulgentia consideretur. Nemo indulgentia utendo promeretur, sed uoluntati obsequendo. [3] Voluntas dei est sanctificatio nostra. Vult enim imaginem suam nos etiam similitudinem fieri, ut simus sancti, sicuti et ipse sanctus est. Id bonum, sanctificationem dico, in species distribuit complures, ut in aliqua earum deprehendamus. [4] Prima species est uirginitas a natiuitate: secunda, uirginitas a secunda natiuitate, id est a lauacro, quae aut in matrimonio purificat ex compacto, aut in uiduitate perseuerat ex arbitrio: tertius gradus superest monogamia, cum post matrimonium unum interceptum exinde sexui renuntiatur. [5] Prima uirginitas felicitatis est, non nosse in totum a quo postea optabis liberari: secunda uirtutis est, contemnere cuius uim optime noris: reliqua species, hactenus nubendi post matrimonium morte disiunctum, praeter uirtutis etiam modestiae laus est. Modestia est enim ablatum non desiderare, et ablatum a domino deo, sine cuius uoluntate nec folium de arbore delabitur nec passer assis unius ad terram cadit.

II. [1] Quam denique modesta illa uox est: *Dominus dedit, dominus abstulit, ut domino uisum est, ita factum est*. Et ideo si nuptias sublatas restauremus, sine dubio contra uoluntatem dei nitimur, uolentes habere rursus quod habere nos noluit. Si enim uoluisset, non abstulisset. Nisi si et hoc uoluntatem dei interpretamur, quasi et rursus nos uoluerit habere quod iam noluit. [2] Non est bonae et solidae fidei sic omnia ad uoluntatem dei referre, et ita adulari < sibi > unumquemque dicendo nihil fieri sine nutu eius, ut non intellegamus esse aliquid in nobis ipsis. Ceterum excusabitur omne delictum, si contenderimus nihil fieri a nobis sine dei uoluntate, et ibi definitio ista in destructionem totius disciplinae, etiam ipsius dei, si aut quae non uult de sua uoluntate producat, aut nihil est quod deus non uult. [3] Sed quomodo uetat quaedam quibus etiam supplicium aeternum comminatur (utique enim quae uetat non

uult, a quibus et offenditur), sic et e contrario quae uult et praecipit et accepto facit et aeternitatis mercede dispungit. Igitur cum utrumque ex praeceptis eius didicerimus, quid nolit et quid uelit, tamen nobis est uoluntas et arbitrium eligendi alterum, sicut scriptum est: *Ecce posui ante te bonum et malum: gustasti enim de agnitionis arbore.* [4] Et ideo non debemus quod nostro expositum est arbitrio in domini referre uoluntatem, quod non ipse uult aut non uult quod bonum est qui malum non uult. Ita nostra est uoluntas, cum malum uolumus aduersus dei uoluntatem, qui bonum uult. [5] Porro si quaeris, unde uenit ista uoluntas, qua quid uolumus aduersus dei uoluntatem, dicam: ex nobis ipsis. Nec temere. Semini enim tuo respondeas necesse est, siquidem ille princeps et generis et delicti Adam uoluit quod deliquit. Neque enim diabolus uoluntatem ei imposuit delinquendi, sed materiam uoluntatis subministravit. Ceterum uoluntas ei de inobaudientia uenerat. [6] Proinde et tu si non oboedieris deo, qui te proposito praecepto liberae potestatis instituit, per uoluntatis libertatem uolens deuerge in id quod deus non uult, et ita te putas a diabolo subuersum, qui etsi quid uult te uelle quod deus non uult, non tamen facit ut et uelis, quia nec tunc inuitos protoplastos ad uoluntatem delicti subegit, immo neque inuitos neque ignorantes quid deus nolle. [7] Vtique enim nolebat fieri, cui admisso mortem destinabat. Ita diaboli opus unum est, temptare, quod in te est, an uelis. At ubi uoluisti, sequitur ut te sibi subigat, non operatus in te uoluntatem, sed nactus occasionem uoluntatis. [8] Igitur cum solum sit in nobis uelle, et in hoc probetur nostra erga deum mens, an ea uelimus quae cum uoluntate ipsius faciant, alte et impresse recogitandam esse dico dei uoluntatem, quid etiam in occulto uelit.

III. [1] Quae enim in manifesto, scimus omnes, eaque ipsa qualiter in manifesto sint perspicendum est. Nam etsi quaedam uidentur uoluntatem dei sapere, dum ab eo permittuntur, non statim omne quod permittitur ex mera et tota uoluntate procedit eius qui permittit. [2] Ex indulgentia est quodcumque permittitur. Quae etsi sine uoluntate non est, quia tamen aliquam habet causam in illo cui indulgetur, quasi de inuita uenit uoluntate, passa causam sui quae cogit uoluntatem. Vide qualis sit uoluntas cuius alter est causa. [3] Secunda item species consideranda est, purae uoluntatis. Vult nos deus agere quaedam placita sibi, in quibus non indulgentia patrocinator, sed disciplina dominatur. Si tamen alia istis praeposuit, utique quae magis uult, dubiumne est ea nobis sectanda esse quae mauult, cum quae minus uult, quia alia magis

uult, perinde habenda sunt atque si nolit? [4] Nam ostendens quid magis uelit, minorem uoluntatem maiore deleuit, quantoque notitiae tuae utramque proposuit, tanto definiit id te sectari debere quod declarauit se magis uelle. Ergo si ideo declarauit, ut id secteris quod magis uult, sine dubio, nisi ita facis, contra uoluntatem eius sapis, sapiendo contra potioem eius uoluntatem, magisque offendis quam promereris, quod uult quidem faciendo et quod mauult respuendo. [5] Ex parte delinquis; ex parte, si non delinquis, non tamen promereris. Non porro et promereri nolle delinquere est? Secundum igitur matrimonium si ex illa dei uoluntate quae indulgentia uocatur, negabimus meram uoluntatem cui indulgentia est causa, si ex ea cui potior alia praeponitur continentiae magis appetendae, didicerimus non potioem a potiore rescindi. [6] Haec praestruxerim, ut iam apostoli uoces decurram. In primis autem non uidebor inreligiosus, si quod ipse profitetur animaduertam, omnem illum indulgentiam nuptiarum de suo, id est de humano sensu, non de diuino praescripto induxisse. Nam et cum de uiduis et innuptis definiit uti nubant, si continere non possunt, quia melius sit nubere quam uri, conuersus ad alteram speciem: *Nuptis autem denuntio*, inquit, *non quidem ego, sed dominus*. Ita ostendit ex translatione personae suae in dominum id quod supra dixerat non ex domini persona, sed ex sua pronuntiasse: *Melius est nubere quam uri*. [7] Quae uox licet ad eos pertineat qui innupti uel uidui a fide deprehenduntur, quia tamen omnes eam ad nubendi licentiam amplectuntur, uelim retractare quale bonum ostendat quod melius est poena, quod non potest uideri bonum nisi pessimo comparatum, ut ideo bonum sit nubere, quia deterius sit ardere. [8] Bonum ita est, si perseueret nomen obtinens sine comparatione, non dico mali, sed etiam boni alterius, ut, etsi bono alii comparatur et alio adumbratur, nihilominus remaneat in boni nomine. Ceterum si per mali collationem cogitur bonum dici, non tam bonum est quam genus mali inferioris, quod a superiore malo obscuratum ad nomen boni impellitur. [9] Aufer denique condicionem comparationis, ut non dicas: *Melius est nubere quam uri*, et quaero an dicere audeas: *Melius est nubere*, non adiciens quid sit id quo melius est. Ergo quod non melius, utique nec bonum, quia abstulisti et remouisti condicionem comparationis, quae dum melius illud facit, ita bonum haberi cogit. [10] *Melius est nubere quam uri* sic accipiendum est, quomodo melius est uno oculo quam duobus carere: si tamen a comparatione discedas, non erit melius unum oculum habere quia nec bonum.

Nemo igitur captet ex hoc capitulo defensionem, quod proprie ad innuptos et uiduos spectat, quibus nulla adhuc coniunctio numeratur. Quamquam ostenderim etiam illis intellegendam esse permissi condicionem.

IV. [1] Ceterum de secundo matrimonio scimus plane apostolum pronuntiasse: *Solutus es ab uxore, ne quaesieris uxorem, sed et si duxeris, non delinques*. Perinde tamen et huius sermonis ordinem de consilio suo, non de diuino praecepto introducit. Multum autem interest inter dei praeceptum et consilium hominis. *Praeceptum domini*, inquit, *non habeo, sed consilium do, quasi misericordiam consecutus a domino fidelis esse*. [2] Ceterum neque in euangelio neque in ipsius Pauli epistolis ex praecepto dei inuenias permissam matrimonii iterationem. Vnde unum habendum confirmatur, quia quod a domino permissum non inuenitur, id agnoscitur interdictum. Adde quod et haec ipsa humani consilii interiectio, quasi iam recogitationem excessus sui passa, statim se refrenat et reuocat, cum subiungit: *Verumtamen huiusmodi pressuram carnis habebunt*, cum parcere se eis dicit, cum *Tempus in collecto* esse adicit, quo oporteat etiam habentes matrimonia pro non habentibus agere, cum sollicitudinem nuptorum et innuptorum committit. [3] Per haec enim docens cur non expediat nubere, dissuadet ab eo quod supra indulserat. Et hoc de primo matrimonio: quanto magis de secundo? Cum uero nos ad exemplum suum hortatur, utique ostendens quid nos uelit esse, id est continentem, pariter declarat quid nos esse nolit, id est incontinentem. Ita et ipse cum aliud uult, id quod non uult nec sponte nec ueritate permittit. Si enim uellet, non permisisset, immo imperasset. [4] ‘Sed ecce rursus mulierem marito defuncto dicit nubere posse, si cui uelit, tantum in domino’. *At enim felicius erit*, inquit, *si sic permanserit, secundum meum consilium. Puto autem, et ego dei spiritum habeo*. Videmus duo consilia, quo supra nubendi ueniam facit, et quo postmodum continentiam nubendi docet. [5] Cui ergo, inquis, assentabimur? Inspice et lege. Cum ueniam facit, hominis prudentis consilium allegat, cum continentiam indicit, spiritus sancti consilium affirmat. Sequere admonitionem cui diuinitas patrocinator. Spiritum quidem dei etiam fideles habent, sed non omnes fideles apostoli. Cum ergo qui se fidelem dixerat adiecit postea spiritum dei se habere, quod nemo dubitaret etiam de fideli, idcirco id dixit, ut sibi apostoli fastigium redderet. [6] Proprie enim apostoli spiritum sanctum habent, qui plene habent in operibus prophetiae et efficacia uirtutum documentisque linguarum, non ex parte, quod ceteri. Ita spiritus sancti

auctoritatem ad eam speciem adire fecit, cui magis nos obsequi uoluit, et factum est iam non consilium diuini spiritus, sed pro eius maiestate praeceptum.

V. [1] Ad legem semel nubendi dirigendam ipsa origo humani generis patrocinator, contestans quid deus in primordio constituerit in formam posteritatis recensendum. Nam cum hominem figulasset eique parem necessariam prospexisset, unam de costis eius mutuatus unam illi feminam finxit, cum utique nec artifex nec materia defecisset. Plures costae in Adam et infatigabiles manus in deo, sed non plures uxores apud deum. [2] Et ideo homo dei Adam et mulier dei Eua unis inter se nuptiis functi formam hominibus dei de originis auctoritate et prima dei uoluntate sanxerunt. Denique, *erunt*, inquit, *duo in carne una*, non tres, neque quattuor. Alioquin iam non una caro nec duo in unam carnem. Tunc erunt, si coniunctio et concretio in unitatem semel fiat. Si uero rursus aut saepius, iam una esse desiit, et erunt iam non duo in unam carnem, sed una plane caro in plures. [3] At cum apostolus in ecclesiam et Christum interpretatur '*erunt duo in unam carnem*', secundum spirituales nuptias ecclesiae et Christi (unus enim Christus et una eius ecclesia), agnoscere debemus duplicatam et exaggeratam esse nobis unius matrimonii legem tam secundum generis fundamentum quam secundum Christi sacramentum. [4] De uno matrimonio censemur utrobique, et carnaliter in Adam et spiritaliter in Christo. Duarum natiuitatum unum est monogamiae praescriptum. In utraque degenerat qui de monogamia exorbitat. Numerus matrimonii a maledicto uiro coepit. Primus Lamech duabus maritatus tres in unam caraem effecit.

VI. [1] 'Sed et benedicti', inquis, patriarchae non modo pluribus uxoribus, uerum etiam concubinis coniugia miscuerunt'. Ergo propterea nobis quoque licebit innumerum nubere? Sane licebit, si qui adhuc typi alicuius futuri sacramenti supersunt, quod nuptiae tuae figurent, uel si etiam nunc locus est uocis illius: *Crescite et multiplicamini*, id est, si nondum alia uox superuenit, tempus iam in collecto esse, restare, ut et qui uxores habeant tamquam non habentes agant. [2] Vtique enim continentiam indicens et compescens concubitum, seminarium generis, abolefecit '*crescite*' illud '*et multiplicamini*'. Vt opinor autem, unius et eiusdem dei utraque pronuntiatio et dispositio est, qui tum quidem in primordio sementem generis emisit indultis coniugiorum habenis, donec mundus repleretur, donec nouae disciplinae

materia proficeret. Nunc uero sub extremitatibus temporum compressit quod emiserat et reuocauit quod indulserat, non sine ratione prorogationis in primordio et repastinationis in ultimo. Semper initia laxantur, fines contrahuntur. [3] Propterea siluam quis instituit et crescere sinit, ut tempore suo caedat. Silua erat uetus dispositio, quae ab euangelio nouo deputatur, in quo et securis ad radicem arboris posita. Sic et *oculum pro oculo et dentem pro dente* iam senuit ex quo iuuenit ‘malum pro malo nemo reddat’. Puto autem etiam humanas constitutiones atque decreta posteriora pristinis praeualere.

VII. [1] Cur autem de pristinis exemplis non ea potius agnoscamus quae cum posterioribus communicant de disciplina et formam uetustatis ad nouitatem transmittunt? Ecce enim in uetere lege animaduerto castratam licentiam saepius nubendi. Cautum in Leuitico: ‘Sacerdotes mei non plus nubent’. Possum dicere etiam illud plus esse quod semel non est. Quod non unum est, numerus est. Denique post unum incipit numerus. Vnum autem est omne quod semel est. [2] Sed Christo seruabatur, sicut in ceteris, ita in isto quoque legis plenitudo. Inde igitur apud nos plenius atque instructius praescribitur unius matrimonii esse oportere qui alleguntur in ordinem sacerdotalem. Vsque adeo quosdam memini digamos loco deiectos. Sed dices: ergo ceteris licet, cum quibus non liceat excipit. Vani erimus, si putauerimus quod sacerdotibus non liceat laicis licere. [3] Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus? Scriptum est: *Regnum quoque nos et sacerdotes deo et patri suo fecit*. Differentiam inter ordinem et plebem constituit ecclesiae auctoritas et honor per ordinis consessum sanctificatus. Adeo ubi ecclesiastici ordinis non est consessus, et offers et tinguis et sacerdos es tibi solus. Sed ubi tres, ecclesia est, licet laici. [4] Vnusquisque enim *fide sua uiuit, nec est personarum exceptio apud deum*, quoniam *non auditores legis iustificantur a domino, sed factores*, secundum quod et apostolus dicit. Igitur si habes ius sacerdotis in temetipso ubi necesse est, habeas oportet etiam disciplinam sacerdotis, ubi necesse sit habere ius sacerdotis. Digamus tinguis? digamus offers? [5] Quanto magis laico digamo capitale est agere pro sacerdote, cum ipsi sacerdoti digamo facto auferatur agere sacerdotem! ‘Sed necessitati’, inquis, ‘indulgetur’. Nulla necessitas excusatur quae potest non esse. Noli denique digamus deprehendi, et non committis in necessitatem administrandi quod non licet digamo. [6] Omnes nos deus ita uult dispositos esse, ut ubique sacramentis eius obeundis apti simus. Vnus deus, una fides, una et disciplina. Vsque adeo

nisi et laici ea obseruent per quae presbyteri alleguntur, quomodo erunt presbyteri qui de laicis alleguntur? Ergo pugnare debemus ante laicum iussum a secundo matrimonio abstinere, dum presbyter esse non alius potest quam laicus semel fuerit maritus.

VIII. [1] Liceat nunc denuo nubere, si omne quod licet bonum est. Idem apostolus exclamat: *Omnia licent, sed non omnia prosunt*. Quod non prodest, oro te, bonum potest dici? Si licita sunt et quae non prosunt, ergo et quae non bona sunt licita sunt. Quid autem magis uelle debebis, quod ideo bonum est quia licet, an quod ideo quia prodest? Multum existimo esse inter licentiam et salutem. De bono non dicitur ‘licet’, quia bonum permitti non exspectat, sed assumi. [2] Permittitur autem quod an bonum sit in dubio est, quod potest etiam non permitti, si non habeat aliquam sui causam, primam, quia propter incontinentiae periculum permittitur nubere, secundo, quia nisi licentia alicuius non bonae rei subiaceret, non esset in quo probaretur qui diuinae uoluntati et qui potestati suae obsequeretur, quis nostrum utilitatis praesentiam sectetur et quis occasionem licentiae amplexetur. [3] Licentia plerumque temptatio est disciplinae, quoniam disciplina per temptationem probatur, temptatio per licentiam operatur. Ita fit, ut omnia liceant, sed non omnia expediant, dum temptatur cui permittitur, et iudicatur dum in permissione temptatur. Licebat et apostolis nubere et uxores circumducere. Licebat et de euangelio ali. Sed qui iure hoc usus non est in occasionem, ad exemplum nos suum prouocat, docens in eo esse probationem in quo licentia experimentum abstinentiae praestruxit.

IX. [1] Si penitus sensus eius interpretemur, non aliud dicendum erit secundum matrimonium quam species stupri. Cum enim dicat maritos hoc in sollicitudine habere, quemadmodum sibi placeant, non utique de moribus (nam bonam sollicitudinem non suggillaret), sed de cultu et ornatu et omni studio formae ad inlecebras moliendas sollicitos intellegi uelit, de forma autem et cultu placere carnalis concupiscentiae ingenium sit, quae etiam stupri causa est, ecquid uidetur tibi stupri affine esse secundum matrimonium, quoniam ea in illo deprehenduntur quae stupro competunt? [2] Ipse dominus, *qui uiderit, inquit, mulierem ad concupiscendum, iam stuprauit eam in corde suo*. Qui autem eam ad ducendum uiderit, minus an plus fecit? Quid si etiam duxerit? quod non faceret, nisi et ad ducendum concupisset et ad concupiscendum uidisset. Nisi si potest duci uxor quam non uideris nec

concupieris. [3] Multum sane interest, maritus an caelebs aliam concupiscat. Omnis mulier etiam caelibis alia est, quamdiu aliena, nec per aliud tamen fit marita, nisi per quod et adultera. Leges uidentur matrimonii et stupri differentiam facere, per diuersitatem illiciti, non per condicionem rei ipsius. Alioquin quae res et uiris et feminis omnibus adest ad matrimonium et stuprum? commixtio carnis scilicet, cuius concupiscentiam dominus stupro adaequauit. [4] ‘Ergo’, inquit, ‘iam et primas, id est unas nuptias destruis?’ Nec immerito, quia et ipsae ex eo constant quod est stuprum. Ideo *optimum est homini mulierem non attingere*, et ideo uirginis principalis est sanctitas, quia caret stupri affinitate. Et cum haec etiam de primis et unis nuptiis praetendi ad causam continentiae possint, quanto magis secundo matrimonio recusando praeiudicabunt? Gratus esto, si semel tibi indulsit deus nubere. Gratus autem eris, si iterum indulsisse illum tibi nescias. Ceterum abuteris indulgentia, cum sine modestia uteris. Modestia a modo intellegitur. [5] Non tibi sufficit de summo illo immaculatae uirginitatis gradu in secundum recidis nubendo, sed in tertium adhuc deuolueris, et in quartum, et fortassis in plures, postquam in secunda statione continens non fuisti, quia nec prohibere plures nuptias uoluit qui de secundis prouocandis retractauit. Nubamus igitur quotidie, et nubentes ab ultimo die deprehendamus, tamquam Sodoma et Gomorra, quo die ‘uae’ illud super praegnantem et lactantem adimplebitur, id est super maritos et incontinentes; de nuptiis enim uteri et ubera et infantes. Et quando finis nubendi? Credo post finem uiuendi.

X. [1] Renuntiemus carnalibus, ut aliquando spiritalia fructificemus. Rape occasionem, etsi non exoptatissimam, attamen opportunam, non habere cui debitum solueres et a quo exsoluereris. Desisti esse debitor: o te felicem! Dimisisti debitorem: sustine damnum. Quid si, quod diximus damnum, lucrum senties? Per continentiam enim negotiaberis magnam substantiam sanctitatis, parsimonia carnis spiritum acquires. [2] Recogitemus enim ipsam conscientiam nostram, quam alium se homo sentiat, cum forte a sua femina cessat. Spiritualiter sapit; si orationem facit ad dominum, prope est caelo; si scripturis incumbit, totus illic est; si psalmum canit, placet sibi; si daemonem adiurat, confidit sibi. Ideo apostolus temporalem purificationem orationum commendandarum causa adiecit, ut sciremus, quod ad tempus prodest semper nobis exercendum esse, ut semper prosit. Quotidie, omni momento oratio hominibus necessaria, utique et continentia, postquam oratio necessaria est. [3]

Oratio de conscientia procedit: si conscientia erubescat, erubescit oratio. Spiritus deducit orationem ad deum. Si spiritus reus apud se sit conscientiae erubescantis, quomodo audebit orationem deducere ad altare, qua erubescante et ipse suffunditur sanctus minister? [4] Etenim est prophetica uox ueteris testamenti: *Sancti eritis, quia et deus sanctus*, et rursus: *Cum sancto sanctificaberis, et cum uiro innocenti innocens eris et cum electo electus*. Debemus enim ita ingredi in disciplina domini ut dignum est, non secundum carnis squalentes concupiscentias. [5] Ita enim et apostolus dicit quod sapere secundum carnem mors sit, secundum spiritum uero sapere uita aeterna sit in Christo Iesu domino nostro. Item per sanctam prophetidem Priscam ita euangelizatur, quod sanctus minister sanctimoniam nouerit ministrare. ‘Purificantia enim concordat, ait, et uisiones uident, et ponentes faciem deorsum etiam uoces audiunt manifestas, tam salutes quam et occultas.’ [6] Si haec obtusio, etiam cum in unis nuptiis res carnis exercetur, spiritum sanctum auertit, quanto magis, cum in secundo matrimonio agitur?

XI. [1] Duplex enim rubor est, quia in secundo matrimonio duae uxores eundem circumstant maritum, una spiritu, alia in carne. Neque enim pristinam poteris odisse, cui etiam religiosiorem reseruas affectionem, ut iam receptae apud dominum, pro cuius spiritu postulas, pro qua oblationes annuas reddis. [2] Stabis ergo ad dominum cum tot uxoribus quot in oratione commemores et offeres pro duabus et commendabis illas duas per sacerdotem de monogamia ordinatum aut etiam de uirginitate sancitum, circumdatum uiduis uniuius? et ascendet sacrificium tuum libera fronte, et inter cetera bonae mentis postulabis tibi et uxoris castitatem?

XII. [1] Scio quibus causationibus coloremus insatiabilem carnis cupiditatem. Praetendimus necessitates adminiculorum: domum administrandam, familiam regendam, loculos, clauas custodiendas, lanificium dispensandum, uictum procurandum, curas comminuendas. Scilicet solis maritorum domibus bene est. Perierunt caelibum familiae, res spadonum, fortunae militum aut peregrinantium sine uxoribus. Non enim nos et milites sumus, eo quidem maioris disciplinae, quanto tanti imperatoris? Non et nos peregrinantes in isto saeculo sumus? Cur autem ita dispositus es, o Christiane, ut sine uxore non possis? [2] Nunc et consors onerum domesticorum necessaria est? Habe aliquam uxorem spiritalem. Assume de uiduis fide pulchram, paupertate dotatam, aetate signatam: bonas nuptias feceris. Huiusmodi uxores

etiam plures haberi deo gratum est. [3] Sed posteritatem recogitant Christiani, quibus crastinum non est? Haeredes dei seruus desiderabit, qui semetipsum de saeculo exhereditauit? Et ideo quis repetat matrimonium, si de pristino non habeat liberos? Habebit itaque hoc primum bonum, ut diutius uelit uiuere, ipso apostolo festinante ad dominum? Certe expeditissimus in persecutionibus, constantissimus in martyriis, promptissimus in communicationibus rerum, temperantissimus in acquisitionibus, postremo securus morietur, relictis filiis, forsitan qui illi parentent. [4] Numquid ergo huiusmodi et rei publicae prospectu aguntur? ne ciuitates deficiant, si suboles non exerceantur, ne legis iura, ne commercia delabantur, ne templa derelinquantur, ne non sint qui acclament 'Christianis leonem!' Haec enim audire desiderant qui filios quaerunt. [5] Sufficiat ad consilium uiduitatis uel ista, praecipue apud nos, importunitas liberorum, ad quos suscipiendos legibus compelluntur homines, quia sapiens quisque numquam libens filios desiderasset. Quid ergo facies, si nouam uxorem de tua conscientia impleueris? dissoluas medicaminibus conceptum? Puto nobis magis non licere nascentem nocere quam et natum. Sed fortasse illo tempore praegnantis uxoris remedium tantae sollicitudini a deo petere audebis, quod in te positum recusasti? [6] Aliqua, opinor, sterilis prospicietur, iam uel frigidioris aetatis. Satis consulte et imprimis fideliter. Nullam enim credidimus deo uolente sterilem aut anum enixam. Quod adeo magis euenire potest, si quis praesumptione huius prouidentiae suae dei aemulationem prouocarit. Scimus denique quendam ex fratribus, cum propter filiam suam secundo matrimonio sterilem captasset uxorem, tam iterum patrem factum quam et iterum maritum.

XIII. [1] Ad hanc meam cohortationem, frater dilectissime, accedunt etiam saecularia exempla, quae saepe nobis etiam in testimonio posita sunt, cum quid bonum et deo placitum ab extraneis quoque agnoscitur et testimonio honoratur. Denique monogamia apud ethnicos ita in summo honore est, ut et uirginibus legitime nubentibus uniuiरा pronuba adhibeatur; et si auspicii causa, utique boni auspicii est; item, ut in quibusdam sollemnibus et officiis prior sit uniuiराe locus. Certe Flaminica non nisi uniuiरा est; quae et Flaminis lex est. Nam quod ipsi Pontifici Maximo iterare matrimonium non licet utique monogamiae gloria est. [2] Cum autem dei sacramenta satanas affectat, prouocatio est nostra, immo suffusio, si pigri simus ad continentiam deo

exhibendam, quam diabolo quidam praestant, nunc uirginitate, nunc uiduitate perpetua. Nouimus uirgines Vestae, et lunonis apud Achaiae oppidum, et Apollinis apud Delphos, et Mineruae et Dianae quibusdam locis. Nouimus et continentes uiros, et quidem tauri illius Aegyptii antistites: feminas uero Cereri Africanae, cui etiam sponte abdicato matrimonio assenescunt, auersantes exinde contactum masculorum usque ad oscula filiorum. Inuenit scilicet diabolus post luxuriam etiam castitatem perditricem, quo magis reus sit Christianus qui castitatem recusauerit conseruatricem. [3] Erunt nobis in testimonium et feminae quaedam saeculares ob uniuiratus obstinationem famam consecutae; aliqua Dido, quae profuga in alieno solo, ubi nuptias regis ultro optasse debuerat, ne tamen secundas experiretur, maluit e contrario uri quam nubere; uel illa Lucretia, quae etsi semel per uim et inuita alium uirum passa est, sanguine suo maculatam carnem abluit, ne uiueret iam non sibi uniui. Plura exempla curiosius de nostris inuenias, et quidem alteris potiora, quanto maius est uiuere in castitate quam pro ea mori. Facilius animam ponas quia bonum amiseris, quam uiuendo serues ob quod emori malis. 4. Quanti igitur et quantae in ecclesiasticis ordinibus de continentia censentur, qui deo nubere maluerunt, qui carnis suae honorem restituere, quique se iam illius aevi filios dicauerunt, occidentes in se concupiscentiam libidinis, et totum illud quod intra paradisum non potuit admitti! Vnde praesumendum est hos qui intra paradisum recipi uolent tandem debere cessare ab ea re a qua paradisus intactus est.

De Fuga in Persecutione (On Flight in Persecution)

I. [1] Quaesisti proxime, Fabi frater, fugiendum necne sit in persecutione, quod nescio quid annuntiaretur. Ibidem ego oblocutus aliquid pro loco ac tempore et quarundam personarum importunitate semittractatam materiam abstuli mecum, plenius in eam de stilo nunc renuntiaturus, utpote quam ei tua consultatio commendarat et condicio temporum suo iam nomine iniunxerat. Quanto enim frequentiores imminet persecutiones, tanto examinatio procuranda est, quomodo eas excipere fides debeat. Procuranda autem examinatio penes [s]vos, <qui> si forte Paraclitum non recipiendo, deductorem omnis veritatis, merito adhuc etiam aliis quaestionibus obnixi estis. [2] Igitur consultationi tuae ordinem quoque indidimus, animadvertentes ante determinari oportere de statu ipsius persecutionis, utrum a deo veniat an a diabolo, quo facilius de obitu eius constare possit; omnis enim rei inspectio auctore cognito planior.

Satis est quidem praescribere nihil fieri sine dei voluntate; sed non statim hac sententia ceteris retractatibus locum dabimus, ne a praesenti articulo avocemur, si qui responderit: 'Ergo et malum a deo et delictum a deo, nihil iam in diabolo, nihil etiam in nobis ipsis.' [3] De persecutione nunc quaeritur; circa hanc interim dixerim nihil fieri sine dei voluntate, respiciens eam inprimis deo dignam esse et, ut ita dixerim, necessariam, ad probationem scilicet servorum eius sive reprobationem. Quis est enim exitus persecutionis, quis effectus alius nisi probatio et reprobatio fidei, qua suos utique dominus examinavit? Hoc nomine iudicium est persecutio, per quam quis aut probatus aut reprobatus iudicatur; porro iudicium soli deo competit. [4] Haec pala illa, quae et nunc dominicam aream purgat, ecclesiam scilicet, confusum acervum fidelium eventilans et discernens frumentum martyrum et paleas negatorum, haec etiam scalae, quas somniat Iacob, aliis ascensum in superiora, aliis descensum ad inferiora demonstrantes. [5] Si et agonem intelligi capit persecutionem, a quo certamen edicatur, nisi a quo corona et praemia proponuntur? Legis edictum agonis istius in Apocalypsi, quibus praemiis ad victoriam invitet vel maxime illos, qui proprie vicerint in persecutione vincendo, luctati revera non *adversus carnem et sanguinem, sed adversus spiritalia nequitiae*; ita agnosces ad eundem agonethetam pertinere certaminis

arbitrium, qui invitat ad praemium. [6] Totum, quod agitur in persecutione, gloria dei est, probantis et reprobantis, imponentis et deponentis; quod autem ad gloriam dei pertinet, utique ex voluntate illius eveniet. Sed quando deus magis creditur, nisi cum magis timetur, nisi in tempore persecutionis? [7] Ecclesia in attonito est: tunc et fides in expeditione, sollicitior et disciplinatio in ieiuniis et stationibus et orationibus et humilitate, in alterutra diligentia et dilectione, in sanctitate et sobrietate; nihil enim vacatur nisi timori et spei. Adeo et ex hoc ipso ostenditur nobis non posse diabolo deputari eam, quae meliores efficit dei servos.

II. [1] Si, quod iniquitas a deo non est, sed a diabolo, persecutio autem ex iniquitate consistit — quid enim iniquius quam veri dei antistites, omnis sectatores veritatis, nocentissimorum more tractari? — , ideo videtur persecutio a diabolo evenire, a quo iniquitas agitur, ex qua constat persecutio, scire debemus, quatenus nec persecutio potest sine iniquitate diaboli nec probatio fidei sine persecutione propter probationem fidei necessariam, iniquitatem non patrocinium praesentare persecutioni, sed ministerium; praecedere enim dei voluntatem circa fidei probationem, quae est ratio persecutionis, sequi autem diaboli iniquitatem ad instrumentum persecutionis, quae ratio est probationis. [2] Nam et alias in quantum iustitiae iniquitas aemula est, in tantum materia est ad testimonium eius, cuius est aemula, ut sic iustitia iniquitate perficiatur, quomodo *virtus in infirmitate perficitur*. Nam infirma mundi electa sunt a deo, ut confundantur fortia, et stulta eius, ut confundantur sapientia. Ita et iniquitas adhibetur, ut iustitia probetur confundens iniquitatem. Igitur, quod ministerium non est arbitrii, sed servitii — arbitrium enim domini persecutio propter fidei probationem, ministerium autem iniquitas diaboli propter persecutionis instructionem — , ita eam per diabolum si forte, non a diabolo evenire credimus. [3] Nihil satanae in servos dei vivi licebit, nisi permiserit dominus, ut aut ipsum destruat per fidem electorum in temptatione victricem aut homines eius fuisse traducat, qui defecerint ad illum. Habes exemplum Iob, cui diabolus nullam potuit incutere temptationem, nisi a deo accepisset potestatem, nec in substantiam quidem eius, nisi dominus *Ecce, dixisset, omnia, quae sunt ei, in manu tua do, in ipsum autem ne extenderis manum*. Denique nec extendit nisi posteaquam et hoc postulanti dominus *Ecce, dixisset, trado tibi illum, tantum animam eius custodi*. [4] Sic et in apostolos facultatem temptationis postulavit non

habens eam scilicet nisi ex permissu, siquidem dominus in evangelio ad Petrum *Ecce*, inquit, *postulavit satanas, uti cerneret vos velut frumentum, verum ego rogavi pro te, ne deficeret fides tua*, id est, ne tantum diabolo permitteretur, ut fides periclitaretur. Per quod ostenditur utrumque apud deum esse, et concussionem fidei et protectionem, cum utrumque ab eo petitur, concussio a diabolo, protectio a filio.

[5] Et utique cum filius dei protectionem fidei habet in sua potestate, quam a patre postulat, a quo omnem accipit potestatem in caelis et in terris, quale est, ut concussionem fidei diabolus in manu sua habeat? Sed in legitima oratione, cum dicimus ad patrem: *Ne nos inducas in temptationem* — quae autem maior temptatio quam persecutio? — , ab eo illam profiteamur accidere, a quo veniam eius deprecamur; hoc est enim quod sequitur: *Sed erue nos a maligno*, id est, ne nos induxeris in temptationem permittendo nos maligno; tunc enim eruimur diaboli manibus, cum illi non tradimur in temptationem.

[6] Nec in porcorum gregem diaboli legio habuit potestatem, nisi eam de deo impetrasset; tantum potestatem abest ut in oves dei habeat. Possum quoque dicere porcorum quoque setas tunc numeratas apud deum fuisse, nedum capillos sanctorum. [7] Habere videtur diabolus propriam iam potestatem si forte in eos, qui ad deum non pertinent, semel ‘in stillam situlae et in pulverem areae et in salivam’ nationibus deputatis a deo ac per hoc diabolo expositis in vacuam quodammodo possessionem; [8] ceterum in domesticos dei nihil illi licet ex propria potestate, quia, quando liceat, id est ex quibus causis, exempla in scripturis signata demonstrant. Aut enim ex causa probationis conceditur ei ius temptationis provocato vel provocanti ut in superioribus aut ex causa reprobationis traditur ei peccator quasi carnifici in poenam ut Saul — *Et abscessit*, inquit, *spiritus domini a Saule et concutiebat eum spiritus nequam a domino et suffocabat eum* — aut ex causa cohibitionis, ut apostolus refert datum sibi sudem angelum satanae, ut colaphizaretur, ne <ignoremus> hanc speciem permitti diabolo in sanctos humiliandos per carnis vexationem, simul ut et virtus, tolerantiae scilicet, in infirmitate perfici possit. [9] Nam et ipse apostolus Phygelum et Hermogenem tradidit satanae, uti emendentur, ne blasphement. Videtis iam et a servis dei facilius diabolus accipere potestatem; tanto abest, ut eam ex proprietate possideat.

III. [1] Cum ergo et haec exempla magis in persecutionibus eveniant,

siquidem magis tunc probamur vel reprobamur et magis tunc humiliamur vel emendamur, ab eo permittatur vel imperetur necesse est catholice fieri haec a quo et ex parte, scilicet ab illo qui dicit: *Ego sum, qui facio pacem et condo mala*, id est bellum; hoc est enim contrarium paci. Nostrae autem paci quod est bellum quam persecutio? [2] Si persecutionis vel maxime exitus aut vitam afferunt aut mortem, aut plagam aut sanationem, habes auctorem eiusdem: *Ego percutiam et sanabo, ego vivificabo et mortificabo*. [3] *Uram*, inquit, *illos, sicut uritur aurum, et probabo*, inquit, *illos, sicut probatur argentum*. Cum enim exurimur persecutionis ardore, tunc probamur de fidei tenore. Haec erunt ‘igneae iacula’ diaboli, per quae fidei ustio et conflatio administratur, ex dei tamen voluntate. [4] De isto quis dubitare possit, ignoro, nisi plane frivola et frigida fides, deprehendens eos, qui timide conveniunt in ecclesiam. Dicitis enim [inquit]: ‘Quoniam’ <inquit> ‘incondite convenimus et simul convenimus et complures concurrimus in ecclesiam, quaerimur a nationibus et timemus, ne turbentur nationes hae.’ Non scitis, quod deus sit omnium dominus, et si velit deus, tunc persecutionem patieris, si vero noluerit, silebunt nationes? Credas utique, si tamen in eum deum credis, sine cuius voluntate nec unius passer assis cadit in terram; nos autem, puto, multis passeribus antistamus.

IV. [1] Igitur si constat, a quo persecutio eveniat, possumus iam consultationem tuam inducere et determinare ex hoc ipso praetractatu fugiendum in persecutione non esse. Si enim persecutio a deo evenit, nullo modo fugiendum erit, quod a deo evenit, sicut duplex ratio defendit, quia neque debeat devitari neque possit evadi, quod a deo evenit. Non debet devitari, quia bonum; necesse est enim bonum esse omne, quod deo visum est. Et numquid ideo in Genesi sic positum est: *Et vidit deus, quia bonum est*, non quod ignoraret bonum esse, nisi vidisset, sed ut hoc sono portenderet bonum esse, quod deo visum est? Multa quidem sunt, quae a deo eveniunt et alicuius malo eveniunt — immo bonum est ideo, quia a deo venit ut divinum, rationale; quid enim divinum non rationale, non bonum? quid bonum non divinum? — [2] si autem sensui cuiusque videtur, non sensus hominis praeiudicat statui rerum, sed status sensui; status enim unusquisque certum quid est et dat sensui legem ita sentiendi statum sicut est. Si autem statu quidem bonum, quod a deo venit — nihil enim a deo non bonum, quia divinum, quia rationale — , sensui vero malum videtur, erit status in tuto,

sensus in vitio. Statu optima res pudicitia et veritas et iustitia, quae a multorum sensu displicent; numquid ideo status sensui addicitur? [3] Ita et persecutio statu bona est, quia divina et rationalis dispositio, sensui eorum vero, quorum malo venit, displicet. Sed qui <vi>de[s]t etiam illud malum rationale apud deum haberi, cum quis in persecutione evertitur de salute, sicut et bonum illud ratione contingere, cum quis ex persecutione proficit in salute — nisi si inrationaliter quis aut perit apud dominum aut salvus est —, is non poterit persecutionem malum dicere, quae etiam in mali parte bonum est, dum ratione administratur. [4] Ita si bonum persecutio quoquo modo, quia de statu constat, merito definimus, quod bonum est, vitari non oportere, quia delictum sit, quod bonum est, recusare, eo amplius, quod deo visum est, iam vero nec posse vitari, quia a deo evenit, cuius voluntas non vitari poterit. <Ad>eo [ad]igitur qui putant fugiendum, aut malum exprobrant deo, si persecutionem uti malum fugiunt — bonum enim nemo devitat —, aut fortiores se deo existimant, qui putant se evadere posse, si deus tale aliquid voluerit evenire.

V. [1] ‘Sed quod meum est’, inquit, ‘fugio, ne peream, si negavero; illius est, si voluerit, etiam fugientem me reducere in medium.’ Hoc mihi prius responde: certus es te negaturum, si non fugeris, an incertus? Si enim certus, iam negasti, quia praesumendo te negaturum id despopondisti, de quo praesumpsisti, et vane iam fugis, ne neges, qui, si negaturus es, iam negasti; [2] si vero incertus es, cur non ex aequalitate incerti metus inter utrumque eventum etiam confiteri te posse praesumis et salvum magis fieri, quominus fugias, sicut negaturum te praesumis, ut fugias? Iam nunc aut in nobis est utrumque aut totum in deo; si in nobis aut confiteri aut negare, cur non id praesumimus, quod est melius, id est confessuros nos? — nisi si <non> vis confiteri, <ne> patiaris; nolle autem confiteri negare est —; [3] si vero in deo totum est, cur non totum relinquimus arbitrio eius, agnoscentes virtutem et potestatem, quod possit nos sicut fugientes educere in medium, ita et non fugientes, immo et in medio populo conversantes obumbrare? [4] Quale est, ut ad fugiendum deo honorem reddas, qui possit te etiam fugientem producere in medium, ad constandum autem inhonores illum desperans potentiam protectionis ab illo? Quanto magis ex hac parte, constantiae et fiduciae in deum, dicis: ‘Ego quod meum est facio: non discedo; deus si voluerit, ipse me proteget’! Hoc potius nostrum est, stare sub dei arbitrium quam fugere sub nostro. [5] Rutilius

sanctissimus martyr cum totiens fugisset persecutionem de loco in locum, etiam periculum, ut putabat, nummis redemisset, post totam securitatem, quam sibi prospexerat, ex inopinato apprehensus et praesidi oblatus, tormentis dissipatus — credo pro fugae castigatione — , dehinc ignibus datus passionem, quam vitarat, misericordiae dei rettulit. Quid aliud voluit dominus nobis demonstrare hoc documento quam fugiendum non esse, quia nihil fuga prosit, si deus nolit?

VI. [1] ‘Immo’, inquit, ‘quia praeceptum adimplevit fugiens de civitate in civitatem.’ Sic enim voluit quidam, sed et ipse fugitivus, argumentari et qui proinde nolunt intelligere sensum domini illius pronuntiationis, ut eam ad velamentum timiditatis suae utantur, cum et personas suas habuerit et tempora et causas. *Cum coeperint*, inquit, *persequi vos, fugite de civitate in civitatem*.

[2] Hoc in persona proprie apostolorum et in tempora et in causas eorum pertinere defendimus, sicut subsequentes sensus probabunt, qui nonnisi in apostolos competunt: *In viam nationum ne ieritis et in civitatem Samaritanorum ne introieritis, sed ite potius ad oves perditas domus Israelis*.

[3] Nobis autem et via nationum patet, in qua et inventi sumus et usque in finem incedimus, et nulla civitas excepta est, quo per totum orbem praedicamus; sed nec cura nobis Israelis iniuncta est extra ordinem, nisi qua et omnibus gentibus praedicare debemus; [4] etiam si apprehendamus, non in concilia eorum perducemur nec in synagogis eorum flagellabimur, sed Romanis utique potestatibus et tribunalibus obiciemur. [5] Si <c> igitur et fugae praeceptum apostolorum condicio desiderabat, quoniam primum praedicandum erat *ad oves perditas domus Israelis*. Ut ergo perciperetur praedicatio, apud quos priores eam perfici oportebat, uti panem ante filii quam canes sumerent, ideo illis fugere tunc ad tempus praecepit, non propter eludendum periculum proprio nomine persecutionis — atquin persecutiones eos passuros praedicabat et tolerandas docebat — , sed propter profectum annuntiationis, ne statim oppressis evangelii quoque disseminatio perimeretur. Neque enim quasi tacite in aliquam civitatem transfugiendum erat, sed quasi ubique annuntiaturis et ex hoc ubique persecutiones subituris, donec replerent doctrinam suam. [6] Denique *Non consummabitis*, inquit, *civitates Israelis*; adeo intra terminos Iudaeae praeceptum fugae continebatur. Nobis autem nulla Iudaeae praefinitio competit praedicationis in omnem iam carnem effuso spiritu sancto. [7] Itaque Paulus et apostoli ipsi memores

praecepti dominici contestantur illud apud Israel, quem iam doctrina sua impleverant: *Vobis oportuit in primis sermonem dei tradi; sed quoniam repulistis eum nec dignos vos aeterna vita existimastis, ecce convertimus nos ad nationes*, Atque exinde conversi, ut ipsi antecessores instituerant, et in viam nationum abierunt et in civitates Samaritanorum introierunt, ut in totam scilicet terram exiret sonus eorum et in terminos orbis voces eorum. [8] Si ergo cessavit exceptio viae nationum et introitus in civitates Samaritanorum, cur non cessaverit et fugae praeceptum pariter emissum? Denique ex quo saturato Israele apostoli in nationes transierunt, nec fugerunt de civitate in civitatem nec pati dubitaverunt. [9] Atquin Paulus, qui se per murum concesserat expediri de persecutione, qua ad hoc tempus erat praecepti, idem iam in clausula officii et in consummatione praecepti discipulis magnopere deprecantibus, ne se Hierosolymam committeret passurus illic, quae Agabus prophetaverat, sollicitudini eorum non subscripsit, sed e contrario: *Quid, inquit, facitis lacrimantes et conturbantes cor meum? ego enim non modo vincula pati optaverim, sed etiam mori Hierosolymis pro nomine domini mei Iesu Christi*. [10] Atque ita omnes aierunt: *Fiat voluntas domini*. Quae erat voluntas domini? Utique non fugiendi iam persecutionem. Ceterum poterant et priorem domini voluntatem proposuisse, qua fugere mandaverat, qui illum persecutionem vitasse maluerant. [11] Igitur cum etiam sub apostolis ipsis temporale fuerit fugae praeceptum sicut et reliquorum praescriptorum, non potest apud nos perseverare, quod apud doctores nostros concessavit, etsi non proprie ad illos fuisset emissum; aut, si perseverare illud dominus voluit, deliquerunt apostoli, qui non usque in finem fugere curaverunt.

VII. [1] Videamus nunc, an et cetera domini edita congruant perpetuo fugae praecepto. Primo quidem, si a deo persecutio est, quale est, ut idem fugiendam eam mandet, qui et infert? Quam si evadi vellet, melius non immitteret, ne voluntatem suam alia voluntate praevaricare videretur; aut pati enim nos voluit persecutionem aut fugere: si fugere, quomodo pati? si pati, quomodo fugere? Iam vero quanta inaequalitas sententiarum iubentis fugere et invitantis ad passionem (quae) contraria[m] fugae! [quae]. [2] *Qui confessus fuerit me, et ego confitebor illum coram patre meo: quomodo confitebitur fugiens? quomodo fugiet confitens? Qui mei confusus fuerit, et ego confundar eius coram patre meo: devito passionem, confundo<r> confessionem. Felices, qui persecutionem passi fuerint causa nominis mei:*

infelices ergo, qui fugiendo ex praecepto non erunt passi. *Qui sustinuerit in finem, iste salvabitur*: quid ergo me iubens fugere vis in finem sustinere? Tanta diversitas sententiarum si non congruit divinae gravitati, apparet ex his quoque praeceptum fugae suam tunc habuisse rationem, quam ostendimus.

[3] ‘Sed infirmitatem’, inquit, ‘quorundam prospiciens dominus per suam humanitatem nihilominus et portum fugae demonstravit.’ Non enim idoneus erat etiam sine fuga, tam turpi et indigno et servili praesidio, salvos facere, in persecutione quos sciret infirmos. Atquin non fovet, sed recusat semper infirmos, primum docens non fugiendos esse persecutores, sed potius non timendos: *Nolite timere eos*, inquit, *qui corpus occidunt, animae autem nihil valent facere, sed timete eum, qui et corpus et animam perdere potest in gehennam*.

[4] Atque exinde quae timidus praefinit? *Qui plures fecerit animam suam quam me, non est me dignus, et qui non tollit crucem suam et sequitur me, non potest esse meus discipulus*. Postremo in Apocalypsin non fugam timidus offert, sed inter ceteros reprobos particulam *in stagnum sulphuris et ignis, quod est mors secunda*.

VIII. [1] Refugit et ipse vim interdum, sed eadem ratione, qua apostolis fugere praeceperat, donec scilicet doctrinam suam impleret, qua consummata, non dico stetit, sed nec auxilium a patre angelorum exercituum desideravit, increpito etiam Petri gladio. [2] Professus quidem et ipse est animam anxiam usque ad mortem et carnem infirmam, ut tibi ostenderet primo in se utramque substantiam humanam fuisse ex proprietate anxietatis animae et imbecillitatis carnis, ne aliam, ut quidam nunc induxerunt, aut carnem aut animam Christi interpretareris, dehinc ut demonstratis condicionibus earum scires illas nihil valere per semetipsas sine spiritu; [3] et ideo praeponit: *Spiritus promptus*, ut utramque condicionem substantiae utriusque respiciens intelligas in te esse etiam fortitudinem spiritus quomodo et infirmitatem carnis ac iam hinc scias, quid unde facias et quid cui subiecias, infirmum scilicet forti, ne, ut nunc facis, de carnis quidem infirmitate causeris, de spiritus autem firmitate dissimules. [4] Postulavit et ipse a patre, si fieri posset, transiret ab illo calix passionis: postula et tu, sed stans ut ille, sed postulans tantum, sed subiungens et reliqua: *Verum non quod ego volo, sed quod tu*. Fugiens autem quomodo hoc postulabis, ipse tibi calicis praestans translationem nec quod pater vult faciens, sed quod tu?

IX. [1] Omnia apostoli secundum deum utique docuerunt, omnia + evangelizare voluerunt +. Ubi illos ostendis praeceptum fugiendi de civitate in civitatem restaurasse? quia nec potuissent tale quid constituere tam contrarium exemplis suis, ut fugam mandarent, qui cum maxime de vinculis vel insulis, quibus ob confessionem, non ob fugam nominis continebantur, ad ecclesias scribebant. [2] Infirmos sustineri iubet Paulus, utique enim non fugientes; quomodo enim sustinebantur absentes? At patientia dicit sustinendos, si cum per infirmitatem fidei suae offenderint; sic et pusillanimes consolari, non tamen in fugam mitti.

Sed <et> cum admonet, ne locum malo demus, non fugae suggerit consilium, sed iracundiae docet temperamentum, et si redimendum tempus dicit, *quia dies nequam sunt*, non per fugam, sed per sapientiam conversationis lucrari nos vult commeatum. Ceterum qui fulgere nos iubet velut filios lucis, non iubet fuga abscondi ut filios tenebrarum. Stare immobiles praecipit — utique nec fuga mobiles — et accinctos: in fugam an in occursum evangelii? Arma quoque demonstrat, quae fugituris non essent necessaria; inter quae et clipeum, *quo possitis tela diaboli extinguere*, resistentes sine dubio et excipientes omnem vim illius.

[3] Proinde et Iohannes pro fratribus quoque animas ponendas docet, nedum pro domino; hoc a fugientibus non potest adimpleri. Denique memor Apocalypsis suae, in qua timidorum exitum audierat, de suo sensu admonet et ipse timorem reiciendum: *Timor*, inquit, *non est in dilectione; sed enim perfecta dilectio foras mittit timorem, quia timor supplicamentum habet*, utique ignem stagni; *qui autem timet, non est perfectus in dilectione*, dei scilicet. Porro quis fugiet persecutionem, nisi qui timebit? quis timebit, nisi qui non amabit? [4] Spiritum vero si consulas, quid magis sermone illo Spiritus probat? namque omnes paene ad martyrium exhortantur, non ad fugam, ut et illius commemoremur: ‘Publicaris?’ inquit, ‘bonum tibi est; qui enim non publicatur in hominibus, publicatur in domino. Ne confundaris: iustitia te producit in medium; quid confunderis laudem ferens? Potestas fit, cum conspiceris ab hominibus.’ Sic et alibi: ‘Nolite in lectulis nec in aborsibus et febris mollibus optare exire, sed in martyriis, uti glorificetur, qui est passus pro vobis.’

X. [1] Sed omissis quidam divinis exhortationibus illum magis Graecum versiculum saecularis sententiae sibi adhibent: ‘Qui fugiebat, rursus sibi

proeliabitur'. Ut et rursus forsitan fugiat? Et quando vincet, qui, cum fugerit, victus est? Bonum militem Christo imperatori suo praestat, qui tam plene ab apostolo armatus, ut tubam persecutionis audit, a<d> diem deserit persecutionis! [2] Respondebo et ego de saeculo aliquid: '*Usque adeone mori miserum est?*' Morietur quoquo modo, aut victus aut victor; nam etsi negando ceciderit, cum tormentis tamen proeliat. Malo miserandum quam erubescendum; pulchrior est miles in pugna proelio amissus quam in fuga salvus. [3] Times hominem, Christiane, quem timeri oportet ab angelis, siquidem angelos iudicaturus es? quem timeri oportet a daemoniis, siquidem et in daemones accepisti potestatem? quem timeri oportet ab universo mundo, siquidem et in te mundus iudicatur? [4] Christum indutus es — siquidem in Christum tinctus es — , qui fugis diabolum? Depreisti Christum, qui in te est, fugitivum cum diabolo te reddidisti. Sed dominum fugiens exprobras omnibus fugitivis sui[s] vanitatem consilii: fugerat et quidam animosus propheta dominum, traiecerat ab Ioppen Tarsum, quasi et a deo transfretaret; sed illum, non dico in mari et in terra, verum in utrum etiam bestiae invenit, in quo nec mori per triduum potuit nec vel sic deum evadere. [5] Quanto melius <dei> servus, qui sive iniquitatis dominum timens non fugit eum, sed potius contemnit, confidens scilicet de tutela domini, sive deum reformidat, quanto magis sub oculis eius astitit, dicens: 'Dominus est, potens est; omnia illius sunt; ubi fuero, in manu illius sum; faciat quod vult, non discedo, et si perire me volet, ipse me perdat, dum me ego illi servo. Malo invidiam ei facere per voluntatem ipsius pereundo quam bilem per meam evadendo'.

XI. [1] Haec sentire et facere omnem servum dei oportet, etiam minoris loci, ut maioris fieri possit, si quem gradum in persecutionis tolerantia ascenderit. Sed cum ipsi auctores, id est ipsi diaconi et presbyteri et episcopi fugiunt, quomodo laicus intelligere poterit, qua ratione dictum: *Fugite de civitate in civitatem?* Itaque cum duces fugiunt, quis de gregario numero sustinebit ad gradum in acie figendum suadere? [2] Certe quidem *bonus pastor animam pro pecoribus ponit*, ut Moyses non domino adhuc Christo revelato et iam in se figurato ait: *Si perdis hunc populum*, inquit, *et me pariter cum eo disperde*. Ceteram Christo confirmante figuras suas malus pastor est, qui viso lupo fugit et pecora diripienda derelinquit; proicietur de villa pastor huiusmodi, detinebuntur illi mercedes missionis suae in compensatione, immo et de priore peculio eius exigetur detrimenti dominici restitutio: *Etenim qui habet, dabitur*

ei, ab eo autem, qui non habet, etiam quod videtur habere, auferetur. [3] Sic Zacharias comminatur: *Exurge, rhomphaea, in pastores et evellite oves et superducam manum meam in pastores.* In quos et Ezechiel et Hieremias isdem minis perorant, quod non tantum de pecoribus improbe vescantur pascentes potius semetipsos, verum et dispersam gregem faciant et in praedam esse omnibus bestiis agri, dum non est pastor illis. Quod numquam magis fit, quam cum in persecutione ecclesia destituitur a clero. Si et Spiritum quis agnoverit, audiet fugitivos denotantem. [4] Porro si eos, qui gregi praesunt, fugere, cum lupi irruunt, nec decet, immo nec licet — qui enim talem pastorem malum pronuntiavit, utique damnavit; omne autem quod damnatur, illicitum factum est sine dubio —, ideo praepositos ecclesiae in persecutione fugere non oportebit. Ceterum si grex fugere deberet, non debere<t> praepositos gregis stare, sine causa staturos ad tutelam gregis, quam grex non desiderat, scilicet ex licentia fugae.

XII. [1] Quod pertineat, frater, ad tuum problema, habes sententiae nostrae responsionem et exhortationem. Porro si quis quaerit, an persecutio fugienda sit, sequentem quoque <quaestionem> iam prospiciat necesse est, an, si fugienda non est, redimenda certe sit. Ultro igitur et de hoc tibi suggeram, definiens persecutionem, quam constat non esse fugiendam, proinde nec redimendam. [2] Pretium interest; ceterum sicut fuga redemptio gratuita est, ita redemptio nummaria fuga est. Certe et huius timiditatis consilium est. Quod times, redimis, ergo fugis; pedibus stetisti, nummis curristi; hoc ipsum, quod ex redemptione stetisti, fugisti. [3] Ut autem redimas hominem tu nummis, quem ex sanguine suo redemit Christus, quam indignum deo et dispositionis eius, *qui filio suo non pepercit* pro te, ut fieret pro nobis maledictum — *quia maledictus, qui pependerit in ligno* —, qui *tamquam ovis ad victimam ductus est, et tamquam agnus ante tondentem sic non aperuit os, sed posuit dorsum suum in flagella, maxillas autem in palmas et faciem non avertit a sputaminibus et inter iniquos deputatus est* et traditus est in mortem, mortem autem crucis: [4] totum hoc, ut nos a peccatis lucraretur. Sol cessit die[m] emptionis nostrae: apud inferos remancipatio nostra est et stipulatio nostra in caelis; sublevatae sunt portae sempiternae, ut introiret *rex gloriae, dominus virtutum*, hominem de terris, immo ab inferis mercatus in caelos. [5] Quis est nunc, qui adversus illum reluetatur, immo depretiat mercedem eius tam magno comparatam, *pretiosissimo scilicet sanguine agni immaculati*? Iam ergo

melius fugere quam fieri viliores, si non tanto sibi constabit homo, quanti constitit domino. Et dominus quidem illum redemit ab angelis munditinentibus potestatibus, a spiritalibus nequitiae, a tenebris huius aevi, a iudicio aeterno, a morte perpetua; tu autem pro eo pacisceris cum delatore vel milite vel furunculo aliquo praeside sub tunica et sinum, quod aiunt, ut furtivo, quem coram toto mundo Christus emit, immo et manumisit. Hunc ergo liberam pretio aestimabis et pretio possidebis nisi eodem, quanto, ut diximus, domino constitit, sanguine suo scilicet? [6] Ut quid ergo de homine Christum redimis in homine, in quo Christus est? Non aliter et Simon facere temptavit, cum pecuniam apostolis obtulit pro spiritu Christi. Audiet ergo et iste, qui se redimens Christi spiritum redemit: *Pecunia tua tecum sit in interitum, quoniam gratiam dei pretio consequendam putasti.* [7] Quis talem <non ut> abnegatorem spernat? Quid enim dicit ille concussor? ‘Da mihi pecuniam.’ Certe ne eum tradat, siquidem non aliud venditat, quam quod praestaturus est praemio tuo. Cum das, utique ne tradaris voluisti; non traditus autem traduci habebas? Ergo dum nolendo tradi non vis traduci, nolendo negasti te esse, <quod> traduci noluisti. ‘Immo’, inquis, ‘dum nolo traduci quod sum, confessus id esse, quod nolo traduci, id est Christianum’. Potes itaque te martyrem vindicare, <si> constanter ostendis[se] Christum; redimens non ostendit. Apud unum si forte confessus es, ergo et apud plures nolendo confiteri negasti. Ipsa salus iudicabit hominem excidisse, dum evadit; excidit ergo, qui maluit evasisse. Negatio est etiam martyrii recusatio. [8] Christianus pecunia salvus est et in hoc nummos habet, ne patiatur, dum adversus deum erit dives? At enim Christus sanguine fuit dives pro illo. *Felices itaque pauperes, quia illorum, inquit, est regnum caelorum,* qui animam solam in confiscato habent. Si non possumus *deo servire et mammonae*, possumus et a deo redimi et a mammona? Quis enim magis serviet mammonae, quam quem mammonas redemit? [9] Postremo quo exemplo uteris in redemptionem traditionis? Apostoli tractantes persecutionibus agitati quando se pecunia liberaverunt, quae illis utique non deerat ex praediorum pretiis ad pedes eorum depositis? Certe multis locupletibus credentibus, viris ac feminis, qui his etiam refrigeria subministrabant, quando Onesiphorus aut Aquila aut Stephanas hoc modo eis in persecutionem succurrerunt? Paulus quidem, cum Felix praeses pecunias accepturum se pro eo a discipulis sperasset, de quo et ipse in secreto tractavit

cum ipso, neque ipse pro se neque discipuli pro eo numeraverunt, [10] illi utique discipuli, qui flentes, quod [n]aeque Hierosolymam tendere perseveraret et persecutiones praedicatas illic non praecaveret, postremo inquiunt: *Fiat voluntas dei*. Quae ista voluntas? utique ut pateretur pro nomine domini, non ut redimeretur. Oportet enim, quomodo Christus animam suam posuit pro nobis, ita fieri pro eo et a nobis nec tantum pro ipso, immo etiam pro fratribus propter ipsum. Quod <et> Iohannes docens non [et] pro fratribus numerandum, sed moriendum potius pronuntiavit. Nihil interest, si quem Christianum redimere non debeas alium *an te*. [11] Et adeo voluntas dei sic est: aspice regnorum et imperiorum utique a deo dispositum statum, in cuius manu cor regis: tanta cotidie aerario augendo prospiciuntur remedia censuum, vectigalium, collationum, stipendiorum nec umquam tamen usque adhuc ex Christianis tale aliquid prospectum est sub aliqua redemptione capitis et sectae redigendis, cum tantae multitudinis nemini ignotae fructus ingens meti posset; sanguine empti, sanguine numerati nullum nummum pro capite debemus, quia caput nostrum Christus est: non decet Christum pecunia constare. Quomodo et martyria fieri possent in gloriam domini, si tributo licentiam sectae compensaremus? Itaque qui eam praemio paciscitur, dispositioni divinae adversatur. [12] Cum igitur nihil nobis Caesar indixerit in hunc modum stipendiariae sectae, sed nec indictum umquam tale quid possit, antichristo iam instante et in sanguinem, non in pecunias hiantes Christianorum, quomodo mihi proponere potest scripturam esse: *Reddite quae sunt Caesaris Caesari*? Miles me vel delator vel inimicus concutit, nihil Caesari exigens, immo contra fas faciens, cum Christianum legibus humanis reum mercede dimittit. Alius denarius, quem Caesari debeo, qui ad eum pertinet, de quo tunc agebatur, tributarius, tributariis scilicet, non a liberis debitus. [13] Aut quomodo reddam, quae sunt dei, deo, utique proinde imaginem et monetam ipsius inscriptam nomine eius, id est hominem Christianum? Quid autem deo debeo sicut denarium Caesari nisi sanguinem, quem pro me filius fudit ipsius? Quodsi deo quidem hominem et sanguinem meum debeo, nunc vero in eo sum tempore, ut quod deo debeo expostuler, utique fraudem deo facio id agens, ne quod debeo solvam. Bene observavi praeceptum Caesari reddens, quae sunt Caesaris, deo vero, quae sunt dei, abnegans!

XIII. [1] ‘Sed et omni petenti me dabo’: in causa elemosinae, non in

concussurae. *Petenti* inquit; porro qui incutit, non petit; qui comminatur, si non acceperit, non postulat, sed extorquet; non elemosinam expectat, qui non miserandus, sed timendus venit. Dabo igitur misericordiae, non timiditatis meae nomine, ubi, qui accepit, deum honorat et benedictionem mihi reddit, non ubi amplius et benefactum praestitisse se credit et praedam suam aspiciens dicit: ‘De reatu’. [2] Tascam et inimicum!’ Sed <etsi> inimicitiae et alios habent titulos, non tamen dixit traditorem aut persecutorem aut concussorem; nam huic quanto magis *carbones* acervabo *super caput*, si non me redemero! ‘*Proinde*’, inquit, ‘*qui tibi tunicam sustulerit, vel etiam pallium concede.*’ Ad eum pertinet, qui rem, non qui fidem meam eripere quasierit; concedam et pallium nil [o]minanti; traditionem si minatus fuerit, etiam tunicam reposcam. [3] Omnium iam nunc dominicarum (sententiarum) suae sunt et causae et regulae; termini non in infinitum nec ad omnia spectant; atque adeo omni petenti dari iubet, ipse signum petentibus non dat. Alioquin si omnibus passim petentibus dandum putas, tu mihi videris, non dico vinum febricitanti, sed etiam venenum aut gladium mortem desideranti daturus. [4] *Facite autem vobis amicos de mammona* quomodo intelligendum sit, parabola praemissa te doceat ad populum Iudaicum dictum, qui, commissam sibi rationem domini cum male administrasset, deberet de mammonae hominibus, quod nos eramus, amicos sibi potius prospicere quam inimicos et relevare nos a debitis peccatorum, quibus deo detinebamur, si nobis id dominica ratione conferrent, ut, cum coepisset ab his deficere gratia, ad nostram fidem refugientes reciperentur in tabernacula aeterna. Quamvis nunc puta aliam interpretationem parabola et sententiae istius, dum scias verisimile non esse, ut concussores nostri in amicitiam redacti per mammonam recipiant tunc nos in aeterna tabernacula. [5] Sed quid non timiditas persuadebit? Quasi et fugere scriptum permittat et redimere praecipiat! Parum denique est, si tinus aut alius ita eruitur: massaliter totae ecclesiae tributum sibi irrogaverunt! Nescio, dolendum an erubescendum sit, cum in matrioibus beneficiariorum et curiosorum inter tabernarios et ianeos et fures balnearum et aleones et lenones Christiani[s] quoque vectigales continentur. [6] Hanc episcopatus formam apostoli providentius condiderunt, ut regno suo securi frui possent sub obtentu procurandae salutis? Scilicet enim talem pacem Christus ad patrem regrediens mandavit a militibus per Saturnalia redimendam!

XIV. [1] ‘Sed quomodo colligemus?’ inquis, ‘quomodo dominica sollemnia celebrabimus?’ Utique quomodo et apostoli, fide, non pecunia tuti, quae fides si montem transferre potest, multo magis militem. Esto sapientia, non praemio cautus! Neque enim statim et a populo eris tutus, si officia militaria redemeris. Una ergo tibi fides et sapientia ad tutelam opus est, quibus non adhibitis et redemptionem tuam potest perdere, adhibitis autem redemptionem <nec> desiderare. [2] Postremo si colligere interdum non potest, habes noctem, luce Christi luminosi adversus eam. Non potes discurrere per singulos? si<t> tibi e[s]t in tribus ecclesia; melius, turbas tuas aliquando non videas, quam addicas. Serva Christo virginem sponsam; nemo quaestum de ea faciat.

[3] Haec tibi, frater, dura forsitan et intolerabilia videntur, sed recita deum dixisse: *Qui capit, capiat*, id est, qui non capit, discedat. Non potest, qui pati timet, ei esse, qui passus est; at qui pati non timet, iste erit perfectus in dilectione, utique dei; *perfecta enim dilectio foras mittit timorem*. Et ideo *multi vocati, pauci electi*; non quaeritur, qui latam viam sequi paratus sit, sed qui angustam; et ideo paraclitus necessarius, deductor omnium veritatum, exhortator omnium tolerantiarum. Quem qui receperunt, neque fugere persecutionem neque redimere noverunt, habentes ipsum, qui pro nobis erit, sicut locuturus in interrogatione ita iuvaturus in passione.

De Monogamia (On Monogamy)

[1] Haeretici nuptias auferunt, psychici ingerunt; illi nec semel, isti non semel nubunt. Quid agis, lex creatoris? Inter alienos spadones et aurigas tuos tantundem quereris de domestico obsequio quantum de fastidio extraneo; proinde te laedunt qui abutuntur quemadmodum qui non utuntur. [2] Verum neque continentia emsmodi laudanda, quia haeretica est, neque licentia defendenda, quia psychica est; illa blasphemat, ista luxuriat; illa destruit nuptiarum deum, ista confundit. [3] Penes nos autem, quos Spiritales merito dici facit agnitio spiritualium charismatum, continentia religiosa est cum licentia verecunda; ambae cum creatore sunt: continentia legem nuptiarum honorat, licentia temperat; illa non cogitur, ista regitur; illa arbitrium habet, haec modum. [4] Unum matrimonium novimus sicut unum deum. Magis honorem refert lex nuptiarum, ubi habet et pudorem. [5] Sed psychicis non recipientibus Spiritum ea quae sunt Spiritus non placent. Ita, dum quae sunt Spiritus non placent, ea quae sunt carnis placebunt ut contraria Spiritus. *Caro*, inquit, *adversus spiritum concupiscit et spiritus adversus carnem*. [6] Quid autem concupiscet caro quam quae magis carnis sunt? Propter quod et in primordio extranea spiritus facta est; *non*, inquit, *permanebit spiritus meus in istis hominibus in aevum, eo quod caro sint*.

II. [1] Itaque monogamiae disciplinam in haeresim exprobrant nec ulla magis ex causa Paraclitum negare coguntur, quam dum existimant novae disciplinae institutorem et quidem dirissimae illis, ut iam de hoc primum consistendum sit in generali retractatu, an capiat Paraclitum aliquid tale docuisse, quod aut novum deputari possit adversus catholicam traditionem aut onerosum adversus levem sarcinam. [2] De utroque autem ipse dominus pronuntiavit; dicens enim: *Adhuc multa habeo quae, loquar ad vos, sed nondum potestis portare ea; cum venerit spiritus sanctus, ille vos ducet in omnem veritatem*, satis utique praetendit edocturum illum, quae et nova existimari possint ut numquam retro edita et aliquanto onerosa ut idcirco non edita. [3] ‘Ergo’, inquis, ‘hac argumentatione quidvis novum et onerosum paraclito adscribi poterit, etsi ab adversario spiritu fuerit.’ Non utique; adversarius enim spiritus ex diversitate praedicationis appareret, primo regulam adulterans fidei et ita ordinem adulterans disciplinae, quia cuius gradus prior est, eius corruptela antecedit, id est fidei, quae prior est

disciplina: ante quis ^[4] deo haereticus sit necesse <e>st et tunc de instituto; 4. paraclitus autem multa habens edocere, quae in illum distulit dominus, secundum praefinitionem ipsum primo Christum contestabitur qualem credimus cum toto ordine dei creatoris et ipsum glorificabit et de ipso commemorabit et sic de principali regula illa multa, quae sunt disciplinarum, revelabit fidem dicente pro eis integritate praedicationis, <licet> novis, quia nunc revelantur, licet onerosis, quia nec nunc sustinentur, non alterius tamen Christi quam qui habere se dixit et alia multa quae a paraclito edocerentur, non minus istis onerosa quam illis, a quibus nondum tunc sustinebantur.

III. ^[1] Sed an onerosa monogamia, viderit adhuc impudens infirmitas carnis; an autem nova, de hoc interim constet. Illud enim amplius dicimus: etiamsi totam et solidam virginitatem sive continentiam paraclitus hodie determinasset, ut ne unis quidem nuptiis fervorem carnis despumare permetteret, sic quoque nihil novi inducere videretur, ipso domino spadonibus aperiente regna caelorum ut et ipso spadone, quem spectans et apostolus, propterea et ipse castratus, continentiam mavult. ^[2] ‘Sed salvo’, inquis, ‘iure nubendi’. Plane salvo et videbimus quousque, nihilominus tamen ex ea parte destructo, qua continentiam praefert. *Bonum*, inquit, *homini mulierem non contingere* — <ergo malum est contingere;> nihil enim bono contrarium nisi malum — ideoque superesse, *ut et qui habeant uxores sic sint quasi non habentes*, quo magis qui non habent habere non debeant. ^[3] Reddit etiam causas, cur ita suadeat, quod innupti de deo cogitent, nupti vero, quomodo in matrimonio quis suo placeat. Et possum contendere non mere bonum esse quod permittitur; quod enim mere bonum est, non permittitur, sed ultro licet; permissio habet causam aliquando et necessitatis. Denique in hac specie non est voluntas permittentis nubere; aliud enim vult: *Volo vos*, inquit, *omnes sic esse quomodo et ego*. ^[4] Et cum ostendit melius esse, quid utique se velle confirmat, quam quod melius esse praemisit? Et ita si aliud quam quod voluit permittit, non voluntate, sed necessitate permittens, non mere bonum ostendit, quod invitus indulsit. Denique cum dicit: *Melius est nubere quam uri*, quale id bonum intelligendum, quod melius est [et] poena, quod non potest videri melius nisi pessimo comparatum? ^[5] Bonum illud est, quod per se hoc nomen tenet sine comparatione non dico mali, sed etiam boni alterius, ut, et si alio bono comparatum adumbretur, remaneat nihilominus in boni nomine. Ceterum si per mali collationem cogitur bonum dici, non tam bonum est quam

genus mali inferioris, quod ab altiore malo obscuratum ad nomen boni impellitur. [6] Aufer denique condicionem, ut dicas: *Melius est nubere quam uri*, et quaero, an dicere audeas: ‘Melius est nubere’, non adiciens, quo melius sit. Ergo iam non melius, et dum non melius, nec bonum, sublata condicione, quae, dum melius illud facit alio, ita bonum haberi cogit. Melius est unum oculum amittere quam duos; si tamen discedas a comparatione utriusque, non erit melius unum oculum habere, quia nec bonum. [7] Quid nunc, si omnem indulgentiam nubendi de suo, id est de humano sensu accommodat, ex necessitate qua diximus, quia melius sit nubere quam uri? Denique conversus ad alteram speciem dicendo: *Nuptis autem denuntio, non ego, sed dominus*, ostendit illa, quae supra dixerat, non dominicae auctoritatis fuisse, sed humanae aestimationis. [8] At ubi ad continentiam reflectit animos: *Volo autem vos sic esse omnes: Puto autem, inquit, et ego spiritum dei habeo*, ut, si quid indulserat ex necessitate, id spiritus sancti auctoritate revocaret. [9] Sed et Iohannes monens sic nos incedere debere quemadmodum et dominus, utique etiam secundum sanctitatem carnis admonuit incedere. Adeo manifestius: *Et omnis, inquit, qui spem istam in illo habet, castificat se, sicut et ipse castus est*. Nam et alibi: *Estote sancti, sicut et ille sanctus fuit*, scilicet carne; de spiritu enim non dixisset, quia spiritus ultro sanctus agnoscitur nec <ex>spectat sanctitatis admonitionem, quae propria natura est eius; caro autem docetur sanctitatem, quae et in Christo fuit sancta. [10] Igitur si omnia ista oblitterant licentia<m> nubendi et condicione licentiae inspecta et praelatione continentiae imposita, cur non potuerit post apostolos idem spiritus superveniens ad deducendam disciplinam in omnem veritatem per gradus temporum — secundum quod Ecclesiastes: *Tempus omni rei* inquit — supremam iam carni fibulam imponere, iam non oblique a nuptiis avocans, sed exerte, cum magis nunc tempus in collecto factum sit annis circiter CLX exinde productis? [11] Nonne ipse apud te retractares, vetus haec disciplina sit, praemonstrata iam tunc in carne domini et in voluntate, dehinc in apostolorum eius tam consiliis quam exemplis? ‘olim sanctitati huic destinabamur; nihil novi Paraclitus inducit; quod praemonuit, definit, quod sustinuit, exposcit.’ Et nunc recogitans ista facile tibi persuadebis multo magis unicas nuptias competisse Paraclito praedicare, qui potuit et nullas, magisque credendum temperasse illum, quod et abstulisse decuisset. [12] Si, quae velit Christus, intelligas, in hoc quoque Paraclitum agnoscere debes

advocatum, quod a tota continentia infirmitatem tuam excusat.

IV. [1] Secedat nunc mentio Paracliti ut nostri alicuius auctoris; evolvamus communia instrumenta scripturarum pristinorum. Hoc ipsum demonstratur a nobis neque novam neque extraneam esse monogamiae disciplinam, immo et antiquam et propriam Christianorum, ut Paraclitum restitutorem potius sentias eius quam institutorem. [2] Quod pertineat ad antiquitatem, quae potest antiquior forma proferri quam ipse census generis humani? Unam feminam masculo deus finxit una costa eius decerpta et utique ex pluribus. Sed et in praefatione ipsius operis: *Non est, inquit, homini bonum eum solum esse; faciamus adiutorium illi;* adiutores enim dixisset, si pluribus eum uxoribus destinasset. [3] Adiecit et legem de futuro, siquidem prophetiae dictum est: *Et erunt duo in unam carnem*, non tres neque plures; ceterum iam non duo, si plures. Stetit lex; denique perseveravit unio coniugii in auctoribus generis ad finem usque, non quia non erant feminae aliae, sed quia ideo non erant, ne primitiae generis duplici matrimonio contaminarentur. [4] Alioquin si deus voluisset, et esse potuisset; certe de filiarum suarum numerositate sumpsisset, non minus ex ossibus et ex carne sua habens Evam, si hoc pie fieret. [5] At ubi primum scelus homicidium in fratricidio dedicatum, tam dignum secundo loco scelus non fuit quam duae nuptiae; neque enim refert, duas quis uxores singulas habuerit an pariter singulae duos fecerint: idem numerus coniunctorum et separatorum. [6] Semel tamen vim passa institutio dei per Lamech constitit postea in finem usque gentis illius; secundus Lamech nullus exstitit quomodo duabus maritus: negat scriptura, quod non notat. Aliae diluvium iniquitates provocaverunt, semel defensae, quales fuerunt, non tamen septuagies septies, quod duo matrimonia meruerunt. [7] Sed et reformatio secundi generis humani monogamia matre censetur: iterum duo in unam carnem crescere et redundare suscipiunt, Noe et uxor filiique eorum in unicis nuptiis. [8] Etiam in ipsis animalibus monogamia recognoscitur, ne vel bestiae de moechia nascerentur: *Ex omnibus, inquit, bestiis ex omni carne duo induces in arcam, ut vivant tecum; masculus et femina erunt; de animalibus volatilibus secundum genus et de omnibus serpentibus terrae secundum genus ipsorum duo ex omnibus introibunt ad te, masculus et femina.* [9] Eadem forma et septena ex binis adlegi mandat, ex masculo et femina uno et una. Quid amplius dicam? Immundis quoque alitibus cum binis feminis introire non licuit.

V. [1] Haec quantum ad primordiorum testimonium et originis nostrae patrociniū et divinae institutionis praeiudiciū. Quae utique lex est, non *monimentum*, quoniam, si ita factum est a primordio, invenimus nos ad initram dirigi a Christo, sicut in quaestione repudiū dicens illud propter duritiā ipsorum a Moyse esse permissum, ab initio autem non ita fuisse, sine dubio ad initium revocat matrimonii individuitatem; ideoque quos deus ab initio coniunxit in unam carnem duos, hodie homo non separabit. [2] Dicit et apostolus scribens ad Ephesios deum proposuisse *in semetipso ad dispensationem adimpletionis temporum ad caput*, id est ad initium, *reciprocare universa in Christo, quae sunt super caelos et super terras in ipso*. [3] Sic et duas Graeciae litteras, summam et ultimam, sibi induit dominus, initii et finis concurrentium in se figuras, uti, quemadmodum A ad Ω <usque volvitur et rursus Ω ad A> replicatur, ita ostenderet in se esse et initii decursum ad finem et finis reorsum ad initium, ut omnis dispositio in eo desinens, per quem coepta est, per sermonem scilicet dei, qui[a] caro factus est, proinde desinat, quemadmodum et coepit. [4] Et adeo in Christo omnia revocantur ad initium, ut et fides reversa sit a circumcisione ad integritatem carnis illius, sicut ab initio fuit, et libertas ciborum et sanguinis solius abstinētia, sicut ab initio fuit, et matrimonii individuitas, sicut ab initio fuit, et repudiū cohibitio, quod ab initio non fuit; et postremo totus homo in paradisiū revocatur, ubi ab initio fuit. [5] Cur ergo vel monogamum illo <non> debeat Adam referre, qui [non] potest tam integrum quam inde dimissus est? Quantum pertinet itaque ad initii restitutionem, id a te exigit et dispositionis et spei tuae ratio, quod ab initio fuit; secundum initium, quod tibi et in Adam censetur <et in Noe recensetur>, elige, in quo eorum initium tuum deputes: in ambobus te sibi monogamiae censura defendit. [6] Sed et si initium transmittit ad finem ut A ad Ω , quomodo finis remittit ad initium <ut Ω ad A>, atque ita census noster transfertur in Christum, animalis in spiritalem, quia *non primo, quod spiritale est, sed quod animale, dehinc quod spiritale*, proinde videamus, an id ipsum debeas huic quoque censui secundo, an in eandem te formam conveniat novissimus quoque Adam in quam et primus, quando novissimus Adam, id est Christus, innuptus in totum, quod etiam primus Adam ante exiliū. [7] Sed donato infirmitati tuae carnis suae exemplo perfectior Adam, id est Christus, eo quoque nomine perfectior qua integrior, volenti quidem tibi spado occurrit in carne; si vero non sufficis, monogamus

incurrit in spiritu, unam habens ecclesiam sponsam secundum figuram, quam apostolus <in> illud magnum sacramentum interpretatur, in Christum et ecclesiam, competentes carnali monogamiae per spiritalem. [8] Vides igitur, quemadmodum etiam in Christo nova<n>s censum non possis eum sine monogamiae professione deferre, nisi carne sis, quod spiritu ille est, licet et quod fuit carne, aequae esse debueris.

VI. [1] Sed adhuc nobis quaeramus aliquos originis principes. Non placent enim quibusdam monogami parentes Adam et Noe; fortasse nec Christus. Ad Abraham denique provocant, prohibiti patrem alium praeter deum agnoscere. Sit nunc pater noster Abraham: sit et Paulus: *In evangelio*, inquit, *ego vos genui*. [2] Etiam Abrahae te filium exhibe; non enim passivus tibi census est in illo: certum tempus est, quo tuus pater est. Si enim ex fide filii deputemur Abrahae, ut apostolus docet dicens ad Galatas: *Cognoscitis nempe, quia, qui ex fide, isti sunt filii Abrahae, quando credidit Abraham deo et deputatum est ei in iustitiam?* Opinor, adhuc in monogamia, quia in circumcissione nondum. [3] Quodsi postea in utrumque mutatus est, et in digamiam per ancillae concubinatum et in circumcisionem per testamenti signaculum, non potes illum patrem agnoscere nisi tunc, cum deo credidit, siquidem secundum fidem filius eius es, non secundum carnem; aut si posteriorem Abraham patrem sequeris ut et digamum, recipe et circumcismus. [4] Si reicis circumcismus, ergo recusabis et digamum; duas dispositiones eius binis inter se modis diversas miscere non poteris. Digamia cum circumcissione esse orsus est et monogamia cum praeputatione: recipis digamiam, admitte et circumcisionem; tueris praeputationem, teneris et monogamiae. [5] Adeo autem monogamiae Abrahae filius es sicut et praeputati, ut, si circumcidaris iam, non sis filius, quia non eris ex fide, sed ex signaculo fidei in praeputatione iustificatae. Habens apostolum disce cum Galatis. Proinde etsi digamiam iam tibi intuleris, non es illius, cuius fides in monogamia praecessit. Nam etsi postea pater multarum nationum nuncupatur, sed earum, quae ex fide digamiam praecedente filii habeant deputari Abrahae. [6] Exinde res viderint: aliud sunt figurae, aliud formae, aliud imagines, aliud definitiones: imagines transeunt adimpletae, definitiones permanent adimplendae; imagines prophetant, definitiones gubernant. [7] Quid digamia illa Abrahae portendat, idem apostolus edocet interpretator utriusque testamenti, sicut idem semen nostrum in Isaac vocatum determinat. Si ex libera es, ad Isaac pertines; hic certe unum matrimonium

pertulit. [8] Isti itaque sunt, ut opinor, in quibus censeor. Ceteros nescio; quorum si exempla circumspicio, alicuius David etiam per sanguinem *nuptias* sibi ingerentis, alicuius Salomonis etiam uxoribus divitis, meliora sectari iussus habes et Iosephum uniugum — et hoc nomine audeo dicere patre meliorem — , habes Moysen dei de proximo arbitrium, habes Aaronem principalem. sacerdotem. [9] Secundus quoque Moyses populi secundi, qui imaginem nostram in promissionem dei induxit, in quo primo nomen domini dedicatum est, non fuit digamus.

VII. [1] Post vetera exempla originalium personarum aequae ad vetera transeamus instrumenta legalium scripturarum, ut per ordinem de omni nostra paratura retractemus. Et quoniam quidam interdum nihil sibi dicunt esse cum lege — quam Christus non dissolvit, sed adimplevit — , interdum quae volunt legis arripiunt, plane et nos sic dicimus decessisse legem, ut onera quidem eius, secundum sententiam apostolorum quae nec patres sustinere valuerunt, concessarint, quae vero ad iustitiam spectant, non tantum reservata permaneant, verum et ampliata, ut scilicet redundare possit iustitia nostra super scribarum et Pharisaeorum iustitia[m]. [2] <Si> iusti<tia>, utique et pudicitia. Si ergo, quoniam in lege praecipitur, ut quis fratris sui uxorem sine liberis defuncti in matrimonium adsumat ad suscitandum fratri suo semen, idque saepius evenire in unam personam potest secundum callidam illam quaestionem Sadducaeorum, ideo et alias putant permissam frequentiam nuptiarum, intelligere debebunt primo rationem ipsius praecepti et ita scient illam rationem iam cessantem ex eis esse, quae evacuata sint. [3] Necessario succedendum erat in matrimonium fratris sine liberis defuncti, primum, quia adhuc vetus illa benedictio decurrere habebat: *Crescite et redundate*, dehinc, quoniam patrum delicta etiam de filiis exigebantur, tertio, quoniam spadones et steriles ignominiosi habebantur. [4] Itaque ne proinde maledicti iudicarentur, qui non naturae reatu, sed mortis praeventu orbi decessissent, ideo illis ex suo genere vicaria et quasi postuma suboles supparabatur. At ubi et *crescite et redundate* evacuavit extremitas temporum inducente apostolo: *Superest, ut et qui habent uxores sic sint, ac si non habeant, quia tempus in collectum est*, et desinit uva acerba a patribus manducata filiorum dentes obstupefacere — *unusquisque enim in suo delicto morietur* — et spadones non tantum ignominia caruerunt, verum et gratiam meruerunt invitati in regna caelorum, sepulta lege succedendi in matrimonium fratris

contrarium eius obtinuit non succedendi in matrimoniam fratris. [5] Et ita, ut praediximus, quod cessavit valere cessante ratione non potest alii argumentationem accommodare. Ergo non nubet defuncto viro uxor, fratri utique nuptura, si nupserit; omnes enim nos fratres sumus; et illa nuptura in domino habet nubere, id est non ethnico, sed fratri, quia et vetus lex adimit coniugum allophylorum. [6] Cum autem et in Levitico cautum sit: *Quicumque sumpserit fratris uxorem, immunditia est, turpitudine, sine liberis morietur*, sine dubio, dum ille prohibetur denuo nubere, et illa prohibetur non habens nubere nisi fratri. Quomodo ergo apostolo conveniet et legi, quam non in totum impugnat, cum ad epistolam ipsius venerimus, ostendetur. [7] Interim quod pertineat ad legem, magis nobis competunt argumentationes eius; denique prohibet eadem sacerdotes denuo nubere; filiam quoque sacerdotis iubet viduam vel eiectam, si semen non fuerit illi, in domum patris sui regredi et de pane eius ali. Ideo ‘si semen non fuerit illi’, non ut, si fuerit, denuo nubat — quanto magis enim non imbet, si filios habeat? — sed ut, si habuerit, a filio potius alatur quam a patre, quo et filius praeceptum dei exsequatur: *Honora patrem et matrem*. [8] Nos autem Iesus summus sacerdos et magnus patris de suo vestiens, quia qui in Christo tinguntur, Christum induerunt, sacerdotes deo patri suo fecit secundum Iohannem. Nam et illum adolescentem festinantem ad exsequias patris ideo revocat, ut ostendat sacerdotes nos vocari ab eo, quos lex vetabat parentum sepulturae adesse: *Super omnem, inquit, animam defunctam sacerdos non introibit et super patrem suum et super matrem suam non contaminabitur*. [9] Ergo et hoc nos interdictum observare debemus? Non utique; vivit enim unicus pater noster deus et mater ecclesia et neque mortui sumus, qui deo vivimus, neque mortuos sepelimus, quia et illi vivunt in Christo; certe sacerdotes sumus a Christo vocati, monogamiae debitores ex pristina dei lege, quae nos tunc in suis sacerdotibus prophetavit.

VIII. [1] Nunc ad legem proprie nostram, id est evangelium conversi qualibus excipimur exemplis, dum ad sententias pervenimus? Ecce statim quasi in limine duo nobis antistites Christianae sanctitatis occurrunt, monogamia et continentia, alia pudica in Zacharia sacerdote, alia integra in Iohanne antecursore, alia placans deum, alia praedicans Christum, alia totum praedicans sacerdotem, alia plus praeferens quam prophetam, scilicet eum, qui non tantum praedicaverit aut demonstraverit coram, verum etiam baptizaverit

Christum. [2] Quis enim corpus domini dignius initiaret quam eiusmodi caro, qualis et concepit illud et peperit? Et Christum quidem virgo enixa est, semel nuptura post partum, ut uterque sanctitatis titulus in Christi censu disponderetur per matrem et virginem et univiram. [3] At ubi infans templo exhibetur, quis illum in manus suscipit, quis in spiritu primus agnoscit? *Vir iustus et cautus* et utique non digamus, vel ne dignius mox a femina Christus praedicaretur vetere vidua et univire, quae et templo dedita satis in semetipsa portendebat, quales spiritali templo, id est ecclesiae, debeant adhaerere. [4] Tales arbitros infans dominus expertus non alios habuit et adultus. Petrum solum invenio maritum per socrum, monogamum praesumo per ecclesiam, qua super illum omnem gradum ordinis sui de monogamis erat collocatura. [5] Ceteros cum maritos non invenio, aut spadones intelligam necesse est aut continentes. Nec enim, si penes Graecos communi vocabulo censentur mulieres et uxores pro consuetudinis facilitate — ceterum est proprium vocabulum uxorum — , ideo Paulum sic interpretabimus, quasi uxores demonstret apostolos habuisse. [6] Si enim de matrimoniis disputasset — quod in sequentibus facit, ubi magis apostolus aliquod exemplum nominare potuisset — , recte videretur dicere: *Non enim habemus potestatem uxores circumducendi sicut ceteri apostoli et Cephas?* [7] At ubi ea subiungit, quae de victuaria exhibitione abstinentiam eius ostendunt dicentis: *Non enim habemus potestatem manducandi et bibendi?*, non uxores demonstrat ab apostolis deductas, quas et qui non habent, potestatem tamen manducandi et bibendi habent, sed simpliciter mulieres, quae illis eodem instituto quo et dominum comitantes ministrabant. [8] Iam vero si Christus reprobat scribas et Phariseos sedentes in cathedra Moysi nec facientes quae docerent, quale est, ut et ipse super cathedram suam collocaret, qui sanctitatem carnis praecipere magis, non etiam obire meminissent, quam illis omnibus modis insinueret et docendam et agendam? [9] in primis de suo exemplo, tunc de ceteris argumentis, cum puerorum dicit esse regna caelorum, cum consortes illis facit alios post nuptias pueros, cum ad simplicitatem columbae provocat, avis non tantum innocuae, verum et pudicae, quam unam unus masculus novit, cum Samaritanae maritum negat, ut adulterum ostendat numerosum maritum, [10] cum in revelatione gloriae suae de tot sanctis et prophetis Moysen et Heliam secum mavult, alterum monogamum, alterum spadonem — non enim aliud fuit Helias quam Iohannes, qui in virtute et spiritu venit Heliae — , cum ille

vorator et potator homo, prandiorum et cenarum cum publicanis et peccatoribus frequentator semel apud unas nuptias cenat multis utique nubentibus; totiens enim voluit celebrare eas, quotiens et esse.

IX. [1] Sed hae argumentationes potius existimentur de coniecturis coactae, si non et sententiae astiterint, quas dominus emisit in repudii retractatu, quod permissum aliquando iam prohibet, inprimis quia ab initio non fuit sicut matrimonii numeras, tunc quia *quos deus coniunxit, homo non separabit*, scilicet ne contra dominum faciat. [2] Solus enim ille separabit, qui et coniunxit; separabit non autem per duritiam repudii, quam exprobrat compescit, sed per debitum mortis, siquidem unus ex passeribus duobus non cadit in terram sine patris voluntate. [3] Igitur si *quos deus coniunxit, homo non separabit* repudio, ecquid consentaneum est, ut, quos separavit morte, homo novo coniungat matrimonio, proinde contra dei voluntatem iuncturus separationem atque si separasset coniunctionem? [4] Hoc quantum ad dei voluntatem non destruendam et initii formam restruendam. Ceterum et alia ratio conspirat, immo non alia, sed quae initii formam imposuit et voluntatem dei movit *ad prohibitionem repudii*, quoniam *qui dimiserit uxorem suam praeter ex causa adulterii, facit eam adulterari, et qui dimissam a viro duxerit, adulteratur* utique. [5] ‘Non et nubere legitime [non] potest repudiata et, si quid taliter commiserit sine matrimonii nomine, non capit elogium adulterii, qua adulterium in matrimonio crimen est?’ Deus aliter censuit, citra quam homines, ut in totum sive per nuptias sive vulgo alterius viri admissio adulterium pronuntietur, immo <. . >. [6] Ideo videamus enim, quid sit matrimonium apud deum, et ita cognoscemus, quid aeque adulterium. Matrimonium est, cum deus duos iungit in unam carnem aut iunctos deprehendens in eadem carne coniunctione<m> signavit; adulterium est, cum quoquo modo disiunctis duobus alia caro, immo aliena misceatur, de qua dici non possit: *Haec est caro ex carne mea et hoc os de ossibus meis*. [7] Semel enim hoc et factum et pronuntiatum sicut ab initio ita et nunc in aliam carnem non potest convenire. Itaque sine causa dices deum vivo marito nolle repudiatam alii viri iungi, quasi mortuo velit, quando, si mortuo non tenetur, proinde nec vivo; [8] tam in repudio matrimonmm dirimente quam morte non tenebitur ei, cui, per quod tenebatur, abreptum est. Cui ergo tenebitur, nihil de eo interest, vivo an mortuo a viro nubat; neque enim illo delinquit, sed in semetipsam: [9] *Omne delictum, quod admiserit homo, extra corpus est; qui*

autem adulteratur, in corpus suum delinquit. Adulteratur autem, sicut praestruimus, qui aliam carnem sibi immiscet super illam pristinam, quam deus aut coniunxit in duos aut coniunctam deprehendit. [10] Ideoque abstulit repudium, quod ab initio non fuit, ut, quod ab initio fuit, muniat, duorum in unam carnem. perseverantiam, ne necessitas vel occasio tertiae concarnationis irrumpat, ei soli causae permittens repudium, si forte praeveniret, cui praecavetur. [11] Adeo autem repudium a primordio non fuit, ut apud Romanos post annum sexcentessimum urbis conditae id genus duritiae commissum denotetur. Sed illi etiam non repudiantes adulteria commiscunt; nobis, et si repudiemus, ne nubere quidem licebit.

X. [1] Video iam hinc nos apostolum provocantem. Ad cuius sensum facilius perspicendum tanto instantius praeculcandum est mulierem magis defuncto marito teneri, quominus alium virum admittat. Recogitemus enim repudium aut discordia fieri aut discordiam facere, mortem vero ex lege, non ex hominis offensa evenire idque omnem esse debitum, etiam non maritorum. [2] Igitur si repudiata, quae per discordiam et iram et odium et causas eorum, iniuriam vel contumeliam vel quamlibet querelam, et anima et corpore separata est, tenetur inimico, ne dicam marito, quanto magis illa, quae neque suo neque mariti vitio, sed dominicae legis eventu matrimonio non separata, sed relicta, eius erit etiam defuncti, cui etiam defuncto concordiam debet? [3] A quo repudium non audiit, non divertit; cui repudium non scripsit, cum ipso est; quem amisisse noluit, retinet; habet secum animi licentiam, qui omnia homini, quae non habet, imaginario fructu repraesentat. [4] Ipsam denique interrogo feminam: ‘Dic mihi, soror, in pace praemisisti maritum tuum?’ Quid respondebit? An in discordia? Ergo hoc magis evincta est, cum quo habet apud deum causam; non discessit, quae tenetur. Sed in pace? Ergo perseveret in ea cum illo necesse est, quem iam repudiare non poterit, nec sic quidem nuptura, si repudiare potuisset. (4.) [5] Enimvero et pro anima eius orat et refrigerium interim adpostulat ei et in prima resurrectione consortium et offert annuis diebus dormitionis eius. [6] Nam haec nisi fecerit, <quomodo potuit,> vere repudiavit, quantum in ipsa est, et quidem hoc iniquius, quanto [quomodo potuit] <iam aequius, si> quia non potuit, et hoc indignius, quanto iam [in]dignius, si quia non meruit. [7] Aut numquid nihil erimus post mortem secundum aliquem Epicuram et non secundum Christum? Quodsi credidimus mortuorum resurrectionem, utique tenebimur,

cum quibus resurrecturi sumus rationem de alterutro reddituri. Si autem in illo aevo *neque nubent neque nubentur*, sed erunt aequales angelis, non ideo non tenebimur coniugibus defunctis, quia non erit restitutio coniugii? [8] Atquin eo magis tenebimur, quia in meliorem statum destinamur, resurrecturi in spiritale consortium, agniture quam nosmetipsos quam et nostros. Ceterum quomodo gratias deo in aeternum canemus, si non manebit in nobis sensus et memoria debiti huius? Substantia, non conscientia reformabimur? [9] Ergo qui cum deo erimus, simul erimus, dum omnes apud deum unum — licet merces varia, licet multae mansiones penes patrem eundem — , uno denario eiusdem mercedis operati, id est vitae aeternae, in qua magis non separabit quos coniunxit deus, qui in ista minore vita separari vetat. [10] Cum ita sint, quomodo alii viro vacabit, quae suo etiam in futurum occupata est? — utrique autem sexui loquimur, etsi ad alterum sermo est, quia una omnibus disciplina praeest; — aliud habebit in spiritu aliud et in carne? Hoc erit adulterium, unius feminae in duos viros conscientia. [11] Si alter a carne disiunctus est, sed in corde remanet, illic, ubi etiam congregatus sine carnis congressu et adulterium ante perficitur ex concupiscentia et matrimonium ex voluntate, usque adhuc maritus est, ipsum. illud possidens, per quod et factus est, id est animum, in quo si et alius habitabit, hoc erit crimen. [12] Ceterum non est exclusus, si a viliore commercio carnis discessit: honoratior maritus est, quanto mundior factus est.

XI. [1] Ut igitur in domino nubas secundum et apostolum — si tamen vel hoc curas — , qualis es id matrimonium postulans, quod eis a quibus postulas non licet habere, ab episcopo monogamo, a presbyteris et diaconis eiusdem sacramenti, a viduis, quarum sectam in te recusasti? [2] Et illi plane sic dabunt viros et uxores quomodo bucellas — hoc enim est apud illos: *Omni petenti te dabis* — et coniungent vos in ecclesia virgine, unius Christi unica sponsa, et orabis pro maritis tuis, novo et vetere? [3] Elige, cui te adulteram praestes; puto, ambobus. Quodsi sapias, taceas defuncto; repudium sit illi silentium tuum, alienis iam dotalibus scriptum. Hoc modo novum promereberis maritum, si veteris obliviscaris: debes magis illi placere, propter quem deo placere non maluisti. [4] Haec psychici volunt apostolum probasse aut in totum non recogitasse, cum scriberet: *Mulier vincta est, in quantum temporis vivit vir eius; si autem mortuus fuerit, libera est: cui vult nubat, tantum in domino*. Ex hoc enim capitulo defendunt licentiam secundi

matrimonii, immo et plurimi, si secundi; quod enim semel esse desiit, omm obnoxium est numero. [5] Quo autem sensu apostolus scripserit, ita relucebit, si prius constet non hoc illum sensu scripsisse, quo psychici utuntur; constabit autem, si quis ea recordetur, quae huic capitulo diversa sunt et apud doctrinam et apud voluntatem et apud propriam ipsius Pauli disciplinam. [6] Si enim secundas nuptias remittit, quae ab initio non fuerunt, quomodo affirmat omnia ad initium recolligi in Christo? Si vult nos iterare coniugia, quomodo semen nostrum in Isaac semel marito auctore defendit? [7] Quomodo totum ordinem ecclesiae de monogamis disponit, si non haec disciplina praecedat in laicis, ex quibus ecclesiae ordo proficit? Quomodo in matrimonio adhuc positos a fructu matrimonii avocat dicens *in collectum* esse tempus, si per mortem matrimonio elapsos iterum in matrimonium revocat? [8] Haec si diversa sunt ei capitulo, de quo agitur, constabit, ut diximus, non hoc illum sensu scripsisse, quo psychici utuntur, quia facilius est, ut aliquam rationem habeat unum illud capitulum, quae cum ceteris *<s>apiat*, quam ut apostolus diversa inter se docuisse videatur. [9] Eam rationem in ipsa materia poterimus recognoscere. Quae ista materia apostolo fuit scribendi talia? Tirocinium novae et quam maxime orientis ecclesiae, quam lacte scilicet educabat, nondum solido cibo validioris doctrinae, adeo ut prae illa infantia fidei ignorarent adhuc, quid sibi agendum esset circa carnis et sexus necessitatem. [10] Cuius etiam ipsas species ex rescriptis intelligimus: cum dicit: *De his autem quae scribitis: bonum est homini mulierem non attingere; propter fornicationes autem unusquisque uxorem suam habeat*, ostendit fuisse qui in matrimonio a fide deprehensi verebantur, ne non liceret illis matrimonio suo exinde uti, quia in carnem sanctam Christi credidissent. [11] Et tamen secundum veniam concedit, *non secundum imperium*, id est indulgens, non praecipiens ita fieri. Ceterum malebat omnes id esse quod et ipse. Proinde et de repudio rescribens demonstrat quosdam de isto quoque cogitasse, vel maxime, quia et in ethnicis matrimoniis non putabant post fidem perseverandum. [12] Quarebant et de virginibus consilium — praeceptum enim domini non erat — : bonum esse homini, si sic permaneat, utique quomodo a fide fuerit inventus: *Vinctus es enim uxori? ne quaesieris solutionem; solutus es ab uxore? ne quaesieris uxorem. Si autem acceperis uxorem, non deliquisti*, quia ante fidem soluto ab uxore non numerabitur post fidem secunda uxor, quae post fidem prima est. [13] A fide enim etiam ipsa

vita nostra censetur. Sed hic parcere se dicit illis; alioquin *pressuram carnis* subsecuturam prae angustiis temporum impedimenta matrimonii recusantibus; quin potius de domino sollicitudinem habendam promerendo quam de marito. Et ita revocat, quod permisit. [14] Sic ergo in eodem ipso capitulo, quo definivit unumquemque, in qua vocatione vocabitur, in ea perseverare debere, adiciens: *Mulier vincta est, quamdiu vivit vir eius; si autem dormierit, libera est: cui volet nubat, tantum in domino*, hanc quoque eam demonstrat intelligendam, quae et ipsa sic fuerit inventa soluta a viro, quomodo et vir solutus ab uxore, per mortem utique, non per repudium facta solutione, quia repudiatis non permetteret nubere adversus pristinum praeceptum. [15] Itaque et mulier, si nupserit, non delinquit, quia nec hic secundus maritus deputabitur, qui est a fide primus, et adeo sic est, ut propterea adiecerit: *Tantum in domino*, quia de ea agebatur, quae ethnicum habuerat et amisso eo crediderat, ne scilicet etiam post fidem ethnico se nubere posse praesumeret, licet nec hoc psychici curent. [16] Sciamus plane non sic esse in Graeco authentico, quomodo in usum exiit per duarum syllabarum aut callidam aut simplicem eversionem: *Si autem dormierit vir eius*, quasi de futuro sonet ac per hoc videatur ad eam pertinere, quae iam in fide virum amiserit. [17] Hoc quidem si ita esset, in infinitum emissa licentia totiens virum dedisset, quotiens amissus esset, sine ullo pudore nubendi etiam ethnicos congruente[s]. Sed si ita esset quasi de futuro: ‘si cuius maritus mortiras fuerit’, tantundem et futurum ad eam pertineret, cuius ante fidem morietur maritus. Quavis accipe, dum cetera non evertas. [18] Nam cum et illa sententiae <prae>cedant: *Servus vocatus es? ne curaveris; in praeputi<o voc>atus es? ne circumcidaris; circumcisis vocatus es? ne adduxeris* — quibus concurrat: *Vinctus es uxori? ne quaesieris solutionem; solutus es ab uxore? ne quaesieris uxorem* —, satis manifestum est ad eos haec pertinere, qui in nova et recenti vocatione constituti de his consulebant, in quibus a fide fuerant deprehensi. [19] Haec erit interpretatio capituli istius, de hoc examinanda, an et tempori et causae et tam exemplis et argumentis praecedentibus quam et sentiis et sensibus subsequentibus et in primis an ipsius apostoli et consilio proprio congruat et instituto; nihil enim custodiendum est, quam ne diversus sibi deprehendatur.

XII. [1] Audi et aliam subtilissimam e contrario argumentationem. ‘Adeo’, inquiunt, ‘permisit apostolus iterare conubium, ut solos qui sint in clero

monogamiae iugo adstrinxerit; quod enim quibusdam praescribit, id non omnibus praescribit.’ [2] Numquid ergo et quod omnibus praecipit, solis episcopis non praescribit, si, quod episcopis praescribit, non et omnibus praecipit? An ideo omnibus, quia et episcopis, et ideo episcopis, quia et omnibus? Unde enim episcopi et clerus? Nonne de omnibus? [3] Si non omnes monogamiae tenentur, unde monogami in clerum? An ordo aliquis seorsum debet institui monogamorum, de quo allectio fiat in clerum? [4] Sed cum extollimur et inflamur adversus cleram, tunc unum omnes sumus, tunc omnes sacerdotes, quia *sacerdotes* nos *deo et patri* fecit; cum ad peraequationem disciplinae sacerdotalis provocamur, deponimus infulas et pares <non> sumus. [5] De ecclesiasticis ordinibus agebatur, quales ordinari oporteret. Oportebat igitur omnem communis disciplinae formam sua fronte proponi, edictum quodammodo futurum universis impressioni, quo magis sciret plebs eum ordinem sibi observandum, qui faceret praepositos, et ne vel ipse honor aliquid sibi ad licentiam quasi de privilegio loci blandiatur. [6] Prospiciebat spiritus sanctus dicturos quosdam: ‘Omnia licent episcopis’, sicut ille vester Utinensis nec Scantiniam timuit. Quot enim ex digamia praesident apud vos, insultantes utique apostolo, certe non erubescences, cum haec sub illis leguntur! [7] Age iam, qui putas acceptionem monogamiae de episcopis factam, recede <et> a reliquis tuis titulis disciplinae, qui cum monogamia episcopis ascribuntur: noli esse irreprehensibilis, sobrius, bene moratus, ornatus, hospitalis, docibilis, quin vero et vino deditus et [manu promptus ad caedendum et] pugnax et pecuniae amans et domum non regens nec filiorum curans disciplinam, sed nec ab extraneis famam bonam sectans. [8] Si enim suam habent episcopi legem circa monogamiam, etiam cetera, quae monogamiae accedere oportebit, episcopis erunt scripta, laicis vero, quos monogamia non convenit, cetera quoque aliena sunt. Evasisti, psychice, si velis, vincula disciplinae totius; praescribe constanter non omnibus praecipi, quae quibusdam sint praecepta. [9] Aut si cetera quidem communia sunt, monogamia vero solis episcopis imposita est, numquid illi soli Christiani pronuntiandi, in quos tota disciplina collata est?

XIII. [1] ‘Sed et Timotheo scribens vult *iuvenculas nubere, filios suscipere, matres familias agere.*’ Ad eas dirigit, quales supra denotat, iuvenculas viduas, quae in viduitate deprehensae et aliquamdiu assectatae, *postquam in deliciis habuerunt Christum, nubere volunt, habentes iudicium, quod primam*

fidem resciderunt, illam scilicet, a qua in viduitate inventae et professae eam non perseverant. [2] Propter quod vult eas nubere, ne primam fidem susceptae viduitatis postea rescindant, non ut totiens nubant, quotiens in viduitate temptanda, immo et in deliciis habita noluerint perseverare. [3] Legimus et ascribentem Romanos eum: *Quae, autem sub viro est mulier, viventi viro vincta est; si autem obierit, evacuata est a lege viri. Nempe ergo vivente viro adulterare putabitur, si facto fuerit alii viro; si vero obierit vir, liberata est a lege, quod non sit adultera, facta alii viro.* [4] Sed et sequentia recognosce, quo sensus iste, qui tibi blanditur, evadat. *Itaque, inquit, fratres mei, mortificamini et vos legi per corpus Christi, ut efficiamini alteri, ei scilicet, qui a mortuis resurrexit, uti fructum feramus deo. Cum enim eramus in carne, passiones delictorum, quae per legem, efficiebantur in membris nostris ad fructum ferendum morti; nunc autem evacuati sumus a lege, mortui, in quo tenebamur, ad serviendum [deo] in novitate spiritus et non in vetustate litterae.* [5] Igitur si mortificari nos iubet legi per corpus Christi, *quod est ecclesia*, quae spiritu novitatis constat, non per litteram vetustatis, id est legis, auferens te a lege, quae <non> tenet uxorem marito defuncto, quominus alii viro fiat, ad contrariam te redigit condicionem, ne amisso viro nubas; [6] quantumque non deputereris adultera, alteri viro facta post mortem mariti, si adhuc in lege agere deberes, tanto ex diversitate condicionis adulterii praeiudicat te post mortem mariti alii nubentem: quia iam mortificare legi, non potest tibi licere, cum recessisti ab ea, apud quam tibi licebat.

XIV. [1] Nunc <si> et absolute apostolus permisisset in fide amisso matrimonio nubere, proinde fecisset quemadmodum et cetera, quae adversus formam regulae suae pro condicione temporum gessit, circumcidens Timotheum propter superducticios falsos fratres et rasos quosdam inducens in templum propter observationem Iudaeorum, ille qui Galatas in lege volentes agere castigat. [2] Sed ita res exigebant, ut omnibus omnia fieret, quo omnes lucrificeret, parturiens illos, donec formaretur Christus in ipsis, et calefaciens tamquam nutrix parvulos fidei, docendo quaedam per veniam, *non per imperium* — aliud est enim indulgere, aliud iubere — , proinde temporalem licentiam permittens denuo nubendi propter infirmitatem carnis quemadmodum Moyses repudiandi propter durtiam cordis. [3] Et hic itaque reddemus supplementum sensus istius. Si enim Christus abstulit, quod Moyses praecepit, quia ab initio non fuit sic, nec sic ideo ab alia virtute

venisse reputabitur Christus, cur non et Paracletus abstulerit, quod Paulus indulsit, quia et secundum matrimonium ab initio non fuit, nec ideo suspectus habendus sit quasi spiritus alienus, tantum ut deo et Christo dignum sit, quod superducitur? [4] Si deo et Christo dignum fuit duritiam cordis tempore expleto compescere, cur non dignius sit et deo et Christo infirmitatem carnis tempore iam collectiore discutere? Si iam iustum est matrimonium non separari, utique et non iterari honestum est. Denique apud saeculum utrumque in bona disciplina deputatur, aliud concordiae nomine, aliud pudicitiae. [5] Regnavit duritia cordis usque ad Christum, regnaverit et infirmitas carnis usque ad Paracletum; nova lex abstulit repudium — habuit et, quod auferret — et nova prophetia secundum matrimonium, non minus repudium prioris. [6] Sed facilius duritia cordis Christo cessit quam infirmitas carnis; plus haec sibi Paulum defendit quam illa Moysen, si tamen defendit, cum indulgentem eum captat, praescribentem recusat, quae potiores sententias et perpetuas voluntates eius eludit, quae non sinit nos hoc apostolo praestare quod mavult. [7] Et quousque infirmitas ista impudentissima in expugnando meliora perseverabit? Tempus eius donec Paracletus operaretur, fuit, in quem dilata sunt a domino, quae tunc sustinere non poterant, quae iam nemini competit portare non posse, quia, per quem datur portare posse, non deest. [8] Quamdiu causabimur carnem, quia dixit dominus: *Caro infirma*? Sed praemisit et: *Spiritus promptus*, ut vincat spiritus carnem, ut cedat quod infirmum est fortiori. Nam et: *Qui potest capere, capiat* inquit, id est qui non potest discedat; discessit et ille dives, qui non ceperat substantiae dividendae egenis praeceptum, et dimissus est sententiae suae a domino. [9] Nec ideo duritia imputabitur Christo de arbitrii cuiuscumque liberi vitio: *Ecce*, inquit, *posui ante te bonum et malum*; elige quod bonum est; si non potes, quia non vis — posse enim te, si velis, ostendit, quia tuo arbitrio utrumque proposuit —, discedas oportet ab eo, cuius non facis voluntatem.

XV. [1] Quae igitur hic duritia nostra, si non facientibus voluntatem dei renuntiamus? quae haeresis, si secundas nuptias ut illicitas iuxta adulterium iudicamus? Quid est enim adulterium quam matrimonium illicitum? [2] Notat apostolus eos, qui in totum nubere prohibebant, qui et de cibis interdicebant, quos deus condidit. Nos vero non magis nuptias auferimus, si secundas recusamus, quam cibos reprobamus, si saepius ieiunamus. Aliud est auferre, aliud temperare, aliud est legem non nubendi ponere, aliud est modum

nubendi statuere. [3] Plane, qui exprobrant nobis duritiam vel haeresim in hac causa aestimant. si in tantum foveant carnis mei <in>firmitatem, ut in nubendo frequenter sustinendam putant, cur illam in alia causa neque sustinent neque venia foveant, cum tormentis expugnata est in negationem? [4] Utique enim illam magis excusari capit, quae in proelio cecidit quam quae in cubiculo, quae in eculeo succubuit quam quae in lectulo, quae crudelitati cessit quam quae libidini, quae gemens devicta est quam quae subans. Sed illam quidem a communicatione depellunt, quia non sustinuit in finem, hanc vero suscipiunt, quasi et haec sustinuerit in finem. [5] Propone, quid utraque non sustinuerit in finem, et invenies eius causam honestiorem, quae saevitiam quam quae pudicitiam sustinere non potuit. Et tamen nec cruentam defectionem infirmitas carnis excusat, nedum impudicam.

XVI. [1] Rideo autem, cum infirmitas carnis opponitur, quae summa fortitudo dicenda est. Iterum nubere virium res est; resurgere in opera carnis de continentiae otio substantia est laterum. Talis infirmitas et tertio et quarto et usque septimo forsitan matrimonio sufficit, ut quae totiens fortior quotiens fuerit infirmior, habitura iam non apostolum auctorem, sed Hermogenem aliquem, plures solitum mulieres ducere quam pingere. [2] Materia enim in illo abundat, unde et animam esse praesumens multo magis spiritum a deo non habet, iam nec psychicus quia non de afflatu dei psychicus. [3] Quid, si inopiam quis causetur, ut carnem suam aperte prostitutam profiteatur exhibitionis causa nubentem, oblitus de victu et vestitu non esse cogitandum? Habet deum etiam corvorum educatorem, etiam florum excultorem. [4] Quid, si solitudinem domus ostendat? Quasi una mulier frequentiam praestet homini ad fugam proximo. Habet viduam utique, quam assumat licebit: non unam huius generis uxorem, sed iam plures habere concessum est. [5] Quid, si de posteritate quis cogitet isdem animis quibus oculis uxor Loth, ut ideo quis repetat matrimonium, quia de priore liberos non habuit? Heredes scilicet Christianus quaeret, saeculi totius exheres: habet fratres, habet ecclesiam matrem. [6] Aliud est, si et apud Christum legibus Iuliis agi credunt et existimant caelibes et orbos ex testamento dei solidum capere non posse. Nubant igitur huiusmodi in finem usque, ut in ista confusione carnis sicut Sodoma et Gomorra et diluvii dies ab illo ultimo exitu saeculi deprehendantur. [7] Adiciant tertium dictum: *Manducemus et bibamus* et nubamus, *cras enim moriemur*, non recogitantes *vae illud praegnantibus et lactantibus* multo

gravius et amarius eventurum in concussione totius mundi, quam evenit in vastatione unius particulae Iudae. [8] Satis opportunos novissimis temporibus fructus iteratis matrimoniis colligant: ubera fluitantia et uteros nauseantes et infantes pipiantes; parent antichristo, in quo libidinosius saeviat; adducet illis carnifices obstetrices.

XVII. [1] Habebunt plane, Christo quod legent speciosum privilegium, carnis usquequaque imbecillitatem. Sed hanc iudicabunt iam non Isaac monogamus pater noster nec Iohannes aliqui Christi spado nec Iudith [nec] filia Merari nec tot alia exempla sanctorum: solent ethnici iudices destinari. [2] Exsurget regina Carthagini et decernet in Christianas, quae . profuga et in alieno solo et tantae civitatis cum maxime formatrix, cum regis nuptias ultro optasse debuisset, ne tamen secundas eas experiretur, maluit e contrario uri quam nubere. [3] Assidebit et illi matrona Romana, quae etsi per vim nocturnam nihilo minus alium virum experta maculam carnis suo sanguine abluit, ut monogamiam in semetipsam vindicaret. Fuerunt et quae pro viris mori mallent quam post viros nubere. [4] Idolis certe et [in] monogamia et viduitas apparent: Fortunae Muliebri coronam non imponit nisi univiris sicut Matri Matutae; pontifex maximus et flaminica semel nubunt; Cereris sacerdotes viventibus etiam viris et consentientibus amica separatione viduantur. [5] Sunt et quae de tota continentia iudicent nos, virgines Vestae et Iunonis Achaicae et Dianae Scythicae et Apollinis Pythii; etiam bovis illius Aegyptii antistites de continentia infirmitatem Christianorum iudicabunt. [6] Embesce, caro, quae Christum induisti! Sufficiat tibi semel nubere, in quod a primordio facta es, in quod e fini revocaris. Redi in Adam vel priorem, si in novissimum non potes; semel gustavit ille de arbore, semel concupiit, semel pudenda protexit, semel deo erubuit, semel ruborem suum abscondit, semel de paradiso sanctitatis exulavit, semel exinde nupsit. [7] Si in illo fuisti, habes tuam formam, si in Christum transisti, melior esse debebis. Exhibe te tertium Adam et hunc digamum et tunc poteris esse, quod inter duos non potes.

De Jeuniis, adversus psychicos (On Fasting, against the materialists)

CAP. I. 1. Mirarer psychicos istos, si sola luxuria tenerentur, qua saepius nubunt, si non etiam ingluvie lacerarentur, qua ieiunia oderant. Monstrum scilicet haberetur libido sine gula, cum duo haec tam unita atque concreta sint, ut si disiungi omnino potuissent, ipsi prius uentri pudenda non adhaerent. Specta corpus, et una regio est. 2. Denique pro dispositione membrorum ordo uitiorum. Prior uenter, et statim cetera saginae substructa lasciuiam est; per edacitatem salacitas transit. Agnosco igitur animalem fidera studio carnis, qua tota constat, tam multuorantiae quam multinubentiae pronam, ut merito spiritalem disciplinam pro substantia aemulam in hac quoque specie continentiae accuset perinde gulae frenos imbuentem per nullas interdum uel seras uel aridas escas, quemadmodum et libidini per unicas nuptias. 3. Piget iam cum talibus congregari, pudet etiam. de eis altercari quorum nec defensio uerecunda est. Quomodo enim protegam castitatem et sobrietatem sine taxatione aduersariorum? Quinam isti sint, semel nominabo: exteriores et interiores botuli psychicorum. Hi paracleta controuersiam faciunt; propter hoc nouae prophetiae recusantur; non quod alium deum praedicent Montanus et Priscilla et Maximilla, nec quod Iesum Christum soluant, nec quod aliquam fidei aut spei regulam, euertant, sed quod plane doceant saepius ieiunare quam nubere. 4. De modo quidem nubendi iam edidimus monogamiae defensionem. Nunc de castigatione uictus secunda uel magis prima continentiae pugna est. Arguunt nos, quod lemma propria custodiamus, quod stationes plerumque in uesperam producamus, quod etiam xerophagias obseruemus siccantes cibum ab omni carne et omni iurulentia et uuidioribus quibusque pomis nec quid uinositatis uel edamus uel potemus; lauacri quoque abstinentiam, congruentem arido uictui. 5. Nouitatem igitur obiectant, de cuius illicito praescribant aut haeresin iudicandam, si humana praesumptio est, aut pseudoprophetiam pronuntiandam, si spiritalis indictio est, dum quaque ex parte anathema audiamus, qui aliter adnuntiamus.

CAP II. 1. Nam quod ad ieiunia pertineat, certos dies a deo constitutos opponunt, ut cum in Leuitico praecipit dominus Moysi decimam mensis septimi diem placationis, sancta, inquit, erit uobis dies, et uexabitis animas uestras, et omnis anima, quae uexata non fuerit in illa die, exterminabitur de

populo suo. 2. Certe in euangelio illos dies ieiuniis determinatos putant, in quibus ablati sunt sponsus, et hos esse iam. solos legitimos ieiuniorum. Christianorum abolitis legalibus et prophetis uetustatibus. Vbi uolunt enim, agnoscunt quid sapiat lex et prophetae usque ad Iohannem. 3. Itaque de cetero indifferenter ieiunandum ex arbitrio, non ex imperio nouae disciplinae, pro temporibus et causis uniuscuiusque; sic et apostolos obseruasse, nullum aliud imponentes iugum certorum et in commune omnibus obeundorum ieiuniorum, proinde nec stationum, quae et ipsae suos quidem dies habeant quartae feriae et sextae, passim tamen currant, neque sub lege praecepti neque ultra supremam diei, quando et orationes fere hora nona concludat de Petri exemplo, quod Actis refertur. 4. Xerophagias uero nouum adfectati officii nomen et proximum ethnicae superstitioni, quales castimoniae Apim, Isidem et Magnam Matrem certorum eduliorum exceptione purificant, cum fides libera in Christo ne Iudaicae quidem legi abstinentiam quorundam ciborum debeat, semel in totum macellum ab apostolo admissa, detestatore eorum qui sicut nubere prohibeant, ita iubeant cibis abstinere a deo conditis. 5. Et ideo non esse iam tunc praenotatos in nouissimis temporibus abscedentes a fide, intendentes spiritibus mundi seductoribus, doctrinis mendaciloquorum inustam habentes conscientiam. Quibus, oro te, ignibus? Credo, quibus nuptias saepe deducimus et cenas quotidie coquimus? 6. Sic et cum Galatis nos quoque percuti aiunt obseruatores dierum et mensium et annorum. Iaculantur interea et Esaia pronuntiasse: non tale ieiunium dominus elegit, id est non abstinentiam cibi, sed opera iustitiae, quae subtextit; et ipsum dominum in euangelio ad omnem circa uictum scrupulositatem compendio respondisse, non his communicari hominem quae in os inferantur, sed quae ex ore proferantur, cum. et ipse manducaret et biberet usque in notationem: ecce homo uorator et potator! 7. Sic et apostolum docere, quod esca nos deo non commendat, neque abundantes, si edamus, neque deficientes, si non edamus. His et huiusmodi sensibus eo iam subtiliter tendunt, ut unusquisque prior uentri possit superuacua nec adeo necessaria existimare sublata uel deminuta uel demorati cibi officia, praeposante scilicet deo iustitiae et innocentiae opera. 8. Et scimus, quales sint carnalium commodorum suasoriae, quam facile dicatur: opus est de totis praecordiis credam, diligam deum et proximum tamquam me. In his enim duobus praecceptis tota lex pendet et prophetae, non in pulmonum et intestinorum meorum inanitate.

CAP III. 1. Ita que nos hoc prius affirmare debemus quod occulte subruī periclitatur, quantum ualeat apud deum inanitas ista, et ante omnia, unde ratio ipsa processerit hoc modo promerendi deum. Tunc enim agnoscetur obseruationis necessitas, cum eluxerit rationis auctoritas a primordio recensendae. 2. Acceperat Adam a deo legem non gustandi de arbore agnitionis boni et mali, moriturus si gustasset. Verum et ipse tunc in psychicum reuersus post ecstasin spiritalem, in qua magnum illud sacramentum in Christum et ecclesiam prophetauerat, nec iam capiens quae erant spiritus, facilius uentri quam deo cessit, pabulo potius quam praecepto annuit, salutem gula uendidit. Manducauit denique et periit, saluus alioquin, si uni arbusculae ieiunare maluisset; ut iam hinc animalis fides semen suum recognoscat exinde deducens carnalium adpetitionem et spiritualium recusationem. 3. Teneo igitur a primordio homicidam gulam tormentis atque suppliciis inediae puniendam, etiamsi deus nulla ieiunia praecepisset. Ostendens tamen, unde sit occisus Adam, mihi reliquerat intellegenda remedia offensae, qui offensam demonstrat. Vltro cibum, quibus modis quibusque temporibus potuissem, pro ueneno deputarem et antidotum famem sumerem, per quam purgarem mortis a primordio causam in me quoque cum ipso genere transductam, certus hoc deum uelle cuius contrarium noluit satisque confidens placituram illi continentiae curam, a quo damnatam comperissem incontinentiae culpam. 4. Porro, cum et ipse ieiunium mandet et animam conquassatam proprie utique cibi angustiis sacrificium, appellet, quis iam dubitabit omnium erga uictum macerationum hanc fuisse rationem, qua rursus interdicto cibo et obseruato praecepto primordiale iam delictum expiaretur, ut homo per eandem materiam causae satis deo faciat per quam offenderat id est per cibi interdictionem, atque ita salutem aemulo modo redaccenderet inedia, sicut extinxerat sagina, pro unico illicito plura licita contemnens?

CAP IV. 1. Haec ratio seruabatur apud prouidentiam dei pro temporibus omnia modulantis, ne quis ex diuerso ad deiciendam propositionem nostram, cur ergo, dicat, non statim deus aliquam uictus constituit castigationem, quin immo et auxit permissionem? 2. Nam in primordio quidem herbidum solummodo et arboreum homini pabulum addixerat: ecce dedi uobis omne faenum sementium seminans semen quod est super terram, et omne lignum quod habet in semetipso fructum seminis sementiui uobis erit in escam. Postea uero ad Noe enumerata subiectione omnium bestiarum terme et uolatilium

caeli et mouentium in terra et piscium maris et omnis serpentis, erunt, inquit, uobis in escam: uelut holera faeni dedi uobis uniuersa, uerum carnem in sanguine animae suae non edetis. 3. Nam et hoc ipso, quod eam solam carnem esui eximit, cuius anima non per sanguinem effunditur, omnis reliquae carnis usum concessisse manifestum est. Ad haec respondemus non competisse onerari hominem aliqua adhuc abstinentiae lege, qui cum maxime tam leuem interdictionem unius scilicet pomi tolerare non potuit; remissum itaque illum libertate ipsa corroborandum. Aequè post diluuium in reformatione generis humani suffecisse unam interim legem a sanguine abstinendi permissu usu ceterorum. 4. Iam enim iudicium dominus ostenderat per diluuium, adhuc etiam comminatus fuerat per exquisitionem sanguinis de manu fratris et de manu bestiae omnis. Itaque iustitiam iudicii praeministrans materiam libertatis emisit per ueniam supparans disciplinam, permittens omnia, ut demeret quaedam, plus exacturus, si plus commisisset, abstinentiam imperaturus, cum indulgentiam praemisisset, quo magis, ut diximus, primordiale delictum expiaretur maioris abstinentiae operatione in maioris licentiae occasione.

CAP V. 1. Denique ubi iam et familiaris populus allegi deo coepit et restitutio hominis imbui potuit, tunc leges disciplinaeque omnes impositae, etiam quae decerperent uictum, adeptis quibusdam ueluti immundis, quo facilius aliquando ieiunia toleraret homo perpetua in quibusdam abstinentia usus. 2. Nam et primus populus primi hominis resculpserat crimen pronior uentri quam deo deprehensus, cum de duritia Aegyptiae seruitutis ualida manu dei et sublimi brachio ereptus dominus eius uisus est, terrae lacte et melle mananti destinatus, statim autem solitudinis incopiosae circumspectu scandalizatus, saturitatis Aegyptiae detrimenta suspirans in Moysen et Aaron mussitauit: utinam obiissemus percussi a domino in terra Aegypti, quando super ollas carnum sedebamus et panes in plenitudinem comedebamus. Quomodo eduxisti nos in haec deserta ad interficiendam synagogam istam fame? 3. Eadem uentris praelatione deploraturus erat eosdem duces suos et dei arbitros, quos desiderio carnis et recordatu Aegyptiarum copiarum exacerbabat. Quis nos uescet carne? Venerunt in mentem nobis pisces quos in Aegypto edebamus gratis, et cucumeres et pepones et porri et cepe et allia. At nunc anima nostra arida, nihil nisi manna uident oculi nostri. 4. Ita et illis xerophagiae panis angelici displicebant, allium potius et cepe quam caelum fragrare malebant. Et ideo tam ingratis gratiora et esculentiora quaeque

detracta sunt, puniendae simul gulae et exercendae continentiae causa, ut illa damnaretur, ista erudiretur.

CAP VI. 1. Nunc si temere rationes castigati a deo uictus et castigandi propter deum a nobis ad primordiorum experimenta reuocauimus, conscientiam communem consulamus. Ipsa natura enuntiabit, quales nos ante pabulum et potum in uirgine adhuc salua exhibere consuerit rebus dumtaxat sensu agendis, quo diuina tractantur, si multo pollentioris mentis, si multo uiuacioris cordis, quam cum totum illud domicilium interioris hominis escis stipatum, uinis inundatum, decoquendis iam, stercoribus exaestuans praemeditatorium efficitur latrinarum, in quo plane nihil tam in proximo supersit quam ad lasciuiam sapere. 2. Manducauit populus et bibit, et surrexerunt ludere. Intellege sanctae scripturae uerecundiam: lusum nisi impudicum non denotasset. Ceterum quotusquisque meminerit religionis occupatis memoriae locis, impeditis sapientiae membris? Nemo ita ut decet, ita ut par est, ita ut utile est, recordabitur dei eo in tempore, quo ipsum sibi hominem excidere sollemne est. Omnem disciplinam uictus aut occidit aut uulnerat. Mentior, si non dominus ipse obliuionem sui exprobrans Israeli causam plenitudini reputat. 3. Incrassatus est dilectus et pinguefactus et dilatatus est, et dereliquit deum, qui fecit eum, et abscessit a domino salificatore suo. Denique in eodem Deuteronomio eandem causam praecaueri iubens, ne, inquit, cum manducaueris et biberis et domos optimas aedificaueris, ouibus et bubus tuis multiplicatis et argento et auro extollatur cor tuum et obliuiscaris domini dei tui. 4. Praeposuit corruptelae diuitiarum edacitatis enormitatem, cui ipsae diuitiae procurant. Per illam scilicet incrassatum erat cor populi, ne oculis uideret et auribus audiret et corde coniceret adipibus obstructo, quas nominatim esui abstulit dedocens hominem saginae studere. 5. Ceterum cui cor erectum potius inueniebatur quam impinguatum, qui quadraginta diebus totidemque noctibus supra humanae naturae facultatem ieiunium perennauit spiritali fide uirtutem subministrante, et uidit oculis dei gloriam et audiuit auribus dei uocem et corde coniecit dei legem iam tunc docentis non in solo pane uiuere hominem, sed in omni uerbo dei, cum quidem nec ipsum Moysen deo pastum inediaeque eius nomine saginatam constanter contemplari ualeret pinguior populus. Merito igitur etiam in carne se dominus ei ostendit collegae ieiuniorum suorum, non minus et Heliae. 6. Nam et Helias hoc primum, quod famem fuerat imprecatus, satis

iam se ieiuniis uouerat. Viuit, inquit, dominus, cui adsisto in conspectu eius, si erit ros istis annis et imber. Dehinc minantem Iezabel fugiens post unicum. pabulum et potum, quem ab angelo expergefactus inuenerat, et ipse quadraginta diebus et noctibus uacuo uentre, arido ore peruenit in montem Choreb, ubi cum in speluncam deuertisset, quam familiari congressu dei exceptus est! 7. Quid tu Helia hic? Multo amicior ista uox quam Adam ubi es? Illa enim pasto homini minabatur, ista ieiuno blandiebatur. Tanta est circumscripti uictus praerogatiua, ut deum praestet homini contubernalem, parem reuera pari. Si enim deus aeternus non esuriet, ut testatur per Esaia, hoc erit tempus, quo homo deo adaequetur, cum sine pabulo uiuit.

CAP VII. 1. Processimus itaque iam ad exempla, uti reuoluamus utilitatis efficacia potestates istius officii, quod etiam iratum deum homini reconciliat. Deliquerat Israel in aquatione apud Maspha congregatus a Samuele, sed ita statim. delictum. ieiunio diluit, ut periculum proelii simul fugerit. Cum maxime Samuel offerebat holocaustum (in nullo magis procuratam audimus dei clementiam quam in abstinentia populi) et allophyli proelio admouebant, ibidem dominus intonuit uoce magna super allophylos, et confusi sunt et corruerunt in conspectu Israelis, et processerunt uiri Israel ex Maspha et persecuti sunt allophylos et usque Bethor ceciderunt, pastos impasti, armatos inermes. 2. Hae erunt uires ieiunantium deo. Caelum pro eiusmodi militat. Habes formam praesidii etiam spiritalibus bellis necessariam. Perinde cum rex Assyriorum Sennacherib compluribus iam ciuitatibus captis Israeli per Rapsacen blasphemias et minas intentaret, nihil aliud illum a proposito in Aethiopias auertit. 3. Dehinc quid aliud centum et octoginta quatuor milia de exercitu eius per angelum absumpsit quam Ezechiae regis humiliatio? Siquidem duritia hostis adnuntiata uestem scidit, saccum induit eodemque habitu seniores sacerdotum ad deum per Esaia adire iussit utique ieiunio preces prosequente. Neque enim. cibi tempus in periculo nec saturitatis cultis in sacco. 4. Semper inedia maeroris sequela est sicut laetitia accessio saginae. Per hanc maeroris sequelam et inediam etiam ciuitas illa peccatrix Niniue de exitio praedicato liberatur. Satis enim paenitentia scelerum commendauerat ieiunium triduo functam, etiam pecudibus enectis, quibus iratus deus non erat. Sodoma quoque et Gomorra euasissent, si ieiunassent. Hoc remedium agnoscit et Achab. 5. Cum illi post transgressionem et idololatriam et necem Nabuthae propter uineam interempti a Iezabel exprobrasset Helias: qualiter

occidisti et hereditatem possedisti : in loco quo sanguinem Nabuthae canes delinxerant, tuum quoque delinguent, destituit semetipsum et saccum carni suae imposuit et ieiunauit et dormiuit in sacco. Et tunc sermo domini ad Heliam: uidisti ut reueritus sit Achab a facie mea : pro eo, quod reueritus est, non superducam laesuram in diebus ipsius, sed in diebus filii eius superducam eam, qui non erat ieiunaturus. 6. Ita ieiunium in deum reuerentiae opus est, per quod Anna quoque ambiens uxor Helcanae retro sterilis impetrauit facile a deo inanem cibo uentrem filio implere et quidem propheta. Sed non modo naturae mutationem aut periculorum auersionem aut delictorum obliterationem, uerum etiam sacramentorum agnitionem ieiunia de deo merebuntur. 7. Aspice Danielis exemplum. Circa somnium regis Babylonis omnes turbantur sophistae, negant ultra de praestantia humana posse cognosci. Solus Daniel deo fidens et sciens, quid ad demerendam dei gratiam faceret, spatium tridui postulat, cum sua fraternitate ieiunat, atque ita orationibus commendatis et ordinem et significationem somni per omnia instruitur, tyranni sophistis parcitur, deus glorificatur, Daniel honoratur, non minorem dei gratiam et postea quoque relaturus anno primo regis Darii, cum ex recogitatu praedicatorum temporum ab Hieremia dedit faciem suam deo in ieiuniis et sacco et cinere. 8. Nam et angelus missus ad eum hanc statim professus est causam diuinae dignationis : ueni, inquit, demonstrare tibi, quatenus miserabilis es, ieiunando scilicet. Si deo miserabilis, leonibus in lacu fuerat horribilis, ubi quidem illi sex diebus ieiunanti prandium angelus procurauit.

CAP VIII. 1. Reddimus et cetera. Ad noua enim nunc documenta properamus. In limine euangelii Anna prophetis, filia Phanuelis, quae infantem dominum et agnouit et multa super eo praedicauit expectantibus redemptionem Israelis, post egregium titulum uete ris et uniuiuae uiduitatis ieiuniorum quoque testimonio augetur, ostendens, in quibus officiis adsideri ecclesiae debeat, et a nullis magis intellegi Christum quam semel nuptis et saepe ieiunis. 2. Ipse mox dominus baptisma suum, et in suo omnium, ieiuniis dedicauit habens efficere panes ex lapidibus, etiam Iordanem uino fortasse manare, si ita uorator et potator fuisset. Immo nouum hominem in ueteris sugillationem uirtute fastidiendi cibi initiabat, ut eum diabolo rursus per escam temptare quaerenti fortiolem fame tota ostentaret. Praestituit exinde ieiuniis legem sine tristitia transigendis. 3. Cur enim triste, quod salutare?

Docuit etiam aduersus diriora daemonia ieiuniis proeliandum. Quid enim mirum, si eadem operatione spiritus iniquus educitur, qua sanctus inducitur? 4. Denique, ut in centurionem Cornelium necdum tinctum dignatio spiritus sancti cum charismate insuper prophetiae festinasset, ieiunia eius legimus exaudita. Puto autem et apostolus in secunda Corinthiorum inter labores suos et pericula et incommoda post famem ac sitim ieiunia quoque plurima enumerat.

CAP IX. 1. Principalis haec species in castigatione uictus potest iam de inferioribus quoque abstinentiae operationibus praeiudicare ut et ipsis pro modo utilibus aut necessariis. Nam exceptio eduliorum quorundam portionale ieiunium est. Inspiciamus igitur et xerophagiarum nouitatem aut uanitatem, si non et in his tam antiquissimae quam efficacissimae religionis operatio est. 2. Redeo ad Danielelem et fratres eius leguminum pabulum et aquae potum ferculis et oenophoris regiis praeferentes atque exinde formosiores, ne qui de specie quoque corpusculi metuat, ceterum spiritu insuper cultos. Dedit enim deus adolescentulis scientiam et intellegentiam in omni litteratura et Danieli in omni uerbo et in somniis et in omni sophia, qua hoc ipsum quoque saperet, quibus modis de deo impetraretur agnitio sacramentorum. 3. Anno denique tertio Cyri regis Persarum cum in recogitatum incidisset uisionis, aliam formam humiliationis prospexit. In illis, inquit, diebus ego Daniel eram lugens per tres hebdomadas, panem suauem non edi, caro et uinum non introierunt in os meum, oleo unctus non sum, donec consummarentur tres hebdomades, quibus transactis angelus emissus est taliter alloquens: Daniel, homo es miserabilis, ne timueris, quoniam ex die prima, qua dedisti animam tuam recogitatu et humiliationi coram deo, exauditum est uerbum tuum, et ego introiui uerbo tuo. 4. Ita xerophagiarum miseratio et humiliati metum expellunt et aures dei aduertunt et occultorum compotes faciunt. Reuertor etiam ad Heliam. Cum corui illum pane et carne saturare consuessent, cur postmodum apud Bersabe Iudaeae excitato ei de somno quidam ille angelus sine dubio panem solum et aquam obtulit? 5. Defecerant corui, qui eum liberalius pascere, an difficile angelo fuerat aliquem alicunde de conuiuio regis ministrum cum instructissimo ferculo raptum ad Heliam transferre, sicut Danieli in lacu leonum esurienti prandium metentium exhibitum est? 6. Sed constitui oportebat exemplum docens in tempore pressurae et persecutionis et cuiuscunque circumstantiae xerophagiis esse uiuendum. Tali uictu Dauid

exomologesin suam expressit cinerem quidem edens uelut panem, id est panem uelut cinerem aridum et sordidum, potum uero fletu miscens utique pro uino. 7. Habet enim et abstinentia uini suos titulos, quae et Samuelem deo uouerat et Aaronem consecrarat. Nam de Samuele mater, et uinum, inquit, et ebriamen non bibet; talis enim et ipsa deum orabat. Et dominus ad Aaron: uinum et siceram non bibetis, tu et filius tuus post te, si quando ingrediemini tabernaculum uel ascendetis ad altare, et non moriemini. 8. Adeo moriuntur qui non sobrii in ecclesia ministrauerint. Sic et Israeli proximo exprobrat et potum: dabatis sanctificatis meis uinum. Et haec autem, strictura potus xerophagiae portio est. Quamquam ubi abstinentia uini aut a deo exigitur aut ab homine uouetur, illic intellegatur etiam pabuli pressura formam praestruens potui. Qualis enim esus, talis et potus. Verisimile non est, ut quis dimidiam gulam deo immolet, aquis sobrius et cibus ebrius. 9. An autem et apostolus xerophagias norit, qui maiora celebrauerat, sitim et famem et multa ieiunia, qui ebrietates et comessiones recusauerat, uel de discipulo Timotheo argumenti satis est, quem propter stomachum et adsiduas imbecillitates modico uino monens uti, quo ille non ex institutione, sed ex deuotione abstinebat (ceterum stomacho magis consuetudo prodesset), hoc ipso abstinentiam uini dignam deo suasit, quam ex necessitate dissuasit.

CAP X. 1. Aequae stationes nostras ut indictas, quasdam uero et in serum constitutas nouitatis nomine incusant, hoc quoque munus et ex arbitrio obeundum esse dicentes et non ultra nonam detinendum, de suo scilicet more. Sed quod pertineat ad indictionis quaestionem, semel pro omnibus causis respondebo. Nunc ad proprium huius speciei articulum, de modo temporis dico, de ipsis prius expostulandum, unde hanc formam nona dirimendis stationibus praescribant. 2. Si, qua Petrus et qui cum eo ad horam nonam orationis templum introgressi leguntur, quis mihi probabit illos ea die statione functos, ut horam nonam ad clausulam et expunctionem stationis interpretetur? Atqui facilius inuenias Petrum hora sexta capiendi cibi causa prias in superiora ad orandum ascendisse, quo magis sexta diei finiri officio huic possit, quae illud absolutura post orationem uidebatur. 3. Porro cum in eodem commentario Lucae et tertia hora orationis demonstretur, sub qua spiritu sancto initiati pro ebriis habebantur, et sexta, qua Petrus ascendit in superiora, et nona, qua templum sunt introgressi, cur non intellegamus salua plane indifferentia semper et ubique et omni tempore orandi tamen tres istas horas

ut insigniores in rebus humanis, quam diem distribuunt, quae negotia distinguunt, quae publice resonant, ita et sollemniores fuisse in orationibus diuinis? 4. Quod etiam suadet Danielis quoque argumentum ter die orantis, utique per aliquarum horarum exceptionem, non aliarum autem quam insigniorum, exinde apostolicarum, tertiae, sextae, nonae. Hinc itaque et Petrum dicam ex uetere potius usu nonam obseruasse tertio orantem supremae orationis munere. 5. Haec autem propter illos qui se putant ex forma Petri agere, quam ignorant; non quasi respuamus nonam, cui et quarta sabbati et sexta plurimum fungimur, sed quia eorum quae ex traditione obseruantur tanto magis dignam rationem adferre debemus, quanto carent scripturae auctoritate, donec aliquo caelesti charismate aut confirmentur aut corrigantur. Et si qua, inquit, ignoratis, dominus uobis reuelabit. 6. Itaque seposito confirmatore omnium istorum paracleto, duce uniuersae ueritatis, an dignior apud nos ratio adferatur nonam obseruandi require, ut etiam Petro ea ratio deputanda sit, si statione tunc functus est. Venit enim de exitu domini, quem etsi semper commemorari oportet sine differentia horarum, impressius tamen tum ei secundum ipsum stationis uocabulum addicimur. 7. Nam et milites numquam immemores sacramenti magis stationibus parent. Itaque in eam usque horam celebranda pressura est, in qua a sexta contenebratus orbis defuncto domino lugubre fecit officium, ut tunc et nos reuertamur ad iucunditatem, cum et mundus recepit claritatem. 8. Hoc si magis ad religionem sapit Christianam, dum magis Christi gloriam celebrat, possum aequae serae stationis ex eodem rei ordine statum figere, ut ieiunemus ad serum expectantes tempus dominicae sepulturae, cum Ioseph postulatum detulit corpus et condidit. Inde et irreligiosum est ante famulorum carnem refrigerari quam domini. 9. Sed hactenus haec ex argumentationum prouocatione commiserim comecturas comecturis et tamen puto fidelioribus repercutiens. Videamus, an aliquid tale nobis de uetustatibus quoque patrocinetur. In Exodo habitus ille Moysis aduersus Amalech orationibus proeliantis usque in occasum. perseuerans nonne statio fuit sera? 10. Iesum Naue debellantem Amorrhaeos prandisse illa die existimamus qua ipsis elementis stationem imperauit? Stetit sol in Gabaon et luna in Aialon, stetit sol et luna in statione, donec ultus est populus de inimicis suis, et stetit sol medio caelo. Vt autem accedebat in occasum et finem diei unius, non fuit dies talis retro et in nouissimo, utique tain prolixus, ut, inquit, exaudiret deus hominem, parem scilicet solis, instantem tam diu in

officio, stationem et sera longiorem. 11. Certe Saul et ipse in proelio constitutus manifeste munus istud indixit : maledictus homo, qui ederit panem ad uesperam usque, dum ulciscar de inimico meo, et non gustauit totus populus eius, et tota terra prandebat. 12. Tantam autem deus praestitit auctoritatem edicto stationis illius, ut Ionathan, filius Saulis, quamquam ignarus ieiunationis in serum definitae gustum mellis admiserat, et forte mox de delicto sit traductus et uix per precem populi periculo, exemptus. Gulae enim, licet simplicis reus fuerat. 13. Sed et Daniel anno primo regis Darii, cum ieiunus in sacco et cinere exomologesin deo ageret, et adhuc, inquit, loquente me in oratione, ecce uir, quem uideram in somnis initio, uelociter uolans appropinquauit mihi quasi hora uespertini sacrificii. Haec erit statio sera quae ad uesperam ieiunans pinguiorem orationem deo immolat.

CAP XI. 1. Omnia autem ista credo ignota eis, qui ad nostra turbantur, aut sola forsitan lectione, non etiam intentione comperta secundum maiorem uim imperitorum apud gloriosissimam scilicet multitudinem psychicorum. Propterea per singulas direximus species ieiunationum, xerophagiarum, stationum, ut, dum recensemus secundum utriusque testamenti paraturam, quantum proficiant recusati uel recisi uel retardati pabuli officia, eos retundamus, qui haec uelut uacantia infirmant, item dum pariter ostendimus, quo semper in ordine fuerint religionis, eos reuincamus, qui haec ut noua accusant; nec nouum enim quod semper nec uacuum quod utile. 2. Sed et illud in medio est, quaedam ex his officiis a deo homini imperata legem constituisse, quaedam ab homine deo oblata uotum expunxisse. Tamen et uotum, cum a deo acceptatum est, legem in postenim facit per auctoritatem acceptatoris; exinde enim faciendum mandauit qui factum comprobauit. Itaque et hinc in alia specie altercatio diuersae partis obducitur, cum dicunt: aut pseudopropheta est, si spiritalis uox sollemnia ista constituit, aut haeresis, si humana praesumptio adinuenit. 3. Eam enim formam reprehendentes, quae et uetera decucurrerunt, et ex ea retorquentes, quae et aduersarÿ ueterum aduersus illa poterunt retractare, aut et illa recusare debebunt aut exerta ista suscipere; necessarie maxime cum et ista, a quocumque institutore sunt siue spiritali siue tantum fideli, eidem deo currebant, cui et uetera. 4. Indubitate enim. et haeresis et pseudopropheta diuinitatis diuersitate iudicabuntur apud nos omnes unici dei creatoris et Christi eius antistites, adeoque indifferenter hanc partem defendo illis offerens in quo uelint gradum figere. Spiritus

diaboli est, dicis, o psychice. Et quomodo dei nostri officia indicit nec alii offerenda quam deo nostro? 5. Aut contendit diabolus cum deo facere nostro aut satanas paracletus habeatur. Sed hominem antichristum adfirmas; hoc enim uocantur haeretici nomine penes Iohannem. Et quomodo, quisquis ille est, in Christo nostro haec erga dominum. nostrum officia disposuit, cum et antichristi erga deum, aduersum nostrum processerint Christum? Quo itaque putas laterum confirmatum apud nos spiritum, cum imperat an cum probat, quae deus noster et imperauit semper et probauit? 6. Sed rursus palos terminales figitis deo, sicut de gratia, ita de disciplina, sicut de charismatibus, ita et de sollemnibus, ut perinde officia cessauerint, quemadmodum et beneficia eius, atque ita negetis usque adhuc eum munia imponere, quia et hic lex et prophetae usque ad Iohannem. Superest ut totum auferatis, quantum in uobis, tam otiosum.

CAP. XII. 1. Iam enim et in ista specie ditati saturatique regnatis, non delicta incursantes, quae ieiuniis elimentur, nec reuelationum scientia indigentes, quae xerophagiis extorqueantur, nec bella propria metuentes, quae stationibus discutiantur. 2. Vt ab Iohanne paracletus obmutuisset, et ipsi nobis prophetae in hanc maxime causam exitissemus, iam non dico ad exorandam dei iram nec ad impetrandam tutelam eius aut gratiam, sed ad praemuniendam per nosmet ipsos nouissimorum temporum condicionem indicentes omnem tapeinofronhsin, cum carcer ediscendus et fames ac sitis exercendae et tam inediae quam anxii uictus tolerantia usurpanda sit, ut in carcerem talis introeat Christianus, qualis inde prodisset, non poenam illic passurus, sed disciplinam, nec saeculi tormenta, sed sua officia, eoque fidentior processurus ad certamen e custodia abusus nihil habens carnis, sic ut nec habeant tormenta materiam, cum sola et arida sit cute loricatus, et contra ungulas corneus, praemisso iam sanguinis suco tamquam animae impedimentis, properante iam et ipsa, quae iam saepe ieiunans mortem de proximo norit. 3. Plane uestrum est in carceribus popinas exhibere martyribus incertis, ne consuetudinem quaerant, ne taedeat uitae, ne noua abstinentiae disciplina scandalizentur, quam nec ille Pristinus uester non Christianus martyr adtigerat, quem ex facultate custodiae liberae aliquamdiu fartum, omnibus balneis quasi baptismate melioribus et omnibus luxuriae secessibus quasi ecclesia secretioribus et omnibus uitae istius inlecebris quasi aeterna dignioribus hoc puto obligatum, ne mori uellet, postremo ipso tribunalis die luce summa condito mero tamquam antidoto

praemedicatum ita enervastis, ut paucis unguulis titillatus (hoc enim ebrietas sentiebat) quem, dominum confiteretur interroganti praesidi respondere non potuerit amplius, atque ita de hoc iam extortus, cum singultus et ructus solos haberet, in ipsa negatione discessit. 4. Ideo sobrietatis disciplinam qui praedicant, pseudoprophetae, ideo haeretici, qui observant. Quid ergo cessatis paracletum, quem in Montano negatis, in Apicio credere?

CAP XIII. 1. Praescribitis constituta esse sollemnia huic fidei scripturis uel traditione maiorum nihilque observationis amplius adiciendum ob illicitum innouationis. State in isto gradu, si potestis. Ecce enim conuenio uos et praeter pascha ieiunantes citra illos dies, quibus ablatus est sponsus, et stationum semi-ieiunia interponentes, et uos interdum pane et aqua uicitantes, ut cuique uisum est. 2. Denique respondetis haec ex arbitrio agenda, non ex imperio. Mouistis igitur gradum excedendo traditionem, cum quae non saut constituta obitis. Quale est autem ut tuo arbitrio permittas, quod imperio dei non das? Plus humanae licebit uoluntati quam diuinae potestati? Ego me saeculo, non deo liberum memini. Sic meum est ultro officium facere domino, sic indicare illius est. 3. Non tantum obsequi ei debeo, sed et adulari; illud enim imperio eius, hoc arbitrio meo praesto. Bene autem, quod et episcopi uniuersae plebi mandare ieiunia adsolent, non dico de industria stipium conferendarum, ut uestrae capturae est, sed interdum. et ex aliqua sollicitudinis ecclesiasticae causa. 4. Itaque si et ex hominis edicto et in unum omnes tapeinofronhsin agitis, quomodo in nobis ipsam quoque unitatem ieiunationum et xerophagiarum, et stationum denotatis? 5. Nisi forte in senatus consulta et in principum mandata coitionibus opposita delinquimus. Spiritus sanctus, cum in quibus uellet terris et per quos uellet praedicaret, ex prouidentia imminentium siue ecclesiasticarum. temptationum siue mundialium plagarum, qua paracletus id est aduocatus ad exorandum iudicem dicitur, huiusmodi officiorum remedia mandabat, puta, nunc ad exercendam. sobrietatis et abstinentiae disciplinam; hunc qui recipimus, necessario etiam quae tunc constituit obseruamus. 6. Aspice ad Iudaicos fastos et inuenies nihil nouum, si, quae patribus sunt praecepta, omnis deinceps posteritas hereditaria religione custodit. Aguntur praeterea per Graecias illa certis in locis concilia ex uniuersis ecclesiis, per quae et altiora quaeque in commune tractantur, et ipsa repraesentatio totius nominis Christiani magna ueneratione celebratur. 7. Et hoc quam dignum fide auspicante congregari undique ad Christum! Vide,

quam bonum et quam iucundum habitare fratres in unum! Hoc tu psallere non facile nosti, nisi quo tempore cum compluribus cenas. 8. Conuentus autem illi stationibus prius et ieiunationibus operati dolere cum dolentibus et ita demum congaudere gaudentibus norunt. Si et ista sollemnia, quibus tunc praesens patrociniatus est sermo, nos quoque ini diuersis prouinciis fungimur in spiritu inuicem repraesentati, lex est sacramenti.

CAP XIV. 1. Horum igitur tempora obseruantes et dies et menses et annos galaticamur? Plane, si Iudaicarum caeremoniarum, si legalium sollemnitatum obseruantes sumus; illas enim apostolus dedocet compescens ueteris testamenti in Christo sepulti perseuerantiam et nouisistens. 2. Quod si noua conditio in Christo, noua et sollemnia esse debebunt: aut si omnem in totum deuotionem temporum et dierum et mensium et annorum erasit apostolus, cur pascha celebramus annuo circulo in mense primo? Cur quinquaginta exinde diebus in omni exultatione decurrimus? Cur stationibus quartam et sextam sabbati dicamus et ieiuniis parasceuen? 3. Quamquam uos etiam sabbatum, si quando, continuatis, numquam nisi in pascha ieiunandum secundum rationem alibi redditam. Nobis certe omnis dies etiam uulgata consecratione celebratur. Nec ergo apud apostolum differentiae ratio, distinguentem noua et uetera. 4. Sed et hic inaequalitas uestra ridebitur, cum uetustatum formam nobis exprobratis in quo causam nouitatis accusatis.

CAP XV. 1. Reprobat etiam illos qui iubeant cibis abstinere, sed de prouidentia spiritus sancti, praedamnans iam haereticos perpetuam abstinentiam praecepturos ad destruenda et despicienda opera creatoris, quales inueniam apud Marcionem, apud Tatianum, apud Iouem, hodiernum de Pythagora haereticum, non apud paracletum. 2. Quantula est enim apud nos interdictio ciborum? Duas in anno hebdomadas xerophagiarum nec totas, exceptis scilicet sabbatis et dominiicis, offerimus deo abstinentes ab eis quae non reicimus, sed differimus. 3. Atqui ad Romanos scribens uos nunc compungit detractatores huius officii. Ne propter pabulum solueritis, inquit, opus dei. Quod opus? De quo ait : bonum est carnem non edere et uinum non potare. Nam qui in istis seruit, placabilis et propitiabilis deo nostro est. Quidam credit omnia manducanda esse, quidam autem infirmus holera uescitur; qui manducat, ne nullificet non manducantem. Tu quises, qui alienum seruum iudicas? Et qui manducat et qui non manducat, deo agit gratias. 4. Cum autem humano arbitrio uetet controuersiam fieri, quanto magis

diuino? Ita sciebat quosdam castigatores et interdictores uictus incusare, qui ex fastidio, non qui ex officio abstinerent, probare uero qui in honorem, non qui in conuicium creatoris. 5. Et si clauēs macelli tibi tradidit permittens esui omnia ad constituendam idolothytorum exceptionem, non tamen in macello regnum dei inclusit. Nec enim, inquit, esus aut potus est dei regnum, et, esca nos deo non commendat, non ut de arida dictum putes, sed potius de uncta et accurata, siquidem subiciens : nec si manducauerimus, abundabimus, nec si non manducauerimus, deficiemus, tibi magis intonat, qui abundare te existimas, si edas, et deficere, si non edas, et ideo ista detractas. 6. Dominium quoque quam indigne ad tuam libidinem interpretaris passim manducantem et bibentem, sed puto, quod etiam ieiunarit, qui beatos non saturatos, sed esurientes et sitientes pronuntiarit, qui escam profitebatur, non quam discipuli existimarant, sed paterni operis perfectionem, docens operari escam quae permanet in uitam aeternam, in ordinaria etiam oratione panem mandans postulandum, non et Attalicas diuitias. 7. Sic et Esaias non negauit deum elegisse ieiunium, sed quale non elegerit enumerauit. In diebus enim, inquit, ieiuniorum uestrorum inueniuntur uoluntates uestrae, et omnes subiectos uobis succutitis aut ad conuicia et lites ieiunatis et caeditis pugnis. Non tale ieiunium ego elegi, sed quale subiecit, et subiciendo non abstulit, sed confirmauit.

CAP XVI. 1. Nam et si manuult opera iustitiae, non tamen sine sacrificio, quod est anima conflictata ieiuniis. Ille certe deus, cui nec populus incontinenens gulae placuit, nec sacerdos nec propheta. Manent adhuc monumenta concupiscentiae, ubi sepultus est populus carnis audivissimus usque ad cholera ortygomētras cruditando. 2. Eliditur pro templi foribus senior Heli, fili eius in acie ruunt, nurus expirat in partu. Hanc enim meruerat a deo plagam domus impudens, sacrificiorum carnalium defraudatrix. Sameas, homo dei, cum exitum prophetasset idololatriae introductae a rege Hieroboam, post manum eius regis arefactam et statim restitutam, post altare diffissum, ob haec signa ad satisfactionem inuitatus a rege plane excusauit (prohibitus enim a deo fuerat) illic cibum in totum attingere; sed ab alio mox sene mentito prophetam temere pastus secundum uerbum dei ibidem factum super mensam non est in paternis sepultus. 3. Leonis enim in uia occursu prostratus et apud externos conditus poenam deserti ieiunii luit. Haec erunt exempla et populo et episcopis, etiam spiritalibus, si quam incontinentiam

gulae admiserint. Sed nec apud inferos admonitio cessauit, ubi in diuite epulone quidem conuiuia craciantur, ini paupere uero ieiunia recreantur, habentia praeceptores Moysen et prophetas. 4. Nam et Iohel exclamauit: sancite ieiunium et praedicate curationem, prospiciens iam tunc et alios apostolos et prophetas sancituros ieiunium et praedicaturos officia curantia deum. Vnde et qui in idolis comendis et in hac re ornandis et ad singulas horas salutandis diis adulantur, curationem facere dicuntur. 5. Sed et omnem tapeinofronhsin ethnici agnoscunt. Cum stupet caelum et aret annus, nudipedalia denuntiantur, magistratus purpuras ponunt, fasces retro auertunt, precem indigitant, hostiam instaurant. Apud quasdam uero colonias praeterea annuo ritu saccis uelati et cinere conspersi idolis suis inediam supplicem obiciunt, balnea et tabernae in nonam usque cluduntur. Vnus in publico ignis apud aras, aquae nec in lancibus. 6. Niniuiticum credo iustitium. Iudaicum certe ieiunium ubique celebratur, cum omissis templis per omne litus quocumque in aperto aliquando iam precem ad caelum mittunt. Et licet cultu et ornatu maeroris munus infament, tamen fidem abstinentiae adfectant et stellae auctoritatem demorantis suspirant. 7. Sed bene quod tu nostris xerophagiis blasphemias ingerens casto Isidis et Cybeles eas adaequas. Admitto testimonialem comparisonem. Hinc diuinam constabit, quam diabolus diuinorum aemulator imitatur. Ex ueritate mendacium struitur, ex religione superstitio compinigitur. 8. Hinc tu eo inreligiosior, quanto ethnicus paratior. Ille denique idolo gulam suam mactat, tu deo non uis. Deus enim tibi uenter est et pulmo templum et aqualiculus altare et sacerdos cocus et sanctus spiritus nidor et condimenta charismata et ructus prophetia.

CAP XVII. 1. Vetus es, uera si uelimus dicere, tu qui tantum gulae indulges, et merito te priorem iactitas; semper agnosco sapere Esau uenatorem ferarum ; ita passim indagandis turdis studes, ita de campo laxissimae disciplinae tuae uenis, ita spiritu deficis. 2. Si tibi lenticulam defruto inrufatam obtulero, statim totos primatus tuos uendes; apud te agape in caccabis feruet, fides in culmis calet, spes in ferculis iacet. 3. Sed maioris est agape, quia per hanc adulescentes tui cum sororibus dormiunt. Appendices scilicet gulae lasciuiam atque luxuriae. Quam societatem et apostolus sciens cum praemisisset non in ebrietatibus nec in comessionibus, adiunxit nec in cubilibus et libidinibus. 4. Ad elogium gulae tuae pertinet, quod duplex apud te praesidentibus honor binis partibus deputatur, cum apostolus duplicem

honorem dederit ut et fratribus et praepositis. Quis sanctior inter uos, nisi conuiuandi frequentior, nisi obsonandi pollucibilior, nisi calicibus instructor?

5. Merito homines solius animae et carnis spiritalia recusatis. Talibus si placerent prophetae, mei non erant. Cur ergo non constanter praedicatis: manducemus et bibamus, cras enim moriemur? Sicuti nos non dubitamus exerte mandare : ieiunemus fratres et sorores, ne forte cras moriamur. 6. Palam disciplinas nostras uindicemus. Nos certi sumus eos qui in carne sunt deo placere non posse, non utique ini substantia carnis, sed in cura, sed in affectione, sed in operatione, sed in uoluntate. Macies non displicet nobis; neque enim ad pondus deus carnem tribuit, sicut nec spiritum ad mensuram. 7. Facilius, si forte, per angustam salutis ianuam introibit caro exilior; citius resuscitabitur caro leuior, diutius ini sepultura durabit caro aridior. Saginentur pugiles et pyctae Olympici. Illis ambitio corporis competit, quibus et uires necessariae, et tamen illi quoque xerophagiis inualescunt. 8. Sed nostra alia robor aliaeque uires, sicut et alia certamina, quibus non est luctatio aduersus carnem et sanguinem, sed aduersus mundi potestates, aduersus spiritalia malitiae. Aduersus haec non carne et sanguine, sed fide et spiritu robusto oportet adistere. 9. Ceterum saginatio Christianus ursis et leonibus forte quam deo erit necessarius, nisi quod et aduersus bestias maciem exercere debet.

EXPLICIT LIBER TERTVLLIANI DE IEIVNIO ADVERSVS PSYCHICOS.

De Pudicitia (On Modesty)

I. [1] Pudicitia, flos morum, honor corporum, decor sexuum, integritas sanguinis, fides generis, fundamentum sanctitatis, praeiudicium omnibus bonae mentis, quamquam rara nec facile perfecta uixque perpetua, tamen aliquatenus in saeculo morabatur, si natura praestruxerat, si disciplina persuaserat, si censura compresserat, siquidem omne animi bonum aut nascitur aut eruditur aut cogitur. [2] Sed ut mala magis uincunt, quod ultimorum temporum ratio est, bona iam nec nasci licet, ita corrupta sunt semina, nec erudiri, ita deserta sunt studia, nec cogi, ita exarmata sunt iura. [3] Denique de qua incipimus eo usque iam exoleuit, ut non eiuratio, sed moderatio libidinum pudicitia credatur, isque satis castus habeatur, qui non nimis castus fuerit. [4] Sed uiderit saeculi pudicitia cum saeculo ipso, cum suo ingenio si nascebatur, cum suo studio si erudiebatur, cum suo seruitio si cogeatur; nisi quod infelicius etiam, si stetisset ut infructuosa, quae non apud Deum egisset. Malo nullum bonum quam uanum. Quid prodest esse, quod non prodest?

[5] Nostrorum bonorum status iam mergitur, Christianae pudicitiae ratio concutitur, quae omnia de caelo trahit, et naturam *per lauacrum regenerationis*, et disciplinam per instrumentum praedicationis, et censuram per iudicia ex utroque testamento, et coacta constantius ex metu et uoto aeterni ignis et regni. [6] Aduersus hanc nunc, ne dissimulare potuissem, audio etiam edictum esse propositum, et quidem peremptorium. Pontifex scilicet maximus, episcopus episcoporum, edicit: « Ego et moechiae et fornicationis delicta paenitentia functis dimitto. » [7] O edictum cui adscribi non poterit: Bonum factum! Et ubi proponetur liberalitas ista? Ibidem, opinor, in ipsis libidinum ianuis, sub ipsis libidinum titulis. Illic eiusmodi paenitentia promulganda est, ubi delinquentia ipsa uersabitur. Illic legenda est uenia, quo cum spe eius intrabitur. [8] Sed hoc in ecclesia legitur, et in ecclesia pronuntiatur, et uirgo est. Absit, absit a sponsa Christi tale praeconium! Illa, quae uera est, quae pudica, quae sancta, carebit etiam aurium macula. [9] Non habet, quibus hoc repromittat, et si habuerit, non repromittit, quod et terrenum Dei templum citius spelunca latronum appellari potuit a Domino quam moechorum et fornicatorum.

[10] Erit igitur et hic aduersus psychicos titulus, aduersus meae quoque

sententiae retro penes illos societatem, quo magis hoc mihi in notam leuitatis obiciant. Numquam societatis repudium delicti praeiudicium. Quasi non facilius sit errare cum pluribus, quando ueritas cum paucis ametur. [11] At enim me non magis dedecorabit utilis leuitas quam ornarit nocens. Non suffundor errore quo carui, quia caruisse delector, quia meliorem me et pudiciorem recognosco. [12] Nemo proficiens erubescit. Habet et in Christo scientia aetates suas, per quas deuolutus est et apostolus: *Cum paruulus, inquit, essem, tamquam paruulus loquebar, tamquam paruulus sapiebam; at ubi uir sum factus, ea quae paruuli fuerant euacuaui.* [13] Adeo diuertit a sententiis pristinis nec idcirco deliquit, quod aemulator factus est non paternarum traditionum, sed Christianarum, optans etiam ut praeciderentur qui circumcisionem detinendam suadebant. [14] Atque utinam et isti, qui meram et ueram integritatem carnis obtruncant amputantes non summam superficiem, sed intimam effigiem pudoris ipsius, cum moechis et fornicatoribus ueniam pollicentur aduersus principalem Christiani nominis disciplinam, quam ipsum quoque saeculum usque adeo testatur, ut, si quando, eam in feminis nostris inquinamentis potius carnis quam tormentis punire contendat id uolens eripere quod uitae anteposunt. [15] Sed iam haec gloria extinguitur et quidem per eos quos tanto constantius oportuerat eiusmodi maculis nullam subscribere ueniam, quando propterea, quotiens uolunt, nubant, ne moechiae et fornicationi succidere cogantur, quod *melius est nubere quam uri.* [16] Nimirum propter continentiam incontinentia necessaria est, incendium ignibus extinguetur. Cur ergo et crimina postmodum indulgent paenitentiae nomine, quorum remedia praestituunt multinubentiae iure? [17] Nam et remedia uacabunt, cum crimina indulgentur et crimina manebunt, si remedia uacabunt. Itaque utrobique de sollicitudine et neglegentia ludunt, praecauendo uanissime quibus parcunt et parcendo ineptissime quibus praecauent, cum aut praecauendum non sit ubi parcitur aut parcendum non sit ubi praecauetur. [18] Praecauent enim, quasi nolint admitti tale quid, indulgent autem, quasi uelint admitti; quando si admitti nolint, non debeant indulgere; si indulgere uelint, non debeant praecauere. [19] Nec enim moechia et fornicatio de modicis et de maximis delictis deputabuntur, ut utrumque competat, et sollicitudo quae praecauet et securitas quae indulget. Sed cum ea sint quae culmen criminum teneant, non capiunt et indulgeri quasi modica et praecaueri quasi maxima.

[20] Nobis autem maxima aut summa sic quoque praecauentur, dum nec

secundas quidem post fidem nuptias permittitur nosse, nuptialibus et dotalibus, si forte, tabulis a moechiae et fornicationis opere diuersas, et ideo durissime nos infamantes Paracletum disciplinae enormitate digamos foris sistimus. [21] Eundem limitem liminis moechis quoque et fornicatoribus figimus ieiunas pacis lacrimas profusuris nec amplius ab ecclesia quam publicationem dedecoris relaturis.

II. [1] « Ceterum Deus, inquit, *bonus et optimus et misericors et miserator et misericordiae plurimus*, quam omni sacrificio anteponit, non tanti ducens peccatoris mortem quam paenitentiam, salutificator omnium hominum et maxime fidelium. [2] Itaque et filios Dei misericordes et pacificos esse oportebit, donantes inuicem sicut et Christus donauit nobis, non iudicantes, ne iudicemur. *Domino enim suo stat quis uel cadit: tu quis es, ut seruum iudices alienum ?* Dimitte, et dimittetur tibi. » [3] Talia et tanta sparsilia eorum, quibus et Deo adulantur et sibi lenocinantur, effeminantia magis quam uigorantia disciplinam, quantis et nos et contrariis possumus repercutere, quae et Dei seueritatem intentent et nostram constantiam prouocent? [4] Quia etsi bonus natura Deus, tamen et iustus. Ex causa enim, sicut sanare nouit, ita et caedere, faciens pacem, sed et condens mala, paenitentiam malens, sed et Hieremiae mandans, ne pro populo peccatore deprecaretur. Quod, et *si ieiunauerint*, inquit, *non exaudiam obsecrationem eorum*. [5] Et rursus: *Et tu ne adoraueris pro populo et ne postulaueris pro his in prece et oratione, quoniam non exaudiam in tempore, quo inuocauerint me, in tempore adflictionis suae*. [6] Et adhuc supra, idem misericordiae praelator quam sacrificii: *Et tu ne adoraueris pro populo isto et ne postulaueris misericordiam consequi eos et ne accesseris pro his ad me, quoniam non exaudiam* utique misericordiam postulantes, utique ex paenitentia flentes et ieiunantes et adflictationem suam offerentes Deo. [7] Deus enim zelotes, et qui naso non deridetur, adulantium scilicet bonitati eius, et qui licet patiens, tamen per Esaiaem comminatur patientiae finem: *Tacui, numquid et semper tacebo et sustinebo? Qui eui uelut parturiens, exurgam et arescere faciam. Ignis enim procedet ante faciem ipsius, et exuret inimicos eius*, non solum corpus, uerum et animas occidens in gehennam. [8] Ceterum iudicantibus quomodo Dominus comminetur ipse demonstrat: *Quo enim iudicio iudicaueritis, iudicabitur de uobis*. Ita non prohibuit iudicare, sed docuit. [9] Vnde et apostolus iudicat et quidem in causa fornicationis, dedendum eiusmodi hominem satanae in interitum carnis, increpans etiam

quod fratres non apud sanctos iudicarentur. Adiciens enim inquit: *Vt quid mihi eos qui foris sunt iudicare?* [10] Dimittis autem, ut dimittatur tibi a Deo. Delicta mundantur, quae quis in fratrem, non Deum admiserit. Debitoribus denique dimissuros nos in oratione profiteamur.

Sed non decet ultra de auctoritate scripturarum eiusmodi funem contentiosum alterno ductu in diuersa distendere, ut haec restringere frenos disciplinae, illa laxare uideantur, quasi incertae et paenitentiae subsidium illa prosternere per lenitatem, haec negare per austeritatem. [11] Porro si et auctoritas scripturae in suis terminis stabit sine alterutra oppositione, et paenitentiae subsidium suis condicionibus determinatur sine passiuā concessione, et ipsae prius causae eius distinguuntur sine confusa propositione. [12] Causas paenitentiae delicta condicimus. Haec diuidimus in duos exitus. Alia erunt remissibilia, alia inremissibilia. Secundum quod nemini dubium est alia castigationem mereri, alia damnationem. [13] Omne delictum aut uenia dispungit aut poena, uenia ex castigatione, poena ex damnatione. De ista differentia iam et quasdam praemisimus altercationes scripturarum hinc retinentium hinc dimittentium delicta. [14] Sed et Iohannes docebit: *Si quis scit fratrem suum delinquere delictum non ad mortem, postulabit et dabitur uita ei; quia non ad mortem delinquit, hoc erit remissibile. Est delictum ad mortem; non pro illo dico, ut quis postulet, hoc erit inremissibile.* [15] Ita ubi est postulationis <ratio>, illic etiam remissionis; ubi nec postulationis, ibi aequē nec remissionis. Secundum hanc differentiam delictorum paenitentiae quoque condicio discriminatur. [16] Alia erit quae ueniam consequi possit, in delicto scilicet remissibili, alia quae consequi nullo modo possit, in delicto scilicet inremissibili. Et superest specialiter de moechiae et fornicationis statu examinare, in quam delictorum partem debeant redigi.

III. [1] Sed prius decidam intercedentem ex diuerso responsionem ad eam paenitentiae speciem, quam cum maxime definimus uenia carere. « Si enim, inquirunt, aliqua paenitentia caret uenia, iam nec in totum agenda tibi est. Nihil enim agendum est frustra. [2] Porro frustra agetur paenitentia, si caret uenia. Omnis autem paenitentia agenda est. Ergo omnis ueniam consequatur, ne frustra agatur, quia non ent agenda, si frustra agatur. Porro frustra agitur, si uenia carebit. » [3] Merito itaque opponunt, quod huius quoque paenitentiae fructum, id est ueniam, in sua potestate usurpauerunt. Quantum enim ad illos,

a quibus pacem humanam consequitur, <frustra agitur>. Quantum autem ad nos, qui solum Dominum meminimus delicta concedere, et utique mortalia, non frustra agetur. [4] Ad Dominum enim remissa et illi exinde prostrata, hoc ipso magis operabitur ueniam, quod eam a solo Deo exorat, quod delicto suo humanam pacem sufficere non credit, quod ecclesiae mauult erubescere quam communicare. [5] Adsistit enim pro foribus eius et de notae exemplo ceteros admonet et lacrimas fratrum sibi quoque aduocat et redit plus utique negotiata, compassionem scilicet quam communicationem. Et si pacem hic non metit, apud Dominum seminat. [6] Nec amittit, sed praeparat fructum. Non uacabit ab emolumento, si non uacauerit ab officio. Ita nec paenitentia huiusmodi uana nec disciplina eiusmodi dura est. Deum ambae honorant. Illa nihil sibi blandiendo facilius impetrabit, ista nihil sibi adsumendo plenius adiuuabit.

IV. [1] Possumus igitur demandata paenitentiae distinctione ad ipsorum iam delictorum regredi censum, an ea sint, quae ueniam ab hominibus consequi possint. Inprimis quod moechiam et fornicationem nominamus, usus expostulat. [2] Habet et fides quorundam nominum familiaritatem. Ita in omni opusculo usum custodimus. Ceterum et si adulterium et si stuprum dixero, unum erit contaminatae carnis elogium. [3] Nec enim interest nuptam alienam an uiduam quis incurset, dum non suam feminam; sicut nec <de> locis refert, in cubiculis an in turribus pudicitia trucidetur. Omne homicidium <et> extra siluam latrocinium est. [4] Ita et ubicumque uel in quacumque semetipsum adulterat et stuprat, qui aliter quam nuptiis utitur. Ideo penes nos occultae quoque coniunctiones, id est non prius apud ecclesiam professae, iuxta moechiam et fornicationem iudicari periclitantur, ne inde consertae obtentu matrimonii crimen eludant. [5] Reliquas autem libidinum furias impias et in corpora et in sexus ultra iura naturae non modo limine, uerum omni ecclesiae tecto submouemus, quia non sunt delicta, sed monstra.

V. [1] Ergo moechia, quod etiam fornicationis est res secundum opus criminis, quanti aestimanda sit sceleris prima lex Dei praesto est. Siquidem post interdictam alienorum deorum superstitionem ipsorumque idolorum fabricationem, post commendatam sabbati uenerationem, post imperatam in parentes secundam a Deo religionem, nullum aliud in talibus titulis firmandis muniendisque substruxit praeceptum quam *non moechaberis*. [2] Post spiritalem enim castitatem sanctitatemque corporalis sequebatur integritas. Et hanc itaque muniuit hostem statim eius prohibendo moechiam. Quale

delictum iam intellege, cuius cohibitionem post idololatriam ordinauit. [3] Nihil secundum longinquat a primo. Nihil tam proximum primo quam secundum. Quod fit ex primo, aliud quodammodo primum est. [4] Itaque moechia adfinis idololatriae — nam et idololatria moechiae nomine et fornicationis saepe populo exprobrata — etiam sorte coniungetur illi, sicut et serie; etiam damnatione cohaerebit illi, sicut et dispositione. [5] Eo amplius praemittens *non moechaberis*, adiungit *non occides*. Honorauit utique moechiam, quam homicidio anteponit, in prima itaque fronte sanctissimae legis, in primis titulis caelestis edicti, principalium utique delictorum proscriptione signatam. De loco modum, de ordine statum, de confinio meritum cuiusque dignoscas. [6] Est et mali dignitas, quod in summo aut in medio pessimorum collocatur. Pompam quandam atque suggestum aspicio moechiae, hinc ducatum idololatriae antecedentis, hinc comitatum homicidii insequentis. [7] Inter duos apices facinorum eminentissimos sine dubio digna consedit, et per medium eorum quasi uacantem locum pari criminis auctoritate compleuit. [8] Quis eam talibus lateribus inclusam, talibus costis circumfultam a cohaerentium corpore diuellet, de uicinorum criminum nexu, de propinquorum scelerum complexu, ut solam eam secernat ad paenitentiae fructum? [9] Nonne hinc idololatria, inde homicidium detinebunt et, si qua uox fuerit, reclamabunt: « Noster hic cuneus est, nostra compago? Ab idololatria metamur, illa distinguente coniungimur, illi de medio emicanti adunamur; concorporauit nos scriptura diuina, litterae ipsae glutina nostra sunt, iam nec ipsa sine nobis potest. [10] Ego quidem idololatria saepissime moechiae occasionem subministro. Sciunt luci mei et mei montes, et uiuae aquae ipsaeque in urbibus templa quantum euertendae pudicitiae procurem. [11] Ego quoque homicidium nonnumquam moechiae elaboro. Vt tragoedias omittam, sciunt hodie uenenarii, sciunt magi, quot pellicatus ulciscar, quot riuaitates defendam, quot custodes, quot delatores, quot conscios auferam. Sciunt etiam obstetrices, quot adulteri conceptus trucidantur. [12] Etiam apud Christianos non est moechia sine nobis. Ibidem sunt idololatriae, ubi immundi spiritus res est; ibidem est et homicidium, ubi homo, cum inquinatur, occiditur. [13] Igitur aut nec illi aut etiam nobis paenitentiae subsidia conuenient. Aut detinemus eam, aut sequimur. » [14] Haec ipsae res loquuntur. Si res uoce deficiunt, adsistit idololatrias, adsistit homicida, in medio eorum adsistit et moechus. Pariter de paenitentiae officio sedent, in sacco et cinere inhorrescunt, eodem fletu ingemiscunt, eisdem

precibus ambiunt, eisdem genibus exorant, eandem inuocant matrem. [15] Quid agis, mollissima et humanissima disciplina? Aut omnibus eis hoc esse debebis, *beati enim pacifici*, aut, si non omnibus, nostra esse. Idololatrem quidem et homicidam semel damnas, moechum uero de medio excipis? idololatrae successorem, homicidae antecessorem, utriusque collegam: personae acceptatio est; miserabiliores paenitentias reliquisti.

VI. [1] Plane, si ostendas, de quibus patrociniis exemplorum praeceptorumque caelestium soli moechiae et in ea fornicationi quoque ianuam paenitentiae expandas, ad hanc iam lineam dimicabit nostra congressio. Praescribam tamen tibi formam necesse est, ne ad uetera manum emittas, ne in terga respicias. [2] Vetera enim transierunt secundum Esaïam, et nouata est iam nouatio secundum Hieremiam, et obliiti posteriorum in priora porrigimur secundum apostolum, et lex et prophetae usque ad Iohannem secundum Dominum. [3] Nam et si cum maxime a lege coepimus demonstrando moechiam, merito ab eo statu legis, quem Christus non dissoluit, sed impleuit. Onera enim legis usque ad Iohannem, non remedia. Operum iuga reiecta sunt, non disciplinarum. Libertas in Christo non fecit innocentiae iniuriam. [4] Manet lex tota pietatis sanctitatis humanitatis ueritatis castitatis iustitiae misericordiae beneuolentiae pudicitiae. In qua lege *beatus uir qui meditabitur die ac nocte*. De qua idem Dauid rursus: *Lex Domini inuituperabilis, conuertens animas; iura Domini directa, oblectantia corda; praeceptum Domini longe lucens, inluminans oculos*. [5] Sic et apostolus: *Itaque lex quidem sancta est, et praeceptum sanctum et optimum*; utique: *Non moechaberis*. Sed et supra: *Legem ergo euacuamus per fidem? Absit, sed legem sistimus*, scilicet in his quae et nunc nouo testamento interdicta etiam cumulatiore praecepto prohibentur. [6] Pro « *non moechaberis* », « *qui uiderit ad concupiscentiam, iam moechatus est in corde suo* », et pro « *non occides* » « *qui dixerit fratri suo Racha, reus erit gebennae* ». Quaere, an salua sit lex non moechandi, cui accessit nec concupiscendi.

[7] Ceterum si qua uobis exempla in sinum plaudent, non opponentur huic quam defendimus disciplinae. Frustra enim lex suprastructa est, origines quoque delictorum id est concupiscentias et uoluntates non minus quam facta condemnans, si ideo hodie concedetur moechiae uenia, quia et aliquando concessa est. [8] Cui emolumento hodie pleniore disciplina coercetur, nisi ut maiore forsitan lenocinio tuo indulgeatur? Dabis ergo et idololatrae et omni

apostatae ueniam, quia et populum ipsum totiens reum istorum totiens inuenimus retro restitutum. [9] Communicabis et homicidae, quia et Nabothae sanguinem Achab deprecatione deleuit et Dauid Vriae caedem cum causa eius moechia confessione purgauit. [10] Iam et incesta donabis propter Loth et fornicationes cum incesto propter Iudam et turpes de prostitutione nuptias propter Osee, et non tantum frequentatas, uerum et simul plures, propter patres nostros. [11] Vtique enim dignum est peraequari nunc quoque gratiam circa omnia retro indulta, si de pristino aliquo exemplo uenia moechiae uindicatur. [12] Habemus quidem et nos eiusdem uetustatis exempla pro sententia nostra, non modo non indulti, uerum etiam repraesentati iudicii fornicationis. [13] Et utique sufficit tantum numerum XXIV milium populi fornicantis in filias Madian una plaga ruisse. [14] Sed malo in gloriam Christi a Christo deducere disciplinam. Habuerint pristina tempora omnis impudicitiae, si uolunt psychici, etiam potestatem. Luserit ante Christum caro, immo perierit antequam a Domino suo requisita est: nondum erat digna dono salutis, nondum apta officio sanctitatis. [15] Adhuc in Adam deputabatur cum suo uitio, facile quod speciosum uiderat concupiscens et ad inferiora respiciens et de ficulneis foliis pruriginem retinens. Inhaerebat usquequaque libidinis uirus et + lacteae sordes, non habentes, id onear quod nec ipsae adhuc aquae lauerant. [16] At ubi sermo Dei descendit in carnem ne nuptiis quidem resignatam et *sermo caro factus est* ne nuptiis quidem resignanda, quae ad lignum non incontinentiae, sed tolerantiae accederet, quae non dulce aliquid, sed amarum inde gustaret, quae non ad inferos, sed ad caelum pertineret, quae non lasciuiiae frondibus, sed sanctimoniae floribus praecingeretur, quae munditias suas aquis traderet, exinde caro quaecumque in Christo reliquas sordes pristinas soluit, alia iam res est, noua emergit, iam non ex seminis limo, non ex concupiscentiae fimo, sed ex aqua pura et spiritu mundo. [17] Quid itaque illam de pristino excusas? Non corpus Christi, non membra Christi, non templum Dei uocabatur, cum ueniam moechiae consequencebatur. [18] Itaque si exinde, quo statum uertit, et in Christum tincta induit Christum et magno redempta est, sanguine scilicet Domini et agni, tenes aliquod exemplum siue praeceptum siue formam siue sententiam indultae siue indulgendae fornicationis atque moechiae habes etiam temporis a nobis definitionem, ex quo deputetur aetas quaestionis.

VII. [1] A parabolis licebit incipias, ubi est ouis perdita a Domino requisita

et humeris eius reuecta. Procedant ipsae picturae calicum uestrorum, si uel in illis perlucebit interpretatio pecudis illius, utrumne Christiano an ethnico peccatori de restitutione conliniet. [2] Praescribimus enim ex naturae disciplina, ex lege auris et linguae, ex mentis sanitate ea semper responderi quae prouocantur [id est ad ea quae prouocant]. Prouocauit, ut opinor, quod Pharisei publicanos et peccatores ethnicos admittentem Dominum et cum illis de uictu communicantem indignati mussitabant. [3] Ad hoc Dominum pecudis perditae restitutionem, cui alii configurasse credendum est quam ethnico perduto, de quo agebatur, non [de] Christiano, qui adhuc nemo? Aut quale est, ut Dominus quasi cauillator responsionis omissa specie praesenti, quam repercutere deberet, de futura labore? [4] Sed « ouis proprie Christianus et grex Domini ecclesiae populus et pastor bonus Christus et ideo Christianus in oue intellegendus, qui ab ecclesiae grege errauerit. » [5] Ergo nihil ad Phariseorum mussitationem respondisse uis Dominum, sed ad tuam praesumptionem? Et tamen ita eam uindicare debebis, ut neges in ethnicum competere, quae in Christianum existimas conuenire. [6] Dic mihi, nonne omne hominum genus unus Dei grex est? Nonne uniuersarum gentium idem Deus et Dominus et pastor est? Quis magis perit a Deo quam ethnicus, quamdiu errat? Quis magis requiritur a Deo quam ethnicus, quando reuocatur a Christo? [7] Denique antecedit hic ordo in ethnicis; siquidem non aliter Christiani ex ethnicis fiunt nisi prius perditum et a Deo requisiti et a Christo reportati. Ita etiam hunc ordinem seruari oportet, ut in eos tale aliquid interpretemur, in quibus prius.

[8] At tu, opinor, hoc uelis, ut ouem non de grege perditam faceret, sed de arca uel de armario. Sic etsi [ethnorum] reliquum numerum iustum ait, non ideo Christianos esse ostendit, cum Iudaeis agens et illos cum maxime obtundens, quod indignarentur spei ethnicorum, sed ut exprimeret aduersus liuorem Phariseorum suam gratiam et beneuolentiam etiam circa unum ethnicum, praeposuit unius peccatoris salutem ex paenitentia quam illorum ex iustitia. [9] Aut numquid non iusti Iudaei, et quibus paenitentia opus non esset habentibus gubernacula disciplinae et timoris instrumenta legem et prophetas? Posuit igitur illos in parabola, etsi non quales erant, sed quales esse debuerant, quo magis suffunderentur, aliis et non sibi paenitentiam audientes necessariam.

[10] Proinde drachmae parabolam, ut ex eadem materia prouocatam, aequae

in ethnicum interpretamur, etsi in domo amissam, quasi in ecclesia, etsi ad lucernae lumen repertam, quasi ad Dei uerbum. [11] Atquin totus hic mundus una omnium domus est, in quo magis ethnico gratia Dei inlucet, qui in tenebris inuenitur, quam Christiano, qui iam in Dei luce est. [12] Denique et oui et drachmae unus error adscribitur. Nam si iam in Christianum peccatorem defingerentur post fidem perditum, et <de> iterata amissione eorum et restitutione tractaretur. [13] Decedam nunc paulisper de gradu isto, quo magis eum etiam decedendo commendem, cum sic quoque obduxero diuersae partis praesumptionem. Con dico Christianum iam peccatorem in parabola utraque portendi, non tamen ideo eum adfirmandum, qui de facinore moechiae et fornicationis restitui per paenitentiam possit. [14] Licet enim perisse dicatur, erit et de perditionis genere retractare, quia et ouis non moriendo, sed errando et drachma non interiando, sed latitando perierunt. Ita licet dici perisse, quod saluum est. [15] Perit igitur et fidelis elapsus in spectaculum quadrigarii furoris et gladiatorii cruoris et scaenicae foeditatis et xysticae uanitatis, in lusus, in conuiuia saecularis sollemnitatis, <si> in officium, in ministerium alienae idololatriae aliquas artes adhibuit curiositatis in uerbum ancipitis negationis aut blasphemiae impegit. [16] Ob tale quid extra gregem datus est uel et ipse forte ira, tumore, aemulatione, quod denique saepe fit, dedignatione castigationis abruptit. Debet requiri atque reuocari. Quod potest recuperari, non perit, nisi foris perseuerauerit.

[17] Bene interpretaberis parabolam uiuentem adhuc reuocans peccatorem. Moechum uero et fornicatorem quis non mortuum statim admisso pronuntiabit? Quo ore mortuum restitues in gregem ex parabola eius auctoritate, quae non mortuum pecus reuocat? [18] Denique si meministi prophetarum, cum pastores increpantur, puto Ezechielis est uox: *Pastores, ecce lac deuoratis et lanis uestimini; quod forte est occidistis, quod infirmum est non curastis, quod comminutum est non ligastis, quod expulsum est non conuertistis, quod periit non requisistis.* [19] Numquid et de mortuo exprobrat, quod non et illud in gregem reficere curauerint? Plane ingerit, quod perire oues fecerint et a bestiis agri comedi — neque possunt nec perire in mortem nec comedi, si relinquantur — non, ut peritae in mortem et comestae resumantur.

[20] Iuxta drachmae quoque exemplum etiam intra domum Dei ecclesiam licet esse aliqua delicta pro ipsius drachmae modulo ac pondere mediocria,

quae ibidem delitescunt mox ibidem et reperta statim ibidem cum gaudio emendationis transigantur. [21] Moechiae uero et fornicationis non drachma, sed talentum, quibus exquirendis non lucernae spiculo [lumine], sed totius solis lancea opus est. [22] Simul apparuit, statim homo de ecclesia expellitur nec illic manet nec gaudium confert repertrici ecclesiae, sed luctum nec congratulationem aduocat uicinarum sed contristationem proximarum fraternitatum. [23] Commissa itaque etiam hac nostra cum illorum interpretatione eo magis in ethnicum spectabunt et ouis et drachmae argumenta, quanto nec in eius delicti Christianum competere possunt, propter quod in Christianum de diuersa parte coguntur.

VIII. [1] Sed enim plerosque interpretes parabolarum idem exitus decipit, quem in uestibus purpura oculandis saepissime euenire est. Cum putaueris recte conciliasse temperamenta colorum et credideris comparationes eorum inter se amasse, erudito mox utroque corpore et luminibus expressis errorem omnem traducta diuersitas euomet. [2] Eadem itaque caligine circa filiorum quoque duorum parabolam quibusdam ad praesens concolorantibus figuris a uero lumine exorbitant eius comparationis quam parabolae materia praetexit. [3] Duos enim populos in duobus filiis collocant, Iudaicum maiorem, Christianum minorem. Nec enim possunt exinde Christianum peccatorem in filio minore disponere ueniam consecuturum, nisi in maiore Iudaicum expresserint. [4] Porro si Iudaicum ostendero deficere a comparatione filii maioris, consequenter utique nec Christianus admittetur de configuratione filii minoris. Licet enim filius audiat et Iudaeus et maior, quia prior in adoptione, licet et Christiano reconciliationem Dei Patris inuideat, quod uel maxime diuersa pars carpit, sed non erit Iudaei dictum ad patrem: *Ecce quot annis tibi serui et praeceptum tuum numquam praeteriui*. [5] Quando enim non transgressor legis Iudaeus, aure audiens et non audiens, odio habens traduentem in portis et aspernamento sermonem sanctum? Sic nec patris ad Iudaeum erit uox: *Tu semper mecum es, et omnia mea tua sunt*. [6] Iudaei enim apostatae filii pronuntiantur, generati quidem et in altum elati, sed qui non computauerint Deum et qui dereliquerint Dominum et in iram prouocauerint sanctum Israelis. [7] Omnia plane Iudaeo concessa dicemus, cui etiam condicio gratior quaeque de gula erepta est, nedum ipsa terra paternae promissionis. Atque adeo non minus hodie Iudaeus quam minor filius producta substantia Dei in aliena regione mendicat seruiens usque adhuc principibus eius, id est

saeculi huius. [8] Quaerant igitur alium Christiani suum fratrem; Iudaeum enim parabola non recipit. Multo aptius Christianum maiori et Iudaeum minori filio adaequassent secundum fidei comparisonem, si ordo utriusque populi ab utero Rebeckae designatus permetteret demutationem. Nisi quod et clausula refragaretur. [9] Christianum enim de restitutione Iudaei gaudere et non dolere conueniet, siquidem tota spes nostra cum reliqua Israelis expectatione coniuncta est. Ita etsi quaedam facient, sed aliis contra sapientibus interimitur exemplorum peraequatio. [10] Quamquam, etsi omnia ad speculum respondere possint, unum sit praecipuum periculum interpretationum, ne aliorum temperetur facilitas comparisonum, quam quo parabola cuiusque materia mandauit. [11] Meminimus enim et histriones, cum allegoricos gestus adcommodant canticis, alia longe a praesenti et fabula et scaena et persona et tamen congruentissime exprimentes. Sed uiderit ingenium extraordinarium. Nihil enim ad Andromacham. [12] Sic et haeretici easdem parabolas quo uolunt tribuunt, non quo debent. Aptissime excludunt. Quare aptissime? Quoniam a primordio secundum occasiones parabolarum ipsas materias confinxerunt doctrinarum. Vacuit scilicet illis solutis a regula ueritatis ea conquirere atque componere, quorum parabola uidentur.

IX. [1] Nos autem quia non ex parabolis materias commentamur, sed ex materiis parabolas interpretamur, nec ualde laboramus omnia in expositione torquere, dum contraria quaeque caueamus. [2] Quare centum oues? Et quid utique decem drachmae? Et quae illae scopae? Necesse erat, qui unius peccatoris salutem gratissimam Deo uolebat exprimere, aliquam numeri quantitatem nominaret, de quo unum quidem perisse describeret; necesse erat, ut habitus requirentis drachmam in domo tam scoparum quam lucernae adminiculo adcommodaretur. [3] Huiusmodi enim curiositates et suspecta faciunt quaedam et coactarum expositionum subtilitate plerumque deducunt a ueritate. Sunt autem, quae et simpliciter posita sunt ad struendam et disponendam et texendam parabolam, ut illuc perducantur, cui exemplum procuratur. [4] Et duo utique filii illuc spectabunt, quo et drachma et ouis. Quibus enim cohaerent, eandem habent causam, eandem utique mussitationem Pharisaeorum erga commercium Domini <et> ethnicorum. [5] Aut si quis dubitat ethnicos fuisse publicanos apud Iudaeam usurpatam iam pridem Pompeii manu atque Luculli, legat Deuteronomium: *Non erit uectigal pendens ex filiis Israel.* [6] Nec tam execrabile esset nomen publicanorum apud

Dominum, nisi extraneum, uendentium ipsius caeli et terrae et maris transitus. Peccatores autem cum adiungit publicanis, non statim Iudaeos ostendit, etsi aliqui fuisse potuerunt. [7] Sed unum genus ethnicorum alios ex officio peccatores id est publicanos, alios ex natura id est non publicanos, pariter ponendo distinxit. Ceterum nec denotaretur cum Iudaeis communicans uictum, sed cum ethnicis, quorum mensam Iudaica disciplina depellit. [8] Nunc de filio prodigo id prius considerandum est quod utilius. Non enim admittetur exemplorum adaequatio, licet in agina congruentissima, si fuerit saluti nocentissima. Totum autem statum salutis in tenore disciplinae constitutum subuerti uidemus ea interpretatione, quae ex diuerso adfectatur. [9] Nam si Christianus est qui acceptam a Deo patre substantiam utique baptismatis, utique Spiritus sancti et exinde spei aeternae longe euagatus a patre prodigit ethnice uiuens, si exutus bonis mentis etiam principi saeculi (cui alii quam diabolo?) seruitium suum tradidit et ab eo porcis alendis, immundis scilicet spiritibus curandis praepositus resipuit ad patrem reuerti, iam non moechi et fornicarii, sed idololatrae et blasphemi et negatores et omne apostatarum genus hac parabola patri satisfacient, et elisa est uerissime hoc magis modo tota substantia sacramenti. [10] Quis enim timebit prodigere, quod habebit postea recuperare? Quis curabit perpetuo conseruare, quod non perpetuo poterit amittere? Securitas delicti etiam libido est eius. [11] Recuperabit igitur et apostata uestem priorem, indumentum Spiritus sancti, et anulum denuo, signaculum lauacri, et rursus illi mactabitur Christus, et recumbet eo in toro, de quo indigne uestiti a tortoribus solent tolli et abici in tenebras, nedum spoliati. Plus est igitur, si nec expedit in Christianum conuenire ordinem filii prodigi.

[12] Quod si nec in Iudaeum integre filii imago concurrit, ad propositum Domini simpliciter interpretatio gubernabitur. Venerat Dominus utique, ut quod perierat saluum faceret, medicus languentibus magis quam sanis necessarius. [13] Hoc et in parabolis figurabat et in sententiis praedicabat. Quis perit hominum, quis labat de ualetudine, nisi qui Deum nescit? Quis saluus ac sanus, nisi qui Deum nouit? Has duas species de genere fraternas haec quoque signabit parabola. [14] Vide an habeat ethnicus substantiam in Deo patre census et sapientiae et naturalis agnitionis in Deum, per quam et apostolus notat in sapientia Dei non cognouisse mundum per sapientiam Deum, quam utique a Deo acceperat. [15] Hanc itaque prodegit longe a Domino moribus iactus inter

errores et inlecebras et libidines saeculi, ubi fame ueritatis compulsus tradidit se principi huius aeui. Ille eum praefecit porcis (ut familiare id daemonum pecus pasceret), ubinec illi compos esset uitalis esca simulque alios uideret in opere diuino abundantes pane caelesti. [16] Recordatur patris Dei, satisfacto reddit, uestem pristinam recipit, statum scilicet eum, quem Adam transgressus amiserat. Anulum quoque accipit tunc primum, quo fidei pactionem interrogatus obsignat, atque ita exinde opimitate dominici corporis uescitur, eucharistia scilicet. [17] Hic erit prodigus filius, qui numquam retro frugi, qui statim prodigus, quod non statim Christianus. Hunc et Pharisei de saeculo ad patris complexus reuertentem in publicanis et peccatoribus maerebant. [18] Et ideo ad hoc solum maioris fratris adcommodatus est liuor, non quia innocentes et Deo obsequentes Iudaei, sed quia inuidentes nationibus salutem, plane quos semper apud patrem esse oportuerat. [19] Et utique Iudaeus ad primam statim uocationem Christiani gemit, non ad secundam restitutionem. Illa enim etiam ethnicis relucet, haec uero quae in ecclesiis agitur ne Iudaeis quidem nota est.

[20] Puto me et materiae parabolarum et congruentiae rerum et tutelae disciplinarum adcommodatiores interpretationes reddidisse. Ceterum si in hoc gestit diuersa pars ouem et drachmam et filii luxuriam Christiano peccatori configurare, ut moechiam et fornicationem paenitentia donent, aut et cetera delicta pariter capitalia concedi oportebit aut paria quoque eorum moechiam et fornicationem inconcessibilia seruari. [21] Sed plus est, quod nihil aliud argumentari licet citra id de quo agebatur. Denique si aliorum parabolas transducere liceret, ad martyrium potius dirigeremus spem illarum, quod solum omni substantia producta restituere filium poterit et drachmam inter omnia licet in stercore repertam cum gaudio praedicabit, et ouem per aspera quaeque et abrupta fugitiuam humeris ipsius Domini in gregem referet. [22] Sed malumus in scripturis minus, si forte, sapere quam contra. Proinde sensum Domini custodire debemus atque praeceptum. Non est leuior transgressio in interpretatione quam in conuersatione.

X. [1] Excusso igitur iugo in ethnicum disserendi parabolas istas et semel dispecta uel recepta necessitate non aliter interpretandi quam materia propositi est, contendunt iam nec competere ethnicis paenitentiae denuntiationem, quorum delicta obnoxia ei non sint, ignorantiae scilicet imputanda, quam sola natura ream Deo faciat, [2] Porro nec remedia sapere quibus pericula ipsa non sapiant, illic autem paenitentiae constare rationem ubi conscientia et uoluntate

delinquitur, ubi et culpa sapiat et gratia, illum lugere, illum uoluntari, qui sciatur et quid amiserit et quid sit recuperaturus, si paenitentiam Deo immolarit, utique eam magis filiis offerenti quam extraneis.

[3] Num ergo et Ionas idcirco ethnicis Niniuitis non putabat paenitentiam necessariam, cum cauillaretur in praedicationis officio, an potius misericordiam Dei prouidens etiam in extraneos profusam quasi destructuram praeconium uerebatur? [4] Atque adeo propter ciuitatem profanam, nondum Dei compotem, adhuc ignorantia delinquentem, paene periit propheta? Nisi quod exemplum passus est dominicae passionis ethnicos quoque paenitentes redempturae. [5] Bene quod et Iohannes Domini uias sternens non minus militantibus et publicanis quam filiis Abraham paenitentiae erat praeco. Ipse Dominus Sidoniis et Tyriis praesumpsit paenitentiam, si uirtutum documenta uidissent. [6] Atquin ego illam naturalibus magis peccatoribus competere contendam quam uoluntariis. Magis enim merebitur fructum eius qui nondum eo usus est quam qui iam et abusus est, magisque sapient remedia prima quam exoleta. [7] Nimirum Dominus ingratis benignus magis quam ignaris et citius reprobatis misericors quam nondum probatis, ut non magis irascatur contumeliis clementiae suae quam blandiatur, et non libentius extraneis eam impertiat quam in filiis perdidit, cum gentes sic adoptauerit, dum Iudaei de patientia ludunt. [8] Sed hoc uolunt psychici, ut Deus iusti iudex eius peccatoris paenitentiam malit quam mortem qui mortem paenitentia maluit. Quod si ita est, peccando promeremur. [9] « Age tu funambule pudicitiae et castitatis et omnis circa sexum sanctitatis, qui tenuissimum filum disciplinae eiusmodi ueri a uere uia pendente uestigio ingrederis, carnem spiritu librans, animam fide moderans, oculum metu temperans. [10] Quid itaque in gradu totus es? Perges ne, si potueris, si uolueris, dum tamen securus et quasi in solido es. Nam si qua te carnis uacillatio, animi auocatio, oculi euagatio de tenore decusserit, Deus bonus est. [11] Suis, non ethnicis, sinum subicit; secunda te paenitentia excipiet; eris iterum de moechno Christianus. » Haec tu mihi benignissime Dei interpres. [12] Sed cederem tibi, si scriptura « Pastoris », quae sola moechos amat, diuino instrumento meruisset incidi, si non ab omni concilio ecclesiarum, etiam uestrarum, inter apocrypha et falsa iudicaretur, adultera et ipsa et inde patrona sociorum, a qua et alias initiaris, cui ille, si forte, patrociniabitur pastor, quem in calice depingis, prostitutorem et ipsum Christiani sacramenti, merito et ebrietatis idolum et moechiae asylum post

calicem subsecuturæ, de quo nihil libentius bibas quam ouem paenitentiae secundae. [13] At ego eius pastoris scripturam haurio, qui non potest frangi. Hanc mihi statim Iohannes offert cum paenitentiae lauacro et officio dicentem: *Facite dignos paenitentiae fructus, et ne dixeritis, patrem habemus Abraham* (ne scilicet rursum blandimenta delinquentiae de patrum resumerent gratia): *Potest enim Deus de lapidibus istis filios suscitare Abrahae*. [14] Sic et nos sequitur, ut eos, qui hactenus delinquant, facientes dignum paenitentiae fructum. Quid enim ex paenitentia maturescit quam emendationis effectus? Sed et si uenia potius est paenitentiae fructus, hanc quoque consistere non licet sine cessatione delicti. Ita cessatio delicti radix est ueniae, ut uenia sit paenitentiae fructus.

XI. [1] Exinde quod ad euangelium pertinet, parabolarum quidem discussa iam quaestio est. Si uero et factis aliquid tale pro peccatoribus edidit Dominus, ut cum peccatrici feminae etiam corporis sui contactum permittit lauanti lacrimis pedes eius et crinibus detergenti et unguento sepulturam ipsius inauguranti, ut cum Samaritanae sexto iam matrimonio non moechae, sed prostitutæ, etiam quod nemini facile, quis esset ostendit, nihil ex hoc aduersariis confertur, et si iam Christianis ueniam delictorum praestitisset. [2] Nunc enim dicimus, soli Domino hoc licet, hodie potestas indulgentiae eius operetur. Ad illa tamen tempora, quibus in terris egit, hoc definimus nihil aduersum nos praeiudicare, si peccatoribus etiam Iudaeis uenia conferebatur. [3] Christiana enim disciplina a nouatione testamenti et, ut praemisimus, a redemptione carnis id est Domini passione censetur. Nemo perfectus ante repertum ordinem fidei, nemo Christianus ante Christum caelo resumptum, nemo sanctus ante Spiritum sanctum de caelo repraesentatum ipsius disciplinae determinatorem.

XII. [1] Itaque isti qui alium Paracletum in apostolis et per apostolos receperunt, quem nec in prophetis propriis agnitum iam nec in apostolis possident, age nunc uel de apostolico instrumento doceant maculas carnis post baptismum respersae paenitentia dilui posse. [2] Nos in apostolis quoque ueteris legis forma soluta cernimus moechiae quanta sit demonstrationem, ne forte lenior existimetur in nouitate disciplinarum quam in uetustate. [3] Cum primum intonuit euangelium et uetera concussit, ut de legis retinendae necessitate disceptaretur, primum hanc regulam de auctoritate Spiritus sancti apostoli emittunt ad eos qui iam ex nationibus allegi coeperant. [4] *Visum est*, inquit,

Spiritui sancto et nobis nullum amplius uobis adicere pondus quam eorum a quibus necesse est abstinere, a sacrificiis et a fornicationibus et sanguine. A quibus obseruando recte agetis uetante uos Spiritu sancto. [5] Sufficit et hic seruatum esse moechiae et fornicationi locum honoris sui inter idololatriam et homicidium. Interdictum enim sanguinis multo magis humani intellegemus. [6] Porro qualia uideri uolunt apostoli crimina, quae sola in obseruatione de lege pristina excerptunt, quae sola necessario abstinenda praescribunt? Non quod alia permittant, sed quod haec sola praeponant utique non remissibilia, qui ethnicorum causa cetera legis onera remissibilia fecerunt. [7] Cur ergo ceruicem nostram a tanto iugo excusant, nisi ut illi compendia ista disciplinae semper imponant? Cur tot uincula indulgent, nisi ut perpetuo ad necessaria constringant? [8] Soluerunt a pluribus, ut nocentioribus obseruandis obligaremur. Compensatione res acta est. Lucrati sumus multa, ut aliqua praestemus. Compensatio autem reuocabilis non est, nisi denique reuocabitur iteratione moechiae utique et sanguinis et idololatriae. [9] Tota enim iam lex sumetur, si ueniae condicio soluetur. Sed non leuiter nobiscum pactus est Spiritus sanctus, etiam ultro pactus, quo magis honorandus. Sponsionem eius nemo dissoluet nisi ingratus. Iam nec recipiet quae dimisit nec dimittet quae retinuit. [10] Nouissimi testamenti semper indemutabilis status est, et utique recitatio decreti consiliumque illud cum saeculo desinet. Satis denegauit ueniam eorum, quorum custodiam elegit, uindicauit quae non proinde concessit. [11] Hinc est, quod neque idololatriae neque sanguini pax ab ecclesiis redditur. De qua finitione sua apostolos excidisse, puto, non licet credere; aut si credere quidam possunt, debebunt probare.

XIII. [1] Nouimus plane et hic suspensiones eorum. Reuera enim suspicantur apostolum Paulum in secunda ad Corinthios eidem fornicatori ueniam dedisse, quem in prima dedendum satanae in interitum carnis pronuntiarit, impium patris de matrimonio heredem, quasi uel ipse postea stilum uerterit, scribens: [2] *Si quis autem contristauit, non me contristauit, sed ex parte, ne uos onerem omnes. Satis est talis increpatio quae a multis fit; uti e contrario magis nos donare et aduocare, ne forte abundantiore tristitia deuoretur eiusmodi. Propter quod oro uos, constituatis in eum dilectionem.* [3] *In hoc enim et scripsi, uti cognoscam probationem uestram, quod in omnibus obauditis mihi. Si cui autem donaueritis, et ego. Nam et ego si quid donauit, donauit in persona Christi, ne fraudemur a satana, quoniam non ignoramus iniectiones*

eius. [4] Quid hic de fornicatore, quid de paterni tori contaminatore, quid de Christiano ethnicorum impudentiam supergresso intellegitur, cum proinde utique speciali uenia absoluisset quem speciali ira damnasset? [5] Obscurius miseretur quam indignatur. Apertior est in austeritate quam in lenitate. Atquin facilius ira quam indulgentia obliqua est. Magis tristiora cunctantur quam laetiora. [6] De modica scilicet indulgentia agebatur; quae, si forte, nunc aestimaretur, quando maxima quaeque non soleant etiam sine praedicatione donari, tanto abest sine significatione. [7] Et tu quidem paenitentiam moechi ad exorandam fraternitatem in ecclesiam inducens conciliatum et concineratum cum dedecore et horrore compositum prosternis in medium ante uiduas, ante presbyteros, omnium lacrimas suadentem, omnium uestigia lambentem, omnium genua detinentem, inque eum hominis exitum quantis potes misericordiae inlecebris bonus pastor et benedictus papa contionaris et in parabola ouis capras tuas quaeris? [8] Tua ouis ne rursus de grege exiliat (quasi non exinde iam liceat quod nec semel licuit), ceteras etiam metu comples cum maxime indulgens. [9] Apostolus uero sceleratam libidinem fornicationis incesto onustam tam proiecte ignouisset, ut nec hunc saltem habitum legatum paenitentiae, quem ab ipso didicisse deberes, ab eo exegerit? Nihil de postero sit comminatus, nihil de cetero allocutus? [10] Quin immo et ultra obsecrat, constituerent in eum dilectionem, quasi satisfaciens, non quasi ignoscens. Et tamen dilectionem audio, non communicationem. [11] Quod et ad Thessalonicenses: *Si quis autem non obaudit sermoni nostro per epistolam, hunc notate, ne commisceamini illi, ut reuereatur, non quasi inimicum deputantes, sed quasi fratrem obiurgantes.* [12] Adeo potuisset dicere et fornicatori dilectionem solummodo concessam, non et communicationem, incesto uero nec dilectionem, quem scilicet auferri iussisset de medio ipsorum, multo magis utique de animo. [13] Sed uerebatur, ne fraudarentur a satana circa eius personae amissionem, quem satanae ipse proiecerat, aut ne abundantia maeroris deuoraretur, quem in interitum carnis addixerat. [14] Hic iam carnis interitum in officium paenitentiae interpretantur, quod uideatur ieiuniis et sordibus et incuria omni et dedita opera malae tractationis carnem exterminando satis Deo facere, ut ex hoc argumententur fornicatorem, immo incestum illum non in perditionem satanae ab apostolo traditum, sed in emendationem, quasi postea ueniam ob interitum id est conflictationem carnis consecuturum, igitur et consecutum.

[15] Plane idem apostolus Hymenaeum et Alexandrum satanae tradidit, ut emendarentur non blasphemare, sicut Timotheo suo scribit. Sed et ipse datum sibi ait sudem, angelum satanae, a quo colaphizaretur, ne se extolleret. [16] Si et hoc tangunt, ut traditos satanae ab illo in emendationem, non in perditionem intellegamus, quid simile blasphemia et incestum et anima ab his integra, immo non aliunde quam ex summa sanctitate et ex omni innocentia elata, quae in apostolo colaphis, si forte, cohibebatur, per dolorem, ut aiunt, auriculae uel capitis? [17] Incestum uero atque blasphemia totos homines in possessionem ipsi satanae, non angelo eius tradidisse meruerunt. Et de hoc enim interest, immo et ad hoc plurimum refert, quod illos traditos ab apostolo legimus satanae, apostolo uero angelum datum satanae. [18] Postremo cum deprecatur Dominum Paulus, quid audit? *Satis habere gratiam meam, uirtus enim in infirmitate perficitur.* Hoc qui satanae deduntur audire non possunt. [19] Hymenaei autem et Alexandri crimen si et in isto et in futuro aeuo inremissibile est, blasphemia scilicet, utique apostolus non aduersus terminum Domini sub spe ueniae dedisset satanae iam a fide in blasphemiam mersos. [20] Vnde et naufragos eos iuxta fidem pronuntiauit, non habentes iam solacium nauis ecclesiae. Illis enim uenia negatur, qui de fide in blasphemiam impegerunt. Ceterum ethnici et haeretici cotidie ex blasphemiam emergunt. [21] Sed et si dixit: *Tradidi eos satanae, uti disciplinam acciperent non blasphemandi,* de ceteris dixit, qui illis traditis satanae id est extra ecclesiam proiectis erudiri haberent blasphemandum non esse. [22] Sic igitur et incestum fornicatorem non in emendationem, sed in perditionem tradidit satanae, ad quem iam super ethnicum delinquendo transierat, ut discerent fornicandum non esse. [23] Denique *in interitum*, inquit, *carnis*, non in cruciatum, ipsam substantiam damnans, per quam exciderat, quae exinde iam perierat baptismate amisso, *ut spiritus*, inquit, *saluus sit in die Domini.* [24] Et de hoc enim quaeratur, si spiritus hominis ipsius saluus erit. Ergo saluus erit spiritus tanto scelere pollutus, propter hoc perdita carne, ut saluus sit in poena? Ergo poenam sine carne censebit contraria interpretatio. Sic resurrectionem carnis amittimus. [25] Superest igitur ut eum spiritum dixerit, qui in ecclesia censetur, saluum id est integrum praestandum in die Domini ab immunditiarum contagione eiecto incesto fornicatore. Siquidem subiungit: *Non scitis, quod modicum fermentum totam desipiat consparsionem?* Et tamen fornicatio incesta non erat modicum, sed grande fermentum.

XIV. [1] Et his itaque discussis, quae intercesserant, regredior ad secundam Corinthiorum, ut probem illud quoque apostoli dictum: *Sufficiat eiusmodi homini increpatio ista quae a multis*, non in fornicatoris persona conuenire. [2] Si enim dedendum satanae pronuntiauerat in interitum carnis, utique damnauerat eum magis quam increpauerat. Alius ergo erat, cui uoluit sufficere increpationem; siquidem fornicator non increpationem de sententia eius retulerat, sed damnationem. [3] Nam et hoc ipsum dispiciendum tibi offero, an fuerint in epistola prima et alii qui apostolum contristauerint incondite agentes et contristati sint ab illo increpationem referentes iuxta sensum epistolae secundae, ex quibus in ea ueniam aliquis potuerit adipisci. [4] Animaduertamus autem totam epistolam primam, ut ita dixerim, non atramento, sed felle conscriptam, tumentem, indignantem, dedignantem, comminantem, inuidiosam et per singulas causas in quosdam quasi mancipēs earum figuratam. [5] Sic enim exegerant schismata et aemulationes et dissensiones et praesumptiones et elationes et contentiones, ut et inuidia onerarentur et correptione retunderentur et superbia elimarentur et austeritate deterrerentur. Et qualis inuidia humilitatis aculeus? [6] *Deo gratias ago, quod neminem uestrum tinxerim, nisi Crispum et Gaium, ne qui dicat, quod in nomine meo tinxerim. Nec enim iudicaui scire aliquid in uobis quam Iesum Christum et hunc crucifixum.* [7] *Et puto, nos Deus apostolos nouissimos elegit uelut bestiariorum, quoniam spectaculum facti sumus huic mundo et angelis et hominibus et purgamenta huius mundi facti sumus, omnium peripsema, et: Non sum liber, non sum apostolus, non Christum Iesum Dominum nostrum uidi?* [8] De quali contra supercilio pronuntiare compulsus est: *Mihi autem in modico est, ut a uobis interroger aut ab humano die; neque enim conscius mihi sum, et: Gloriam meam nemo inaniet. Non scitis quod angelos sumus iudicaturi?* [9] Ceterum libertas quam aperta obiurgationis, quam exerta acies machaerae spiritalis: *Iam ditati estis, iam saturati estis, iam regnatis, et: Si quis se putat scire, nondum scit quemadmodum oporteat eum scire!* [10] Nonne et tunc in faciem alicuius impingens, *quis enim, inquit, te discernit? Quid autem habes, quod non accepisti?* <*Si autem accepisti,*> *quid gloriaris, quasi non acceperis?* Nonne et illos in os caedit? [11] *Quidam autem in conscientia usque nunc quasi idolothytum edunt. Sic autem delinquentes percutiendo conscientias fratrum infirmas in Christum delinquent. Iam uero et nominatim: Aut non habemus potestatem manducandi et bibendi et mulieres*

circumducendi, sicut et ceteri apostoli et fratres Domini et Cephas ? Et: Si alii de potestate uestra consequuntur, non magis nos? [12] Aequae et illos singulari stilo figit: *Propterea qui se putat stare, uideat ne cadat, et: Si quis contentiosus uidetur, nos talem consuetudinem non habemus neque ecclesia Domini.* [13] Tali clausula maledicto detexta, *si quis non amat Dominum Iesum, sit anathema maranatha*, aliquem utique percussit.

Sed illic magis stabo, ubi apostolus magis feruet, ubi ipse fornicator aliis quoque negotium fecit. [14] *Quasi non sim uenturus ad uos, inflati sunt quidam. Veniam autem citius, si permiserit Dominus, et cognoscam non sermonem eorum qui inflati sunt, sed uirtutem. Non enim in sermone est regnum Dei, sed in uirtute. Et quid uultis? Veniam ad uos in uirga an in spiritu lenitatis?* [15] Quid enim suberat? *Auditur in uobis in totum fornicatio et talis fornicatio, qualis nec in gentibus, ut uxorem patris sui quis habeat. Et uos inflati estis, et non luxistis potius, ut auferatur de medio uestrum qui tale facinus admisit?* [16] Pro quo lugerent? Vtique pro mortuo. Ad quem lugerent? Vtique ad Dominum, ut quo modo auferatur de medio eorum, non utique ut extra ecclesiam detur (hoc enim non a Deo postularetur quod erat in praesidentis officio), sed ut per mortem hanc quoque communem et propriam carnis ipsius, quae iam cadauer, quo captiuum, esset, immunditia inrecuperabili tabiosum, plenius de ecclesia deberet auferri. [17] Et ideo, quomodo interim potuit auferri, iudicauit dedendum eiusmodi satanae in interitum carnis. Maledici enim eam sequebatur, quae diabolo proiciebatur, ut sacramento benedictionis exauctoraretur numquam in castra ecclesiae reuersura. [18] Videmus itaque hoc in loco diuisam apostoli seueritatem in quendam inflatum et in quendam incestum, in alterum uirga, in alterum sententia armatam: uirga, qua minabatur, sententia, quam exsequebatur; illam adhuc coruscantem, hanc statim fulminantem, qua increpabat quaque damnabat. [19] Certumque est exinde increpitum quidem sub intentione uirgae tremuisse, damnatum uero sub repraesentatione poenae perisse. Stat enim ille timens plagam, abiit ille luens poenam.

[20] Cum ad Corinthios eiusdem apostoli litterae iterantur, uenia fit plane, sed incertum cui, quia nec persona nec causa proscribitur. Res cum sensibus conferam. [21] Si incestus opponitur, ibidem erit et inflatus. Sane rei ratio satis habetur, cum inflatus increpitus est, incestus uero damnatus est. Inflato ignoscitur, sed increpito; incesto non uidetur ignotum, ut damnato. [22] Si ei

ignoscebatur, cui deuoratio ex maerore nimio timebatur, deuorari adhuc increpitus periclitabatur deficiens ob comminationem et maerens ob increpationem ; damnatus uero et culpa et sententia iam deuoratus deputabatur, qui non maerere haberet, sed pati quod ante passionem maerere potuisset. [23] Si idcirco ignoscebatur, ne fraudaremur a satana, in eo utique detrimentum praecauebatur quod nondum perisset. Nihil de transacto praecauetur, sed de adhuc saluo. [24] Damnatus autem et quidem in possessionem satanae iam tunc perierat ecclesiae, cum tale facinus admiserat, nedum cum et ab ipsa eierabatur. Quomodo uereretur fraudem pati eius, quem iam et ereptum amiserat et damnatum habere non potuerat? [25] Postremo, quid iudicem indulgere conueniet, quod pronuntiatione deciderit an quod interlocutione suspenderit, et utique eum iudicem, qui non solet ea quae destruxit reaedificare, ne transgressor habeatur? [26] Age iam, si non tot personas prima epistola contristasset, si neminem increpuisset, neminem terruisset, si solum incestum cecidisset, si nullum in causam eius in pauorem misisset, inflatum consternasset, nonne melius suspicareris et fidelius argumentareris aliquem potius longe alium apud Corinthios tunc in eadem causa fuisse, ut increpitus et territus et maerore saucius propterea permittente modulo delicti ueniam postea ceperit, quam ut eam incesto fornicatori interpretareris? [27] Hoc enim legisse debueras, etsi non epistola, sed in ipsa apostoli secta, a pudore clarius quam stilo eius impressum, ne scilicet Paulum apostolum Christi, doctorem nationum in fide et ueritate, uas electionis, ecclesiarum conditorem, censorem disciplinarum, tantae leuitatis inficeres, ut aut damnauerit temere quem mox esset absoluturus aut temere absoluerit quem non temere damnasset, ob solam licet fornicationem simplicis impudicitiae, nedum ob incestas nuptias et impiam luxuriam et libidinem parricidalem, quam nec nationibus comparauerat, ne in consuetudinem deputaretur, quam absens iudicaret, ne spatium reus lucraretur, quam aduocata etiam Domini uirtute damnauerat, ne humana sententia uideretur. [28] Lusit igitur et de suo spiritu et de ecclesiae angelo et de uirtute Domini, si quod de consilio eorum pronuntiauerat, rescidit.

XV. [1] Si etiam sequentia illius epistolae ad intentationem apostoli extendas, nec ipsa comparabuntur ad obliterationem incesti, ne et hic suffundatur apostolus posteriorum incongruentia sensuum. [2] Quale est enim, ut cum maxime incesto fornicatori postliminium largitus ecclesiasticae pacis

statim ingesserit de auersatione immunditiarum, de amputatione macularum, de exhortatione sanctimoniarum, quasi nihil contrarium paulo ante decreuerit?

[3] Compara denique, an eius sit dicere: *Propterea habentes ministracionem istam, secundum quod misericordiam consecuti sumus, non deficimus, sed abdicamus occulta dedecoris*, qui non dedecoris tantum, sed et sceleris manifestum dedamnauerit. [4] An eiusdem sit excusare aliquam impudicitiam qui inter titulos laborum suorum post angustias atque pressuras, post ieiunia et uigilias castimoniam quoque praedicarit. [5] An eiusdem sit recipere in communicationem reprobos quosque qui scribat: *Quae enim societas iustitiae et iniquitati? Quae autem communicatio luci et tenebris? Quae consonantia Christo et Belial? Aut quae pars fidei cum infidei? Aut quis consensus templo Dei et idolis?* [6] Nonne constanter audire debebit, et quomodo discernis quae supra incesti restitutione iunxisti? Illo enim concorporato rursus ecclesiae et iustitia cum iniquitate sociatur et tenebrae cum luce communicant et Belial consonat Christo et infidelis cum fidei sacramenta participat. [7] Et uiderint idola, ipse templi Dei uitiator in templum Dei conuenit. Nam et hic, *uos enim*, inquit, *estis templum Dei uiui. Dicit enim, quia inhabitabo in uobis, et inambulabo, et ero Deus illorum, et illi erunt mihi populus. Propter quod discedite de medio eorum, separamini et immundum ne attigeritis.* [8] Hoc quoque euoluis, o apostole, ut cum maxime ipse tanto immunditiarum gurgiti manum tradis, immo et adhuc superdicis: *Habentes igitur promissionem istam, dilecti, emundemus nos ab omni inquinamento carnis et spiritus perficientes castimoniam in Dei timore.* [9] Oro te, qui talia infigit mentibus nostris, reuocauerat aliquem fornicatorem in ecclesiam? An ideo scribit, ne tibi nunc reuocasse uideatur?

Haec sicuti et praeteritis praescribere, ita et sequentibus praeiudicare debebunt. [10] In finem enim epistolae dicens, *ne rursus cum uenero, humiliet me Deus, et lugeam multos eorum qui ante deliquerunt et paenitentiam non egerunt super immunditia quam admiserunt, fornicatione et uilitate*, non utique recipiendos constituit, si paenitentiam inissent, quos in ecclesia inuenturus erat, sed lugendos et sine dubio eiciendos, ut paenitentiam perderent. [11] Et ceterum non competit eum de communicatione aliquid hic ostendisse, qui eam supra luci et tenebris, iustitiae et iniquitati negarat. Sed ignorant apostolum omnes isti, qui aliquid contra naturam atque propositum hominis ipsius, contra formam et regulam doctrinarum eius intellegunt, ut

sanctitatis omnis etiam ex semetipso magistrum, impuritatis omnis exsecratorem et expiatorem et ubique talem citius incesto quam alicui humaniori reo ecclesiam reddidisse praesumant.

XVI. [1] Necesse est igitur usque illis apostolum ostendi quem ego et in secunda Corinthiorum talem defendam qualem et in omnibus litteris noui. Qui et in prima primus omnium templum Dei dedicauit: *Non scitis uos templum Dei esse et in uobis Dominum habitare?* [2] Qui et templo sanciendo purificandoque aeditualem legem scripsit: *Si quis templum Dei uitiauerit, uitiaabit illum Deus; templum enim Dei sanctum est, quod estis uos.* [3] Age iam, quis omnino uitiatum a Deo redintegrauit id est traditum satanae in interitum carnis, cum idcirco substruxerit: *Nemo seducat semetipsum* id est nemo praesumat uitiatum a Deo redintegrari denuo posse? [4] Sicut rursus inter cetera, immo et ante cetera, moechos et fornicatores et molles et masculorum concubitores negans regnum Dei consecuturos praemisit: *Ne erraueritis, scilicet si putaueritis eos consecuturos.* [5] Quibus autem regnum adimitur, utique nec uita permittitur quae inest regno. Etiam ingerens: *Sed haec quidem fuistis, sed abluti estis, sed sanctificati estis in nomine Domini Iesu Christi et in spiritu Dei nostri*, quanto delicta ista ante lauacrum accepto facit, tanto post lauacrum inremissibilia constituit, siquidem denuo ablui non licet. [6] Agnosce et in sequentibus Paulum columnam immobilem disciplinarum: *Cibi uentri, et uenter cibus, Deus et hunc et illos confidet; corpus autem non fornicationi, sed Deo (faciamus enim hominem, ait Deus, ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram, et fecit hominem Deus, ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei fecit illum) et Dominus corpori (sermo enim caro factus est).* [7] *Deus autem et Dominum suscitauit et nos suscitabit per uirtutem suam*), propter corporis scilicet nexum cum illo. [8] Et ideo: *Non scitis corpora uestra membra Christi?* Quia et Christus Dei templum. *Euertite templum hoc, et ego illud in triduo resuscitabo. Auferens membra Christi faciam membra fornicariae? Non scitis, quod, qui adglutinetur fornicariae, unum corpus efficitur? Erunt enim duo in unam carnem. Qui autem adglutinetur Domino, unus est spiritus. Fugite fornicationem.*

[9] Si reuocabilem uenia, quomodo fugiam moechus denuo futurus? Nihil profecero, si eam fugero; unum ero corpus, cui communicando adglutinabor. *Omne delictum quod admiserit homo extra corpus est; qui autem fornicatur, in corpus suum peccat.* [10] Ac ne hoc dictum in licentiam fornicationis

inuaderes, ut in rem tuam, non Domini delicturus, aufert te tibi, et Christo, sicut disposuerat, addicit: *Et non estis uestri*, statim apponens: *Empti enim estis pretio*, sanguine scilicet Domini: *Glorificate et tollite Deum in corpore uestro*. [11] Hoc qui praecipit, uide an ignouerit ei, qui dedecorauerit Deum et qui deiecerit eum de corpore suo et quidem per incestum.

[12] Si uis omnem notitiam apostoli ebibere, intellege, quanta secure censurae omnem siluam libidinum caedat et eradicet et excaudicet, ne quidquam de recidiuo fruticare permittat, aspice illum a iusta fruge naturae, a matrimonii dico pomo, animas ieiunare cupientem. [13] *De quibus autem scripsistis, bonum est homini mulierem non contingere; sed propter fornicationem unusquisque uxorem suam habeat; uir uxori et uxor uiro debitum reddat*. [14] Huius boni fibulam quis illum nesciat inuitum relaxasse, ut fornicationi obuiam esset? Quam si cui indulsit uel indulget, utique consilium remedii sui infregit et tenebitur iam frenandis continentiae coniugiis, si fornicatio, ob quam permittuntur, non timebitur. Non enim timebitur quae ignoscetur. [15] Et tamen ignouisse se profitetur matrimonii usum, non imperasse. Vult enim omnes sibi esse aequales. Vnde autem licita ignoscuntur, inlicita qui sperant? Innuptis quoque et uiduis bonum esse dicit exemplo eius perseuerare, si uero deficerent, nubere; quia *praeest nubere quam uri*. [16] Quibus, oro, ignibus deterius est uri, concupiscentiae an poenae? Atquin si fornicatio habet ueniam, non urit concupiscentia eius. Apostoli autem magis est poenae ignibus prouidere. Quod si poena est quae urit, ergo ueniam non habet fornicatio, quam manet poena. [17] Interea et diuortium prohibens pro eo aut uiduitatis perseuerantiam aut reconciliationem pacis dominico praecepto aduersus moechiam procurat, quia *qui dimiserit uxorem praeter causam moechiae, facit eam moechari, et qui dimissam a uiro ducit, moechatur*. [18] Quanta remedia Spiritus sanctus instaurat, ne id scilicet denuo admittatur quod ignosci denuo non uult? Iam si usquequaque optimum dicit homini sic esse: *Iunctus es uxori, ne quaesieris solutionem*, ut moechiae locum non des: *Solutus es ab uxore, ne quaesieris uxorem*, ut opportunitatem tibi serues. [19] *Quod et si duxeris uxorem, et si nupserit uirgo, non peccat, pressuram tamen carnis habebunt huiusmodi*, — et hic parcendo permittit. *Ceterum tempus in collecto constituit, ut et qui habent uxores sic sint tamquam non habentes. Praeterit enim habitus huius mundi*, iam scilicet non desiderantis: *Crescite et multiplicamini*. [20] Sic uult nos praeter sollicitudinem degere, quia *innupti de*

Domino curent quomodo placeant Deo, nupti uero de mundo recogitent quomodo placeant coniugio. Sic melius facere pronuntiat uirginis conseruatorem quam erogatorem. [21] Sic et illam beatiorem discernit quae amisso uiro fidem ingressa amauerit occasionem uiduitatis.

Si haec omnia contmentiae consilia ut diuina commendat, *puto*, inquit, *et ego spiritum Dei habeo*, [22] quis iste est adsertor audacissimus omnis impudicitiae, moechorum et fornicatorum et incestorum plane fidelissimus aduocatus, quibus honorandis suscepit hanc causam aduersus Spiritum sanctum, ut falsum testimonium recitet de apostolo eius? [23] Nihil tale Paulus indulsit, qui totam carnis necessitatem de probis etiam titulis obliterare conatur. Indulget sane non adulteria, sed nuptias. Parcit sane matrimoniis, non stupris. Temptat ne naturae quidem ignoscere, quique culpa blandiatur? Studet compescere benedictionis concubitus, ne maledictionis excusetur.

[24] Hoc ei supererat, carnem uel a sordibus purgare; a maculis enim non potest. Sed est hoc sollemne peruersis et idiotis haereticis, iam et psychicis uniuersis, alicuius capituli ancipitis occasione aduersus exercitum sententiarum instrumenti totius armari.

XVII. [1] Prouoca ad apostolicam aciem, aspice epistulas eius, omnes pro pudicitia, pro castitate, pro sanctitate praetendunt, omnes in luxuriae et lasciuiae et libidinis negotia iaculantur. [2] Quid denique et Thessalonicensibus scribit? *Aduocatio enim nostra non ex seductione nec ex immunditia*, et: *Haec est uoluntas Dei, sanctimonia uestra, abstinere uos a fornicatione, scire unumquemque uas suum possidere in sanctimonia et bonore, non in libidine concupiscentiae, sicut nationes, quae Deum ignorant.* [3] Quid Galatae legunt? *Manifesta sunt opera carnis.* Quaenam ista? In primis posuit fornicationem immunditiam lasciuiam, quae *praedico uobis, sicut praedixi, quod qui talia agunt, regnum Dei non sunt consecuturi hereditati.* [4] Romani uero quid magis discunt quam non derelinquere Dominum post fidem? *Quid ergo dicimus? Perseueremus in delinquentia, ut superet gratia? Absit. Qui mortui sumus delinquentiae, quomodo uiuemus in ea adhuc?* [5] *An ignoratis, quod, qui tincti sumus in Christo, in mortem eius sumus tincti? Consepulti ergo illi sumus per baptismum in mortem, ut, sicut Christus resurrexit a mortuis, ita et nos in nouitate uitae incedamus.* [6] *Si enim consepulti sumus simulacro mortis eius, sed et resurrectionis erimus, hoc scientes quod uetus homo noster confixus est illi. Si autem mortui sumus cum Christo, credimus quod et conuiuemus cum*

illo, scientes quod Christus suscitatus a mortuis iam non moriatur; mors non iam dominetur eius. [7] *Quod enim mortuus est delinquentiae, mortuus est semel. Quod autem uiuit, Deo uiuit. Ita et uos reputate uosmetipsos mortuos quidem delinquentiae, uiuentes autem Deo per Christum Iesum.* [8] Igitur semel Christo mortuo nemo potest, qui post Christum mortuus, delinquentiae, et maxime tantae, reuiuiscere. Aut si possit fornicatio et moechia denuo admitti, poterit et Christus denuo mori.

[9] Instat autem apostolus prohibens regnare delinquentiam in corpore nostro mortali, cuius infirmitatem carnis nouerat. Sicut enim exhibuistis membra uestra famula immunditiae et iniquitati <in iniquitatem>, ita et nunc exhibete ea famula iustitiae in sanctimoniam. [10] Nam etsi habitare bonum in carne sua negauit, sed secundum legem litterae, in qua fuit, secundum autem legem spiritus, cui nos annectit, liberat ab infirmitate carnis. *Lex enim, inquit, spiritus uitae manumisit te a lege delinquentiae et mortis.* [11] Licet enim ex parte ex Iudaismo disputare uideatur, sed in nos dirigit integritatem et plenitudinem disciplinarum, propter quos *laborantes in lege miserit Deus per carnem filium suum in similitudine carnis delinquentiae, et propter delinquentiam damnauerit delinquentiam in carne, ut ius legis, inquit, impleretur in nobis, qui non secundum carnem, sed secundum spiritum incedimus. Qui enim secundum carnem incedunt, ea quae carnis sunt sapiunt, et qui secundum spiritum, ea quae sunt spiritus.* [12] Sensum autem carnis mortem adfirmavit esse, dehinc et inimicitiam et in Deum, et eos qui sunt in carne, id est in sensu carnis, Deo placere non posse. [13] Et, *si secundum carnem uiuitis, inquit, futurum est ut moriamini.* Quid autem intellegimus carnis sensum et carnis uitam nisi quodcumque pudet pronuntiare? Cetera enim carnis et apostolus nominasset.

[14] Proinde et Ephesiis pristina reputans de futuro monet: *In quibus et nos conuersati sumus facientes concupiscentias et uoluptates carnis.* Notans denique illos qui se negassent, scilicet Christianos, eo quod se tradidissent in operationem immunditiae omnis, *uos autem, inquit, non sic didicistis Christum.* [15] Et iterum si dicit: *Qui furabatur, iam non furetur, silet qui moechabatur hactenus, non moechetur, et qui fornicabatur hactenus, non fornicetur.* Adiecisset enim et haec, si talibus ueniam porrigere consuesset uel porrigi omnino uoluisset, qui nec uerbo pollui uolens. [16] *Omnis, inquit, sermo turpis non procedat ex ore uestro.* Item: *Fornicatio autem et immunditia*

omnis ne nominetur quidem inter uos, sicut decet sanctos, tanto abest ut excusetur, hoc scientes, quod omnis fornicator aut immundus non habeat Dei regnum. Nemo uos seducat inanibus uerbis. Propter hoc uenit ira Dei super filios incredulitatis. [17] Quis seducit inanibus uerbis, nisi qui contionatur remissibilem esse moechiam? Non intuens etiam fundamenta eius ab apostolo effossa, cum ebrietates et comessationes compescit, sicut et hic: *Et nolite inebriari uino, in quo est luxuria.* [18] Demonstrat et Colossensibus, quae membra mortificent super terram, fornicationem immunditiam libidinem concupiscentiam malam et turpiloquium.

Concede iam tot ac talibus sententiis unum illud quod tenes. Pauca multis, dubia certis, obscura manifestis adumbrantur. [19] Etiam si pro certo apostolus Corinthio illi fornicationem donasset, esset aliud, quod semel contra institutum suum pro ratione temporis fecerat. Circumcidit Timotheum solum et tamen abstulit circumcisionem.

XVIII. [1] Sed haec, inquit, ad interdictionem pertinebunt omnis impudicitiae et ad indictionem omnis pudicitiae, saluo tamen loco ueniae, quae non statim denegatur, si delicta damnantur, quando ueniae tempus cum damnatione <non> concurrat, quam excludit. [2] Sequebatur et hoc psychicos sapere, et ideo reseruauimus huic loco quae aperte ad communicationem ecclesiasticam causis eiusmodi negandam etiam antiquitus cauta sunt. [3] Nam et in prouerbiis Salomon, quae paroimi/aj dicimus, specialiter de moecho nusquam expiabili, *moechus autem, inquit, per indigentiam sensuum perditionem animae suae acquirit, dolores et dehonestationes sustinet. Ignominia autem eius non abolebitur in aeuum. Plena enim zeli indignatio uiri non parcat in die iudicii.* [4] Hoc si de ethnico putaueris dictum, certe de fidelibus iam audisti per Esaïam: *Excedite de medio eorum et separamini et immundum ne attigeritis.* Habet statim in psalmis: *Beatum uirum, qui non abierit in consilio impiorum nec in uia peccatorum steterit et in cathedra pestilentiae non sederit.* [5] Cuius et postea uox: *Non sedi cum consensu uanitatis, et cum inique agentibus non introibo, odiui ecclesiam male agentium et cum impiis non sedebo, et: Lauabo cum innocentibus manus meas et altare tuum circumdabo, Domine, ut solus plures, quoniam quidem cum sancto sanctus eris: Et cum uiro innocente innocens eris, et cum electo electus eris, et cum peruerso peruersus eris.* [6] Et alibi: *Peccatori autem dicit Dominus, ut quid tu exponis iustificationes meas et adsumis testamentum*

meum per os tuum? Si uidebas furem, currebas cum eo et cum adulteris portionem tuam ponebas. [7] Hinc igitur informatus et apostolus: *Scripti, inquit, uobis in epistola, non commisceri fornicatoribus, non utique fornicatoribus huius mundi, et reliqua. Ceterum oportebat uos exire de mundo.* [8] *Nunc autem scribo uobis, si quis frater nominatur in uobis fornicator aut idololatres (quid enim tam coniunctum?) aut fraudator (quid enim tam propinquum ?) et cetera, cum talibus ne cibum quidem sumere, nedum eucharistiam; quoniam scilicet et fermentum modicum totam desipit consparsionem.* [9] Item ad Timotheum: *Manus nemini cito imponas neque communicates delictis alienis.* Item ad Ephesios: *Nolite ergo participes esse eorum; fuistis enim aliquando tenebrae.* [10] Et adhuc pressius: *Nolite communicare operibus infructuosis tenebrarum, immo et reuincite ea. Quae enim in occulto ab eis fiunt, turpe est et dicere.* [11] Quid turpius impudicitii? Si autem et ab otiose incedente fratre denuntiat subduci Thessalonicensibus, quanto magis et a fornicatore?

Haec enim consultata sunt Christi ecclesiam diligentis, qui se pro ea tradidit, uti eam sanctificet emundans lauacro aquae in uerbo et sistat sibi ecclesiam gloriosam non habentem maculam aut rugam, utique post lauacrum, sed sit sancta et sine opprobrio, exinde scilicet sine ruga uetustatis ut uirgo, sine macula fornicationis ut sponsa, sine probro uilitatis ut emundata.

[12] Quid, si et hic respondere concipias, adimi quidem peccatoribus uel maxime carne pollutis communicationem, sed ad praesens, restituendam scilicet ex paenitentiae ambitu, secundum illam clementiam Dei, quae mauult peccatoris paenitentiam quam mortem? [13] Hoc enim fundamentum opinionis uestrae usquequaque pulsandum est. Dicimus itaque, clementiae diuinae si iterasse competisset demonstrationem sui etiam post fidem lapsis, ita apostolus diceret: Nolite communicare operibus tenebrarum, nisi paenitentiam egerint, et: Cum talibus ne cibum quidem sumere, nisi posteaquam caligas fratrum uolutando deteraserint, et: Qui templum Dei uitiauerit, uitiaabit illum Deus, nisi omnium focorum cineres in ecclesia de capite suo excusserit. [14] Debuerat enim quae damnauerat proinde determinasse, quonam usque et sub <qua> condicione damnasset, si temporali et condicionali et non perpetua seueritate damnasset. [15] Porro cum in omnibus epistolis et post fidem talem prohibeat admitti et admissum a communicatione detrudat, sine spe condicionis ullius aut temporis, nostrae magis sententiae adsistit, eam

paenitentiam ostendens Dominum malle, quae ante fidem, quae ante baptisma morte peccatoris potior habeatur, semel diluendi per Christi gratiam semel pro peccatis nostris morte functi. [16] Nam hoc etiam in sua persona apostolus statuit. Adfirmans enim Christum ad hoc uenisse, ut peccatores saluos faceret, quorum primus ipse fuisset, quid adicit? *Et misericordiam sum consecutus, quoniam ignorans feci in incredulitate.* [17] Ita clementia illa Dei malentis paenitentiam peccatorum quam mortem ad ignorantes adhuc et adhuc incredulos spectat, quorum causa liberandorum uenerit Christus, non qui iam Deum norint et sacramentum didicerint fidei. [18] Quod si clementia Dei ignorantibus adhuc et infidelibus competit, utique et paenitentia ad se clementiam inuitat, salua illa paenitentiae specie post fidem, quae aut leuioribus delictis ueniam ab episcopo consequi poterit aut maioribus et inremissibilibus a Deo solo.

XIX. [1] Sed quonam usque de Paulo, quando etiam Iohannes nescio quid diuersae parti subplaudere uideatur? Quasi in Apocalypsi manifeste fornicationi posuerit paenitentiae auxilium, ubi ad angelum Thyatirenorum Spiritus mandat habere se aduersus eum, quod teneret mulierem Iezabel, *quae se prophetem dicit et docet atque seducit seruos meos ad fornicandum et edendum de idolothytis.* [2] *Et largitus sum illi temporis spatium, ut paenitentiam iniret, nec uult eam inire nomine fornicationis. Ecce dabo eam in lectum et moechos eius cum ipsa in maximam pressuram, nisi paenitentiam egerint operum eius.* [3] Bene autem quod apostolis et fidei et disciplinae regulis conuenit. *Siue enim ego, inquit, siue illi, sic praedicamus.* Totius itaque sacramenti interest nihil credere ab Iohanne concessum quod a Paulo sit denegatum. [4] Hanc aequalitatem Spiritus sancti qui obserauerit, ab ipso deducetur in sensus eius. Haereticam enim feminam, quae quod didicerat a Nicolaitis docere susceperat, in ecclesiam latenter introducebat et merito ad paenitentiam urgebat. [5] Cui enim dubium est haereticum institutione deceptum cognito postmodum casu et paenitentia expiato et ueniam consequi et in ecclesiam redigi? Vnde et apud nos, ut ethnico par, immo et super ethnicum, haereticus etiam per baptisma ueritatis utroque nomine purgatus admittitur. [6] Aut si certus es mulierem illam post fidem uiuam in haeresi postea exspirasse, ut non quasi haereticae, sed quasi fidei peccatrici cui ueniam ex paenitentia uindices, sane agat paenitentiam, sed in finem moechiae, non tamen et restitutionem consecutura. Haec enim erit paenitentia,

quam et nos deberi quidem agnoscimus multo magis, sed de uenia Deo reseruamus.

[7] Denique eadem Apocalypsis in posterioribus propudiosos et fornicatores, sicut timidos et incredulos et homicidas et ueneficos et idololatrias, qui tale quid in fide fuerint, in stagnum ignis sine ulla condicionali damnatione decreuit. [8] Non enim de ethnicis uidebitur sapere, cum de fidelibus pronuntiauit: *Qui uicerint, hereditate habebunt ista, et ero illis Deus, et illi mihi in filios*, et ita subiunxerunt: *Timidis autem et incredulis et propudiosis et fornicatoribus et homicidis et ueneficis et idololatriis particula in stagno ignis et sulphuris., quod est mors secunda.* [9] Sic et rursus: *Beati qui ex praeceptis agunt, ut in lignum uitae habeant potestatem et in portas ad introeundum in sanctam ciuitatem. Canes, uenefici, fornicator, homicida foras*, utique qui non ex praeceptis agant. Illorum est enim foras dari qui intus fuerunt. Ceterum *quid mihi eos, qui foris sunt, iudicare ?* praecesserat.

[10] De epistola quoque Iohannis carpunt. Statim dictum est: *Sanguis filii eius emundat nos ab omni delicto.* Semper ergo et omnifariam delinquemus, si semper et ab omni delicto emundat nos ille; aut si non semper, non etiam post fidem, et si non ab omni delicto, non etiam a fornicatione. [11] Vnde autem exorsus est? Lumen praedixerat Deum et tenebras non esse in illo et mentiri nos, si dicamus nos communionem habere cum eo et in tenebris incedamus. *Si uero*, inquit, *in lumine incedamus, communionem cum eo habebimus, et sanguis Iesu Christi Domini nostri emundat nos ab omni delicto.* [12] Ergo in lumine incedentes delinquimus et in lumine delinquentes emundabimur? Nullo pacto. Qui enim delinquit, non in lumine est, sed in tenebris. Vnde et ostendit, quomodo emundabimur a delicto in lumine incedentes in quo delictum agi non potest. A Deo sic emundari nos ait, non quasi delinquamus, sed quia non delinquamus. [13] Incedentes enim in lumine, tenebris uero non communicantes, emundati agemus, non deposito, sed non admissio delicto. Haec est enim uis dominici sanguinis, ut quos iam <a> delicto mundarit et exinde in lumine constituerit, mundos exinde perstare, si in lumine incedere perseuerauerint. [14] Sed subicit, inquit, *si dicamus nos delictum non habere, seducimus nosmetipsos, et ueritas non est in nobis. Si confitemur delicta nostra, fidelis et iustus est, ut dimittat ea nobis et emundet nos ab omni iniustitia.* [15] Numquid ab immunditia? Aut si ita est, ergo et ab idololatria? Sed aliud in sensu est. Ecce enim et rursus, *si dicamus*, ait, *nos non deliquisse,*

mendacem facimus illum, et sermo eius non est in nobis. [16] *Eo amplius, filioli, haec scripsi uobis, ne delinquatis, et si deliqueritis, aduocatum habemus apud Deum patrem, Iesum Christum iustum, et ipse placatio est pro delictis nostris.* Secundum haec, inquis, et delinquere nos et ueniam habere constabit. [17] Quid ergo fiet, cum procedens aliud inuenio? Negat enim nos omnino delinquere, et in hoc plurimum tractat, ut nihil tale concedat, proponens semel a Christo delicta deleta, non habitura postea ueniam, in quo hos sensus ad admonitionem castimoniae demandat. [18] *Omnis, inquit, qui habet spem istam, castificat semetipsum, quia et ille castus est. Omnis qui facit delictum, et iniquitatem facit, et delictum est iniquitas. Et scitis quod ille manifestatus sit, ut auferat delicta, utique hactenus admittenda.* [19] Siquidem subiungit: *Omnis, qui manet in illo, non delinquet. Omnis qui delinquit, neque uidit neque cognouit eum. Filioli, nemo uos seducat. Omnis qui facit iustitiam, iustus est, sicut et ille iustus est. Qui facit delictum, ex diabolo est, quoniam diabolus a primordio delinquit. In hoc enim manifestatus est filius Dei, ut soluat opera diaboli.* [20] Nam et soluit liberans hominem per lauacrum donato ei chirographo mortis. *Et ideo omnis, qui ex Deo nascitur non facit delictum, quia semen Dei manet in illo, et non potest delinquere, quia ex Deo natus est. In hoc manifesti sunt filii Dei et filii diaboli.* [21] In quo, nisi illi non delinquendo, ex quo de Deo nati sunt, isti delinquendo, quia de diabolo sunt, proinde atque si numquam sint ex Deo nati? Quod si dicit, *qui non est iustus, ex Deo non est*, qui non pudicus, quomodo rursus ex Deo fiet, qui iam esse desiit? [22] Iuxta est igitur ut excidisse sibi dicamus Iohannem in primore quidem epistola negantem nos sine delicto esse, nunc uero praescribentem non delinquere omnino, et illic quidem aliquid de uenia blandientem, hic uero districte negantem filios Dei quicumque deliquerint. [23] Sed absit. Nam nec ipsi excidimus a qua digressi sumus distinctione delictorum. Et hic enim illam Iohannes commendauit, quod sint quaedam delicta cotidianae incursionis, quibus omnes simus obiecti. [24] Cui enim non accidet aut irasci inique et ultra solis occasum, aut et manum immittere aut facile maledicere aut temere iurare aut fidem pacti destruere aut uerecundia aut necessitate mentiri? In negotiis, in officiis, in quaestu, in uictu, in uisu, in auditu quanta temptamur? Vt, si nulla sit uenia istorum, nemini salus competat. [25] Horum ergo erit uenia per exoratorem Patris Christum. Sunt autem et contraria istis, ut grauiora et exitiosa, quae ueniam non capiant, homicidium, idololatria, fraus, negatio,

blasphemia, utique et moechia et fornicatio, et si qua alia uiolatio templi Dei. [26] Horum ultra exorator non erit Christus; haec non admittet omnino, qui natus ex Deo fuerit, non futurus Dei filius, si admiserit. Ita Iohannis ratio constabit diuersitatis, distinctionem delictorum disponentis, cum delinquere filios Dei nunc adnuit, nunc abnuit. [27] Prospiciebat enim clausulam litterarum suarum, et illi praestruerat hos sensus dicturus in fine manifestius: *Si quis scit fratrem suum delinquere delictum non ad mortem, postulabit, et dabit ei uitam Dominus, qui non ad mortem delinquit. Est enim delictum ad mortem; non de eo dico, ut quis postulet.* [28] Meminerat et ipse Hieremiam prohibitum a Deo deprecari pro populo mortalia delinquente. *Omnis iniustitia delictum est, et est delictum ad mortem. Scimus autem, quod omnis, qui ex Deo natus sit, non delinquit, scilicet delictum quod ad mortem est.*

Ita nihil iam superest quam aut neges moechiam et fornicationem mortalia esse delicta, aut inremissibilia fatearis, pro quibus nec exorare permittitur.

XX. [1] Disciplina igitur apostolorum proprie quidem instruit ac determinat principaliter sanctitatis omnis erga templum Dei sacramentum et ubique de ecclesia eradicat omne sacrilegium impudicitiae sine ulla restitutionis mentione. Volo tamen ex redundanti alicuius etiam comitis apostolorum testimonium superducere, idoneum confirmandi de proximo iure disciplinam magistrorum. [2] Extat enim et Barnabae titulus ad Hebraeos, a Deo satis auctorati uiri, ut quem Paulus iuxta se constituerit in abstinentiae tenore: *Aut ego solus et Barnabas non habemus operandi potestatem?* Et utique receptior apud ecclesias epistola Barnabae illo apocrypho Pastore moechorum. [3] Monens itaque discipulos omissis omnibus initiis ad perfectionem magis tendere nec rursus fundamenta paenitentiae iacere ab operibus mortuorum, *impossibile est enim, inquit, eos qui semel inluminati sunt et donum caeleste gustauerunt et participauerunt Spiritum sanctum et uerbum Dei dulce gustauerunt, occidente iam aeuo cum exciderint, rursus reuocari in paenitentiam, refigentes cruci in semetipsos filium Dei et dedecorantes.* [4] *Terra enim quae bibit saepius deuenientem in se humorem et peperit herbam aptam his propter quos et colitur, benedictionem Dei consequitur; proferens autem spinas reproba et maledictioni proxima, cuius finis in exustionem.* [5] Hoc qui ab apostolis didicit et cum apostolis docuit, numquam moecho et fornicatori secundam paenitentiam promissam ab apostolis norat. Optime enim legem interpretabatur et figuras eius iam in ipsa ueritate seruabat. [6] Ad

hanc denique speciem disciplinae de leproso cautum fuit: *Si autem uarietas effloruerit in cutem et totam cutem texerit a capite usque ad pedes per omnem conspectum, et sacerdos cum uiderit, emundabit eum, quoniam conuertit in album, mundus est. Qua uero die uisus fuerit in eiusmodi color uiuus, inquinatus est.* [7] Conuersum enim hominem de pristino carnis habitu in candorem fidei, quae uitium et macula aestimatur in saeculo, et totum nouatum mundum uoluit intellegi, qui iam non sit uarius, non sit de pristino et nouo aspersus. Si uero post abolitionem in uetustatem aliquid ex illa reuixerit, rursum in carne eius quod emortuum delicto habebatur immundum iudicari nec expiari iam a sacerdote. Ita moechia de pristino recidiua et unitatem noui coloris, a quo fuerat exclusa, commaculans immundabile est uitium. [8] Item de domo: *Si quae maculae et cauositates adnuntiatae in parietibus sacerdoti fuissent, priusquam introiret ad inspiciendam eam, iubet auferri de domo omnia, ita immunda non futura quae domus essent.* [9] *Dehinc introgressus sacerdos si inuenisset cauositates uiridicantes nel rubescentes, et aspectum earum humiliorem citra parietinam formam, exiret ad ianuam et secerneret domum illam septem diebus. Dehinc die septima regressus si animaduertisset diffusum in parietibus tactum illum, imperaret exterminari eos lapides, in quibus tactus leprae fuisset, et abici extra ciuitatem in locum immundum, et sumi alios lapides politos et solidos et reponi loco pristinorum et puluere alio inliniri domum.* [10] Oportet enim, cum peruenitur ad summum sacerdotem Patris Christum, de domo hominis nostri in tempore hebdomadis auferri omnia impedimenta prius, ut munda sit quae remanet domus, caro et anima, ut ubi introierit eam sermo Dei et inuenerit maculas ruboris et uiroris, extrahi statim et abici foras sensus mortiferos et cruentos (nam et Apocalypsis uiridi equo mortem, russeo autem praeliatorem imposuit), proque illis politos et in compaginem aptos et firmos substrui lapides, quales in Abrahae <filios>, fiunt, ut ita homo habilis Deo sit. [11] Quod si post recuperationem et reformationem rursus sacerdos animaduernerit in eadem domo de pristinis cauis aliquid et maculis, immundam eam pronuntiauit, et iussit deponi materias et lapides et omnem structuram eius et abici in locum immundum. [12] Hic erit homo caro atque anima, qui post baptisma et introitum sacerdotum reformatus denuo resumat scabra et maculas carnis, et abicitur extra ciuitatem in locum immundum, deditus scilicet satanae in carnis interitum, nec amplius reaedificatur in ecclesia post ruinam. [13] Sic et de famulae concubitu, quae

homini esset reseruata, necdum redempta, necdum liberata. *Prospicietur*; inquit, *illi et non morietur, quia nondum est manumissa, cui seruabatur*. Nondum enim caro a Christo manumissa, cui seruabatur, impune contaminabatur, ita iam manumissa non habet ueniam.

XXI. [1] Haec si apostoli magis norant, magis utique curabant. Sed et in hunc iam gradum decurram, excernens inter doctrinam apostolorum et potestatem. Disciplina hominem gubernat, potestas adsignat. Sed rursum quid potestas? <Spiritus>. Spiritus autem Deus. [2] Quid autem docebat? Non communicandum operibus tenebrarum. Obserua quod iubet. Quis autem poterat donare delicta? Hoc solius ipsius est. *Quis enim dimittit delicta, ni solus Deus* ? Et utique mortalia, quae in ipsum fuerint admissa et in templum eius? [3] Nam tibi quae in te reatum habeant etiam septuagies septies iuberis indulgere in persona Petri. Itaque si et ipsos beatos apostolos tale aliquid indulsisse constaret, cuius uenia a Deo, non ab homine competeret, non ex disciplina, sed ex potestate fecissent. [4] Nam et mortuos suscitauerunt, quod Deus solus, et debiles redintegrauerunt, quod nemo nisi Christus, immo et plagas inflixerunt, quod noluit Christus. Non enim decebat eum saeuire qui pati uenerat. Percussus est Ananias et Elimas, Ananias morte, Elimas caecitate, ut hoc ipso probaretur Christum et haec facere potuisse. [5] Sic et prophetae caedem et cum ea moechiam paenitentibus ignouerant, quia et seueritatis documenta fecerunt.

Exhibe igitur et nunc mihi, apostolice, prophetica exempla, ut agnoscam diuinitatem, et uindica tibi delictorum eiusmodi remittendorum potestatem. [6] Quod si disciplinae solius officia sortitus est, nec imperio praesidere, sed ministerio, quis aut quantus es indulgere, qui neque prophetam nec apostolum exhibens cares ea uirtute cuius est indulgere? [7] « Sed habet, inquis, potestatem ecclesia delicta donandi. » Hoc ego magis et agnosco et dispono, qui ipsum Paracletum in prophetis nouis habeo dicentem: « Potest ecclesia donare delictum, sed non faciam, ne et alia delinquant. » [8] Quid, si pseudopropheticus spiritus pronuntiauit? atqui magis euersoris fuisset et semetipsum de clementia commendare et ceteros ad delinquentiam temperare. Aut si et hoc secundum spiritum ueritatis adfectare gestiuit, ergo spiritus ueritatis potest quidem indulgere fornicatoribus ueniam, sed cum plurium malo non uult.

[9] De tua nunc sententia quaero, unde hoc ius ecclesiae usurpes. Si quia

dixerit Petro Dominus: *Super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam, tibi dedi clauces regni caelestis, uel: Quaecumque alligaueris uel solueris in terra, erunt alligata uel soluta in caelis*, idcirco praesumis et ad te deriuasse soluendi et alligandi potestatem, id est ad omnem ecclesiam Petri prouinciam, [10] qualis es, euertens atque commutans manifestam Domini intentionem personaliter hoc Petro conferentem? *Super te*, inquit, *aedificabo ecclesiam meam*, et: *Dabo tibi clauces*, non ecclesiae, et: *Quaecumque solueris uel alligaueris*, non quae soluerint uel alligauerint. [11] Sic enim et exitus docet. In ipso ecclesia extracta est id est per ipsum, ipse clauem imbuat, uides quam: *Viri Israelitae, auribus mandate quae dico: Iesum nazarenum uirum a Deo uobis destinatum*, et reliqua. [12] Ipse denique primus in Christi baptismo reserauit aditum caelestis regni, quo soluuntur alligata retro delicta et alligantur quae non fuerint soluta, secundum ueram salutem, et Ananiam uinxit uinculo mortis et debilem pedibus absoluit uitio uoletudinis. [13] Sed et in illa disceptatione custodiendae <necne> legis primus omnium Petrus spiritu instinctus et de nationum uocatione praefatus, *et nunc*, inquit, *cur temptastis Dominum de imponendo iugo fratribus, quod neque nos neque patres nostri sufferre ualuerunt? Sed enim per gratiam Iesu credimus nos salutem consecuturos, sicut et illi*. [14] Haec sententia et soluit quae omissa sunt legis et alligauit quae reseruata sunt. Adeo nihil ad delicta fidelium capitalia potestas soluendi et alligandi Petro emancipata. [15] Cui si praeceperat Dominus etiam septuagies septies delinquenti in eum fratri indulgere, utique nihil postea alligare id est retinere mandasset, nisi forte ea quae in Dominum, non in fratrem, quis admiserit. Praejudicatur enim non dimittenda in Deum delicta, cum in homine admissa donantur.

[16] Quid nunc et ad ecclesiam et quidem tuam, psychice? Secundum enim Petri personam spiritalibus potestas ista conueniet, aut apostolo aut prophetae. Nam et ipsa ecclesia proprie et principaliter ipse est spiritus, in quo est trinitas unius diuinitatis, Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus. Illam ecclesiam congregat quam Dominus in tribus posuit. [17] Atque ita exinde etiam numerus omnis qui in hanc fidem conspirauerint ecclesia ab auctore et consecratore censetur. Et ideo ecclesia quidem delicta donabit, sed ecclesia spiritus per spiritalem hominem, non ecclesia numerus episcoporum. Domini enim, non famuli est ius et arbitrium; Dei ipsius, non sacerdotis.

XXII. [1] At tu iam et in martyras tuos effundis hanc potestatem. Vt quisque

ex consensione uincula induit adhuc mollia in nouo custodiae nomine, statim ambiunt moechi, statim adeunt fornicatores, iam preces circumsonant, iam lacrimae circumstagnant maculati cuiusque, nec ulli magis aditum carceris redimunt quam qui ecclesiam perdiderunt. [2] Violantur uiri ac feminae in tenebris plane ex usu libidinum notis, et pacem ab his quaerunt qui de sua periclitantur. Alii ad metalla confugiunt et inde communicatores reuertuntur, ubi iam aliud martyrium necessarium est delictis post martyrium nouis. [3] Quis enim in terris et in carne sine culpa? Quis martyr saeculi incola, denariis supplex, medico obnoxius et feneratori? Puta nunc sub gladio iam capite librato, puta in patibulo iam corpore expanso, puta in stipite iam leone concesso, puta in axe iam incendio adstructo, in ipsa, dico, securitate et possessione martyrii, quis permittit homini donare quae Deo reseruanda sunt, a quo ea sine excusatione damnata sunt, quae nec apostoli, quod sciam, martyres et ipsi donabilia iudicauerunt? [4] Denique iam ad bestias depugnauerat Paulus Ephesi, cum interitum decernit incesto.

Sufficiat martyri propria delicta purgasse. Ingrati uel superbi est in alios quoque spargere, quod pro magno fuerit consecutus. Quis alienam mortem sua soluit, nisi solus Dei filius? Nam et in ipsa passione liberauit latronem. Ad hoc enim uenerat, ut ipse a delicto purus et omnia sanctus pro peccatoribus obiret. [5] Proinde qui illum aemularis donando delicta, si nil ipse deliquisti, plane patere pro me. Si uero peccator es, quomodo oleum faculae tuae sufficere et tibi et mihi poterit?

[6] Habeo etiam nunc quo probem Christum. Si propterea Christus in martyre est, ut moechos et fornicatores martyr absoluat, occulta cordis edicat, ut ita delicta concedat, et Christus est. [7] Sic enim Dominus Iesus Christus potestatem suam ostendit: *Quid cogitatis nequam in cordibus uestris? Quid enim facilius est dicere paralytico: dimittuntur tibi peccata, aut: surge et ambula? Igitur ut sciatis filium hominis habere dimittendorum peccatorum in terris potestatem, tibi dico, paralytice: surge et ambula.* [8] Si Dominus tantum de potestatis suae probatione curauit, uti traduceret cogitatus et ita imperaret sanitatem, ne non crederetur posse delicta dimittere, non licet mihi eandem potestatem in aliquo sine eisdem probationibus credere. [9] Cum tamen moechis et fornicatoribus a martyre expostulas ueniam, ipse confiteris eiusmodi crimina nonnisi proprio martyrio diluenda, qui praesumis alieno. Quod sciam, et martyrium aliud erit baptisma. [10] *Habeo enim, inquit, et aliud*

baptisma. Vnde et ex uulnere lateris dominici aqua et sanguis, utriusque lauacri paratura manauit. [11] Debeo ergo et primo lauacro alium liberare, si possum secundo.

Ingeram usque in finem necesse est: quaecumque auctoritas, quaecumque ratio moeche et fornicatori pacem ecclesiasticam reddit, eadem debet et homicidae et idololatrae paenitentibus subuenire, certe negatori, et utique illi, quem in proelio confessionis tormentis conluctatum saeuitia deiecit. [12] Ceterum indignum Deo et illius misericordia, eius qui paenitentiam peccatoris morti praeuertit, ut facilius in ecclesiam redeant, qui subando quam qui dimicando ceciderunt. Vrget nos dicere indignitas: contaminata potius corpora reuocabis quam cruentata? [13] Quae paenitentia miserabilior titillatam prosternens carnem an uero laniatam? Quae iustior uenia in omnibus causis, quam uoluntarius an quam inuitus peccator implorat? Nemo uolens negare compellitur, nemo nolens fornicator. [14] Nulla ad libidinem uis est, nisi ipsa; nescit quo libet cogi. Negationem porro quanta compellunt ingenia carnificis et genera poenarum? Quis magis negauit, qui Christum uexatus an qui delectatus amisit? Qui cum amitteret doluit, an qui cum amitteret lusit?

[15] Et tamen illae cicatrices Christiano proelio insculptae et utique inuidiosae apud Christum, quia uicisse cupierunt, et sic quoque gloriosae, quia non uincendo cesserunt, in quas adhuc et diabolus ipse suspirat, cum sua infelicitate, sed casta, cum paenitentia maerente, sed non erubesciente ad Dominum, de uenia denuo dimittetur eis, qui piaculariter negauerunt. Solis illis caro infirma est. Atquin nullatam fortis caro quam quae spiritum elidit.

Spuria

Adversus Omnes Haereses

I. [1] Quorum haereticorum, ut plura praeteream, pauca perstringam. Taceo enim Iudaismi haereticos, Dositheum, inquam Samaritanum, qui primus ausus est prophetas quasi non in spiritu sancto locutos repudiare, taceo Sadducaeos, qui ex huius erroris radice surgentes ausi sunt ad hanc haeresim etiam resurrectionem carnis negare, praetermitto Pharisaeos, qui additamenta quaedam legis adstruendo a Iudaeis diuisi sunt, unde etiam hoc accipere ipsum quod habent nomen digni fuerunt, cum his etiam Herodianos, qui Christum Herodem esse dixerunt: ad eos me conuerto qui ex evangelio haeretici esse voluerunt. [2] Ex quibus est primus omnium Simon Magus, qui in Actis Apostolorum condignam meruit ab apostolo Petro iustamque sententiam. Hic ausus est summam se dicere virtutem, id est summum deum, mundum autem ab angelis suis institutum, ad daemonem se errantem, quid esset sapientia, descendisse quaerendum, apud Iudaeos se in phantasmate dei non passum, sed esse quasi passum. [3] Post hunc Menander discipulus ipsius, similiter magus, eadem dicens quae Simon aequè quicquid se Simon dixerat, hoc se Menander esse dicebat, negans habere posse quemquam salutem, nisi in nomine suo baptizatus fuisset. [4] Secutus est post haec et Saturninus, et hic similiter dicens innascibilem Virtutem, id est deum, in summis et illis infinitis partibus et in superioribus manere, longe autem distantes ab hoc angelos inferiorem mundum fecisse, et quia splendor quidam luminis desursum in inferioribus refulsisset, ad similitudinem illius luminis angelos hominem instituere curasse: hunc super terram iacuisse reptantem; cuius lumen illud et virtutem illam superiorem propter misericordiam scintillam salvam esse, cetera hominis perire: Christum in substantia corporis non fuisse, et phantasmate tantum quasi passum fuisse: resurrectionem carnis nullo modo futuram esse. [5] Postea Basilides haereticus erupit. Hic esse dicit summum deum nomine Abraxan, quo mentem creatam, quam Graece *nou~n* appellat; inde verbum; ex illo providentiam, uirtutem et sapientiam, ex ipsis inde principatus et potestates et angelos factos, deinde infinitas angelorum editiones et probolas, ab istis angelis trecentos sexaginta quinque caelos institutos, et mundum in honore Abraxae, cuius nomen hunc in se habebat numerum computatum. In ultimis quidem angelis, et qui nunc fecerunt mundum, novissimum ponit Iudaeorum deum, id est deum legis et

prophetarum, quem deum negat, sed angelum dicit: huic sortito obtigisse semen Abrahae, atque ideo hunc de terra Aegyptio filios Israël in terram Chanaam transtulisse: hunc turbulentiore prae ceteris angelis, atque ideo et seditioes frequenter et bella concutere, sed et humanum sanguinem fundere: Christum autem non ab hoc, qui fecerit mundum, sed ab illo Abraxa missum, venisse in phantasmate, sine substantia carnis fuisse; hunc passum apud Iudaeos non esse, sed vice ipsius Simonem crucifixum esse; unde nec in eum credendum esse qui sit crucifixus, ne quis confiteatur in Simonem credidisse. Martyria negat esse facienda. Carnis resurrectionem graviter impugnat, negans salutem corporibus repromissam. [6] Alter haereticus Nicolaus emersit. Hic de septem diaconis, qui in Actis Apostolorum allecti sunt, fuit. Hic dicit tenebras in concupiscentia luminis et quidem foeda et obscoena fuisse; ex hac permixtione pudor est dicere quae foetida et immunda sunt. Sunt et cetera obscoena. Aeones enim refert quosdam turpitudinis natos, et complexus et permixtiones execrabiles obscenasque coniunctas, et quaedam ex ipsis adhuc turpiora. Natos praeterea daemones et deos et spiritus septem, et alia satis sacrilega pariter et foeda, quae referre erubescimus, et iam praeterimus. Satis est nobis, quod totam istam haeresim Nicolaitarum Apocalypsis domini gravissima sententiae auctoritate damnavit dicendo Quia hoc tenes, odisti doctrinam Nicolaitarum, quam et ego odi.

II. [1] Accesserunt his haeretici etiam illi qui Ophitae nuncupantur. Nam serpentem magnificent in tantum, ut illum etiam ipsi Christo praeferant. Ipse enim, inquiunt, scientiae nobis boni et mali originem dedit. Huius animadvertens potentiam et maiestatem Moyses, inquiunt, aereum posuit serpentem, et quicumque ipsum aspexerunt, sanitatem consecuti sunt. Ipse, aiunt praeterea, Christus in evangelio suo imitatur serpentis ipsius sacram potestatem dicendo, Et sicut Moyses exaltavit serpentem in deserto, ita exaltari oportet filium hominis. Ipsum introducunt ad benedicenda eucharistia sua. [2] Sed tota istius erroris et scena et doctrina inde fluxit. Dicunt enim de illo summo primario Aeone complures alios Aeones extitisse inferiores, omnibus tamen istis Aeonem antistare cuius sit nomen Ialdabaoth. Hunc autem conceptum esse ex altero Aeone Aeonibus inferioribus permixto, seque postea, cum in superiora voluisset eniti, gravitate materiae permixta sibi non potuisse ad superiora pervenire, in medietate relictum extendisse se totum, effecisse sic caelum. [3] Ialdabaoth tamen inferius descendisse et fecisse sibi

filios septem: quem occlusisse superiora dilatatione, ut, quia angeli quae superiora essent scire non possent, ipsum solum deum putarent. Virtutes igitur illas et angelos inferiores hominem fecisse, et quia ab infirmioribus et mediocribus virtutibus institutus esset, quasi vermem iacuisse reptantem; illum vero Aeonem, ex quo Ialdabaoth processisset, invidia commotum scintillam quamdam iacenti homini immisisse, qua excitatus per prudentiam saperet et intelligere posset superiora. [4] Sic rursum Ialdabaoth istum in indignationem conuersum ex semetipso edidisse virtutem et similitudinem serpentis, et hanc fuisse virtutem in paradiso, id est istum fuisse serpentem cui Eva quasi filio deo crediderat. Decerpsit, inquiunt, de fructu arboris, atque ideo generi humano scientiam bonorum et malorum contribuit. Christum autem non in substantia carnis fuisse; salutem carnis sperandam omnino non esse. [5] Nec non etiam erupit alia quoque haeresis, quae dicitur Cainaeorum. Et ipsi enim magnificant Cain, quasi ex quadam potenti virtute conceptum, quae operata sit in ipso. Nam Abel ex inferiore virtute conceptum procreatum, et ideo inferiorem repertum. Hi qui hoc adserunt, etiam Iudam proditorem defendunt, admirabilem illum et magnum esse memorantes, propter utilitates quas humano generi contulisse iactatur. [6] Quidam enim ipsorum gratiarum actionem Iudae propter hanc causam reddendam putant. Animadvertens enim, inquiunt, Iudas, quod Christus vellet veritatem subvertere, tradidit illum, ne subverti veritas posset. Et alii sic contra disputant et dicunt. Quia potestates huius mundi nolebant pati Christum, ne humano generi per mortem ipsius salus pararetur, saluti consulens generis humani tradidit Christum, ut salus, quae impediabatur per virtutes quae obsistebant ne pateretur Christus, impediri omnino non posset, et ideo per passionem Christi non posset salus humani generis retardari. [7] Sed et illa haeresis processit, quae dicitur Sethoitarum. Huius perversitatis doctrina haec est: Duos homines ab angelis constitutos, Cain et Abel, propter hos magnas inter angelos contentiones et discordias extitisse; ob hanc causam illam virtutem quae super omnes virtutes esset, quam matrem pronuntiant, dum Abel interfectum dicerent, voluisse concipi et nasci hunc Seth loco Abelis, ut evacuarentur angeli illi qui duos priores illos homines condidissent, dum hoc semen mundum oritur et nascitur. [8] Permixtiones enim dicunt angelorum et hominum iniquas fuisse, ob quam causam illam virtutem, quam, sicut diximus, pronuntiant matrem, ad vindictam etiam cataclysmum inducere, ut et illud permixtionis semen

tolleretur et hoc solum semen, quod esset purum, integrum custodiretur. [9] Sed enim illos, qui seminis illos prioris instituissent, occulte et latenter et ignorante illa matre virtute cum illis octo animabus in arcam misisse, etiam semen Cham, quo semen malitiae non periret, sed cum ceteris conservatum et post cataclysmum terris redditum exemplo ceterorum excresceret et effunderetur et totum orbem et impleret et occuparet. De Christo autem sic sentiunt, ut dicant illum tantummodo Seth, et pro ipso Seth ipsum fuisse.

III. [1] Carpocrates praeterea hanc tulit sectam: Unam esse dicit virtutem in superioribus principalem, ex hac prolatos angelos atque virtutes, quos distantes longe a superioribus virtutibus mundum istum in inferioribus partibus condidisse; Christum non ex virgine Maria natum, sed ex semine Ioseph hominem tantummodo genitum, sane prae ceteris iustitiae cultu, vitae integritate meliorem; hunc apud Iudaeos passum, solam animam ipsius in caelo receptam, eo quod et firmior et robustior ceteris fuerit; ex quo colligeret, retentata animarum sola salute, nullas corporis resurrectiones. [2] Post hunc Cerinthus haereticus erupit, similia docens. Nam et ipse mundum institutum esse ab illis dicit; Christum ex semine Ioseph natum proponit, hominem illum tantummodo sine diuinitate contendens, ipsam quoque legem ab angelis datam perhibens, Iudaeorum deum non dominum, sed angelum promens. [3] Huius successor Ebion fuit, Cerintho non in omni parte consentiens, quod a deo dicat mundum, non ab angelis factum, et quia scriptum sit, Nemo discipulus super magistrum, nec servus super dominum, legem etiam proponit, scilicet ad excludendum evangelium et vindicandum Iudaismum.

IV. [1] Valentinus autem haereticus multas introducit fabulas. Has ego circumducens breuiter expediam. Introducit enim Pleroma et Aeones triginta; exponit autem hos per syzygias, id est, coniugationes quasdam. Nam dicit in primis esse Bython et Silentium, ex his processisse Mentem et Veritatem, ex quibus erupisse Verbum et Vitam, de quibus rursus creatum Hominem et Ecclesiam. Sed enim ex his quoque processisse duodecim Aeonas; de Sermone autem et Vita Aeonas alios decem: hanc esse Aeonum triacontada, quae fit in Pleromate ex ogdoade et decade ac duodecade. [2] Tricesimum autem Aeonem Bython illum videre voluisse et ad videndum illum ausum esse in superiora conscendere, et quoniam ad magnitudinem ipsius videndam capax non fuit, in defectione fuisse et paene dissolutum esse, nisi qui missus ad constabiliendum illum, ille quem appellant Horon, confirmasset illum dicto

Iao pronuntiatio. [3] Istum autem Aeonem in defectionem factum Achamoth dicit in passionibus desiderii quibusdam fuisse et ex passionibus materias edidisse. Expavit enim, inquit, et extimuit et contristatus est, et ex his passionibus concepit et edidit. Hinc fecit caelum et terram et mare et omnia quaecunque sunt in eis, [4] ob quam causam omnia infirma esse et fragilia et caduca et mortalia, quaecunque sunt ab ipso facta, quoniam quidem ipse fuerit de defectione conceptus atque prolatus; hunc tamen instituisse istum mundum ex his materiis quas Achamoth vel pavendo vel timendo vel contristando vel sudando praestiterat. Nam ex pavore, inquit, tenebrae factae sunt, ex timore et ignorantia spiritus nequitiae et malignitatis, ex tristitia et lacrimis humida fontium, fluminum materia marisque. [5] Christum autem missum ab illo propatore, qui est Bythos. Hunc autem in substantia corporis nostri non fuisse, sed spiritale nescio quod corpus de caelo deferentem, quasi aquam per fistulam, sic per Mariam virginem transmeasse, nihil inde vel accipientem vel mutuamem. Resurrectionem huius carnis negat, sed alterius [6] legis et prophetarum quaedam probat, quaedam improbat, id est, omnia improbat, dum quaedam reprobat. Evangelium habet etiam suum praeter haec nostra. [7] Post hunc extiterunt Ptolomaeus et Secundus haeretici, qui cum Valentino per omnia consentiunt, in illo solo differunt. Nam cum Valentinus Aeonas tantum triginta finxisset, isti addiderunt alios complures; quatuor enim primum, deinde alios quatuor adgregaverunt. Et quod dicit Valentinus Aeonem tricesimum excessisse de Pleromate, ut in defectionem, negant isti. Non enim ex illa triacontade fuisse hunc qui fuerit in defectionem propter desiderium videndi propatoris. [8] Extitit praeterea Heracleon alter haereticus, qui cum Valentino paria sentit, sed novitate quadam pronuntiationis vult videri alia sentire. Introducit enim in primis illud fuisse quod pronuntiat, et deinde ex illa monade duo, ac deinde reliquos Aeonas. Deinde introducit totum Valentinum. V. [1] Non defuerunt post hos Marcus quidam et Colarbasus, novam haeresin ex Graecorum alphabeto componentes. Negant enim veritatem sine istis posse litteris inueniri, immo totam plenitudinem et perfectionem veritatis in istis litteris esse dispositam. Propter hanc enim causam Christum dixisse, Ego sum A et W. [2] Denique Iesum Christum descendisse, id est columbam in Iesum venisse; quae Graeco nomine cum *peristera* pronuntietur, habeat secundum numerum DCCCI. Percurrunt isti W, Y, X, F, U, T, totum usque ad A, B, et computant ogdoadas et decadas. Ita afferre illorum omnes vanitates et ineptum

sit et otiosum. [3] Quod tamen non tantum iam vanum, sed etiam periculosum sit, alterum deum fingunt praeter creatorem, Christum in substantia negant carnis fuisse, negant carnis resurrectionem futuram.

VI. [1] Accedit his Cerdon quidam. Hic introducit initia duo, id est duos deos, unum bonum, et alterum saevum, bonum superiorem, saevum hunc mundi creatorem. Hic prophetias et legem repudiat, deo creatori renuntiat, superioris dei filium Christum venisse tractat, hunc in substantia carnis negat, in phantasmate solo fuisse pronuntiat, nec omnino passum, sed quasi passum, nec ex virgine natum, sed omnino nec natum. Resurrectionem animae tantummodo probat, corporis negat. Solum evangelium Lucae, nec tamen totum recipit. Apostoli Pauli neque omnes neque totas epistolas sumit. Acta Apostolorum et Apocalypsim quasi falsa reicit. [2] Post hunc discipulus ipsius emersit Marcion quidam nomine, Ponticus genere, episcopi filius, propter stuprum cuiusdam virginis ab ecclesiae communicatione abiectus. Hic ex occasione qua dictum sit, Omnis arbor bona bonos fructus facit, mala autem malos, haeresim Cerdonis approbare conatus est, ut eadem diceret quae ille superior haereticus ante dixerat. [3] Exstitit post hunc Lucanus quidam nomine, Marcionis sectator atque discipulus, et hic per eadem vadens blasphemiae genera eadem docet quae Marcion et Cerdon docuerant. [4] Post hos subsequitur Apelles, discipulus Marcionis, qui posteaquam in carnem suam lapsus est, a Marcione segregatus est. Hic introducit unum deum infinitis superioribus partibus. Hunc potestates multas angelosque fecisse; propterea et aliam virtutem, quam dici dominum dicit, sed angelum ponit. Hoc vult videri mundum institutum ad imitationem mundi superioris; cui mundo permiscuisse paenitentiam, quia non illum tam perfecte fecisset quam ille superior mundus institutus fuisset. Legem et prophetas repudiat. [5] Christum neque in phantasmate dicit fuisse, sicut Marcion, neque in substantia veri corporis, ut evangelium docet, sed ideo quod e superioribus partibus descenderet, ipso descensu sideream sibi carnem et aeream contexuisse: hunc in resurrectione singulis quibusque elementis quae in descensu suo mutuata fuissent in ascensu reddidisse, et sic dispersis quibusque corporis sui partibus in caelo spiritum tantum reddidisse. [6] Hic carnis resurrectionem negat. Solo utitur et apostolo, sed Marcionis, id est non toto. Animarum solarum dicit salutem. Habet praeterea privatas, sed extraordinarias lectiones suas, quas appellat phaneroeis, Philumenes cuiusdam puellae, quam quasi prophetissam sequitur.

Habet praeterea suos libros, quos inscripsit Syllogismorum, in quibus probare vult quod omnia quaecunque Moyses de deo scripserit vera non sint, sed falsa sint.

VII. ^[1] His haereticis omnibus accedit Tatianus quidam alter haereticus. Hic Iustini martyris discipulus fuit; post hunc diuersa sentire coepit. Totus enim secundum Valentinum sapit, adiciens illud, Adam nec salutem consequi posse, quasi non, si rami salvi fiant, et radix salva sit. ^[2] Accesserunt alii haeretici, qui dicuntur Secundum Phrygas, sed horum non una doctrina est. Sunt enim qui Kata Proclum dicuntur, sunt alii qui Secundum Aeschinem pronuntiantur. Hi habent aliam communem blasphemiam, aliam blasphemiam non communem, sed peculiarem et suam: et communem quidem illam, qua in apostolis quidem dicant spiritum sanctum fuisse, paracletum non fuisse, et qua dicant paracletum plura in Montano dixisse quam Christum in evangelium protulisse, nec tantum plura, sed etiam meliora atque maiora. Privatam autem blasphemiam illi qui sunt Kata Aeschinem hanc habent qua adiciunt etiam hoc, uti dicant Christum ipsum esse filium et patrem. VIII. ^[1] Est praeterea his omnibus etiam Blastus accedens, qui latenter Iudaismum vult introducere. Pascha enim dicit non aliter custodiendum esse, nisi secundum legem Moysi XIII. mensis. Quis autem nesciat quoniam evangelica gratia evacuatur, si ad legem Christum rediget? ^[2] Accedit his Theodotus haereticus Byzantius, qui posteaquam Christi pro nomine adprehensus negavit, in Christum blasphemare non destitit. Doctrinam enim introduxit qua Christum hominem tantummodo diceret, deum autem illum negaret, ex spiritu quidem sancto natum ex virgine, sed hominem solitarium atque nudum, nulla alia prae ceteris nisi sola iustitiae auctoritate. ^[3] Alter post hunc Theodotus haereticus erupit, qui et ipse introduxit alteram sectam et ipsum hominem Christum tantummodo dicit ex spiritu sancto ex virgine Maria conceptum pariter et natum, sed hunc inferiorem esse quam Melchisedech, eo quod dictum sit de Christo: Tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech. Nam illum Melchisedech praecipuae gratiae caelestem esse virtutem, eo quod agat Christus pro hominibus, deprecator et advocatus ipsorum factus. Melchisedech facere pro caelestibus angelis atque virtutibus. Nam esse illum usque adeo Christo meliorem, ut *a)pa&pwr sit, a)mh&twr sit, a)genealoghtoj sit*, cuius neque initium neque finis comprehensus sit aut comprehendi possit. ^[4] Sed post hos omnes etiam Praxeas quidam haeresim introduxit, quam

Victorinus corroborare curavit. Hic deum patrem omnipotentem Iesum Christum esse dicit, hunc crucifixum passumque contendit et mortuum, praeterea se ipsum sibi sedere ad dexteram suam, cum prophana et sacrilega temeritate proponit.

Carmen ad Senatorem

CAPUT PRIMUM.

Cum te diversis iterum vanisque viderem
Inservire sacris, priscoque errore teneri;
Obstipui monitus; quia carmina semper amasti,
Carmine respondens, properavi scribere versus;
Ut te corripere, tenebras praeponere luci.
Quis patiatur enim, te Matrem credere magnam
Posse Deam dici, rursusque putare colendam,
Cujus cultores infamia turpis inurit?
Namque sacerdotes tunicis mulieribus iidem
Interius ritum cultu interiore fatentur;
Idque licere putant, quod non licet; unde per orbem
Leviter incedunt, mollita voce loquentes,
Lapsatosque tenent extenso pollice lumbos,
Et proprium mutant vulgato crimine sexum.
Cumque suos celebrant ritus, his esse diebus
Se castos memorant; at si tantummodo tunc sunt,
Ut perhibent, casti; reliquo jam tempore quid sunt?
Sed quia coguntur saltem semel esse pudici,
Mente fremunt, lacerant corpus, funduntque cruorem.
Quale sacrum est vero, quod fertur nomine sanguis?

CAPUT II.

Nunc etiam dicis, quod te non fecerit aetas.
Sed tua religio calvum, caligaque remota
Gallica, sit pedibus molli redimita papyro.
Res miranda satis dejectaque culmine summo.
Si quis ab Isiaco Consul procedat in urbem,
Risus oris erit: quis te non rideat autem,
Qui fueris Consul, nunc Isidis esse ministrum?
Quodque pudet primo, te non pudet esse secundo:
Ingeniumque tuum turpes damnare per hymnos

Respondente tibi vulgo et lacerante Senatu.
Teque domo propria pictum cum fascibus ante,
Nunc quoque cum sistro faciem portare caninam.
Haec non humilitas, sed humilitatis imago est.
Aedibus illa tuis semper monumenta manebunt.
Rumor et ad nostras pervenit publicus aures,
Te dixisse: Dea, erravi, ignosce, redivi.
Dic mihi si valeas, cum talia saepe rogaes,
Et veniam peteres; quae tecum verba locuta est?
Vere mente cares, sequeris qui mente carentes.
Haec iterum repetis, nec te delinquere sentis.
Quid mereare vide; minus esses forte notandus,
Si tantum hoc scires, et in hoc errore maneres;
At cum vericolae penetraveris ostia legis,
Et tibi nosse Deum paucis accesserit annis;
Cur linquenda, tenes aut cur retinenda relinquis?
Nilque colis, dum cuncta colis; nec corde retractas
Vera quid a falsis, quid ab umbris lumina distent.
Philosophum fingis, cum te sententia mutet;
Nam tibi si stomachum popularis moverit aura;
Et Judaeus eris, totusque incertus haberis.
Indulge dictis, sapientia non placet alta;
Omne quod est nimium, contra cadit, unum operantur
Et calor et frigus; sic hoc, sic illud adurit;
Sic tenebrae visum, sic sol contrarius aufert;
Et pariter laedunt gelidum fervensque lavacrum;
Esca alitur corpus, corpus corrumpitur esca;
Vimque suam minuit, si quid protenditur ultra.
Denique si sedeas, requies est magna laboris:
Si multum sedeas, labor est. Maro namque poeta
Pro poena posuit: Sedet, aeternumque sedebit
Infelix Theseus; semper nocet utile longum;
Prandia longa nocent, jejunia longa fatigant;
Sic nimium sapere stultum facit improba secta.
Me dea sic docuit, moderamen amabile, dixit.

Sed tu nec sectam modo, nec moderamina curas
Mens autem stabilis nullo pervertitur aestu,
Ipsaque simplicitas nunquam mala cogitat ulla.
Hinc sincera fides aeterna fide fruetur;
Et contra dolus longo cruciabitur igni.
Elige quid velis, ut digna piacula vites.
Sic tamen hanc veniam mereatur creditor inquam;
Ut leve crimen erit, si nolis noscere vera;
Non leve crimen erit, si cognita vera relinquas.
Sed te correctum forsán matura senectus
In melius revocat satiatum erroribus istis:
Tempus enim mutat mala, digerit omnia tempus.
Tunc igitur cum te consulta reduxerit aetas,
Disce Deo servare fidem, ne forte bis unum
Incurras lapsum, quia vere dicitur illud
Qui pedis offensi lapidem vitare secundo
Nescit, et incautus iterum vexaverit artus:
Imputet ipse sibi, nec casibus imputet ullis.
Corrige delictum fidamine, corrige mentem.
Suffecit peccare semel, desiste vereri:
Non erit in culpa, quem poenitet ante fuisse.

Carmen de Iona Propheta

Post Sodomum et Gomorum viventia funera in aevum,
Et cinerum senio signata incendia poenae,
Et frustra solis oculis nascentia poma,
Et pariter facti mortem maris et salis illic,
Si quid homo est poenam mutati corpore servans,
Paene alios ignes superi decusserat imbris
Urbs aequi iustique viam transgressa Ninive.
Nam quis subversae menti metus? Omnia vulgo
Poenarum documenta vacant, ubi possidet error.
At bonus et nostri patiens et plectere serus
Omnipotens dominus nullam iaculabitur iram,
Ni prius admoneat durataque pectora pulset,
Praesagos agitans augusta mente prophetas.
Namque Ninivium meritis mandarant Ionan
Praefari exitium dominus; sed conscius ille
Parcere subiectis et debita cedere poenae
Supplicibus, facilemque boni, cessabat obire,
Ne vanum caneret, cessura pace minarum.
Mox fuga consilium, si qua est tamen ista facultas,
Evitare deum dominique evadere dextram,
Quo subtertotus trepidans compescitur orbis.
At ratio est quod agit sancto de corde prophetae?
Littoris in labio portu celeberrima fido
Urbs oras Cilicum contra libratur Ioppe.
Inde igitur Tarsos properus rate poscit Ionas,
Eiusdem per signa dei; nec denique mirum,
Si dominum in terris fugiens invenit in undis.
Parvula nam subito maculaverat aera nubes
Vellere sulphureo, de semine concita venti,
Paulatimque globum pariens cum sole cohaesit,
Deceptumque diem caliginis agmine clusit.
Fit speculum caeli pelagus, niger ambitus undas
Inficit, in tenebras ruit aether et mare surgit.
Nec quicquam medium est, fluctus dum nubila tangunt,

Gloria ventorum quos omnes turbine miscet.
Diversus furor in profugum frendebat Ionan.
Una ratis certamen erat caeloque fretoque,
Tunditur hinc illinc, tremit omnis silva sub ictu
Fluctifrago, subter concussae spina carinae
Palpitat, antennae stridens labor horret ab alto,
Ipsa etiam infringi dubitans inflectitur arbor.
Nauticus interea genitus clamor omnia temptat
Pro rate proque anima, spiras mandare morantes
Oblaqueare mithram, clavorum stringere nisus,
Vel reluctantes impellere pectore gyros.
Pars maris interni puteum gravem odore vicissim
Egrege rapiunt. Tum merces atque onus omne
Praecipitant, certantque pericula vincere damnis.
Sunt miserae voces ad singula fragmina ponti,
Expanduntque manus nullorum ad numina divum,
Quos maris et caeli vis non timet, haud minus illos
Puppibus abstrusos irato turbine mergens.
Nescius haec reus ipse cavo sub fornice puppis
Sternentem inflata resonabat nare soporem,
Iam tunc in somno domini formando figuram.
Hunc simul undisecae qui cogit munia prorae,
Pace soporatum placida, requiete superbum
Institit impulsans: Quid, ait, discrimine in isto
Somnia nare canis? tantoque in turbine portum
Solus habes? en unda operit, spes unica divum est.
Tu quoque, quisque tibi deus est, dic vota precesque
Indigetans patrium supplex inflectito numen.
Exin quis culpa propior, quis causa procellae,
Discere sorte placet, nec sors mentitur Ionan.
Tunc rogitant, quis, et unde bominum, quis denique rerum,
Quo populo, qua sede cluis? famulum ille fatetur
Praetimidumque dei, qui caelum sustulit alte,
Qui terram posuit, qui totum corpore fudit,
Ipsius sese profugum causasque revelat.

Diriguere metu. Quid nos igitur tibi culpae?
Quid fore nunc? quonam placabimus aequora facto ?
Namque magis multoque magis freta saeva tumbant.
Tunc domini vates ingesta spiritus infit:
En ego tempestas, ego tota insania mundi,
In me, inquit, vobis aether ruit et mare surgit,
In me terra procul, mors proxima, nulla dei spes.
Quin date praecipitem causam, navemque levantes
Unum onus hoc magnum pelago iactate volentem.
Ast isti frustra nituntur vertere cursum
In reditum, nec clavus enim torquere sinebat,
Dura nec antennae mutari libra volebat.
Postremo ad dominum: Ne nos in mortis hiatus,
Unam animam propter dederis, ne sanguine iusti
Respersisse velis, si sic tua dextera ducit -
Iamque illic imo exoriens de gurgite cetus
Squamosum conchis, evolvens corporis agmen,
Urgebat propius concusso marmore fluctus,
Sponte dei praedam rapiens, quam puppis ab arce
Provolutatam limosis faucibus hausit,
Viventemque dapem longam properavit in alvum,
Cumque viro caeli rabiem pelagique voravit.
Sternitur aequoris unda, resolvitur aetheris umbra.
Hinc fluctus, illinc flatus redduntur amici,
Securamque viam placida signante carina
Candida caeruleo florent vestigia sulco.
Nauta at tum domino leti venerando timorem
Sacrificat grates, tum portus intrat amicos.
Navigat et vates alio susceptus Ionas
Navigio fluctumque secat sub fluctibus imis,
Viscera velificans, anima inspirata ferina,
Conclusus, neque tinctus aquis, maris intimus exter,
Inter semesas classes resolutaque putri
Corpora digestu, sua iam tum funera discens.
In signum sed enim domini quandoque futurus,

Non erat exitii, sed mortis testis abactae.

Carmen de Iudicio Domini

Qui mihi ruricolae optavi carmine musas
et vernis roseas titulavi floribus auras
aestivasque graves maturavi messis aristas,
succidi tumidas autumnus vitibus uvas
et hiemis placidas laudavi semper olivas
atque modulatas exclusi fontibus undas
frondentisque vago cecini de gramine silvas,
protinus aetherias modulabor luminis oras:
iam mihi luciferas liceat contingere musas,
pandere secretas fluviali vertice nymphas
et laetas alio positas sub sidere silvas;
aeternasque simul memorabor carmine flammis,
unde mare tumidas immensum fluctuet undas,
quae virtus moveat solidas tremescere terras,
et lux unde novo praefulserit aurea mundo,
quis hominem laeto potuisset fingere limo,
unde genus vacuo potuisset crescere saeculo,
et varia populo quae sit vivendi cupido,
quae creata malo primum moriendi propago,
unde bonus roseis odorque ruborque coronis,
quid faciat laetis ut vitis aestuet uvis,
utque nova teneris lactescant hordea culmis,
arbor ut in glacie nigris pubescat olivis,
germinibus variis quis det crementa viroris
mollibus et matrem filiorum protegat umbris.
omnia nosse bonum quae sint incepta ramorum,
ut per cuncta Deum liceat agnoscere verum,
qui lucem maria caelum terramque paravit
ornavitque novum variato sidere mundum
et pecudes primum volucres procedere iussit
et dedit aequoreas conpleri piscibus undas
atque fecundatas animalibus egit harenas.

taliter conpositis deducam carmina musis
salubremque nobis exponam fontibus undam

et laetum placidis venientem nubibus imbrem,
in animas hominum penitus ultroque fluentem
excipiam plenis in nostra novalia rivis.

nunc age securam vivamque adtingite nympham
et celeres vitae facilem haurite liquorem,
si qui vellit poenas aeternae evadere flammae
ignarusque die venturique inscius aevi,
et iustae potius adipisci praemia vitae:
hunc unum meminisse Deum solumque precandum
qui tolum in libra posuit sub limine mundum,
aeternumque manens semperque futurus in aevum,
saecula cuncta tenens et ante saecula solus,
ingenitus sine fine Deus, thronumque divinum
solus habens caelos semper supereminet altos,
omnipotens solus cui parent omnia rerum,
qui sibi conplacitum hominem formavit in aevum,
pastorem pecudum, dominum dedit esse ferarum,
iusque dedit volucrum, pontumque solum dominandum,
qui sermone tenuis potuit extendere caelum
et solidam verbo iussit suspendere terram
ac dicto citius separavit aequoris undam,
hanc manibus caram dilexit fingere formam
decoramque suam voluit inesse figuram,
spiritu vivificam adflavit vultibus auram.
quanta Deus homini permisit munera mundi
et praedulce sui signavit pignus amoris,
utilia et cara tribuit mandata salutis,
nec ultra monitum quicquam contingeret: unum,
unde malum sciret el unde dinosceret aequum
protinus, illicitum vetuit contingere pomum.
sub dicione dedit terras animamque viventem,
pinnatumque genus, pecudes, genus omne ferarum
et genus aequoreum, animalia cuncta natantum.

sed quoniam primo transgressus crimine legem
iamiam primus homo Domini mandata mutabat,

coniuge cuncta mala suadente morte peribat.
nam peccati malum conmisit femina primum
proditaque suum decepit lege maritum.
inmemor ille Dei temere committere tanta.
Eva persuasa male patefecit limina leto
et sibi cum genere creavit funera loto.
hinc (nefas!) incautum mors emanavit in aevum.
inde magis facinus facile percerebruit altum
acriorque labor agitavit saevius annum.
callidus hoc zelo serpens iniecit iniquo.
inde magis populi multa commissa malorum
et nefanda malis pepererunt semina factis.

idcircoque Deus solus cui summa potestas
et super alta tenens summa fastigia caeli,
altus inaccessam habitans in saecula lucem
praeteritique memor et praescius ante futuri,
progeniem meriti decretum servat in aevum,
et cunctas animas quae corpora tarda gubernant
et ratione movent hominem vagante per artus,
ut primum posito membrorum pondere cedunt
terrenisque leves resolutae nexibus ibunt
ac proprias repetent diversis partibus oras,
illicet occultis alias includi tenebris,
ast alias laetis revocari protinus auris,
servari penitus decreta ad praemia legis,
donec iterum mortis resurgant corpora membris:
nunc homines primae pensare fenora vitae
iudicesque Dei memores adstare priorum,
expectare suam suo quemque ex crimine poenam.
funditus aut pecorum sine nomine pendere statu
incassumve Dei finiendo fundere fletum.

an Deus omnipotens cuius sub nutu reguntur
omnia, non valeat post mortem reddere vitam,
aut aliquid rerum Dominum non posse videtur?
si potuit tenebris claram excludere lucem

atque omnem verbo potuit componere molem,
omnia de nihilo potente voce parare,
cur non ex aliquo possit conpingere notam,
quae fuerat quondam, quae vixerat ante, figuram,
similemque suae iubeat resurgere formam?
cum sint cuncta Dei, reddit magis omnia tellus,
iussa revocabit quidquid contexerat olim.
si quem forte rogis abolevit flamma sopitum,
aut aliquem caecis deiecerat aequor in undis,
si cuiusque famem satiarunt viscera piscis,
aut fixere ferae crudelia funera membris,
alitibus iacuit raptato corpore sanguis,
ultima nec Domino negabunt funera quemquam,
adparere Deo vivos de morte necesse est
resumptisque suis homines adstare figuris.

semina sic versis creduntur arida terris
et penitus fixis putrescunt mortua sulcis,
inde reparatis animatur culmus aristis
el iterum vivis flavescunt fortia granis
consurguntque novae vario cum fenore messes.
sidera cuncta cadunt, iterum renata lucescunt,
et dies in densa moritur cum lumine nocte,
occidit inque diem nox rebus luce relectis
ac dies alta suis iterum resurgit in astris;
solque cadit supero referturque lumine claro,
lux perit umbrato venienti vespere mundo
et remeat toto renovatque gaudia saeclo.
sic cremata suo vivit de funere phoenix
extemploque suo volucris resurgit e busto,
et nudata foliis suo tempore fructicat arbor
atque iterum pomi curvat ex germine ramos.

ergo ut ad vocem mundo tremante divinam
et penitus motis virtutibus aeris alti,
tunc fragor insolitus et maxima murmura caeli
promovente Deo, veniente iudice mundi.

protinus innumeri concurrunt ire ministri,
convallantque Deum cum maiestate caelesti.
angelica late descendunt agmina terris,
omnes nuntii Dei, quibus est divina facultas
praecipua et forma, virtutis spiritus omnes.
igneus his vigor est, rutilantia corpora caeli,
vis divina micat: hinc totus murmurat orbis,
hinc trepidans terra penitus universa remugit
parturiens homines quos reddere iussa debebit.
mirantur comites, turbantur denique nimbi,
astra mirata pavent subito virtutis ab alto.

hinc iubente Deo facile cum voce potenti
continuo ruptis per omnia regna sepulcris
omnis humus latis effundit hiatibus ossa
viventisque patens populos eructat harena.
haerent membra comis, nectuntur ossa medullis,
consertique regunt spirantia corpora nervi
et simul infusae moventur sanguine venae
dimissaeque cavis animae redduntur apertis
organaque sua repetunt surgentia cunclae.
pro miranda fides! hinc omnis pullulat aetas,
pullulat antiqua mortuorum pulvere turba.
matres atque viri repetita luce resurgunt,
magnanimi iuvenes, pueri innuptaeque puellae
defunctique senes animis viventibus adstant
infantumque gemens resonat vagitibus orbis,
con variae gentes veniunt de sedibus imis,
Eoumque manus et quas videt ultima tellus,
quae colunt medias devexo in climate zonas
Rifeasque tenent pruinosi sideris arces.
omnis adest pavidus finis cuiusque colonus,
rusticus et miles, posito diademate reges,
pauperi permixtus aequali in agmine dives.
altus ubique tremor, precibus nunc ingemit orbis,
tendentesque manus populi clamore mirantur.

ipse sedens Dominus eminenti lumine clarus
et praepotens cunctis micat in virtutibus ignis,
excelsoque throno caelesti sede coruscat
martyribus septus, numero candente virorum,
beatisque suis comitatus vatibus extat,
clara quibus niveis effulgent tempora taenis.
iamque sacerdotes nitidis in vestibus adsunt
gestantes rutilas praemia vitae coronas
submissique omnes genibusque reflexis adorant.
'solus agius sanctusque Deus' vox omnibus una est.
hinc Dominus geminam iubebit sistere plebem,
imperat et iustos numero discerni malorum,
indutosque iubet devicta morte vigorem
semper inextinctam habere luminis auram,
ire per antiqua semper florentia regna,
ditia per nemora, semper amoena virecta,
degere perpetuam praeclaro in corpore vitam.

est locus Eois Domino dilectus in oris
lux ubi clara nitet spiratque salubrior aura,
aeternaque dies atque immulabile tempus
et secreta Deo regio ditissima campis
beataque nimis sereno in cardine sedes.
semper aer laetus semperque in luce futurus
lenis et adspirans vitalia flamina ventus.
omnia fert aequa solo prodivite tellus.
floreas libratis conflagrat purpura pratis,
omnia praeutilam miscent non invida lucem,
flos alium laetus suo lumine vestit amictum.
hinc rosea niveo variantur semine rura
et roseis nivea crispantur floribus arva.
nescias illa quibus suavescent pulchrius arva
aut quibus aetheria spiret felicius aura,
quis melior specie vel plus praececellat honore.
nunquam florigeris similes nascuntur in hortis,
lilia nec nostris floruerunt talia campis,

nec sic nostra rubent, mox ut rosa panditur, arva,
purpura nec Tyrio sic est incocta rubore.
gemma coloratis fulget speciosa lapillis,
prasinus inde nitet, illinc carbunculus ardet,
zmaragdusque lapis micantia lumina fundit.
hic et odoriferis nascuntur cinnama virgis
et viridi laetum folio conflagrat amomum.
hic iacet ingenitum radiati luminis aurum
et nemora alta lenens florenti vertice caelum
virentisque gravant uberrima germina ramos.
nulla suos similes porrexit India lucos,
non ita densa levat viridis cacumina pinus,
nec sic alta comas crispat vibrata cupressus,
nec vernus melius floret cum tempore ramus.
hic aliter celsae florent in vertice nigrae
aeternumque virent solae sine grandine silvae.
nulla cadunt folia, nullus flos tempore deficit,
robore compacto viret et purpurat arbor.
sed puto, flos ille rosa est, rubor aequus in illo,
sic species, talem foliis adspirat odorem.
stat cum flore novis arbor pulcherrima pomis
vitalemque frugem felicia robora densant.
mella viridatis conflagrant pingua ramis,
lac etiam plenis manat potabile rivis.
vitam spirat ibi quidquid pia terra virescit
beatoque simul quidquid de germine floret,
atque solum pulchrae redolet medicabile Cretae.
fons illic placidus perfundit agmine campos,
quattuor inde rigant partita flumina terras.
ver, puto, semper agit vestitus floribus aether.
non frigus variat hiberni sideris auras,
nec radiata micat pressis caloribus aestas.
caelum luce sua serena temperat auras
et reficit fetam meliore flamine terram.
nox ibi nulla, sua defendunt astra tenebras.

iraeque insidiaeque absunt et dira cupido,
exclususque metus, pulsaeque a limite curae.
hinc malus extremis relegatur exul in oris,
beatosque labor vetitus contingere fines.
illic prisca fides electa in sede quiescit.
iustitia gaudens aeterno in foedere vivit
et secura salus placidis laetatur in auris
semper victura semperque in luce futura.
hic quicumque pius aequi bonique colonus,
quique Deum metuit innoxia mente tonantem
atque suos coluit sacra pietate parentes
et coluit sanctam semper sine crimine vitam
aut inopem quotiens opibus solatus amicis
atque laborantes nimium subvenit egenos,
pauperis adiutor, solitus salvare pupillos,
eruit et nocitos, subvenit crimine pressis,
hospitibus carae tribuit sua pignera mensae,
omnia divinis gessit sua munera iussis,
non aliquem nocuit, non aliena cupivit,
illi exultantes divinis laudibus omnes
orantesque simul referunt ad sidera voces;
psallentes Domino celebrant per gaudia grates
bealamque viam nuntiis comitantibus ibunt.

postquam haec Dominus felicia dona peregit
et iustos pariter aeterna in regna remisit,
et miseranda venit lugens sua crimina turba.
fit gemitus, maerent lacrimis agentibus omnes
testanturque sua crebris ululatibus acta.
flammae pro meritis instantia tela tremescunt.
angeli conripiunt iamiam prohibentque precari
et prohibent seras paenitentiae fundere voces,
iamque precum venia flamma veniente negatur.
o miseri, quotiens vobis divina potestas
innotuit, quotiens maiestas cognita veri!
audistis sonitus, vidistis fulgora caeli,

adsidue pluvias, ventorum et grandinis iras
experti, quotiens noctesque diesque serenos!
tempora fecundabant Dei munera donis:
ver abundabat rosas, frugibus nec defuit aestas,
autumnus varia praebebat mitia poma,
semper hiems laetas glacialis fregit olivas.
cuncta Deus tribuit, bonitas nec defuit ulla,
nec per tanta Deum genus omne scivit humanum.
terra Deum tremuit, pontus Dei nutu pependit
et fluvius siccis trepidus refluxit harenis,
et genitura Deum per omnia laeta fatetur.

vos tamen hunc Dominum caeli terraeque negastis
et iustos potius crudeli caede necastis
praeconesque Dei plerique saepe fugastis.
veritas in vobis pro crimine semper inhaesit.
et ideo fructum capietis sementis, iniqui!
noscitis ecce diem quem vos ridere soletis.
ibitis in tenebras ignis et sulphuris altas
ardendo saevas passuri doloribus iras.
hos aeternae iubet Dominus discedere poenae,
ire sub ardore semper sine fine gehennae,
urgueri molem per stagna torrentia flammae.
in flammas converti iubet elementa minantis
atque omnem caeli descendere nubibus ignem.

tunc avidus rapidos excludit tartarus ignis
atque procellosas ructuabunt aequora flammae,
totaque viventis confundit terra favillis,
flammeus et sulcos aer vibrabit iratos
atque omnibus facibus torrens armabitur orbis
impetu tartareo frendent incendia mundo.
illi praecipitem pulsati tolluntur in aestum,
hinc fugiunt, illinc cursu referuntur acuto.
obvia fit saeva flammae fugientibus ira,
agnoscuntque suam iamiam de crimine poenam.
iamque vaga nullo tellus possessa colono

et maris extremis pressa sub fine profundo,
qua sol emenso radios definit Olympo
ortaque transacto conduntur sidera mundo.
gliscit aer densis abstrusa luce tenebris,
ultima secretis stagna flammantia rivis.
est natura loci signatis ignea poenis,
et palus infernis candens ardoribus ima
intonat; horrificis fertur poenale caminis,
aestuat et rapido turbatus vertice flammās
in tormenta ruens fluctuanti gurgite flumen.
torrida se cuncta caeno miscetur harena.
huc captiva gemens mittetur turba malorum
arsurumque (nefas!) scelerati corporis agmen.
magnus plangor ibi fletu sociante clamorem
et stridor rabidus; ululatus inde dolentum
exsurget de flamma procul altusque sonoras
ignis et ardentis gemilus consurgit in auras.

tunc humana mali pendet commissa propago,
incipientque preces ad caelum tendere seras
atque Deum nunc nosse volunt quem nosse nolebant.
illic quisque suae fatebitur effera vitae
nocentesque manus et saevas crimine mentes
atque infanda sui testabitur effera vitae.
iam primum quicumque Deum male senserat ante
et vaga mentito coluisset numine saxa
atque cruentatas signis sacraverat aras
et picturatas timuit sine voce figuras
ac falsi tenuis adoravit numinis umbras,
et quemcumque malus seduxit protinus error,
si quis adulter erat, natos quicumque necarat.
si quocumque malo quis conscia mente vivebat
aut rapto grassatus erat aut fraude clientis,
si quis humano suas maculabat sanguine palmas
atque latebrosa miscebat morte venena,
tunc si quis vacuo scelerabat pectora furlo

aut alieni mali lucro gaudebat iniquo,
admisit quicumque nefas quodcumque malorum,
altus ardor eos igni torquebit amaro,
suppliciumque dabunt vivente funere cuncti
sic hominum tolam maerentes servare turbam.
haec adeo sancti quotiens cecinere prophetae,
spiritu saepe Dei moniti dixere futura?
sic Deus omnipotens voluit sua praemia nosci
atque minas positae per talia legis
miltendo plures caelestia verba clamantes.
denique iussu Dei conpegit ossa prophetes
et stupuit mota subito non sponte sepulcra,
cineribus creta iacuisse corpora passis,
surgere tunc vivos anima veniente miratus
et cum voce sua ad caelum lendere palmas.
illi quidem tumulos repetiere silentes
servandique Dei diei cessere futuro:
paulisper iussit retineri cubilibus imis,
donec ille dies completo tempore magnus
adveniat. cuncti Dominum cognoscite verum
qui solus animam faciat conscendere lucem
eandemque potest in Tartara trudere poenae
et cui cuncta patet vitae mortisque potestas.
posse Deo nam velle sat est, factumque dicendo
ille meus solus metuendus sensibus imis.
et quoniam leto cursus concluditur omnis,
quicumque est hodie, secum sua vita feretur.
et ideo, dum vita manet, dum carpere lucem,
dum paeniteri licet, prius quam terminus aevi
occupet incautos et nescia lumina solvat
ultimus ille dies mortis qui lege tenetur,
quod primum superest, carae vigilate saluti
et faciles certique bonum deflectite cursum.
post errata suis et pressa piacula sacris
postque vagas nimium quae vos vexere procellas

rectas adite vias et flumina laeta tenete.
hinc laetis prius animis repellite crimen,
et concreta diu proluatur pectore culpa;
tunc conmissa mali mites abolete nefanda
aeternisque Deum precibus placate tremendum,
pessima cuncta bonis cedant, morialia vivis.
quod servate novam iamiam sine crimine vitam
et servate pias veroque in nomine mentes,
ac veniam primis supplices rogate delictis.
iamiam pura piis maturescant corda colonis,
innocuasque manus precibus adtollite iustis
laudibus et faciles divinis reddite voces,
incipiantque bonis verisque adsuescere mentes
divinaeque magis celebrentur munera legis,
et memorate bona simulque invadite facta.
sordida nitescant olim conmissa malorum,
et meliora piis flagrabunt omnia vobis,
horrendisque simul liberatur vita periclis
atque aeterna suis veniet ad praemia votis.

Carmen Genesis

Principio Dominus caelum terramque locauit:
Namque erat informis fluctuque abscondita tellus,
Immensusque Deus super aequora uasta meabat,
Dum chaos et nigrae fuscabant cuncta tenebrae.
Has dum disiungi iussit de cardine, fatur:
Lux fiat, claro et micuerunt omnia mundo.
Cum Dominus primi compleret facta diei,
Condidit albatem nebulis nascentibus axem:
Accipit inmensus errantia littora pontus,
Multiplices rapiens ualidis cum tractibus amnes.
Tertia lux faciem terrarum fulua rexit,
Arida mox posito narratur nomine terra,
Flore a uentosis consurgunt germina campis
Pomiferique simul procuruant brachia rami.
Quarta die generat solis cum lampade lunam
Et stellas tremulo radiantes lumine fingit:
Haec elementa dedit subiecto insignia mundo,
Tempora quae doceant uarios mutanda per ortus.
Quinta die accipiuut liquentia flumina pisces
Et uolucres uarias suspendunt aere pennas.
Sexta pater gelidos in spiras lubricat angues
Quadrupedumque greges totos diffundit in agros
Cunctaque multiplici mandauit crescere passim
Germine et immensis errare et pascere terris.
Haec ubi constituit diuina potentia iussu,
Rectorem inspiciens mundanis defore rebus
Haec memorat: hominem nostris faciamus in unguem
Vultibus adsimilem, toto qui regnet in orbe.
Et licet hunc uno posset componere uerbo,
Ipse tamen sancta dignatus ducere dextra,
Inspirat brutum diuino a pectore pectus.
Quem postquam effigie formatum ceu sua uidit,
Metitur solum mordaces uoluere curas.
Illicet irriguo perfundit lumina somno,

Mollius ut uulsa formetur femina costa
Atque artus mixtu gemino substantia firmet.
Inditur et nomen uitae quod dicitur Eua.
Quapropter nati linquunt de more parentes
Coniugibusque suis positis cum sedibus haerent.
Septima luce Deus factorum fino quieuit,
Sacratam statuens uenturi ad gaudia saeculi:
Ilicet exhibitis animantum ex ordine turbis
Viritim cunctis nomen quod permanet indit
Adamus donata sibi prudentia sollers.
Quem Deus alloquio iunctam dignatur et Euam:
Crescite multimodo uentura in tempora partu,
Vt polus et plenae uestro sint germine terrae,
Heredesque mei, uarios decerpite fructus,
Quos nemora et pingui reddunt de cespite campi.
Haec ubi disseruit, laeta paradisu in aula
Instruitur primique aspectat lumina solis.
Gignitur haec inter pomis letalibus arbos,
Coniunctum generans uitae mortisque saporem.
Aedibus in mediis puro fluit agmine flumen,
Quod rigat insignes liquidis de fluctibus ortus
Quadrifidosque secat undante ex fonte meatus.
Fison auriferis praediues fluctuat undis
Conspicuasque terit rauco de gurgite gemmas:
Prasinus huic nomen, illi est carbunculus ardens,
Perspicuusque uadis terram praelambit Euilat.
Post hunc Aethiopus Gaeon adlapsus opimat.
Tertius est Tigris, Eufrati adiunctus amoeno,
Assyriam celeri discretim flumine sulcans.
Hic positus custos Adamus cum coniuge fida
Atque opifex tali formatur uoce tonantis:
Ne trepidate simul licitos praecerpere fructus,
Quos nemus intonsum ramo frondente creauit,
Solliciti ne forte malum noxale legatis,
Quod uiret ex gemino discreta ad munia suco.

Nec minus interea caecos nox alta tenebat
Ac modo formatos uestis nec texerat artus.
Has inter sedes et baccis mitibus ortus,
Spumeus astuto uincens animalia sensu,
Serpebat tacite spiris frigentibus anguis,
Liuida mordaci uoluens mendacia sensu,
Femineo temptat sub pectore mollia corda:
Dic mihi cur metuas felidia germina mali?
Numquid poma Deus non omnia nota sacrauit?
E quis si studeas mellitos carpere uictus,
Aureus astrigero redibit cardine mundus.
Illa negat uetitosque timet contingere ramos:
Sed tamen infirmo uincuntur pectora sensu.
Illicet ut niueo iam mitia dente momordit,
Adfulsit nulla maculatum nube serenum.
Tum sapor illecebram mellitis faucibus indens,
Compulit insueto munus deferre marito.
Quod simul ac sumpsit, deterosa nocte nitentes
Emicuere oculi mundo splendente sereni.
Ergo ubi nudatum prospexit corpus uterque
Cumque pudenda uident, ficulnis frondibus umbrant.
Forte sub occiduo Domini iam lumine solis
Agnoscunt sonitum trepidique ad deuia tendunt.
Tum Dominus caeli maestum compellat Adamum:
Dic ubi nunc degas ? respondit talia supplex :
O Domine, adfatus pauido sub corde tremisco,
Magne, tuos nudusquo metu frigente fatigor.
Tum Dominus: quis poma dedit noxalia uobis?
Tradidit haec mulier, dum dicit lumina promptim
Candenti perfusa die liquidumque sorem
Adfulsisse sibi solemque et sidera caeli.
Protinus ira Dei turbatam territat Euam,
Auctorem uetiti dum quaerit maximus acti.
Illa sub haec pandit: serpentis suasa loquentis
Accepi fallente dolo blandoque rogatu:

Nam sua uipereis intexens uerba uenenis
Haec mihi prae cunctis narrauit dulcia pomis.
Illicet omnipotens condemnat gesta draconis,
Praecipiens cunctis inuisum uisere monstrum:
Pectore mox fuso prorepere, tum sola morsu
Mandere, mansuro quaecumque in tempora bello
Humanos inter sensus ipsumque labantem,
Vertice ut abiecto pronus post crura uirorum
Serperet, ut calcet dum labens comminus instat.
Femina fraudigeris misere decepta suadelis,
Praecipitur duro discrimine ponere partum
Seruitiumque sui studio perferre mariti.
Tu uero cui uisa fuit sententia uerax
Coniugis, immiti cessit quae uicta draconi,
Deflebis miserum per tempora longa laborem:
Nam tibi triticeae surget pro germine messis
Carduus et spinis multum paliurus acutis,
Vt cum uisceribus lassis et pectore maesto
Plurima sollicitos praestent suspiria uictus,
Donec in occiduo uenientis tempore mortis,
Vnde geris corpus, terrae reddare iacenti.
His actis Dominus trepidis dat taedia uitae,
Deiectosque procul sacratis dimouet hortis
Obuersosque locat medioque eliminat igni,
In quo perceleri Cherubim euoluitur aestu,
Dum calidus deferuet apex flammisque uolutat.
Quis Dominus, pigro ne frigore membra rigerent,
Consuit euulsas pecudum de uiscere pelles
Operiens nudos calidis de uestibus artus.
Ergo ubi coniugio sese iam fidus Adamus
Esse uirum sensit, nomen genitricis amatae
Exhibet uxori. binos qui germine factus
Continuo genitor diuersis nuncupat orsis.
Atque Cain hic nomen habet, cui iunctus Abelus:
Innocuas multa seruabat cura bidentes,

At alius curuo terram uertebat aratro.
Hi cum perpetuo ferrent sua dona torianti,
Dissimiles fructus sensu suadente dedere.
Nam prior uberibus fuerant quae prosata glebis
Optulit: ast alius miti se deuouet agno,
Exta gerens sincera manu adipemque niuaalem.
Confestimque placet Domino pia uota tuenti.
Quod propter gelida Cain incanduit ira.
Quem Deus adloquio dignatus talibus infit:
Dic mihi, si rectum uiuas et noxia cernas,
Degere non possis contracto a crimine purus?
Desine mordaci fratrem disperdere sensu,
Qui tibi ceu Domino subiectus colla praebebit.
Nec tamen his fractus fratrem deducit ad arua
Atque ubi deprensus deserto in gramine uidit,
Elidit geminis fraudans pia guttura palmis.
Quod factum Dominus caelo speculatus ab alto
Disquirat quonam terrarum degat Abelus ?
Ille negat positum custodem se fore fratris.
Cui Deus effatur: nonne uox sanguinis eius
Ad me missa sonat celsumque ascendit ad axem?
Nosce igitur mansura tibi pro crimine tanto:
Nam modo quae maduit germani sanguine terra,
Inuiso maledicta tibi commissa negabit
Semina et absumtis fructum non proferet herbis,
Torpidus ut multo collidens membra tremore

* * * * *

De Execrandis Gentium Diis

1. Tantum caecitatis invasit genus Romanum, ut inimicum suum Dominum vocent et ablatores bonorum adeo datorem sibi esse praedicent, atque illi gratias agant; vocant ergo illos nominibus humanis, non propriis; nesciunt enim eorum nomina; quia sint daemones intelligunt, sed historias veterum Regum legunt, quorum actum cum videant fuisse mortalem, deifico honorificant eos nomine.

2. Iovem quem vocant quemque putant summum Deum, quando natus est, a constitutione mundi erant ad illum tempus anni ferme tria millia. Hic in Graecia nascitur de Saturno et Ope, et ne a patre interficeretur, aut si fas est dicere, denuo pareretur, Cretam delatus consilio matris in antro Idaeo nutritur, a Cretibus hominibus natis arma quatientibus occultatur, caprae ubera sugit, cuius excoriatae pelle amictus utitur nutricis suae, scilicet a se interfectae: sed tres cincinnos aureos ei assuit centenum boum singulos pretium valentes, sicut meminit auctor eorum Homerus, credere si aequum est. Hic adulta aetate cum patre annis compluribus bellum gessit, superavit, parricidio domum invasit, sorores virgines stupravit, quarum unam in connubio elegit, patrem armis fugavit: caetera autem actus illius scripta sunt. Ex connubiis alienis aut virginibus violatis filios sibi adulteros generavit, pueros ingenuos attaminavit, tyrannico regalique imperio oppressit populos, sine lege. 3. Hunc pater quem Initialem deum fuisse opinantur errantes, celari in insula Creta ignoravit, filius quoque, quem potentiores deum credunt, fugatum a se patrem latere in Italia nescit. Si erat in caelo, cum non videbat quid in Italia gereretur? Non enim in angulo est terra Italia. Quamquam si fuisset deus, latere eum nihil debebat: latuisse autem ibi, quem Itali Saturnum vocitaverunt, liquido approbatum est, a cuius latitatione lingua Hesperia Latina nominata est usque in hodiernum: sicut etiam auctor eorum Virgilius meminit.

4. Ergo in terra generatus dicitur, dum, et ne ab eo regno pellatur, timet, et tamquam aemulum quaerit necare, et subreptum nescit latere, et postea deus filius patrem prosequitur, interficere quaerit immortalis immortalem, credi potest, et intervallo pelagi fallitur, et fugisse ignorat, et cum haec agerentur inter duos deos in terris caelum desertum est. Nemo administrabat pluvias, nemo tonabat, nemo gubernabat tantam molem orbis. Nec enim possunt dicere actum illorum, et bella in caelo esse facta: haec enim in monte Olympo fiebant in Graecia: sed nec caelum Olympum vocatur, caelum enim caelum

est.

5. De quibus ergo actibus eorum primum tractabimus, de nativitate, de latitatione, de ignorantia, de parricidio, de adulteriis, de obscenis actibus, de rebus non a deo, sed ab hominibus immundissimis et truculentissimis commissis, qui si essent in his temporibus, omnibus legibus rei subiacerent, quae multo iustiores et severiores quam actus illorum. Patrem armis pulsavit, lex Falcidia et Sempronia parricidam in culeo cum feris ligaret, et sorores corruptit, lex Papinia omnibus poenis per singula membra probrium puniret, connubia aliena invasit, lex Iulia adulterum suum capite afficeret, pueros ingenuos attaminavit, lex Cornelia transgressi foederis amissum novis exemplis novi coitus sacrilegum damnaret.

6. Hic nec divinitatem habuisse ostenditur: erat enim homo: latuit eum fuga patris: huic tali homini, tam nefando regi, tam obsceno tamque crudeli dei assignatus est honos ab hominibus, qui utique cum sit in terra natus et per incrementa aetatum adultus, in qua omnia haec mala admisit et modo non sit in ea, quid putatur, nisi mortuus, aut nunquid putat stultus error pennas ei natas in senectute, unde ad caelum volaret? sed possunt et hoc credere orbiati sensu homines, si tamen credunt eum cygnum factum esse, ut generaret Castores, et aquilam, ut contaminaret Ganymedem, et taurum, ut violaret Europam, aurum, ut violaret Danaen; et equum, ut generaret Pirithoum; hircum, ut generaret Egyppam de capra, satyrum, ut opprimeret Antiopam, haec quia adulteria spectant, ad quae proni sunt peccatores: ideo facile credunt, ut male facti auctoritates et omnis spurcitiae de ficto deo mutuentur.

7. Num caetera quae credi possunt actus illius, quae et vera sunt quaeque sine transfiguratione eum aiunt gessisse quam sint inemendata, animadvertunt: ex Semele generat Liberum, ex Latona Apollinem et Dianam, ex Maia Mercurium, ex Alcmena Herculem. At caeteras eius corruptelas quas ipsi confitentur, nolo conscribere, ne rursus foeditas iam sepulta auribus renovetur. Sed horum paucorum mentionem feci, quos deos et ipsos credunt errantes scilicet de incesto patre generatos, adulterinos, supposititios, et Deum videntem aeternum sempiterni numinis praescium futurorum, immensum talibus cum nefandis criminibus diffuderunt.

The Biographies



Roman villas at Carthage — it is believed that Tertullian spent most of his life in Carthage.

Tertullian by Henry Palmer Chapman



From 'Catholic Encyclopedia (1913), Volume 14 Tertullian'

Ecclesiastical writer in the second and third centuries, b. probably about 160 at Carthage, being the son of a centurion in the proconsular service. He was evidently by profession an advocate in the law-courts, and he shows a close acquaintance with the procedure and terms of Roman law, though it is doubtful whether he is to be identified with a jurist Tertullian who is cited in the Pandects. He knew Greek as well as Latin, and wrote works in Greek which have not come down to us. A pagan until middle life, he had shared the pagan prejudices against Christianity, and had indulged like others in shameful pleasures. His conversion was not later than the year 197, and may have been earlier. He embraced the Faith with all the ardour of his impetuous nature. He became a priest, no doubt of the Church of Carthage. Monceaux, followed by d'Ales, considers that his earlier writings were composed while he was yet a layman, and if this be so, then his ordination was about 200. His extant writings range in date from the apologetics of 197 to the attack on a bishop who is probably Pope Callistus (after 218). It was after the year 206 that he joined the Montanist sect, and he seems to have definitively separated from the Church about 211 (Harnack) or 213 (Monceaux). After writing more virulently against the Church than even against heathen and persecutors, he separated from the Montanists and founded a sect of his own. The remnant of the Tertullianists was reconciled to the Church by St. Augustine. A number of the works of Tertullian are on special points of belief or discipline. According to St. Jerome he lived to extreme old age.

The year 197 saw the publication of a short address by Tertullian, "To the Martyrs", and of his great apologetic works, the "Ad nationes" and the "Apologeticus". The former has been considered a finished sketch for the latter; but it is more true to say that the second work has a different purpose, though a great deal of the same matter occurs in both, the same arguments being displayed in the same manner, with the same examples and even the same phrases. The appeal to the nations suffers from its transmission in a

single codex, in which omissions of a word or several words or whole lines are to be deplored. Tertullian's style is difficult enough without such super added causes of obscurity. But the text of the "Ad nationes" must have been always rougher than that of the "Apologeticus", which is a more careful as well as a more perfect work, and contains more matter because of its better arrangement; for it is just the same length as the two books "Ad nationes".

The "Ad nationes" has for its entire object the refutation of calumnies against Christians. In the first place they are proved to repose on unreasoning hatred only; the procedure of trial is illogical; the offence is nothing but the name of Christian, which ought rather to be a title of honour; no proof is forthcoming of any crimes, only rumour; the first persecutor was Nero, the worst of emperors. Secondly, the individual charges are met; Tertullian challenges the reader to believe in anything so contrary to nature as the accusations of infanticide and incest. Christians are not the causes of earthquakes and floods and famine, for these happened long before Christianity. The pagans despise their own gods, banish them, forbid their worship, mock them on the stage; the poets tell horrid stories of them; they were in reality only men, and bad men. You say we worship an ass's head, he goes on, but you worship all kinds of animals; your gods are images made on a cross framework, so you worship crosses. You say we worship the sun; so do you. A certain Jew hawked about a caricature of a creature half ass, half goat, as our god; but you actually adore half-animals. As for infanticide, you expose your own children and kill the unborn. Your promiscuous lust causes you to be in danger of the incest of which you accuse us. We do not swear by the genius of Caesar, but we are loyal, for we pray for him, whereas you revolt. Caesar does not want to be a god; he prefers to be alive. You say it is through obstinacy that we despise death; but of old such contempt of death was esteemed heroic virtue. Many among you brave death for gain or wagers; but we, because we believe in judgment. Finally, do us justice; examine our case, and change your minds. The second book consists entirely in an attack on the gods of the pagans; they are marshalled in classes after Varro. It was not, urges the apologist, owing to these multitudinous gods that the empire grew.

Out of this fierce appeal and indictment was developed the grander "Apologeticus", addressed to the rulers of the empire and the administrators

of justice. The former work attacked popular prejudices; the new one is an imitation of the Greek Apologies, and was intended as an attempt to secure an amelioration in the treatment of Christians by alteration of the law or its administration. Tertullian cannot restrain his invective; yet he wishes to be conciliating, and it breaks out in spite of his argument, instead of being its essence as before. He begins again by an appeal to reason. There are no witnesses, he urges, to prove our crimes; Trajan ordered Pliny not to seek us out, but yet to punish us if we were known; - what a paralogism! The actual procedure is yet more strange. Instead of being tortured until we confess, we are tortured until we deny. So far the "Ad Nationes" is merely developed and strengthened. Then, after a condensed summary of the second book as to the heathen gods, Tertullian begins in chapter xvii an exposition of the belief of Christians in one God, the Creator, invisible, infinite, to whom the soul of man, which by nature is inclined to Christianity, bears witness. The floods and the fires have been His messengers. We have a testimony, he adds, from our sacred books, which are older than all your gods. Fulfilled prophecy is the proof that they are divine. It is then explained that Christ is God, the Word of God born of a virgin; His two comings, His miracles, passion, resurrection, and forty days with the disciples, are recounted. The disciples spread His doctrine throughout the world; Nero sowed it with blood at Rome. When tortured the Christian cries, "We worship God through Christ". The demons confess Him and they stir men up against us. Next, loyalty to Caesar is discussed at greater length than before. When the populace rises, how easily the Christians could take vengeance: "We are but of yesterday, yet we fill your cities, islands, forts, towns, councils, even camps, tribes, decuries, the palace, the senate, the forum; we have left you the temples alone". We might migrate, and leave you in shame and in desolation. We ought at least to be tolerated; for what are we? - a body compacted by community of religion, of discipline, and of hope. We meet together to pray, even for the emperors and authorities, to hear readings from the holy books and exhortations. We judge and separate those who fall into crime. We have elders of proved virtue to preside. Our common fund is replenished by voluntary donations each month, and is expended not on gluttony but on the poor and suffering. This charity is quoted against us as a disgrace; see, it is said, how they love one another. We call ourselves brethren; you also are our brethren by nature, but bad brethren. We

are accused of every calamity. Yet we live with you; we avoid no profession, but those of assassins, sorcerers, and such like. You spare the philosophers, though their conduct is less admirable than ours. They confess that our teaching is older than theirs, for nothing is older than truth. The resurrection at which you jeer has many parallels in nature. You think us fools; and we rejoice to suffer for this. We conquer by our death. Inquire into the cause of our constancy. We believe this martyrdom to be the remission of all offences, and that he who is condemned before your tribunal is absolved before God.

These points are all urged with infinite wit and pungency. The faults are obvious. The effect on the pagans may have been rather to irritate than to convince. The very brevity results in obscurity. But every lover of eloquence, and there were many in those days, will have relished with the pleasure of an epicure the feast of ingenious pleading and recondite learning. The rapier thrusts are so swift, we can hardly realize their deadliness before they are renewed in showers, with sometimes a blow as of a bludgeon to vary the effect. The style is compressed like that of Tacitus, but the metrical closes are observed with care, against the rule of Tacitus; and that wonderful maker of phrases is outdone by his Christian successor in gemlike sentences which will be quoted while the world lasts. Who does not know the *anima naturaliter Christiana* (soul by nature Christian); the *Vide, inquit, ut invicem se diligant* (see they exclaim, how they love one another), and the *Semen est sanguis Christianorum* (The blood of Christians is seed)? It was probably about the same time that Tertullian developed his thesis of the “Testimony of the Soul” to the existence of one God, in his little book with this title. With his usual eloquence he enlarges on the idea that common speech bids us use expressions such as “God grant”, or “If God will”, “God bless”, “God sees”, “May God repay”. The soul testifies also to devils, to just vengeance, and to its own immortality.

Two or three years later (about 200) Tertullian assaulted heresy in a treatise even more brilliant, which, unlike the “Apologeticus”, is not for his own day only but for all time. It is called “Liber de praescriptione haereticorum”. Prescription now means the right obtained to something by long usage. In Roman law the signification was wider; it meant the cutting short of a question by the refusal to hear the adversary’s arguments, on the ground of an anterior point which must cut away the ground under his feet. So Tertullian

deals with heresies: it is of no use to listen to their arguments or refute them, for we have a number of antecedent proofs that they cannot deserve a hearing. Heresies, he begins, must not astonish us, for they were prophesied. Heretics urge the text, "Seek and ye shall find", but this was not said to Christians; we have a rule of faith to be accepted without question. "Let curiosity give place to faith and vain glory make way for salvation", so Tertullian parodies a line of Cicero's. The heretics argue out of Scripture; but, first, we are forbidden to consort with a heretic after one rebuke has been delivered, and secondly, disputation results only in blasphemy on the one side and indignation on the other, while the listener goes away more puzzled than he came. The real question is, "To whom does the Faith belong? Whose are the Scriptures? By whom, through whom, when and to whom has been handed down the discipline by which we are Christians? The answer is plain: Christ sent His apostles, who founded churches in each city, from which the others have borrowed the tradition of the Faith and the seed of doctrine and daily borrow in order to become churches; so that they also are Apostolic in that they are the offspring of the Apostolic churches. All are that one Church which the Apostles founded, so long as peace and intercommunion are observed [*dum est illis communicatio pacis et appellatio fraternitatis et contesseratio hospitalitatis*]. Therefore the testimony to the truth is this: We communicate with the apostolic Churches". The heretics will reply that the Apostles did not know all the truth. Could anything be unknown to Peter, who was called the rock on which the Church was to be built? or to John, who lay on the Lord's breast? But they will say, the churches have erred. Some indeed went wrong, and were corrected by the Apostle; though for others he had nothing but praise. "But let us admit that all have erred:- is it credible that all these great churches should have strayed into the same faith"? Admitting this absurdity, then all the baptisms, spiritual gifts, miracles, martyrdoms, were in vain until Marcion and Valentinus appeared at last! Truth will be younger than error; for both these heresiarchs are of yesterday, and were still Catholics at Rome in the episcopate of Eleutherius (this name is a slip or a false reading). Anyhow the heresies are at best novelties, and have no continuity with the teaching of Christ. Perhaps some heretics may claim Apostolic antiquity: we reply: Let them publish the origins of their churches and unroll the catalogue of their bishops till now from the Apostles or from some bishop appointed by

the Apostles, as the Smyrnaeans count from Polycarp and John, and the Romans from Clement and Peter; let heretics invent something to match this. Why, their errors were denounced by the Apostles long ago. Finally (36), he names some Apostolic churches, pointing above all to Rome, whose witness is nearest at hand, - happy Church, in which the Apostles poured out their whole teaching with their blood, where Peter suffered a death like his Master's, where Paul was crowned with an end like the Baptist's, where John was plunged into fiery oil without hurt! The Roman Rule of Faith is summarized, no doubt from the old Roman Creed, the same as our present Apostles' Creed but for a few small additions in the latter; much the same summary was given in chapter xiii, and is found also in "De virginibus velandis" (chapter I). Tertullian evidently avoids giving the exact words, which would be taught only to catechumens shortly before baptism. The whole luminous argument is founded on the first chapters of St. Irenaeus's third book, but its forceful exposition is not more Tertullian's own than its exhaustive and compelling logic. Never did he show himself less violent and less obscure. The appeal to the Apostolic churches was unanswerable in his day; the rest of his argument is still valid.

A series of short works addressed to catechumens belong also to Tertullian's Catholic days, and fall between 200 and 206. "De spectaculis" explains and probably exaggerates the impossibility for a Christian to attend any heathen shows, even races or theatrical performances, without either wounding his faith by participation in idolatry or arousing his passions. "De idololatria" is by some placed at a later date, but it is anyhow closely connected with the former work. It explains that the making of idols is forbidden, and similarly astrology, selling of incense, etc. A schoolmaster cannot elude contamination. A Christian cannot be a soldier. To the question, "How am I then to live?", Tertullian replies that faith fears not famine; for the Faith we must give up our life, how much more our living? "De baptismo" is an instruction on the necessity of baptism and on its effects; it is directed against a female teacher of error belonging to the sect of Gaius (perhaps the Anti-Montanist). We learn that baptism was conferred regularly by the bishop, but with his consent could be administered by priests, deacons, or even laymen. The proper times were Easter and Pentecost. Preparation was made by fasting, vigils, and prayers. Confirmation was conferred immediately after

by unction and laying on of hands. "De paenitentia" will be mentioned later. "De oratione" contains an exposition of the Lord's Prayer, *totius evangelii breviarium*. "De cultu feminarum" is an instruction on modesty and plainness in dress; Tertullian enjoys detailing the extravagances of female toilet and ridiculing them. Besides these didactic works to catechumens, Tertullian wrote at the same period two books, "Ad uxorem", in the former of which he begs his wife not to marry again after his death, as it is not proper for a Christian, while in the second book he enjoins upon her at least to marry a Christian if she does marry, for pagans must not be consorted with. A little book on patience is touching, for the writer admits that it is an impudence in him to discourse on a virtue in which he is so conspicuously lacking. A book against the Jews contains some curious chronology, used to prove the fulfilment of Daniel's prophecy of the seventy weeks. The latter half of the book is nearly identical with part of the third book against Marcion. It would seem that Tertullian used over again what he had written in the earliest form of that work, which dates from this time. "Adversus Hermogenem" is against a certain Hermogenes, a painter (of idols?) who taught that God created the world out of pre-existing matter. Tertullian reduces his view *ad absurdum*, and establishes the creation out of nothing both from Scripture and reason.

The next period of Tertullian's literary activity shows distinct evidence of Montanist opinions, but he has not yet openly broken with the Church, which had not as yet condemned the new prophecy. Montanus and the prophetesses Priscilla and Maximilla had been long dead when Tertullian was converted to belief in their inspiration. He held the words of Montanus to be really those of the Paraclete, and he characteristically exaggerated their import. We find him henceforth lapsing into rigorism, and condemning absolutely second marriage and forgiveness of certain sins, and insisting on new fasts. His teaching had always been excessive in its severity; now he positively revels in harshness. Harnack and d'Alès look upon "De Virginibus velandis" as the first work of this time, though it has been placed later by Monceaux and others on account of its irritated tone. We learn that Carthage was divided by a dispute whether virgins should be veiled; Tertullian and the pro-Montanist party stood for the affirmative. The book had been preceded by a Greek writing on the same subject. Tertullian declares that the Rule of Faith is unchangeable, but discipline is progressive. He quotes a dream in favour of the veil. The date

may be about 206. Shortly afterwards Tertullian published his largest extant work, five books against Marcion. A first draft had been written much earlier; a second recension had been published, when yet unfinished, without the writer's consent; the first book of the final edition was finished in the fifteenth year of Severus, 207. The last book may be a few years later. This controversy is most important for our knowledge of Marcion's doctrine. The refutation of it out of his own New Testament, which consisted of St. Luke's Gospel and St. Paul's Epistles, enables us to reconstitute much of the heretic's Scripture text. The result may be seen in Zahn's, "Geschichte des N. T. Kanons", II, 455-524. A work against the Valentinians followed. It is mainly based on the first book of St. Irenaeus.

In 209 the little book "De pallio" appeared. Tertullian had excited remark by adopting the Greek pallium, the recognized dress of philosophers, and he defends his conduct in a witty pamphlet. A long book, "De anima", gives Tertullian's psychology. He well describes the unity of the soul; he teaches that it is spiritual, but immateriality in the fullest sense he admits for nothing that exists, - even God is *corpus*. Two works are against the docetism of the Gnostics, "De carne Christi" and "De resurrectione carnis". Here he emphasizes the reality of Christ's Body and His virgin-birth, and teaches a corporal resurrection. But he seems to deny the virginity of Mary, the Mother of Christ, *in partu*, though he affirms it *ante partum*. He addressed to a convert who was a widower an exhortation to avoid second marriage, which is equivalent to fornication. This work, "De exhortatione castitatis", implies that the writer is not yet separated from the Church. The same excessive rigour appears in the "De corona", in which Tertullian defends a soldier who had refused to wear a chaplet on his head when he received the donative granted to the army on the accession of Caracalla and Geta in 211. The man had been degraded and imprisoned. Many Christians thought his action extravagant, and refused to regard him as a martyr. Tertullian not only declares that to wear the crown would have been idolatry, but argues that no Christian can be a soldier without compromising his faith. Next in order is the "Scorpiace", or antidote to the bite of the Scorpion, directed against the teaching of the Valentinians that God cannot approve of martyrdom, since He does not want man's death; they even permitted the external act of idolatry. Tertullian shows that God desires the courage of the martyrs and their victory over temptation;

he proves from Scripture the duty of suffering death for the Faith and the great promises attached to this heroism. To the year 212 belongs the open letter “Ad scapulam”, addressed to the proconsul of Africa who was renewing the persecution, which had ceased since 203. He is solemnly warned of the retribution which overtakes persecutors.

The formal secession of Tertullian from the Church of Carthage seems to have taken place either in 211 or at the end of 212 at latest. The earlier date is fixed by Harnack on account of the close connection between the “De corona” of 211 with the “De fuga”, which must, he thinks, have immediately followed the “De corona”. It is certain that “De fuga in persecutione” was written after the secession. It condemns flight in time of persecution, for God’s providence has intended the suffering. This intolerable doctrine had not been held by Tertullian in his Catholic days. He now terms the Catholics “Psychici”, as opposed to the “spiritual” Montanists. The cause of his schism is not mentioned. It is unlikely that he left the Church by his own act. Rather it would seem that when the Montanist prophecies were finally disapproved at Rome, the Church of Carthage excommunicated at least the more violent among their adherents. After “De fuga” come “De monogamia” (in which the wickedness of second marriage is yet more severely censured) and “De jejunio”, a defence of the Montanist fasts. A dogmatic work, “Adversus Praxean”, is of great importance. Praxeas had prevented, according to Tertullian, the recognition of the Montanist prophecy by the pope; Tertullian attacks him as a Monarchian, and develops his own doctrine of the Holy Trinity (see MONARCHIANS and PRAXEAS). The last remaining work of the passionate schismatic is apparently “De pudicitia”, if it is a protest, as is generally held, against a Decree of Pope Callistus, in which the pardon of adulterers and fornicators, after due penance done, was published at the intercession of the martyrs. Monceaux, however, still supports the view which was once commoner than it now is, that the Decree in question was issued by a bishop of Carthage. In any case Tertullian’s attribution of it to a would-be *episcopus episcoporum* and *pontifex maximus* merely attests its peremptory character. The identification of this Decree with the far wider relaxation of discipline with which Hippolytus reproaches Callistus is uncertain.

The argument of Tertullian must be considered in some detail, since his witness to the ancient system of penance is of first-rate importance. As a

Catholic, he addressed “De paenitentia” to catechumens as an exhortation to repentance previous to baptism. Besides that sacrament he mentions, with an expression of unwillingness, a “last hope”, a second plank of salvation, after which there is no other. This is the severe remedy of exomologesis, confession, involving a long penance in sackcloth and ashes for the remission of post-baptismal sin. In the “De pudicitia” the Montanist now declared that there is no forgiveness for the gravest sins, precisely those for which exomologesis is necessary. It is said by some modern critics, such as Funk and Turmel among Catholics, that Tertullian did not really change his view on this point the writing of the two treatises. It is pointed out that in “De paenitentia” there is no mention of the restoration of the penitent to communion; he is to do penance, but with no hope of pardon in this life; no sacrament is administered, and the satisfaction is lifelong. This view is impossible. Tertullian declares in “De pud.” That he has changed his mind and expects to be taunted for his inconsistency. He implies that he used to hold such a relaxation, as the one he is attacking, to be lawful. At any rate in the “De paen.” he parallels baptism with exomologesis, and supposes that the latter has the same effect as the former, obviously the forgiveness of sin in this life. Communion is never mentioned, since catechumens are addressed; but if exomologesis did not eventually restore all Christian privileges, there could be no reason for fearing that the mention of it should act as an encouragement to sin, for a lifelong penance would hardly be a reassuring prospect. No length is mentioned, evidently because the duration depended on the nature of the sin and the judgment of the bishop; had death been the term, this would have been emphatically expressed. Finally. And this is conclusive, it could not be insisted on that no second penance was ever allowed, if all penance was lifelong.

For the full understanding of Tertullian’s doctrine we must know his division of sin into three classes. There are first the terrible crimes of idolatry, blasphemy, homicide, adultery, fornication, false witness, fraud (Adv. Marc., IV, ix; in “De Pud.” he substitutes apostasy for false witness and adds unnatural vice). As a Montanist he calls these irremissible. Between these and mere venial sins there are *modica* or *media* (De Pud., I), less grave but yet serious sins, which he enumerates in “De Pud.”, xix: “Sins of daily committal, to which we are all subject; to whom indeed does it not occur to be angry

without cause and after the sun has set, or to give a blow, or easily to curse, or to swear rashly, or break a contract, or lie through shame or necessity? How much we are tempted in business, in duties, in trade, in food, in sight, in hearing! So that, if there were no forgiveness for such things, none could be saved. Therefore there will be forgiveness for these sins by the prayer of Christ to the Father” (De Pud., xix).

Another list (De pud., vii) represents the sins which may constitute a lost sheep, as distinguished from one that is dead: “The faithful is lost if he attend the chariot races, or gladiatorial combats, or the unclean theatre, or athletic shows, or playing, or feasts on some secular solemnity, or if he has exercised an art which in any way serves idolatry, or has lapsed without consideration into some denial or blasphemy”. For these sins there is forgiveness, though the sinner has strayed from the flock. How is forgiveness obtained? We learn this only incidentally from the words: “That kind of penitence which is subsequent to faith, which can either obtain forgiveness from the bishop for lesser sins, or from God only for those which are irremissible” (ib., xviii). Thus Tertullian admits the power of the bishop for all but “irremissible” sins. The absolution which he still acknowledges for frequent sins was obviously not limited to a single occasion, but must have been frequently repeated. It is not even referred to in “De paen”, which deals only with baptism and public penance for the gravest sins. Again, in “De pud.”, Tertullian repudiates his own earlier teaching that the keys were left by Christ through Peter to His Church (Scorpiace, x); he now declares (De pud., xxi) that the gift was to Peter personally, and cannot be claimed by the Church of the Psychici. The spiritual have the right to forgive, but the Paraclete said: “The Church has the power to forgive sins but I will not do so, lest they sin afresh.”

The system of the Church of Carthage in Tertullian’s time was therefore manifestly this: Those who committed grievous sins confessed them to the bishop, and he absolved them after due penance enjoined and performed, unless the case was in his judgment so grave that public penance was obligatory. This public penance was only allowed once; it was for protracted periods, even sometimes until the hour of death, but at the end of it forgiveness and restoration were promised. The term was frequently shortened at the prayer of martyrs.

Of the lost works of Tertullian the most important was the defence of the

Montanist manner of prophesying, “De ecstasi”, in six books, with a seventh book against Apollonius. To the peculiarities of Tertullian’s views which have already been explained must be added some further remarks. He did not care for philosophy: the philosophers are the “patriarchs of the heretics”. His notion that all things, pure spirits and even God, must be bodies, is accounted for by his ignorance of philosophical terminology. Yet of the human soul he actually says that it was seen in a vision as tender, light, and of the colour of air! All our souls were contained in Adam, and are transmitted to us with the taint of original sin upon them, - an ingenious if gross form of traducianism. His Trinitarian teaching is inconsistent, being an amalgamation of the Roman doctrine with that of St. Justin Martyr. Tertullian has the true formula for the Holy Trinity, *tres Personae, una Substantia*. The Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are numerically distinct, and each is God; they are of one substance, one state, and one power. So far the doctrine is accurately Nicene. But by the side of this appears the Greek view which was one day to develop into Arianism: that the unity is to be sought not in the Essence but in the origin of the Persons. He says that from all eternity there was reason (*ratio*) in God, and in reason the Word (*Sermo*), not distinct from God, but *in vulva cordis*. For the purpose of creation the Word received a perfect birth as Son. There was a time when there was no Son and no sin, when God was neither Father nor Judge. In his Christology Tertullian has had no Greek influence, and is purely Roman. Like most Latin Fathers he speaks not of two Natures but of two Substances in one Person, united without confusion, and distinct in their operations. Thus he condemns by anticipation the Nestorian, Monophysite, and Monothelite heresies. But he seems to teach that Mary, the Mother of Christ, had other children. Yet he makes her the second Eve, who by her obedience effaced the disobedience of the first Eve.

Tertullian’s doctrine of the Holy Eucharist has been much discussed, especially the words: “Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis corpus suum illum fecit, hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est, figura corporis mei”. A consideration of the context shows only one interpretation to be possible. Tertullian is proving that Our Lord Himself explained bread in Jer., xi, 19 (*mittamus lignum in panem ejus*) to refer to His Body, when He said, “This is My Body”, that is, that bread was the symbol of His Body. Nothing can be elicited either for or against the Real Presence; for Tertullian does not explain

whether the bread is the symbol of the Body present or absent. The context suggests the former meaning. Another passage is: *Panem, quo ipsum corpus suum repraesentat*. This might mean “Bread which stands for His Body”, or “Presents, makes present”. D’Ales has calculated that the sense of presentation to the imagination occurs seven times in Tertullian, and the similar moral sense (presentation by picture, etc.) occurs twelve times, whereas the sense of physical presentation occurs thirty-three times. In the treatise in question against Marcion the physical sense alone is found, and fourteen times. A more direct assertion of the real presence is *Corpus ejus in pane censetur* (De orat., vi). As to the grace given, he has some beautiful expressions, such as: “Itaque petendo panem quotidianum, perpetuitatem postulamus in Christo et individuitatem a corpore ejus” (In petitioning for daily bread, we ask for perpetuity in Christ, and indivisibility from His body. - Ibid.). A famous passage on the Sacraments of Baptism, Unction, Confirmation, Orders and Eucharist runs: “Caro abluitur ut anima maculetur; caro ungitur ut anima consecretur; caro signatur ut et anima muniatur; caro manus impositione adumbratur ut et anima spiritu illuminetur; caro corpore et sanguine Christi vescitur ut et anima de Deo saginetur” (The flesh is washed, in order that the soul may be cleansed; the flesh is anointed, that the soul may be consecrated; the flesh is signed [with the cross], that the soul, too, may be fortified; the flesh is shadowed with the imposition of hands, that the soul also may be illuminated by the Spirit; the flesh feeds on the body and blood of Christ, that the soul likewise may have its fill of God - “Deres. Carnis.”, viii). He testifies to the practice of daily communion, and the preserving of the Holy Eucharist by private persons for this purpose. What will a heathen husband think of that which is taken by his Christian wife before all other food? “If he knows that it is Bread, will he not believe that it is simply what it is called?” This implies not merely the Real Presence, but transubstantiation. The station days were Wednesday and Friday; on what other days besides Holy Mass was offered we do not know. Some thought that Holy Communion would break their fast on Station days; Tertullian explains: “When you have received and reserved the Body of the Lord, you will have assisted at the Sacrifice and have accomplished the duty of fasting as well” (De oratione, xix). Tertullian’s list of customs observed by Apostolic tradition though not in Scripture (De cor., iii) is famous: the baptismal renunciations and feeding with

milk and honey, fasting Communion, offerings for the dead (Masses) on their anniversaries, no fasting or kneeling on the Lord's Day and between Easter and Pentecost, anxiety as to the falling to the ground of any crumb or drop of the Holy Eucharist, the Sign of the Cross made continually during the day.

Tertullian's canon of the Old Testament included the deuterocanonical books, since he quotes most of them. He also cites the Book of Enoch as inspired, and thinks those who rejected it were wrong. He seems also to recognize IV Esdras, and the Sibyl, though he admits that there are many sibylline forgeries. In the New Testament he knows the Four Gospels, Acts, Epistles of St. Paul, I Peter (Ad Ponticos), I John, Jude, Apocalypse. He does not know James and II Peter, but we cannot tell that he did not know II, III John. He attributes Hebrews to St. Barnabas. He rejects the "Pastor" of Hermas and says that many councils of the Psychici had also rejected it. Tertullian was learned, but careless in his historical statements. He quotes Varro and a medical writer, Soranus of Ephesus, and was evidently well read in pagan literature. He cites Irenaeus, Justin, Miltiades, and Proclus. He probably knew parts of Clement of Alexandria's writings. He is the first of Latin theological writers. To some extent, how great we cannot tell, he must have invented a theological idiom and have coined new expressions. He is the first witness to the existence of a Latin Bible, though he seems frequently to have translated from the Greek Bible as he wrote. Zahn has denied that he possessed any Latin translation, but this opinion is commonly rejected, and St. Perpetua certainly had one at Carthage in 203.

John Chapman.

Tertullian by Henry Wace



From 'Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature'

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I. LIFE.

The earliest of the great Latin Fathers, their chief in fire and daring, and the first to create a technical Christian Latinity, is known almost entirely through his writings. It can only be conjectured that he was born between a.d. 150 and 160, and died between 220 and 240, with preference for the later dates. He was born at Carthage (Hieron. *Catal. Script. Eccl.* 53; *cf. Tertull. Apol. c. ix.*) of heathen parents (de Poen. *c. i.*; *Apol. c. xviii.* “*de vestris sumus*”), his father being a proconsular centurion (Hieron.). Tertullian received a good education (*Apol. c. xiv.*; *adv. Prax. c. iii.*). In after-life he recalled his school studies in Homer (*ad Nat. i. c. x.*); but poetry attracted him less than philosophy, history, science, and antiquarian lore. He spoke and composed in Greek, but his Greek writings are lost. He studied the systems of the philosophers if he mocked and hated the men (*cf. de Anima, cc. i.–iii.*). Possibly destined for state-official life, he was celebrated for his knowledge of Roman law (Eus. *H. E. ii. 2*), and the legal fence and juridical style of the advocate are observable throughout his apologetic and polemical writings.

He was probably attracted to Christianity by complex irresistible and converging forces: “Fiunt, non nascuntur Christiani” (*Apol. c. xviii.*). The constancy of the Christians in times of persecution staggered him. He knew men who began by denouncing such “obstinacy,” and ended in embracing the belief which dictated it (*Apol. c. i.*; *ad Scap. c. v.*). Demons confessed the superiority of the new faith (*Apol. c. xxiii.*), and Tertullian, in common with his heathen and Christian contemporaries, was a profound believer in demons (*cf. Réville, La Religion à Rome sous les Sèvéres, p. 46. 130 seq.*). These facts led him to examine the faith which seemed to promise a foothold which no philosophical system furnished. It was illustrated by a life of holiness and humility — that of its Founder, the Just One — in contrast with which the life of the Cynic and the Stoic sickened him.

His conversion took place *c.* 192, in Carthage more probably than in Rome. Carthage was his home and usual dwelling-place (*de Pallio, c. i.*; *Apol. c. ix.*; *Scorpiace, c. vi.*; *de Resur. Carnis, c. xlii.*); Rome he had visited (*de Cultu Femin. i. c. vii.*), and he was well known there for his abilities (Eus. *l.c.*), but critics are by no means agreed whether he ever went there as a Christian (*cf. Baron. Annal. Eccl. ii. 476, ed. Theiner*). He was married but childless (*cf. the*

two treatises *ad Uxorem*), and became a priest of the church. He probably exercised his presbyterate at Carthage and not at Rome.

In middle age (*c.* 119–203), says Jerome, Tertullian became a Montanist, his constitution and temperament predisposing him to a rigour opposed to the laxity prevalent at Rome, and so finding the austere doctrines and practices of Montanus perfectly congenial (Kaye, *Account of the Writings of Tertullian*,³). He became the head of the Montanist party in Africa — a party which existed till the 5th cent. under the name of “Tertullianists.”

II. TIMES.

The golden age of the empire died with Marcus Aurelius (161–180); the age of iron began with his son Commodus (180–193). The golden age of the church began with that iron age of the empire (Aubé, *Les Chrétiens dans l'empire romain*, a.d. 180–249, pp. iii, 495–498). Expiring polytheism and ancient philosophy were confronted by a new philosophy and a nascent faith.

From one quarter only of the empire was the comparative peacefulness noticeable elsewhere absent. In Africa persecution, sharp, short, fitful, and frequent, marked the reign of Septimius Severus and the most active period of Tertullian's life. It is stamped in letters of blood upon his pages.

The church in Africa has no historian before Tertullian, though its foundation is placed, with much probability, at the end of cent. i. or the beginning of cent. ii. By the end of cent. ii. the Christians in Roman Africa were to be counted by thousands (cf. Aubé,) if not by millions (cf. *Apol. c. xxxvii.*; *ad Scapulam, cc. ii. v.*). They were fully organized and had their bishops, priests, deacons, places of assembly, and cemeteries. Immunity from the wholesale decimation which had befallen, by imperial command (cf. *Apol. c. v.*), other Christian bodies of the East and West, allowed in Africa growth and development, accelerated by occasional suffering and martyrdom. But the tempest broke upon the African church at last.

Facts connected with the persecutions can be followed in those writings of Tertullian which all critics place between a.d. 197 and 212, from the *ad Martyres* to the *ad Scapulam*.

The tract *ad Martyres* depicts men and women in prison, visited and relieved by the brethren, exhorted to unity, and prepared by fasting and prayer for the death which should be a victory for the church. Vigellius Saturninus was the first proconsul to draw the sword against Christians (*ad Scapulam, c. iii.*), and his date is not apparently earlier than 198 (see Aubé, , etc.). The martyrology of Africa had begun in 180. In a time of peace the Scillitan martyrs had died at Carthage (Görres, *Jahr. f. Prot. Theol.* 1884, pts. ii. iii.); but after that there is a blank till 198, when Namphamo was the new "archimartyr" of the church. A few months' respite followed. It was disturbed by an event which is with some plausibility alleged to have taken place at Carthage. A certain soldier refused the *donativum* of Severus and Caracalla,

publicly declined the laurel crown accepted by his fellow-soldiers, and proclaimed himself a Christian. The incident is described in the *de Corona*; Tertullian, making it a test case, debated whether the Christian could accept military service. His advice, and the conduct founded upon it, infuriated the heathen. Under Hilarian (202–203) persecution broke out again. It took the special form of refusing the Christian dead their usual place of burial; the cry invaded the proconsul's tribune, "Areae non sint!" ("No cemeteries for the Christians!"). Just then the decree issued in 202 by Severus indirectly if not directly gave sanction to all measures of repression. It forbade proselytizing by either Jew or Christian. It was easy, were the African proconsul so minded, to read into this purely prohibitive measure a licence to persecute. The "fight of martyrdom and the baptism of blood" which ensued is perhaps to be traced in Tertullian's *de Fuga* and *Scorpiace* (between 202–212). These treatises are fiercely scornful against the flight once counselled when persecution raged. The *de Fuga* (c. v.) denounces, not less angrily, a growing practice — purchase of immunity. Of sterner mould and of more loving faith were the brothers Satyrus and Saturninus, the slaves Revocatus and Felicitas, and the nobly born and nobly-wedded Perpetua. The Acts of their passion, by some (e.g. Bonwetsch and Salmon) attributed to Tertullian himself, have preserved a picture of the times — a reluctant proconsul, all-willing martyrs, and a scoffing crowd saluting their baptism of blood with the mocking cry, "Salvum lotum" (see the Acts in Migne's *Patr. Lat.* iii., and Aubé's collation, *op. cit.* p. 224, 509, etc.).

Again there came a respite, and again must the character of the proconsul have been instrumental in securing it. Of Julius Asper (proconsul in 205 or 206) it is told that not only did he refuse to force a Christian to sacrifice who under the torture had lapsed from the faith, but publicly expressed regret to his assessors and the advocates at having to deal with such cases (*ad Scapulam*, c. iv.). For five or six years persecution was stayed, years of literary activity on the part of Tertullian. In 211, for some unknown reason, the religious war broke out afresh, and its cruel if brief progress is told in the *ad Scapulam*. Tertullian's last "Apology" is worthy of the Christian gladiator. Stroke upon stroke he deals his ponderous blows against the proconsul. "We battle with your cruelty," he cries; but his weapons are the "offensive" weapons which Christ had put in his hands — prayer for the persecutors, love for enemies

(Matt. v. 44d). God's judgments, he warns them, were abroad. Drought, fires, eclipses, declared His wrath; the miserable deaths of persecuting proconsuls betokened it. "This our sect shall never fail," is his triumphant shout. "Strike it down, it will rise the more. We recompense to no man evil for evil, but we warn you — Fight not against God!"

In 212 the blessing of peace rested again upon Africa and continued for some years.

III. WRITINGS.

Tertullian's literary activity is by some confined to 197–212; by others, with far greater probability, it is extended to at least *c.* 223. A general chronological arrangement only is possible, the dates given being few and uncertain. The only work which supplies positive evidence of date is the first book *adv. Marcionem* (3rd ed.). In *c.* xv. Tertullian says he is writing in the 15th year of Severus, now considered to be *a.d.* 207 (Bonwetsch, *Die Schriften Tertullians nach der Zeit ihrer Abfassung*,). Tertullian was then a Montanist, but his pen had for some years been employed in behalf of the church.

Tertullian's writings represent him variously as layman, priest, and schismatic; and divide broadly into works written in the Catholic or Montanist periods of his life. The latter must further be subdivided into treatises in which Catholic or schismatic elements are respectively prominent. In character they are threefold: (*a*) Apologetic; (*b*) Dogmatic and polemical; (*c*) Moral and ascetic. The arrangements of Bp. Kaye and Bonwetsch have in the main suggested that which follows; though the dates attached are in almost all cases conjectural.

(1) Works written while still in the church: (*a*) Apologetic writings (*c.* 197–198): *ad Martyres*; *Apologeticum*; *de Testimonio Animae*; *ad Nationes*, *i.* *ii.*; *adv. Judaeos*.

(*b*) Other works of this period, but of less certain date: *de Oratione*; *de Baptismo*; *de Poenitentia*; *de Spectaculis*; *de Cultu Feminarum*, *i.*; *de Idololatria*; *de Cultu Feminarum*, *ii.*; *de Patientia*; *ad Uxorem*, *i.* *ii.* (*the last five c.* 197–199); *de Praescriptione Haereticorum* (*c.* 199); *adv. Marcionem i.* (*1st ed.*), *c.* 200.

(2) Montanistic writings: —

(*a*) Defending the church and her teachings (*c.* 202–203): *de Corona*; *de Fuga in Persecutione*; *de Exhortatione Castitatis*.

(*b*) Defending the Paraclete and His discipline: *de Virginibus Velandis* (*c.* 203–204, a transition work); *adv. Marcion.* (2nd ed.; *c.* 206); *ib.* (3rd ed.; *c.* 207). Between 200–207 or later: *adv. Hermogenem*; *adv. Valentinianos*; *adv. Marcion.* (*iv.*); *de Carne Christi*; *de Resurrectione Carnis*; *adv. Marcion.* (*v.*). *De Pallio and de Anima* (*c.* 208–209); *Scorpiace* (*c.* 212; *al.* 203 or 204); *ad*

Scapulam (c. 212). Three c. 217, al. 203–207: *de Monogamia*; *de Jejunio*; *de Pudicitia*; and adv. Praxeas (c. 223, al. c. 208–209).

A. *Tertullian, Layman and Apologist*. — *Ad Martyres*. — Two thoughts (c. iii.) should animate the martyrs. (1) Christians were soldiers, “called to the military service of the living God” by a sacramental oath, to which they must be true. (2) They were Christian athletes whose prison was their training-school (*palaestra*), where “*virtus duritia extruitur, mollitia vero destruitur*.” The words of Christ (Matt. xxvi. 41) should help them to subject the flesh to the spirit, the weaker to the stronger; the example of the heathens, Lucretia and Mucius, Heraclitus and Peregrinus, Dido and the wife of Hasdrubal, would teach them to count their sufferings trifling if, by enduring them, they might obtain a heavenly glory and a divine reward. In their own day many persons of birth, rank, and age had met their death at the hands of the emperor. Should Christians hesitate to suffer as much in the cause of God?

Apologeticum. — This Apology — the greatest of his works — was a cry for bare justice.

(1) A heading to c. i., “*Quod religio Christiana damnanda non sit, nisi qualis sit prius intelligatur*,” sums up its protest: The rulers of Carthage were persecuting and condemning a “sect” which forthcoming evidence proved unworthy of condemnation. Their conduct was the reverse of that enjoined by the emperor Trajan — that Christians were not to be sought out; but if brought before Pliny were to be punished. Tertullian reminds the rulers (c. v.) that the laws against Christians had been enforced only by emperors whose memory men had learnt to execrate: e.g. Nero and Domitian. Not such as these was Tiberius (cf. Eus. *H. E.* ii. 2), in whose day Christ came into the world (cf. c. vii.), and who had desired the senate to admit Him among the Roman deities. Marcus Aurelius was a protector. Not even Hadrian, Vespasian, Pius, nor Verus had put into force the laws against Christians. The men who were demanding this were daily and contemptuously infringing laws of all kinds. In proof he draws a sad picture of luxury and immorality. The good old laws had gone which encouraged in women modesty and sobriety.

(2) Chaps. vii.–ix. What were the charges against the Christians? “We are called miscreants” — and the evidence was only rumour! “*Fama malum, quo non aliud velocius ullum*.” It was, Tertullian retorts, the existence (secret or open) of evil practices among the heathen which explained their belief in

similar deeds among Christians.

(3) Chaps. x.–xxvii. Tertullian faces the first of the two great charges, “sacrilege and treason.” His “apology” as regards the former consists, briefly speaking, of (a) “*demonstratio religionis eorum*” (cc. x.–xvi. xxiv.–xxvii.) and of (b) “*demonstratio religionis nostrae*” (cc. xvii.–xxiii.), a most valuable *evidential* passage.

(a) You Christians, said the heathen, do not worship our gods: No, said Tertullian, and we won’t, because we do not recognize them to be gods. They were nothing but men of long ago, whose merits should have plunged them into the depths of Tartarus. How much better would it have been if the *deus deificus* had waited and taken up to heaven in their place such men as Socrates, Aristides, Themistocles, and others. The images excite Tertullian’s intense scorn, as “the homes of hawks and mice and spiders.” Caustically does he describe the heathen treatment of their household gods. “You pledge them, sell them, change them. They wear out or get broken, and you turn your Saturn into a cooking-pot and your Minerva into a ladle! You put your national gods in a sale-catalogue; and the man who will sell you herbs in the herb-market will sell you gods at the Capitol. Or what could be more insulting than the company you give them? You worship Larentina, the prostitute, together with Juno or Ceres or Diana. You erect (at Rome) a statue to SIMON MAGUS and give him as inscription the title of *sanctus deus* (see Kaye’s *Tertull.*, and Oehler’s note here). You turn into a god a sodomite like Antinous” (see Kellner’s note).

What then, it was asked, did Christians worship if not the gods? Tertullian answers, “Take in this first of all: they who are not worshippers of a lie are worshippers of truth.” From this might be deduced the whole of the Christian religious belief. But before Tertullian proceeds to do this, he refutes some very false, but common, opinions about the Christians, *e.g.* the vulgar belief that the god of the Christians was an ass’s head, that they worshipped the cross, or the sun. Lately a *bestiarius* (see Semler’s and Kellner’s notes) had exhibited a picture at Rome inscribed *Deus Christianorum* ονοκοιτης. The figure had the ears of an ass, one foot was hoofed, in his hand was a book, and he was dressed in a toga (see *D. C. A. s.n.* “*Asinari*”). The name and the form only made us laugh, says Tertullian; and then he retorts: “But our opponents might well have worshipped such a bifurmed deity: for they have dog-headed

and lion-headed gods, gods with horns, gods with wings, gods goat-limbed, fish-limbed, or serpent-limbed from the loins!”

(b) Tertullian turns from what Christianity was not to what it was, and the main lines of the evidences of Christianity in the 2nd cent. are still those of our own. These chapters (xvii.–xxiii.), so valuable in the history of religious belief, deserve the student’s close attention. The eloquence, fervour, humility, and devoutness of the writer will be felt to be contagious. Irony and passion are comparatively absent. The section details (*b*₁) the nature and attributes of the Creator, (*b*₂) the mission of the prophets, men full of (*inundati*) the Holy Spirit, (*b*₃) the character of the Scriptures, and (*b*₄) the history of the Lord. Under *b*₃ Tertullian notes two things. These Scriptures were marked, first, by that *antiquity* which his opponents rightly valued. The most ancient heathen writings were far less ancient than those of Moses, the contemporary of the Argive Inachus, and (as some thought) 500 years older than Homer. Nay, the very last prophet was coeval with the first of the (heathen) philosophers, lawgivers, and historians. “Quod prius est, semen sit necesse est.” Secondly, the Scriptures were marked by *majesty*. “Divinas probamus (*scripturas*), si dubitatur antiquas.” This *internal* evidence was a proof of their antiquity, while the *external* and daily fulfilment of prophecy was a reason for expecting the verification of what was not yet fulfilled.

*b*₄ is in answer to the questions, Why did Jews and Christians differ? Did not these differences argue worship of different gods? Tertullian’s reply (c. xxi.) is a history of the origin of the Christian sect and name, and an account of the Founder of Christianity, such as we have in the Gospels. His account is interspersed with most interesting statements, e.g. the Jewish inference from the humility of Christ that He was only man, and from His miraculous power that He was a magician, and not the Logos of God; the record of the darkening of the sun at the crucifixion preserved in the secret archives of the empire; the reason for the seclusion of the Lord after the resurrection, viz. “that the wicked should be freed from their error, and that faith destined for so glorious a reward should be established upon difficulty”; his own opinion that Caesars (such as Tiberius) would have believed in Christ, if they could have been Caesars and Christians at the same time; the sufferings of the disciples at the hands of the Jews; and at last, through Nero’s cruelty, the sowing the seed of Christianity at Rome in their blood (cf. c. l.). He concludes: “Deum colimus

per Christum.” Count Him a mere man if you like. By Him and in Him God wishes to be known and worshipped.

One more point remained. Romans considered their position as masters of the world the reward of their religious devotion to their gods, and affirmed that they who paid their gods the most service flourished the most. Tertullian traverses this “assumption” in ironical terms, or meets it with positive denial.

(4) Chaps. xxviii.–xxxvi. — The charge *laesae augustioris majestatis* is now reached. The evil spirits stirred up the heathen to compel Christians to sacrifice *pro salute imperatoris*; and that compulsion was met by resistance not less determined. Ironically does Tertullian commend in the heathen the dread with which they regarded Caesar as more profound and reverential than that which they accorded to the Olympian Jupiter. Christians were counted *publici hostes*, because they would not pay to the emperor vain, lying, or unseemly honours; and because, as *verae religionis homines*, they kept the festival days not lasciviously, but as conscientious men. Truly if public joy was to be expressed by public shame, the Christians deserved condemnation.

(5) Chaps. xxxvii.–xl. — This section, dealing with minor points of objection to the Christians, opens with an impassioned protest on behalf of men who, actuated by the principle “*Idem sumus imperatoribus qui et vicinis nostris*,” never took vengeance for the wrongs done to them. Mob-law had attacked them with stones and fire, or with Bacchanalian fury had torn their dead from the graves to rend their bodies asunder. Had Christianity tolerated repaying evil with evil, what secret vengeance could have been wrought in a single night with a torch or two! Or, had they determined to act as open enemies, what numbers and resources would they have had! “We are but of yesterday,” is Tertullian’s proud boast (cf. c. i.), “and yet we have filled your cities, fortresses, towns, assemblies, camp, palace, senate, and forum: *sola vobis reliquimus templa*. Should we determine to separate from you and betake ourselves to some remote corner of the globe, your loss of so many citizens would cover you with shame. The solitude, silence, and stupor as of a dead world would fill you with fear. You would have to seek subjects to govern. Your enemies would be more numerous than your citizens. At present it is your Christian citizens who make your enemies so few.” Tertullian therefore asks that Christians should be admitted “*inter licitas factiones*.” The “sect” was incapable of any such acts as were dreaded in forbidden societies.

If they had indeed their own occupations (*negotia*), why should that give offence? For what were the “*negotia Christianae factionis*”? (c. xxxix.). Tertullian’s answer is a touching picture of the simple Christendom of his day. “We are a body linked together by a common religious profession, by unity of discipline, and by a common hope. We meet as a congregation and pray to God in united supplication. *Haec vis Deo grata est*. We pray for the emperors, their ministers, and those in authority, for the welfare of the world, for peaceful times, and for the delaying of the end (see c. xxxii.). We come together to listen to our Holy Scriptures (cf. Just. Mart. *Apol.* ii.); and by holy words we nourish faith, raise hope, stablish confidence, and strengthen discipline. Our presidents are elders of approved character, who have obtained this honour not by purchase but by desert. On the monthly day appointed each gives to the chest what he likes; the money is disbursed not in feasting and drinking, but in supporting and burying the poor, in providing for destitute orphan boys and girls, in supporting the aged, the infirm, and the shipwrecked, and in succouring those sent to the mines or incarcerated in prisons *ex causa Dei sectae*.”

(6) Chaps. xlv. — Accusations had been met and the case of the Christian stated. What remained? One last perversion on the part of unbelief: “Christianity was no divine institution, but simply a kind of philosophy.” The refutation of this closes the *Apology*. Tertullian, if frequently satirical, is at first grave and dignified, sober and patient, more than is his wont; but the smouldering fire bursts out at last; his last chapter is a climax of withering scorn and impassioned appeal.

Ad Nationes (i. ii.) is practically a short form of the *Apology*. It covers the same ground, uses the same arguments and largely the same language. But the *Apology* was addressed to the rulers and magistrates of Carthage, this to the people. Its whole cast is consequently more popular, its arguments less prolonged, its illustrations less reserved (cf. I. cc. iv. viii. xvi.; II. c. xi.).

De Testimonio Animae was written very soon after the *Apology*, to which it refers (c. v.). Some have thought it the most original and acute of his works (see Neander, *Antignosticus*,). Many of his predecessors, says Tertullian (c. i.), had ransacked heathen literature to discover in it support of the Christian efforts to expel error and admit equity. The attempt was, in his opinion, a mistake and a failure. He would not repeat it. Neither would he adduce

Christian writings when dealing with heathen, for nobody consulted them unless already a Christian. Therefore he turns to another and a new testimony, that of the soul. Apostrophizing it, he cries, "Thou art not, so far as I know, Christian. The soul is not born Christian [cf. *Apol.* xviii.], but becomes Christian. Yet Christians beg now for a testimony from thee, as from one outside them; a testimony against thine own that the heathen may blush for their hatred and mockery of us." The testimony of the soul to God is found in popular phrases indicative of knowledge and fear of God; then it is adjured to speak about immortality and the resurrection of the body (c. iv.; cf. *Apol.* xlviii.).

Adversus Judaeos. — The authenticity and integrity of the treatise, as usually printed, have both been disputed; the latter with justice, the former needlessly, and principally on account of the discredit attaching to the latter portion. Chaps. i.–viii. are certainly Tertullian's, written while still a churchman. The latter chapters are different, both in character and style. The treatise was occasioned by a dispute between a Christian and a heathen converted, not to Christianity but to Judaism. Practically, the question between them was the exclusion or not of Gentiles from the promises of God. But there was a preliminary question. Was any one expected, and if expected, had any one come, "novae legislator, sabbati spiritalis cultor, sacrificiorum aeternorum antistes, regni aeterni aeternus dominator," or was His advent still matter of hope? (c. vii.). The fulfilment of prophecy rightly understood was the answer. Tertullian does not need to prove that the Christ should come. Every Jew believed and hoped it. Is. xlv. 1 was sufficient proof of it. (He renders the passage differently from the present Hebrew text, and with one especially interesting variation, reading, "Thus saith the Lord God to my Christ the Lord (Κυρίω)," etc., instead of "to Cyrus (Κύρω) His anointed," etc. So also in *adv. Prax.* cc. xi. xxviii.] In the then fulfilment of this prophecy he sees the proof that the Christ had come. Upon whom but upon Christ had the nations believed? — nations such as (*int. al.*) Moors, Spaniards, Gauls, Britons, "inhabiting places inaccessible to the Romans but subjugated to Christ" (in the same chapter he speaks of them as "shut up within the circuit of their own seas"), Germans and others, unknown to him, and too numerous to mention. Christ reigned everywhere, was adored everywhere: "omnibus aequalis, omnibus rex, omnibus judex, omnibus Deus et Dominus est."

B. *Tertullian the Priest.* — Tertullian had hitherto written as a layman. The writings now to be considered indicate more or less directly that he had become a priest (cf. *de Baptismo*, cc. xvii. xviii.). Persecution was for a time suspended. It is highly probable that about this time a synod of African bishops met at Carthage to discuss matters affecting the organization, discipline, and teaching of the church; and the occasion may have been used to ordain one who, as an “apologist,” had proved himself so fearless a champion of the church. Questions concerning heretical baptism, and the attitude of the church towards the heretical sects, were very probably discussed, and Tertullian’s lost treatise on heretical baptism was written in Greek to circulate the synod’s decisions beyond the confines of the African church.

Other points, however, dealing with Christian life and ethics, came before him in his work in Carthage as a priest. The flock looked to their pastors for guidance: prayer, baptism, repentance, and the discipline connected with them; woman’s dress and woman’s life, married or unmarried; pleasures, amusements, how far lawful or unlawful, — all were matters upon which direction was desirable, and to all does Tertullian apply himself. Roughly divided, the treatises were practical and doctrinal, but the division must not be pressed too closely.

(1) *Practical Treatises.* — *De Oratione.* (a) Of the Lord’s Prayer specifically (cc. i.–xi.); (b) of prayer generally — times, places, and customs (cc. xii.–end).

(a) As Christ was Spirit, Word, and Reason, so His prayer was formed of three parts: the word by which it was expressed, the spirit by which alone it had power, the reason by which it was appropriated (the reading is disputed); and the practice of prayer was recommended with three injunctions: that it should be offered up in secret, marked by modesty of faith,” and distinguished by brevity. It was in very truth “*breviarium totius evangelii*.” It is reckoned as containing seven clauses, the doxology not being given; and each clause is considered separately. The comments are reflections rather than interpretations; and if unequal and sometimes fanciful, they are very beautiful and can never be read without profit. His own summary (c. ix.) is a mine of spiritual thought. He approves of other prayers being used corresponding with the special circumstances of him who prays, but never to the omission of this,

the regular and set form of prayer.

(b) Certain ceremonies, “empty” (*vacuae*) Tertullian calls them, but illustrative of many an interesting point of ritual and practice of the time, are next considered: Washing the hands before prayer; praying with the cloak taken off; sitting after prayer; the kiss of peace; the “Stations” (c. xix. ; see Oehler’s note); the dress of women, and veiling or non-veiling of virgins; kneeling in prayer; place and time of prayer; prayer when brethren met or parted; prayer and psalm. The closing chapter, dealing with the power and effect of prayer, is one of the gems of Tertullian’s writings. “Never,” he cries, “let us walk unarmed by prayer. Under the arms of prayer guard we the standard of our emperor; in prayer await we the angel’s trump. Angels pray; every creature prays. ‘Quid amplius? Etiam ipse Dominus oravit.’”

De Baptismo. — One Quintilla, “a viper of the Cainite heresy,” had sought to destroy baptism. “What good could water do? Was it to be believed that a man could go down into the water, have a few words spoken over him, and rise again the gainer of eternity?” (see c. vi.). Quintilla was apparently a Gnostic, and the very simplicity of the means of grace repelled her. “Miratur simplicia quasi vana, magnifica quasi impossibilia.” Her sneers had corrupted some; others were disturbed by such doubts as, Why was baptism necessary? Abraham was justified without it. The Christ Himself did not baptize. No mention was made in Scripture of the baptism of the apostles; St. Paul himself was bidden not to practise it. Answers had to be given, lest catechumens should perish through lack of right instruction.

(a) The foundation for the sacrament (*religionem*) of baptism Tertullian finds in (cc. i.–ix.) the history of the creation. The hovering of the Spirit of God over the waters was typical of baptism; and water still, after invocation of God, furnished the sacrament of sanctification. Shortly but beautifully he describes the baptismal ceremonies (cf. *de Spect.* c. iv.), notes the types and figures of baptism in O.T., and the testimony to baptism in the life and passion of the Lord.

(b) Larger questions acquiescing in the necessity of baptism awaited consideration.

(i) *Heretical Baptism*. — Christians held firmly to a belief in one God, one Baptism, one Church. This unity was, as regards baptism, imperilled by heretical baptism. The *ademptio communicationis* (by some = deprivation of

communion; by others = excommunication) stamped heretics as strangers. "We and they have not the same God, nor one [*i.e.* the same] Christ. Therefore we and they have not one [*i.e.* the same] baptism. What [baptism] they have, they have it not rightly, and therefore have not baptism at all." On these grounds he rejected heretical baptism. On the whole subject consult *Libr. of the Fath.* x. p seq.

(ii) *Second Baptism.* — The belief and practice of the church Tertullian states thus: "We enter the font but once; our sins are washed away but once, because they ought not to be repeated." The Christian had, nevertheless, a second baptism, viz. the Baptism of Blood (cf. Luke xii. 50). Two baptisms had Christ sent forth from the wounds in His pierced side, that they who believed in His Blood might be washed with water, and that they who had been washed with water might also drink His Blood. This was that Baptism which stood in the place of the font when it had not been received, or restored it when lost (cf. *Scorp.* c. vii.).

(c) The remainder of the treatise deals with points of church practice and discipline as regards baptism (cc. xvii.–xx.). Laymen as well as clerics could administer it, but only if disciples and in cases of necessity. "Layman" was not taken to include women. Baptism was not to be administered rashly (cf. Matt. vii. 6). Tertullian, like the teachers of Alexandria, recommends delaying it in the case of children, till they had passed "the age of innocence," and in the case of the unwedded and widowed. The times most suitable for baptism were the Passover and Pentecost; but not to the exclusion of other opportunities. When about to receive baptism, candidates should prepare themselves by prayer, fasting, vigil, and confession of sins (cf. Mat. iii. 6); and after baptism they should rejoice rather than fast. Tertullian suggests to them a prayer: "When you rise from that holy font of your new birth and spread your hands for the first time in the house of your mother Church with your brethren, ask of the Father, ask of the Lord, special grace ["*peculia gratiae*"] and the divers gifts of the Holy Spirit ["*distributiones charismatum*"]. And, he adds with touching humility, "I pray you that when you ask, you remember in your prayers Tertullian the sinner."

De Poenitentia. — Repentance of sin before baptism (cc. i.–vi.). True repentance had its measure and its limit in the fear of God. God Himself initiated repentance, when He rescinded His sentence on Adam. He exhorted

men to it by His Prophets; by St. John He pointed out its sign and seal in baptism. Its aim was the salvation of man through the abolition of sin. There was a tendency to say "God was satisfied with the devotion of heart and mind. Even if men did sin in act, they could do so without prejudice to their faith and fear." With an intensity of sarcasm Tertullian replies, "You shall be thrust down into hell without prejudice to your pardon." Such Antinomianism explained another frequent and lamentable practice. The Christians of the day most firmly believed in the washing away of sins in Holy Baptism, and in the necessity of true repentance as preparatory to the reception of it; but this led "novices" ("inter auditorum tirocinia") not to a willing and holy eagerness to receive baptism, but to a presumptuous and unholy spirit of delay, that they (the soldiers of the Cross) might steal the intervening time as a furlough ("commentum") for sinning rather than for learning not to sin. Tenderly and wisely does Tertullian plead with them. "If a man who has given himself to God is not to cease sinning till he be bound by baptism, I hardly know whether he will not feel, after baptism, more sorrow than joy."

De Spectaculis. — A period of temporary peace after persecution (cf. c. xxvii.) had fallen upon the church in Carthage. Spectacular shows and games were being given, possibly in commemoration of the victory of Severus over Albinus, and the grave question had to be faced — Should Christians attend them? The seal (*signaculum*) of baptism supplied *the* reason against attendance. All the preparations connected with the spectacles were based upon idolatry, and idolatry was renounced at the font. In cc. v.–xiii. Tertullian draws out in detail the origin of the spectacles, their titles, apparatus, localities, and arts; and the reader can realize to the very life the places and scenes he describes in impassioned but often one-sided invective. Everywhere in the circus were images and statues, chariots dedicated to gods, their thrones, crowns, and equipments. Religious rites preceded, intervened, and succeeded the games; guilds, priests, and attendants served the *conventus daemoniorum*. *Consecrated to the sun, the solar temple rose in the midst, the solar effigy glittered on the summit.* The chariots of the circus were dedicated to the gods, the charioteers wore the colours (white, red, green, and blue) of idolatry. The *designator* and the *haruspex* were two most befouled masters of the ceremonies connected with the funereal and sacrificial rites. The *theatrum* was the home of Venus and Bacchus; the performances there claimed their

patronage. The very artistic gifts employed in producing the spectacles were the inspiration of demons, glozed over by a fallacious consecration. Men pleaded, "We cannot live without pleasure." Well, Christians had pleasures many and noble. What greater pleasure could be conceived than reconciliation to God and pardon of the many sins of a past life? What delight should exceed the trampling idolatry under foot, the expulsion of demons, acts of healing, a life unto God? These were the pleasures and spectacles of Christians, holy, perpetual, and free. In the Christian circus they might behold immodesty hurled down by chastity, perfidy slain by fidelity, cruelty bruised by mercy, wantonness overcome by modesty! These were the contests in which to gain the Christian crown. "or do you wish to see the blood shed? Behold Christ's!" Then Tertullian closes his eyes to the spectacles of earth. There looms before him (c. xxx.) *the* spectacle close at hand of the Lord coming in His glory and triumph. He depicts angels exulting, saints rising from the dead, the kingdom of the just and the city of the New Jerusalem, the hell of the persecutor and scoffer; and there were spectacles even more glorious still. Man could not conceive them; but they were nobler than those of the circus, the amphitheatre, or the racecourse.

De Cultu Feminarum, i. and ii. — The luxury and extravagance of the women of the time is matter of notoriety. Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria do not express one whit more strongly than Seneca their ambition, cruelty, and licentiousness. Therefore, when women became Christians, and matronly and wifely virtues or virgin purity and modesty characterized them, it extorted the admiration of some and the impatient scorn of others. But luxury began to creep in and overrule the daughters of the church. Tertullian saw it, and the above works were among other efforts to recall Christian women to the Christian life.

De Idololatria is a protest against serving two masters — Christianity and heathenism. Many Christians had in adult age come over to Christianity from heathenism, and many Christian craftsmen gained their living by distinctly heathen trades, and would not or could not see that they were wrong. Many "servants of God" had official or professional engagements which brought them perpetually in contact with heathen customs, legal forms, sacrificial acts, and social courtesies. They drew sophistical distinctions between what they might write but not speak, or the image they might make but not worship. To

Tertullian such contact and collusion, and therefore such professions and trades, were radically wrong. Heathenism in all its shapes was idolatry. Two professions connected with idolatry were especially obnoxious to him, (a) the astrologer (c. ix.), arguing that "astrology was the science of the stars which affirmed the Advent of Christ"; (b) the schoolmaster (*ludimagister*) and other professors of letters (c. x.), who had to teach the names, genealogies, honours of heathen gods, and keep their festivals from which they derived their income. On festival-days, in honour of emperors, victories, and the like, the doors of Christians were more decorated with lamps and laurels than those of the heathen (cf. *Apol.* c. xxxv.), men quoting Christ's command; "Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's" (Matt. xxii. 21). Private and social festivals stood on a different footing (c. xvi.), e.g. the natural ceremonies connected with the assumption of the *toga virilis*, espousals, nuptials, and the naming of children. It was a more important question (c. xvii.) what was to be the line of slaves or children who were believers, of officials in attendance upon their lords, patrons, or the chief magistrates when sacrificing? Tertullian answers all such questions in detail. From idolatry in act Tertullian passes to idolatry in word (c. xx.), forbidding ejaculations such as "By Hercules!" "By the god of truth" (*Medius-fidius*, see Andrews's *Lex.* s.n. *Fidius*). Lastly a yet subtler form of idolatry is considered (c. xxiii.). Christians borrowed money from the heathen, and by giving bonds in security avoided taking an oath. "Scripsi sed nihil dixi. Non negavi, quia non juravi." Indignantly does Tertullian protest against such sophistry: faults committed in mind were faults in deed (Matt. v. 28).

De Patientia, one of the most spiritual of Tertullian's compositions, is a sermon preached to himself quite as much as to others. His experience as a priest had taught him the need of patience every time he confronted pettiness not less than pride, frivolity not less than idolatry.

Ad Uxorem, i. and ii. — Among the questions discussed in, and disturbing, the Christian church at Carthage was that of second marriages. These were evidently numerous. Tertullian gave his advice in a treatise in two books addressed to his wife, which he hoped might be profitable to her and to any other woman "belonging to God." He does not go here beyond the position taken by St. Paul. If he evidently considered celibacy the higher state, though himself married, he does not forbid marriage. But second marriages were

different, and he argues strongly against them.

(2) *Doctrinal Treatises*. — Three positions laid down by Tertullian (*de Praes. Haer. cc. xxi. xxxii. xxxvi.*), (a) *apostolic doctrine*, (b) *episcopal succession* from the apostles, (c) the apostolic canon of Scripture, were rocks on which the church was then firmly fixed.

(a) His *Regula Fidei* (cf. *de Praes. Haer. c. xiii.*; *de Virg. Vel. c. i.*; *adv. Prax. c. ii.*) is the form given by Irenaeus (contr. *Haer. l. c. x.*; cf. the two in Denzinger's *Enchiridion*, p. 2), expanded upon points which had come to the front during a lapse of about 30 years. But it had become something more than a mere *regula*; it had risen to a *doctrina*; and in the brotherhood of Carthage it was the *contesseratio* (cf. *de Praes. Haer. cc. xx. xxxvi.*) which reason and tradition united in approving. (b) The *regula* had come down to them through bishops "per successionem ab initio decurrentem" (cf. *ib. c. xxxii.*), and those bishops had received "cum successionem charisma veritatis certum" (*Iren. iv. c. xxvi. 2*). The former fact gave historical value to the *regula*, the latter dogmatic credibility. The unworthy life of many a successor of the apostles (cf. *de Pudicitia*, c. i.) did not annul the validity of the doctrine. For (c) it was supported by the Scriptures. In the time of Irenaeus and Tertullian the Law and the Prophets, the Gospels and the Apostolic Epistles (cf. *de Praes. Haer. c. xxxvi.*) formed an undisputed canon. Tertullian's nomenclature for the Bible (see Rösensch, *Das N. T. Tertullian's*, p. 49) is alone sufficient record of the high value attached to the writings in the custody of "the one Holy Catholic Church." The sacred Scriptures contained the solution of every difficulty (cf. *de Idololat. c. iv. et pass.*). It was the armoury of weapons offensive and defensive which the church permitted her children alone to use (cf. *de Praes. c. xv.*, etc.), for she alone had taught them to use them aright. With such an equipment and in defence of "mother" church (*ad Mart. c. i.*; *de Orat. c. ii. and aliter*). Tertullian went forth to attack the "heresies" of men who, calling themselves Christians, yet abandoned the apostolic tradition for doctrines whose parentage he attributed to the devil, and whose precepts he scorned as derived from non-Christian religious systems and speculations, or as the offspring of self-willed wickedness.

De Praescriptione Haereticorum. — This treatise, with its title drawn from the language of jurisprudence, consists of (i), an introduction (cc. i.–xiv.), (ii) the main division of the work (cc. xv.–xl.). It is more than probable that it

originated in the desire to emphasize the doctrinal stability of the African church in the face of some fresh tendency towards Gnosticism in general and the views of Marcion especially. (i), Persons of weak faith and character (c. iii.) were unsettled because some once accounted firm in the faith were passing over to heresy; and it was not sufficient simply to refer to Scripture, which the Gnostic teachers could apply as much as the orthodox. For the time Tertullian conceived no better way of meeting their difficulty than by positive injunction to refuse appeal to Scripture to their would-be seducers, to note the character of the heretics, and to surrender themselves entirely to the guidance of the church. The authority men advanced for their deviations from the faith was nothing less than the words of the Lord, "Seek, and ye shall find" (Matt. vii. 7). Tertullian argues that Christ's words could bear no such interpretation; they contained advice to search after definite truth and to rest content with it when found. There was safety only in the belief that "*Christus instituit quod quaeri oportet, quod credi necesse est.*" Parables (Luke xi. 5, Luke xv. 8, Luke xviii. 2, 3) taught the same lesson— "*finis est et quaerendi et pulsandi et petendi.*" Therefore Christians were to seek "in their own, from their own, and concerning their own; and only such questions as might be deliberated without prejudice to the rule of faith.

This mention of the *regula fidei* leads (c. xiii.) to the statement of it. This passage is therefore one of the most important in Tertullian's writings as an index to the articles of the Christian faith believed and accepted in his day (consult Pusey's notes *in loco*). This "rule" the Christians held to have been taught by Christ. Tertullian is quite willing (c. xiv.) that it should be examined, discussed, and explained to novices by some "*doctor gratia scientiae donatus.*" But he gives a caution. It was not Biblical skill ("*exercitatio scripturarum*") but faith which saved (cf. Luke xviii. 42). Faith lay deposited in this "rule"; it had a law, and in the keeping of that law came salvation. "*Cedat curiositas fidei, cedat gloria saluti.*"

(ii) Chaps. xv.–xl. — Heresy was sometimes defended on the ground that heretics used and argued from the Scriptures. But, answered Tertullian, their use of them was "audacious" and not to be admitted. None but they whose were the Scriptures had a right to use them. Tertullian adopts this position not from any distrust of his cause, but in accordance with apostolic injunctions (c. xvi.; cf. I. Tim. vi. 3, 4; Tit. iii. 10). Heretics did not deal fairly with the

Scriptures; one passage they perverted, another they interpreted to suit their own purposes (cf. c. xxxviii.). A man might have a most admirable knowledge of the Scripture, but yet make no progress with heretical disputants. Everything he maintained they would deny, everything he denied they would maintain. As a result, the weak in faith, seeing neither side had decidedly the better in the discussion, would go away confirmed in uncertainty. Certain questions had therefore to be settled. Where was the true faith? Whose were the Scriptures? From whom, through whom, when, and to whom had been handed down the “*disciplina qua fiunt Christiani*”? It might be assumed that wherever the true Christian discipline and faith was, there would be also the true Scriptures, true exposition, and all true Christian traditions (c. xix.). In Christ, Tertullian finds Him Who first delivered the faith openly to the people or privately to His disciples, of whom He had chosen twelve “*destinatos nationibus magistros*.” These twelve (St. Matthias having been chosen in the place of Judas) went forth and founded churches everywhere; and from them other churches derived then, and still derived, the tradition of faith and the seeds of doctrine. Hence their name of “*apostolic churches*.” Though so many, they sprang from but one, the primitive church founded by the apostles. Thus all were primitive, all apostolic, all one; and this unity was proved by their peaceful inter-communion, by the title of brotherhood, and by the exercise of hospitality — all of which owed their basis and continuance to one and the same sacramental faith. From this was to be deduced the first rule (c. xxi.) None were to be received (cf. Matt. xi. 27) as preachers but those (apostles) whom the Lord Jesus Christ appointed and sent. A second rule was that what the apostles preached could only be proved by those churches which the apostles themselves founded, to which they preached, and to which they afterwards sent epistles. All doctrine therefore which agreed with these apostolic churches (“*matricibus et originalibus fidei*”) was to be counted true, and firmly held as having been received by the church from the apostles, by the apostles from Christ, by Christ from God; and all doctrine must be pronounced false which contained anything contrary to the truth declared by the churches and apostles of Christ and of God. These rules Tertullian and his co-religionists affirmed to be held by the Holy Church to which they belonged: “*Communicamus cum ecclesiis Apostolicis, quod nulla doctrina diversa. Hoc est testimonium veritatis.*”

Heretics advanced two “mad” objections to these rules: (a) The apostles did not know all things (c. xxii.). (b) Arguing from I. Tim. vi. 20 and II. Tim. i. 14, the apostles did not reveal everything to all men. Some doctrines they proclaimed openly and to all, others secretly and to a few (c. xxv.). Tertullian addressed himself to both these points.

C. *Tertullian and Montanism.* — About the end of 2nd cent. Montanism invaded Africa. Tertullian would seem to have embraced it wholeheartedly. It suited his temperament; it furnished the logical solutions to problems practical and theological which had been disturbing him. But his Montanism was not the Montanism of 172–177 or of Asia Minor; it had come to him through the purifying medium of distance and time. He knew or remembered nothing of the extravagances connected with the first deliverances of the “new prophets.” Montanism was in truth to Tertullian little more than a name; development and restoration rather than novelty underlie the intention, and are stamped upon the thoughts, of every treatise which follows those hitherto considered. The practices Tertullian favoured and advocated, the doctrines he loved and enforced, had alike their roots in the existing practices and doctrines of the church. It is the manner in which he has insisted upon the one which has so much discredited it; it is the juridical fence with which he has driven home the other which has angered opponents. He defended his practice and teaching as necessary for his day. New fasts, protests against second marriages, a sterner accentuation of discipline, were conceived as absolutely necessary by the man who, beginning by tightening bonds which the church had wisely left relaxed, ended by the Pharisaic assumption that he and his were πνευματικοὶ and his opponents ψυχικοί. But if he drew his descriptive language from Gnostic codes, he burned in the spirit to depose Gnostic heresy. The merit he assigned to ecstasy, dream, vision, new prophecy, and special endowment by the Paraclete, were expansions of simpler but Scriptural teaching, with something of Pharisaic lordliness, but ever directed against the Sadduceeism, the materialism, the Patripassianism, and the Monarchianism of his day.

The career of Tertullian, his whole being and character, left him no choice when he had to make his decision. He was bound to side with the sterner party, and he did. If at first he retained his position in the church, that position before long became intolerable. The breach took place of which the *de Virg. Vel.* gives the ostensible cause; and the passion which animated the apologist

in defence of the church was presently employed to revile, discard, and injure her. Few treatises are more painful to read than the *de Monogamia*, *de Jejuniis*, and *de Pudicitia*. It is a relief to turn from them to the adv. Praxean. If the heart of the ascetic has been alienated from the church, he can still defend her faith with all his old loving energy, and, by his last existing writing, command respect from those whose affection he had lost.

(1) *Practical Treatises*. — *De Corona* is usually counted the first treatise which indicates traces of Montanism (cf. c. i.; Hauck places the *de Virg. Vel.* before it), and it was written after the *de Spectac.* (cf. c. vi.). Opinions were divided as to the soldier's conduct. Some blamed him as rash, as eager to die, some as bringing trouble on the Christian name about a mere matter of dress. Tertullian, with one word of laudation of the man — “solus scilicet fortis inter tot fratres commilitones, solus Christianus” — turns furiously upon his decriers.

De Fuga in Persecutione. — It may well have been that excitement threatening persecution was aroused against Christians by the conduct of the soldier specified in the *de Corona*. In Carthage (c. iii.) the question was anxiously debated, “May Christians flee from persecution or not?” The clergy answered “Yes,” and set an example (c. xi.), which they probably defended by Christ's words (Matt. x. 23), and by the practice of a Polycarp and others. A few years before (*ad Uxor.* i. c. iii.) Tertullian himself had conceded that flight was “better” where the Christian was likely to deny the faith through the agony of torture; but now he thought differently. Montanistic severity had laid its spell upon him. His work deals with the two modes by which the timid and doubtful sought to evade persecution: (a) flight (cc. i.–xi.), and (b) bribery (cc. xii.–end).

De Exhortatione Castitatis. — Some years had elapsed since Tertullian had written *ad Uxorem*, deprecating for women a second marriage. The death of a friend's wife gave him an opportunity of urging upon men a like continence; and he did so in language declaratory of views far more exaggerated.

De Virginibus Velandis. — The veiling of virgins was a burning question among Christians at Carthage; and partisans in Carthage took sides according as they argued from what St. Paul (I. Cor. xi.) had said or had left to be inferred. Did his term “women” include virgins? Christian married women appeared veiled everywhere, in the church as well as the marketplace; their

veil was the mark of their status. The Christian virgin did one of three things: she went everywhere unveiled, or veiled in the streets but unveiled in the church, or everywhere veiled. Of these the first was the oldest and local custom — it was the mark of the virgin and the practice of the majority. But a strong minority had adopted the last of the three practices. This Tertullian approved (cf. *de Orat.* cc. xx.–xxii.).

(2) *Doctrinal Works.* — The majority of these were written when Tertullian had become a Montanist. They present more or less the catch-words of the sect, and refer to the Paraclete and the new prophecy, if the doctrines inculcated and defended are those of the church Catholic. To be a Montanist was not with Tertullian to be a seceder from the church in points of faith, though the church found it necessary for the sake of her unity in life and doctrine to count him and his outside her.

Adv. Hermogenem. — For the nature of the opinions of this heretical teacher and of Tertullian's treatise against him see HERMOGENES. The treatise contains two very beautiful passages, (a) the eulogy of wisdom (c. xviii.), and (b) the description of the development of cosmical order out of chaos (c. xxix.).

Adv. Valentinianos. — For a review of the opinions of this school ("frequentissimum plane collegium inter haereticos") see VALENTINUS. Tertullian's treatise does not so much discuss these opinions as state them; it is not so much a refutation as a satire, intended to provoke mirth (c. vi.). It claims no originality, but to be a faithful reflection of the teaching of Justin, Miltiades (cf. Eus. *H. E.* v. 17) Irenaeus, and Proculus.

De Carne Christi. — This is Tertullian's principal contribution to the Christological problem of the time: Was the flesh of Christ born of the Virgin and human in its nature (c. xxxv.)? In his *de Resurrectione Carnis* (c. ii.) he himself specifies the tenets he opposes here to be those of Marcion, Basilides, Valentinus, and Apelles. These "modern Sadducees" (c. i.; *de Praes. Haer.* c. xxxiii.) were apprehensive lest if they admitted the reality of Christ's flesh, they must also admit His resurrection in the flesh, and consequently the resurrection generally. It was necessary to discuss, therefore, His bodily substance. (i) (a) Marcion's views are examined (cc. ii.–v.); then (b) those of Apelles (cc. vi.–ix.) ; then (c) that of the Valentinians (cc. x.–xvi.). (ii) The second part of the treatise deals more especially with the single point— "Did

Christ receive flesh from the Virgin" (cc. xvii.—end)?

The treatise fully responds to the intention of the writer. It examines the arguments employed and the Scriptures advanced (see esp. c. xviii.) ; and does so, on the whole, in a style moulded by the recollection that the subject was a grave and solemn one. There are bursts of irony (*e.g.* cc. ii. iv.); paradoxes (see c. v., perhaps the most famous of Tertullian's many paradoxes) and retorts; but the total result is a valuable contribution to the literature of the subject. His line of argument and his statement of the church's doctrine is that of Irenaeus. For a general view of the opinions attacked see APELLES, MARCION, and VALENTINUS.

De Resurrectione Carnis. — Tertullian wrote this (c. ii.) in fulfilment of the intention expressed in the *de Carne Christi* (c. xxv.), against those who allowed that the soul would rise again, but refused resurrection to the flesh on account of its worthlessness. It was a logical sequence to their fundamental position that the works of the Demiurge, or the god who created the world and was opposed to the supreme God, were marked by corruption and worthlessness, and that the flesh of man was consequently so also. Tertullian grants that his subject was invested with uncertainty; but it was too important to be passed over. The question affected the very Oneness of the Godhead. To deny the resurrection of the flesh would be to shake that doctrine, to vindicate the resurrection of the flesh would establish it. In contrast to the unseemly language (*spurciloquium*) of heathen and heretic, he will adopt a more honourable and modest style (cf. *de Anima*, c. xxxii.); and he has kept his word. There are few sentences which grate upon the ear, while there are many passages of considerable beauty and profound Christian faith.

Adv. Marcionem, bks. i.—v. — This work in its present form is assigned to the 15th year of Severus (bk. i. c. xv.) or c. 208; and comes to us as a work touched and retouched during many years (cf. i. c. xxii.). Tertullian had in other cases felt dissatisfaction with his writings of an earlier period, or altered his arguments to meet the ever-altering phases of false belief. Thus in the earlier work, *de Praes. Haer.* c. xix., he declines to allow appeal to the Scriptures in the discussion of heresy; in a later treatise, *de Resurr. Carnis*, c. iii., he demands of heretics that they should support their inquiries from Scripture alone (cf. *adv. Prax.* c. xi.). So now, his earliest edition of this treatise, if placed (conjecturally) c. 200, would have seemed to him very

defective when writing c. 208. He had separated from his old friends, now branded as the “Psychics” (iv. c. xxii.), to find among the Montanists the true church (i. c. xxi.; iv. c. v.). To him “the new prophecy” was now the highest authority, the Paraclete the sole guide unto all truth. The doctrinal controversy between Tertullian and Marcion turned principally on questions of anthropology and Christology. All that Tertullian has to say upon it has been summed up under MARCION.

De Anima. — In the treatise *de Testimonio Animae* Tertullian had sought to prove that the soul of man bore natural testimony to the truth of the representations given in Holy Scripture of the unity, nature, and attributes of God, and of a future state. In the treatise *de Anima*, written some ten years or so later, he deals with the soul itself. Between these surviving treatises is to be placed one now lost, *de Censu Animae*, in which he had combated the opinion of Hermogenes that the origin of the soul was to be found in matter by the counter-opinion that it was formed by the *afflatus* of God (cf. *de Anima*, cc. i. iii. xi.; *adv. Marc.* ii. c. ix.). The attributes of the soul (*animae naturalia*) pointed, in his opinion, to propinquity to God and not to matter (cf. *de Anima*, c. xxii.), an opinion supported by the views of Plato, who had taught the *divinatio animae* (cf. *de Anima*, c. xxiv.). The discussion of its origin is followed by a general inquiry respecting the nature, powers, and destiny of the soul. An admirable analysis is that of Bp. Kaye (p-207; cf. also Neander, the careful analysis of Böhringer, and Hauck). In c. xxii. Tertullian gives his definition of the soul as deriving its origin from the breath of God (iv. xi.). The soul is immortal, corporeal (v.-viii.), and endowed with form (ix.); simple in its substance (x. xi.); possessing within itself the principle of intelligence (xii.); working in different ways or channels (xiii.-xv.); endued with free will; affected by external circumstances, and thus producing the infinite variety of disposition observable among mankind; rational (xvi.); supreme over man (xvii. xviii.); and possessing natural insight into futurity (xix.). The Gospels, in (e.g.) the history of the rich man in torment (Luke xvi. 23, 24), proved the corporeity of the soul (c. vii.; also a Stoic opinion), and medical science, “the sister of philosophy,” in the volumes of a contemporary physician, Soranus (c. vi.), also attested this belief. The invisibility of the soul was no disproof of its corporeity; witness St. John, who, “when in the spirit,” “beheld the souls of the martyrs” (Rev. vi. 9); witness also the testimony of “the sister so endowed

with gifts of revelation” (c. ix.). This latter testimony is of interest as exhibiting Montanist religious observances. Revelations used to come to her in the church on the Lord’s Day. While the solemn services were being performed, she used to fall into an “ecstasy in the spirit.” In that state she conversed with angels, sometimes even with the Lord; she saw and heard mysteries (*sacramenta*); she read men’s hearts; she prescribed remedies to the sick. Sometimes these visions took place when the Scriptures were being read, or when the Psalms were being chanted, or at the time of preaching or of prayer. On one occasion Tertullian thinks that he must have been preaching about the soul. The “sister” was rapt in spiritual ecstasy. After the people had been dismissed, she told him, as was her habit, what she had seen. “The soul was shewn to me in a bodily form. It seemed a spirit; not, however, an empty illusion, but one which could be grasped, ‘tenera et lucida et aerii coloris, et forma per omnia humana.’” Such testimony was to the Montanist Tertullian all-conclusive.

The main purpose of cc. xxiii.–xxvii. is to prove that the souls of all mankind are derived from one common source, the soul of Adam. In cc. xxviii.–xxxv. Tertullian ridicules the conclusions necessitated by metempsychosis and metempsychosis.

As a preliminary to the consideration of the manner in which the soul encounters death, Tertullian considers the subject of sleep — the image of death (cc. xlii.–end). He adopts by preference the Stoic definition of sleep as the temporary suspension of the activity of the senses (“resolutionem sensualis vigoris”), and limits the senses affected to those of the body; the soul, being immortal, neither requiring nor admitting a state of rest. While the body is asleep or dead, the soul is elsewhere.

Death, to which Tertullian now turns (c.1.), was to be the lot of all, let Epicurus and Menander say what they would. The voice of God (Gen. ii. 17) had declared death to be the death of nature. Independent of heathen examples of this truth, Tertullian finds one in the translation of Enoch and Elijah. Their death was deferred only; “they were reserved for a future death, that by their blood they might extinguish Antichrist” (Oehler refers to Rev. xi. 3). Where would the soul be when divested of the body (cc. liii.–lviii.)? Tertullian answers, In Hades; but his Hades is not that of Plato, nor his answer to the question that adopted by philosophers. To Hades, “a subterranean region,” did

Christ go (Matt. xii. 40; I. Pet. iii. 19); therefore Christians must keep at arms' length those who were too proud to believe that the souls of the faithful deserved to be placed in the lower regions. From Hades shall men remove to heaven at the day of judgment. But what would take place while the soul was in Hades? Would it sleep? No, Tertullian replies; souls do not sleep when men are alive. Full well the soul will know in Hades how to feel joy or sorrow even without the body. The "prison" of the Gospel (Matt. v. 25) was Hades, and "the uttermost farthing" the very smallest offence which had to be atoned there before the resurrection. Hence the soul must undergo in Hades some compensatory discipline without prejudice to the full accomplishment of the resurrection, when recompense would be paid to the flesh also. This conclusion Tertullian affirms to be one communicated by the Paraclete, and therefore accepted by all who admitted the force of His words from a knowledge of His promised gifts.

De Pallio. — This, a treatise intentionally extravagant, is a vindication of the philosopher's mantle (*pallium*) ridiculed by the people of Carthage. It might be called a juridical plea, couched in witty and forensic language, in an imaginary case of Pallium (see description s.v. in *D. C. A.*) v. *Toga*. *Some have seen in Tertullian's assumption of the pallium an indication that he adopted it to show his separation from the church.* The conjecture has nothing to prove or disprove it. The mantle had virtues of its own (cc. v. vi.). Did it not illustrate simplicity and capacity, economy and austerity, in protest against the follies and effeminacies, the gluttony and extravagance, the impurity and intemperance of the *togati*? "Grande pallii beneficium est." It was the garb not only of the philosopher, but also of those benefactors of the human race — the grammarian and the rhetorician, the sophist and the physician, the poet and the musician, the student of astronomy and the pupil of national history. In face of such facts, why mind the sneer, "The *pallium* ranked below the toga of the Roman knight," or the indignant question, "Shall I give up my *toga* for the *pallium*?" There was no indignity in the matter. "'Gaude gallium et exsulta!' Thou art honoured by a better philosophy from the time that thou didst become a Christian garment."

Scorpiace. — A defence of martyrdom stronger than is found in the Montanist works of his previous period, perhaps c. 211.

Ad Scapulam. — Probably at the beginning of the reign of Caracalla, a.d.

211, the African proconsul Scapula authorized the persecution to which this work refers. He was a fierce opponent of the Christians, and permitted his fanaticism to override his sense of justice (c. iv.). This treatise uses the arguments of the *Apology*, but with a change in tone. Tertullian's passion is still strong, but gravely and soberly expressed. There is the same appeal for justice, but defiance has given place to prayer, and hatred of the persecutor to love for the enemy. The treatise may fairly take rank among the best and most interesting of all which have been preserved. Scapula is told frankly that they who had joined the "sect" of Christians were prepared to accept its conditions. The persecutions of men ignorant of what they were doing did not alarm them or make them shrink from heathen "savagery." Against the charges usually brought against them (cf. c. ii.; *Apol.* cc. vii.–ix.) Scapula should set one plain fact — the behaviour of Christians. They formed the majority in every city, yet their conduct was always marked by silence and modesty. Their "discipline" enforced a patience which was divine; if they were known at all among men, it was for their reformation of the vices which once degraded them. Tertullian does not write to intimidate, but to warn — μή θεομαχεῖν. "Perform your duties as proconsul, but remember to be humane." If the Christians of Carthage should see fit to come to Scapula, how many swords and fires would he need for such multitudes of every sex, age, and rank! He would have to slaughter the leading persons of the city, and decimate the noble men and women of his own rank, friends and relations of his own circle. "Spare thyself, Scapula, if thou wilt not spare us. Spare Carthage, if thou wilt not spare thyself. Spare thy province, which the mere mention of thine intention has subjected to the threats and extortions of soldiers and of private foes [cf. *de Fuga*, cc. xii. xiii.]. As for us, we have no Master but God. Those whom you reckon your masters are but men, and must one day die. Our community shall never die. The more you pull it to the ground, the more it will be built up."

De Monogamia. — Some years passed, of peace from without but not from within; and a third time (c. 217) Tertullian returns to that question — marriage — which had occupied him in the *ad Uxorem* and *de Exhortatione Castitatis*. The third treatise is the bitterest. Tertullian now claims for his party that they and they alone were guided by the Paraclete. From Him they had received their teaching on monogamy. He had come to supersede the teaching of St.

Paul by yet higher counsels of perfection. Much of Tertullian's argument — e.g. from Scripture — is repeated from his former treatises, and much of it is strained and conjectural, as he felt it would be said to be (c. ix.); but no one will dispute Tertullian's earnestness. Immorality was prevalent and contagious, and in monogamy — supposing celibacy and widowhood to be impossible — he saw a counteracting agency. Discipline and spirituality would be at least practicable to those who would rally round the standard of monogamy.

De Jejuniis Adversus Psychicos (al. *de Jejuniis*). — Another great subject of difference between churchmen and Montanists had reference to fasts. Tertullian's paper is most distressing to read, scanty in argument, plentiful in abuse. Both sides indulged in unmeasured invective; both had lost their temper. The charges of luxury, gluttony, and immorality unhesitatingly and almost exultingly brought by Tertullian against church ecclesiastics and laymen are so gross as almost to refute themselves by their very exaggeration. They are more than the retort of a man infuriated by unjust accusations and meeting them by counter-charges. The ascetic has become a fanatic, and in his mad hatred besmirches and calumniates the church he had once so tenderly loved.

De Pudicitia. — This work has been placed before the *de Monogamia* and the *de Jejuniis*, but internal and negative evidence, if slight, seems to assign it a place after them. An edict (c. i.) of the bp. of Rome (Zephyrinus, 202–218, or Callistus, 218–223) lashed Tertullian into fury, and completely dissolved the last links of union between him and the Psychics. The treatise is marked by intense bitterness from beginning to end.

Adversus Praxean. — For the history of Praxeas, the nature of his views and Tertullian's answer, see PRAXEAS.

Tertullian was the first who, in the controversy against the Monarchians, introduced prominently the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Praxeas did not touch it. Hence the value of such chapters as viii. ix. xxv. xxx. He fully maintains the personality of the Third Person of the Trinity (cf. *ad Mart.* c. iii.) if his language is occasionally ambiguous (cf. c. xii., his comment on Gen. i. 26). He bases as usual his arguments on Scripture (cc. xxi. to end), and if not always free from his well-known tendency to read into them what he wants, the passages are as a rule well and wisely handled either in defence of the

Catholic position or in refutation of that of Praxeas. He gives (c. xx.) the 3 texts especially valued by this teacher in support of his heresy (Is. xlv. 5; John x. 30, xiv. 9, 10), and refutes his views at length (cc. xxi.–xxiv.).

IV. SUMMARY.

The brief sketch here presented of these powerful writings will have indicated the investigation of many a doctrine and the record of contemporaneous practices heathen and Christian, as well as illustrated the mind, character, and style of their writer.

(a) *Tertullian and Heathenism*. — On its moral side, extravagance, luxury, immorality, and cruelty were to all external appearance as rampant in his day as ever. Tertullian knows heathenism only in its coarseness and repulsiveness. Yet a reformation was proceeding, religious in origin and intention, which must not be forgotten in any true estimate of the age. Tertullian lived when old pagan traditions and new tendencies were co-operating; when there had risen that religious movement which, owing its impulse to the eclecticism of a Julia Domna, passed through the stirring phases successively represented in the neo-Pythagoreanism of her salon, in the subordination by Elagabalus of every other cultus to that of the Oriental sun-god, and in the equalization by Alexander Severus of all worshipful beings in his common cultus of the heroes of humanity. That movement was the product of a real awakening.

The main centre of these changes and developments was Rome, but Tertullian's writings against heathenism prove that Carthage at least felt the effects of this great tidal wave of religiousness. They are as full of attack as of defence. He strikes at a vigorous paganism as much as he beats off the charges alleged against Christianity. Every page teems with allusions which reflect without effort the firm foothold acquired by all forms of heathen cultus. Ridicule of the worship of the ancient deities of Greece and Rome, of the cultus of the emperors, of the "genius," and of demons is found allied with contempt of the gods of Alexandria (Isis and Serapis), of Phrygia (the Magna Mater and Bellona), of Syro-Phoenicia (the Dea Syria), and of Carthage (the Juno Coelestis). The very fierceness of his invective and scorn against the polytheistic revival, the ridicule he pours upon *galli* and *flamines*, priests and priestesses, itinerant and mendicant propagators of this or that cultus, guilds, processions, festivals, evidences the success and popularity of heathenism. The *Apology* of Apuleius (end of 2nd cent.) is illustrated by the *Apology* of Tertullian, and the statements of Dio, Spartian, Herodian, Lampridius, etc., can be compared with those of our writer. Were those heathen works lost, it

would be almost possible to reproduce from his pages, shorn of their extravagance, a picture of the religiousness of the age such as they have given.

(b) *Tertullian and Christianity*. — In passing from heathenism to Christianity, Tertullian believed himself to be passing from darkness to light and from corruption to purity. He embraced it with all the strength of a matured mind and life. All the more intelligible, therefore, is his vehement anger with any form of Christian precept and practice, whether at Rome or Carthage, which fell short of his ideal. The church was to him the Virgin and spotless Bride of the Ascended Lord, and her children — bishops, priests, and people — must worthily reflect her purity and faith. He would permit no shortcomings because he would admit no failure. A writer of the 4th cent. has left on record that the Africans as he knew them were “faithless and cunning. There might be some good people among them, but they were not many” (quoted in Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire*, ii.). This estimate is reflected a century earlier in Tertullian’s pages. It is a summary of his opinion of the spurious devotion which marked the Christian fop (*de Poenit.* c. xi.; cf. *de Cultu Fem.* ii. c. viii.), the would-be penitent (*de Poenit.* c. ix.), the rich Christian lady (*de Cultu Fem.* i. c. ix., ii. cc. v.–vii.; *de Virg. Vel.* c. xvii.), the fashionable virgin (*ib.* c. xii.; in contrast with her holy sister, c. xv.), the drugged and petted martyr (*de Jej.* c. xii., in contrast with the willing and happy martyr, *ad Martyres*, cc. i.–iii.); and it explains that final revulsion of mind which, spurning every kind of compromise, heaped indiscriminate abuse on what was best as well as what was worst in the life of the Christians of the church, and turned to find in asceticism and Montanism a seriousness and elevation impossible to him elsewhere. Paradoxical as it may seem, it was the same impulsive spirit which kept him staunch to the faith of that church whose discipline and ritual he abjured or carried with him to a schismatic body. Gnosticism was to Tertullian the embodiment of theological corruption, darkness, and falsehood, and he fought it with all his natural vehemence. His theology, if developed by Montanism, is in substance that which the church accepted, and accepts. The admiration felt for his writings by his countryman Cyprian (200–258), bp. of Carthage, should never be forgotten. Cyprian, says St. Jerome, never passed a day without reading a portion of Tertullian’s works; he frequently asked for them with the words, “Da mihi magistrum”;

and it is impossible to read Cyprian's existing treatises without seeing how largely the thoughts of Tertullian have been absorbed by him, if the language has been softened and deepened. In our own country Bp. Bull (*Defensio Fidei Nicenae*) and Pearson (*On the Creed*) have used many an argument which the Montanist of Africa had prepared for them, and Bp. Kaye's illustrations of the Articles of the Church of England from Tertullian's writings (p, etc.) concur in establishing the force of Möhler's description of his dogma as "so homelike" (*Patr.* i.). It is based on the teaching of Christ as handed down by apostles and apostolic men, and formulated in the "regula fidei una, sola, immobilis et irreformabilis" (cf. *de Praes. Haer.* cc. viii. ix.; *de Virg. Vel.* c. i.). Theology owes practically to him such words (*int. al.*) as *Trinitas*, *satisfactio*, *sacramentum*, *substantia*, *persona*, *liberum arbitrium*, *transferred (some of them) from the Latin law courts to take their definite place in the language of Latin divinity* (cf. the *index verborum* at the end of Oehler, vol. ii.).

(c) *Tertullian, the Man.* — Of no one, says Ebert, is Buffon's saying truer, "the style is the man," and the best illustration of his style he finds in the *Apology* (*Geschichte der Christlich-Lateinischen Literatur*, p-37). Tertullian cared nothing for form save as it best expressed his thought. He said right out from his heart what he had to say about friend or foe, without attempt to clothe his speech with the graceful charm of the Greek or the dignified periods of the Roman. Abrupt and impetuous, eloquent and stern, his sentences follow one another with the sweeping, rushing force of storm-waves. The very exceptions do but prove the rule. Such tender or beautiful passages as those which depict the life of Christ on earth (*de Pat.* c. iii.; *Apol.* c. xxi.; were these written with any acquaintance with the Life of the pagan Christ, Apollonius of Tyana, edited by Philostratus at the command of Julia Domna?), the power and effect of prayer (*de Orat.* c. xxix.), the virtues and portrait of patience (*de Pat.* c. xv.), contemporary civilization (*de Anima*, c. xxx.), the happy marriage (*ad Uxor.* ii. 8), and faith, the barque of the church (*de Idol.* c. xxiv.); or the impressive analogies of the resurrection he finds in nature (*re Resurr. Carnis*, c. xii.), and the illustrations of the Trinity (*adv. Prax.* c. viii.), come upon the reader as a surprise, as something so unlike one who is more in his recognized element when describing the place-hunter (*de Poenit.* c. xi.), the traitor (*Apol.* c. xxxv.), and the knowing Valentinian (*adv. Val. end*), or painting that ghastliest of his portraits, murder and idolatry crooning over

adultery (*de Pud.* c. v.). His paradoxes are characteristic: To him the unity of heretics was schism (*de Praes. Haer.* c. xlii.); and heresy itself “tantum valeat quantum si non fuisset” (*ib.* c. i.). “God is great when little” (*adv. Marc.* ii. c. ii.); “Lie to be true” (*de Virg. Vel.* c. xvi.), contain thoughts only a shade less startling than the “Mortuus est Dei Filius; prorsus credibile est quia ineptum est; et sepultus resurrexit; certum est quia impossibile est” (*de Carne Christi*, c. v.), or the well-known “the blood of martyrs is the seed of the church” (*Apol.* c. i.). His right appreciation of the methods of Scripture

exegesis (*de Pud.* c. ix.; cf. *de Res. Carn.* c. xxi.) is found side by side with such signal examples of perverse interpretation as those which disfigure the *de Jejunio* and *de Pudicitia*, or such fanciful expositions as his view of the cross (*adv. Marc.* iii. c. xviii.; cf. *adv. Jud.* cc. x. xiii.), St. Peter and the sword (*de Idol.* c. xix.), God’s Voice to Adam (*adv. Marc.* ii. c. xxv.), and the phoenix (*de Res. Carn.* c. xiii.). Such paradoxes, contrasts, and contradictions are characteristic indications not so much of a want of comprehensiveness as of a determination to occupy himself with but one idea or one aspect of a great truth, and subjugate to that the wider bearings of the question. His great acuteness, power, eloquence, and causticity are concentrated for the time being upon a single principle; and whatever will illustrate it, prove it, and drive it home, is drawn into its service, often regardless of its fitness (see this drawn out in Pusey’s pref. to *Libr. of the Fath.* vol. x.) *Tertullian’s style is strongly marked by the early training of his life*: it is juridical in thought, language, and exposition — a fact which explains so much of its difficulty. The advocate is always present. His conduct of the contest between Christianity and heathenism is that of a law-court contest, God v. the devil; his conception of the contest between Montanist and Churchman is that of one who asserted and developed Christianity v. one who surrendered it or left it defective. Tertullian was often wrong, and the church has, with sorrow, so adjudged him; but the character of the man explains everything.

What that character was he has himself told: “Miserrimus ego, semper aeger caloribus impatientiae” (*de Pat.* c. i.). The sentence, caught up by Jerome, explained to him the man (“homo acris et vehementis ingenii”), as it explains his secession to Montanism and his intellectual and moral defects. Perverse in the sense of wrongheaded he often was in his narrow estimates, but he was never wrong-hearted. His life and work, full of the shades and

contrasts of one who loved well and hated well, were after all a life and a work from which more has been gained than lost. If Hilary can regret that his “later error took away from the authority of what he had written,” Vincentius can remind us that those writings were “thunderbolts”; they were hurled forth in defence of faith and practice. It will be to his earlier life or less polemical treatises that the reader will turn with Cyprian by preference, and in the perverse impatience of his later life see at once “the fire which kindles and the beacon which warns” (Pusey).

V. LITERATURE.

Oehler's ed. of Tertullian is on the whole the best extant. A new and scientific ed. was commenced by Rufferscheid and Wissowa in the Vienna *Corpus Scr. Eccl. Lat.* xx. See a full list of recent litt. in Bardenhewer's *Patrology* (Freiburg im Br. 1908). Kaye is most serviceable in elucidating many points as to his life, era, teaching, and style. Translations into Eng. of some of his apologetic and practical treatises are in *Lib. of the Fathers*, vol. x., and of almost all his works in Ante-Nicene Lib. vols. ii. vii. xi. xviii.; but the translations are very unequal. Recent edd. are *de Praescrip. Haer.*, ad Martyres, and ad Scapulam in one vol. with intro. and notes, and *adv. Gentes*, both ed. by T. H. Bindley (Oxf. Univ. Press); *de Baptismo*, ed. with intro. and notes by J. M. Lupton (Camb. Univ. Press); *de Poen.* and *de Pud.* with French notes and intro. by Prof. de Labriolle (1906); and a reprint of the bp. of Bristol's illustrations of Ecclesiastical History from Tertullian's writings in the *A. and M. Theol. Libr.* (Griffith).

[J.M.F.]

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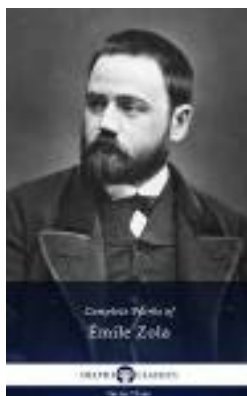
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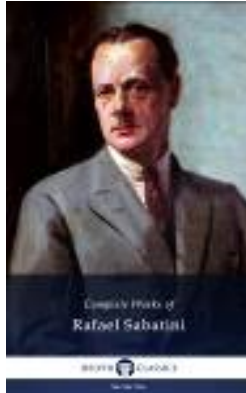
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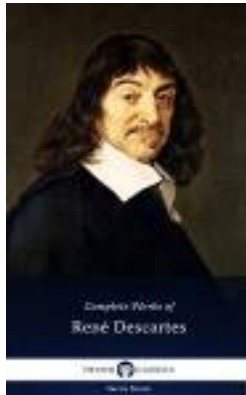
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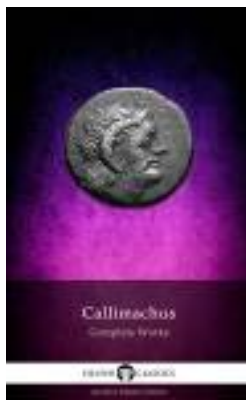
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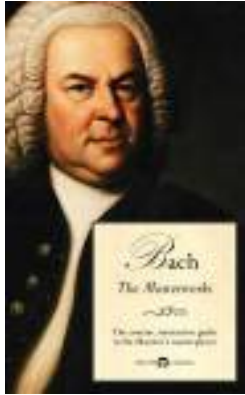


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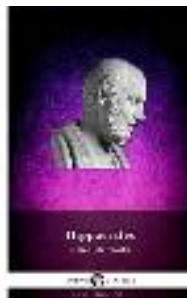
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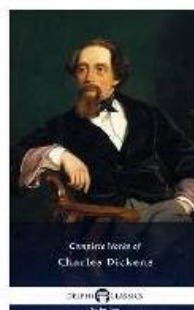
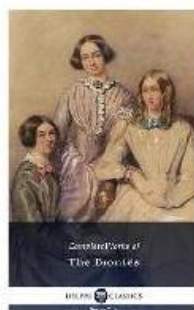
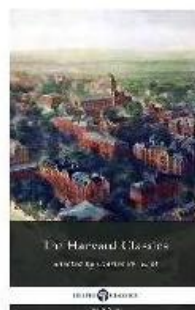
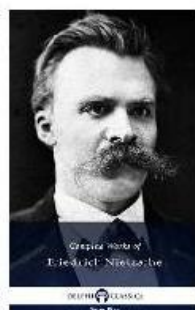
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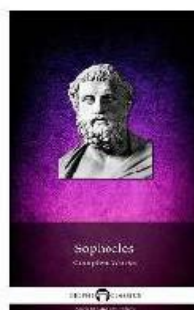
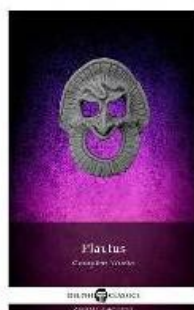
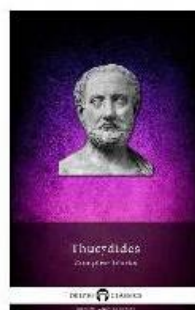
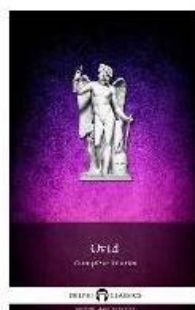
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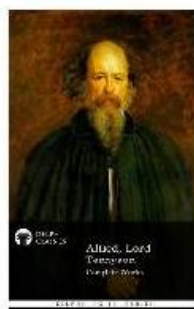
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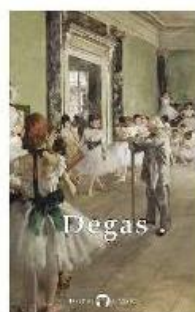
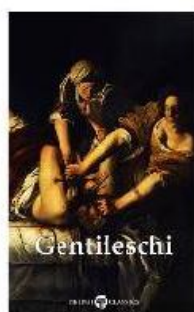
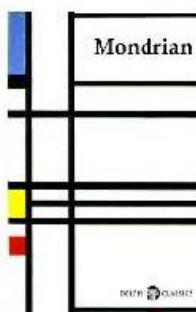
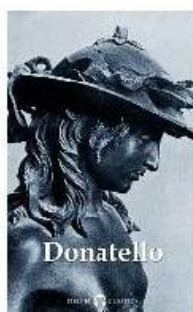
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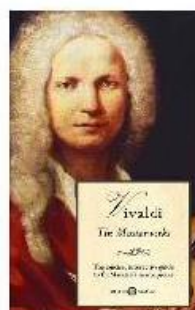
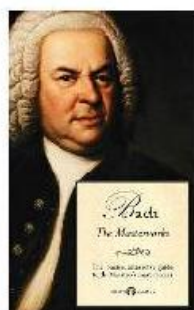
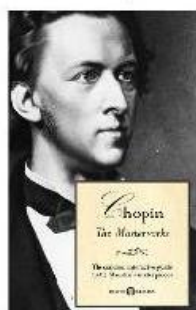
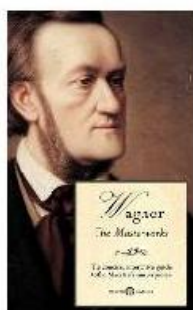
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Carthage, modern day Tunis, Tunisia — believed to be where Tertullian spent his final days